EVALUATION OF REFUGEES' CONTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL INSECURITY:

CASE STUDIES OF UGANDA AND KENYA

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other university or learning institution for the purpose of an examination award

Signed……………………………..Date……………………….

Linet Ayoti

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

Signed**………………………**Date**…………………….**

Dr. Emmanuel Kisiangani

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family and friends.

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ACRONYMS

CRS	**:**	Congressional Research Institute
DRC	**:**	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	**:**	European Union
IGAD	**:**	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
IO	**:**	Inter-governmental Organizations
IOM	**:**	International Organization on Migration
LRA	**:**	Lord's Resistance Army
LUT	**:**	Liberal Universalism Theory
NFD	**:**	Northern Frontier District
NGOs	**:**	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRA	**:**	National Resistance Army
OAU	**:**	Organization of African Unity
PLO	**:**	Palestinian Liberation Organization.
SALW	**:**	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UDHR	**:**	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	**:**	United Nations
UNHCR	**:**	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNOCHA	**:**	United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance
WFP	**:**	World Food Programme

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT

The Horn of Africa experiences an ever growing insecurity resulting from civil wars, hunger and famine, political persecution, and many other challenges. This have in turn resulted in swelling numbers of refugees. This study examines the impact of hosting refugees on Kenya and Uganda's socio-economic and political sectors and also on the security and stability of the Horn of Africa region. Through an analysis of secondary data and personal experiences, the study found that Kenya and Uganda have borne the brunt of hosting refugees resulting from numerous conflicts in the region including in South Sudan, Burundi, and Somalia. The study, however, also found that refugee camps have contributed to the economy of local communities by creating a ready market for goods and services and in Uganda where they are allocated land, have grown crops and livestock for sale to local communities. Politically, the study found that refugees have been exploited for political reasons, using them as voters in Northern Kenya and enlisting them in resistance movements in Uganda. In terms of regional security and stability, the study found a correlation between refugees and insecurity. Both Kenya and Uganda have fallen victims to terrorist acts that have claimed lives and which the respective governments have attributed to refugee elements from Somalia. Constant hostility with host communities, environmental degradation and illegal movement of small arms in the two countries have also been attributed to refugees, and seen as factors causing destabilization of the region. In terms of state challenges, in responding to refugee problem include the inability of local governments to cater for all needs of refugees due to weak economies and scarcity of resources, as well as lack of enough security personnel to provide security to the refugee camps. The study recommends that states provide security and adhere to international regimes while dealing with refugees. It also called states to positively contribute to the economies of their host state and work with security agencies to curb insecurity related to refugee activities. Refugee agencies are also called upon to balance between the needs of local communities and refugees and tackle stereotypes concerning refugees among local communities.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTROUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The greater Horn of Africa (which is the region of 8 states and focus of the study[1]) has experienced decades old conflicts which have been regionalized with multiple and varied outcomes to different nations. The ongoing conflicts in Somalia and South Sudan are typical examples justifying a trend which has characterized both intra and inter-state relations. These conflicts have produced millions of refugees to the neighbouring countries. With the proliferation of armed militia groups and militarization of the regional countries many civilians have found themselves in-between fighting sides causing mass deaths, displacing thousands, apart from causing untold sufferings. Refugees are the humanitarian cost of the conflict and most have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

This Horn region has not been spared of international terrorism which is premised in these conflict zones and perpetrated by armed terror groups who are believed to work in cohorts with refugees in their host countries. International terrorism has gained prominence in this region since the irredentism of Somalia and has spread exponentially to other countries in the region causing disastrous socio-economic and political altercations. The presence of refugees in some countries in this region specifically Kenya and Uganda has been linked to insecurity and terrorist activities which this research paper seeks to evaluate.

1.1 Background Information

A refugee is anyone fleeing his home state due to an ongoing conflict therein or from fear of persecution[2]. Insecurity is the state of being insecure or facing instability.[3] Since the early 1990s, the issue of refugees has evolved beyond a humanitarian issue and has raised intricate security issues and challenges. These challenges have affected a huge number of multi-stakeholders involved in the sending, transit and final hosting of refugees. Issues of refugees has had long lasting effects on national security of states. Further, its' argued that refugees have become a

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[1] According to IGAD, the greater Horn of Africa comprise Djibouti, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda and Somalia.
[2] Definition available at *www.unhcr.org/refugees.html*
[3] Available at *http://www.dictionary.com/browse/insecurity*

security concern in both developed and developing states of the world.[4] This has made states develop growing concerns on the actions to take on refugees within their boundaries who are a protected group under international law. In the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951)[5], refugees who have fled their home states are protected from being forced to go back to their home states. The host state is under obligation to safeguard and cater for the rights of refugees who are within her boundaries.

In Africa, the nexus between refugees and insecurity is based on two main assumptions; that insecurity largely results from factors/elements outside a state's boundaries, and that such factors/elements being militaristic in nature, require a militarized response to solve[6]. However, this nexus between refugees and insecurity in Africa has been further compounded by two main issues; the definition and understanding of a refugee, as well as the definition and understanding of Security in the African context. On the African understanding of who is a refugee, Africa has expanded the definition provided for by the United Nations (UN). In OAU adopted the Convention governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in 1969 in Africa which, in addition to the United Nations definition, included persons running from internal civil conflicts, external aggression and events disturbing national security across African states[7]. In appreciating the African understanding of security, Mogire[8], notes that it is contested at most times, ambiguous at others. He says the easiest way to understand it is to consider aspects like 'security for who, when, where and how'.

In Africa however, the term security (and by extension, insecurity) is largely state-centric and therefore likely to be influenced by the political context of individual states. In the greater Horn area, a growing number of refugees has been witnessed in the last few decades due to several factors such as famine, natural disasters and mostly political and civil strife between states as

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[4] Lohrmann, R. (2000). "*Migrants, Refugee and Insecurity: Current threats to Peace"* International Migration vol.38. London

[5] UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted on July 1951 by the UN and entered in to force in 1954 while the Protocol was adopted through Rsln. 1186 (XLI) of 1966 and entered into force in 1967

[6] Mohamed, A. (1995) *The third world security predicament*. UK: Lynn Reinner publishers

[7] OAU. (10th Sep 1969) *Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.* OAU Document CM/267/ Rev.1.

[8] Mogire, E. (2011), *Victims as Insecurity Threats*: *Refugee Impact on Host State, Security in Africa.* England; Ashgate Publishing Company.

well as intra-state. Intra state civil strife in the Horn of Africa has largely been caused by power wrangles, bad governance and economic corruption. The ease of acquiring small arms and border disputed have also been other factors attributed to the influx of refugees in the horn region. There has been an increase in the number of terror groups operating in the Horn of Africa and these has been many run away from terror propagated in these states especially in Somalia[9]. The greater Horn of Africa currently has 1.7 million refugees residing within its member states.[10] This is after the current crisis in South Sudan causes half a million people to cross over into Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia as refugees. The Burundi crisis has also generated 20,000 refugees camping in Uganda and Tanzania according to the figures. Kenya and Uganda (which are the case studies under study) accommodate many refugees that have led to ramifications on their security.

Kenya houses two main refugee camps, one in Dadaab and another in Kakuma. Dadaab camp is further broken down into three separate camps; Ifo, Hagadera and Dagahaley in which in total it hosts approximately 593,881 refugees as of January 2016 against its capacity of 90,000 people.[11] However these large numbers of refugees have become a source of governmental worry as they have posed many security concerns. With Dadaab being the largest refugee camp in the world, the Kenyan government has been faced with a dilemma of adhering to its international obligation of protecting refugees against its national obligation of controlling its own security and borders. With the rise of terrorism in the Horn region, the Kenyan government has often accused the refugee camps of hosting criminal and terror elements especially from Somalia. This it says worsened by the fact that it is virtually impossible to differentiate between a Kenyan Somali and a Somali national from Somali Republic. Kenya has even expressed its willingness to shut down the camp and expel all refugees in them to their original states amidst opposition by the UN.

In Uganda, the arrival or many refugees from Burundi and South Sudan have caused humanitarian and security challenges. The government of Uganda has expressed its concerns over inter-ethnic strife among South Sudanese refugee housed within its borders. Uganda is

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[9] Congressional Research Service Report (6th Jan 2012): *Horn of Africa Region: The Humanitarian Crisis and International Response*

[10] European Union. (January 2016): *ECHO Factsheet: Horn of Africa.* Available at: bit.ly/echo-fi

[11] UNHCR Kenya (2016). *Kenya Comprehensive Refugee Programme 2016: Programming for Solutions*

concern of the possibility of refugees fleeing fighting in South Sudan to be in possession of light and small arms that they would likely use to cause insecurity acts in Uganda. The Ugandan government has been forced to settle the Dinka separately from the Nuer to avoid inter-ethnic strife among refugees[12]. Locals in the areas where refugees have been settled in Uganda have complained of deprivation and competition of their resources leading to tension. The Ugandan government has also expressed fears over Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel elements sneaking back into the country as refugees from Burundi and South Sudan[13].

The governments of Kenya and Uganda have made serious claims on the contribution of refugees to insecurity in their states whose effects not only affect them but the entire greater Horn of Africa region. This paper seeks to study these phenomena.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Rising cases of political intolerance and persecution, natural disasters and intra-state strife have continued to exist in the world and more so in the developing world and this has seen the continued existence of refugees. Many people have had to run away from their mother countries for dear life in neighbouring states as well as take their families out of harm's way. While many refugees have found a welcoming 'home' away from home in their receiving states, their stay in their host states has at times caused concerns among their hosts. For a long time, states in the greater Horn of Africa as elsewhere in Africa have been primarily concern with the humanitarian and socio-economic impact of the refugees. Security concerns of states finds a connection to refugee existence in the greater Horn of Africa in a more recent phenomenon coming to light in the last three or two decades.

The nexus between state insecurity and refugees in the greater Horn of Africa has been compounded with the rise of terrorism perpetuated by groups like Al-Shabaab of Somalia and the newly formed Islamic State that is fast spreading to Somalia. These issues have become international phenomena and have gained ground on the unconventional ideology of creating

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[12] IRIN (2016): *Refugee arrivals in Uganda raise Humanitarian, Security Concerns.* Available at
http://www.irinnews.org/
[13] UNHCR, 2016 Annual Protection Report: '*Assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in Africa'.*
UN.

terror, hence have been subject to many debates and research studies. The balance between adherence to their international obligations (as contained in the international protocols and conventions they have ratified) and the need to protect their states and boundaries has become a delicate issue for states around the greater Horn of Africa.

Several studies carried out have specifically focused on the socio-economic effects of refugees on one hand and insecurity in nation states i.e. its causes, consequences and strategies employed by various states and agencies to contain it. While focus is centrally focused on how insecurity can be prevented if not eliminated, limited research has been directed towards evaluating nexus between refugees and state insecurity particularly in the greater Horn of Africa. This research is therefore guided by the need to establish the contribution of refugees to regional insecurity (particularly terrorism and insurgency) in the Horn of Africa region using Kenya and Uganda as case studies.

1.3 Overall objective

The guiding objective guiding this research was to evaluate the impact made by refugees in regional insecurity (in the greater Horn of Africa) using Kenya and Uganda as case studies.

1.3.1 Research Objectives

i.   To assess the socio-economic and political impact of hosting regional refugees in Kenya and Uganda

ii.   To establish the effect of hosting refugees on regional security and stability

iii. To evaluate the challenges confronting regional countries hosting refugees in responding to insecurity/terrorism in the region.

1.3.2 Research Questions

i.   What is the impact of regional refugees to Kenya and Uganda's socio-economic and political landscape?

ii.   What is the effect of refugees to regional security and stability?

iii. Which challenges confront regional countries hosting refugees in fighting regional insecurity/terrorism?

1.4 Justification of the Study

The nexus between state insecurity and refugees is still a recent development that has not been adequately studied. While states in mainly developing states have claimed that refugees contributed to instability and insecurity taking place within their borders, not enough research has been to conclusively come to this conclusion. This is more so the case in the Horn of Africa region where terrorism which is today considered the world's greatest threat to state security, being a recent development. Kenya and Uganda have hosted refugees for more than a century and there have been minimal widespread allegations by these states of refugees within their boundaries being threats to state security. However in the recent days, both states have accused refugees as sheltering criminal and terror agents within their ranks. This study is therefore of immense importance in understanding the relationship between refugees and insecurity as well as terror generally in the greater Horn of Africa region and particularly in Uganda and Kenya.

There is a need to move towards policy development efforts in tackling the issue of insecurity in states. The Horn of Africa region having suffered several acts of terror and state insecurity, many policy makers have started shaping their efforts towards coming up with appropriate measures to tackle this problem. Refugees have been identified by states as one of the sources or abettors of insecurity in the greater Horn of Africa. It is imperative to therefore study with an aim of understanding the role refugees play in abetting or perpetuating insecurity in their host state. At the end of the study, the research will come up with policy suggestions aimed at acting as building blocks to regional policy makers in making policies to address the role refugees play in terror and insecurity.

The study is also critical in evoking consciousness among readers of the human rights situation of refugees. The study will create a general public awareness of the situation of refugees in Kenya and Uganda. By classifying refugees as a source of insecurity, the governments of Kenya and Uganda are likely to justify any action they take (most probably militaristic at some point) against the refugees. The study is therefore to raise the public's awareness on the friction and conflict between the governments of these states and refugees. As such the public will be watchdogs of the human rights of the refugees to ensure the government adheres to human rights

of refugees in any action it takes against them as guided by international conventions and protocols.

The study will also form a foundation for future researchers who may be interested in studying issues related to the topic under study. It will also be important to scholars and researchers who may want to test the validity of the results as well as follow up on recommendation contained at the end of the report.

1.5 Literature Review

This section will review literature cross cutting issues of refugees and state insecurity. Previous study done on this topic will be studied and reviewed. The study will look at: International and Regional tools (protocols and conventions) protecting the rights of refugees; causes of refugee influx in Africa; the state of refugees in the Horn region and; the refugee situation of Kenya and Uganda.

1.5.1 International/Regional regimes (laws) protecting rights of Refugees

World over, nation states have been acting as transit points and final destinations of refugees. Whether it is as transit points or as recipients of refugees, protection of refugees has been the main point of focus. The rules/regimes protecting refugees were largely implicit before the World Wars. However, after the outbreak of the war which created a refugee influx throughout the world states felt there was urgent need to create formally recognized regimes that would legally bind states into protecting civilians from other states, once they sought refuge in their territories. In this vain, the following international as well as regional laws have been enacted and adopted by nation states to protect refugees;

1.5.1.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948

The UDHR got approval from the UN on 10th, December 1948 in Paris, France[14]. The UDHR was and has continued to be a crucial milestone in the safeguarding of rights. It also became the yardstick upon which other conventions and subsequent protocols were drawn. It name '*universal*' was a characteristic of the group that drafted it composing of people from various

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[14] Through Resolution 217 A of the General Assembly.

cultural and legal backgrounds throughout the world. The UDHR has been translated into more than 500 dialects today.

In Art. 14 (1), the UDHR safeguards right of all people to pursue, be granted as well as get asylum in states other than theirs. This asylum is mainly for those running away from prosecution[15]. Asylum is the process leading to admission as a refugee. However 14 (2) limits this freedom to only those fleeing from political crimes as well as those who have committed crimes that go against UN purposes

1.5.1.2 Convention Relating to the Status of a Refugee (1951) and its Optional Protocol (1967)

The 1951 Convention and its 1967 Optional Protocol has been identified as the principal international convention that governs refugee laws and affairs. It got approval through Resolution 2198 (XXI) of the UN General Assembly. It was grounded on Article 14 of the UDHR. The 1951 Convention defines who a refugee is. In Article 1(2) a refugee is anyone due to fear of being prosecuted due to his religion, political views, race, nationality, or his membership of a certain grouping, goes out of his country of nationality and unwilling to return due to the fear. It also covers people who are stateless and are outside the country they have been staying due to fear from these factors and are unwilling to return[16].

The 1951 Convention protects refugees from non-refoulement barring any country from sending back the refugee to a country in which his life will be endangered[17]. It also protects other rights of refugee like access to basic needs and fair treatment. The Convention has however been criticized for not providing guidance how states will evaluate if one meets the criteria according to the definition. This has seen different states come up with different laws based on their economic abilities and national security concerns.

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[15] Article 14 (1),(2), Universal Declaration of Human Rights
[16] Article 1(1), (2). UN Convention Relating to the Status of a Refugee of 1951 and its Optional protocol 1967
[17] Article 33 (1). UN Convention Relating to the Status of a Refugee of 1951

1.5.1.3 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of 1969

Africa has also come up with a regional tool on refugees. The OAU Convention of 1969 got approval of African heads of state on 10th September 1969. This Convention used the definition of the 1951 Convention definition concerning a refugee, with some expansion to it. In the 1969 Convention, the meaning of a refugee has been extended to include people running away from internal state strife, external aggression as well as well disrupting the stability of African states[18]. Article 4 of the 1969 OAU Convention bars states from discriminating refugees due to race, nationality, political view or religion. Article 5 of the Convention calls on states to respect the right of voluntary repatriation and bars any state from forcefully repatriating refugees to their home countries. In Article 6, member states housing refugees are directed to provide them with travel documents to enable them travel outside their territories unless national security concerns arise[19].

1.5.1.4 The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's Rights of 1981

Banjul Charter of 1981 was adopted on 27th June 1981 in the city of Banjul, Gambia. The charter is the key African instrument on human rights equivalent to the UDHR[20]. It has been unofficially referred to as 'the UDHR of Africa'. Article 12 (3) of the Banjul Charter states;

> *"Every individual shall have the right, when persecuted, to seek and obtain asylum in other countries in accordance with laws of those countries and international conventions[21]"*

The Banjul Charter recognizes the right of those persecuted to seek asylum so as to prevent them from harm. The Charter also recognizes other international and regional instruments on refugees to which it refers for the guidance of admission and protection of refugees.

1.5.1.5 Kenyan and Ugandan laws protecting refugees

The republics of Kenya and Uganda which are the case studies of the study, have also enacted specific acts of parliament to govern the treatment as well as protect the rights of refugees.

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[18] Article 1 (2). OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa 1969

[19] Articles 4, 5, and 6. OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees in Africa 1969.

[20]OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982)

[21] Article 12 (3). The African (Banjul) Charter of Human and People's Rights 1981

Uganda Control of Alien Refugees Act (1960): As early as 1960 Ugandan parliament had started enacting bills to govern the flow and protection of refugees in its territory. The Control of Aliens Refugees Act was enacted and came to force on 13th July 1960[22]. According to the Act, an alien is any person whose nationality is not Ugandan or does not originate from any commonwealth country. A refugee was anyone belonging to the alien class and declared by a government minister in charge of security to be a refugee but not a diplomatic officer, a foreign government employee in Uganda for official duty or any person declared by the minister in charge to be a non-refugee[23]. The Act restricted all refugees to reside in government appointed settlement unless out on medical grounds or with permission from the minister or government official[24].

Uganda Refugees Act (2006): In 2006 Uganda enacted the Uganda Refugees Act. It repealed the 1960 Act on Control of Aliens and Refugees. Among the improvements in the 2006 Act is that it allows refugees to choose either to settle in Kampala or elsewhere unlike the 1960 act which confined their stay to government settlements. The 2006 Act also narrowed down the definition of who an alien is from a non-commonwealth citizen to anyone who is not a Ugandan citizen. A refugee is defined as anyone who having met the criteria for admission, has been granted refugee status[25]. Under section 26, any family member of an admitted refugee is granted the same protection and rights extended to the refugee as a refugee can apply for a member of his family to join him for the sake of family union. Other rights granted to refugees under the Act include, non-discrimination, provision of identity card, peaceful stay within Uganda's borders and rights to education, employment and farming on their allocated settlement[26].

Kenya Refugee Act (2006): Kenya enacted the Kenya Refugee Act of 2006 to provide legislation for protection of refugees. While the Act largely borrows firm the 1951 UN Convention in defining a refugee, it defines an asylum seeker as anyone seeking to be granted refugee status in

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[22]*Uganda Control of Alien Refugees Act, Cap.64 of 1960* (13 July 1960), available at:
http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b4d2c.html
[23] Section 3 (1). Uganda Control of Alien Refugees Act 1960
[24] Section 8. Uganda Control of Alien refugees Act 1960
[25] Section 2. Uganda Refugee Act 2006
[26] Section 29. Uganda Refugee Act 2006

Kenya. The Act created an office on Refugee Affairs to be headed by a Commissioner for Refugee Affairs[27].

In Sec.16, the Act lists the civil liberties and obligations of Refugees admitted in the country. They include; enjoyment of all rights provided in refugee conventions that the country has ratified and be subjected to Kenyan decrees and regulations. A refugee earning wages in Kenya is also subjected to the same policies applied to wage earning Kenyan citizens[28].

1.5.2 Causes of Refugee Influx in Africa

The UNHCR[29] says that he world is today facing worst refugee influx ever in history. According to its estimates, 65.3 million people have run away from their houses because of various wars, internal strife and drought among various factors. According to the report, Africa hosted slightly above 35% of the total number of displaced population by the year 2011. In addition, the continent hosted 14 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs). This then begs the question, what is causing such an influx of refugees in Africa? The influx of refugees in Africa has been attributed to among others, the following causes.

1.5.2.1 Fleeing from colonization

The history of Africa cannot be told wholesomely without the aspect of colonization. Refugee flows in Africa started way back in the late 1950s when many Africans running away from colonial masters sought refuge in states that had gained independence. Other refugee ran to countries that did not face harsh colonial rules especially in French colonies as the policy of assimilation was largely peaceful.[30] By the late 1960s the issue of colonization had exacerbated the refugee flows in Africa. Many of the refugees in Africa at the time were those coming from colonized states. African states back then largely practiced the open door policy when it came it accepting refugees from other African countries.

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[27] Section 7 (1). Kenya Refugee Act 2006
[28] Section 16 (1), (4). Kenya Refugees Act 2006.
[29] UNHCR Global Appeal Report 2011-2012. *Regional Operations Profile - Africa*
[30] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2001). *Regional Powers: The Structure of Regional Security*. London: Cambridge University Press

The problems associated with colonialism spread onto African states even after independence. After the exit of colonialists, many states found themselves under the rule of one or two strong ethnic communities. Most of these communities had been groomed by the colonial masters and continued to exercise the discriminatory and harsh rule of the colonialists still forcing some African communities into exile and to flee. In Rwanda, the Tutsi were a dominant ethnic community who ruled the Hutu with an iron hand forcing the many Hutus to move to neighboring countries like Uganda and Burundi as refugees from where they planned revenge killings on the Tutsi (the Rwandan genocide).[31] Post-colonial rule saw many white dominated states were also the cause of high numbers of refugee flows in Africa. After independence, Zimbabwe's government cracked down on white land owners and expelled them and without their property, many left empty handed to end up as refugees in neighboring states. The government of Idd Amin in Uganda also cracked down on Asian shop owners and landlords forcing many to flee as refugees to neighboring states[32].

1.5.2.2 Civil wars

In a continent with multiple ethnic communities, Africa is a continent ripe with civil wars. Inter-ethnic wars have shaped the continent in post-independent Africa becoming one of the greatest causes of refugee influx in Africa. Competition for resources, power and dominance among ethnic communities have seen multiple people displaced as refugees in Africa[33].

In the Sudan versus South Sudan war, approximately 2.5 million people ran away from their houses after attacks by the Janjaweed. More than half a million ended up as refugees in other neighboring countries. In the Rwanda civil war that generated into genocide, two million people fled to Uganda, Burundi, and Tanzania among other neighboring states[34]. Today inter-ethnic strife in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has forced nearly 10,000 people to flee into Rwanda. In inter-ethnic violence in Kenya's 2008 post-election violence, many Kenyans were

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[31] State of the Worlds Refugee (2004). *Refugee Crisis in Africa: Safeguarding rights*: UNHCR
[32] Mamdani, M. (2008) *Disaster Prevention: Defining the African Refugee Problem*. Journal of African Studies.
[33] UNHCR, ICRC, UN (2004). Refugees in Africa: The Challenges of Protection and Solutions
[34] Abiodun A., Mackinlay, J., & Olomisakin, F. (1999). *Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords*: Tokyo: United Nations University Press,

forced to flee to Uganda and Tanzania as refugees. The ongoing ethnic based violence in South Sudan has continued to witness many people cross borders into Kenya and Uganda as refugees[35].

1.5.2.3 Territorial boundaries

The problem of Africa with colonial masters did not end upon independence. As they withdrew, they left territorial boundaries drawn that marked where one state begun and where another ended. Many Africans and newly independent states developed issues around these boundaries. By dividing and demarcating states, colonialists ended up sub-diving similar communities into different states such that the Luo community found themselves in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania for example. Some states also felt they had been aggrieved by being allocated small territories.

Since then, African have never stopped fighting over territorial borders and these wars been forced most of the communities living near the borders to flee into neighboring countries as refugees. With the rise of plural societies and the struggles of communities to adjust to the boundaries they had been confined into, many states initiated wars to try and expand their territories. This has seen many secessionist wars in Africa like the Biafra and Katanga which have led to mass movement of people[36]. Conflicts in Eritrea, and Western Sahara which were caused by the failure of African people to recognize the territories demarcated by colonialists led to mass displacement of people and may found themselves as refugees.

1.5.2.4 Natural Disasters and harsh climatic conditions

Many states in Africa are either arid or semi-arid as they fall under the ever growing Sub-Saharan Africa region. Africa has also witnessed several natural disasters, economic recessions and population pressures have pushed up the number of refugees fleeing across African states. Currently, the Horn of Africa region is experiencing famine that has affected Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan and Ethiopia. An estimated 150 million African are currently food insecure[37].

Many are therefore forced to move across borders as refugees and settle in countries where they think the food security situation is better off. With famine comes strife among pastoralist

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[35] Ogata, M. (2014). *Pattern of Displacement of Refugees in Africa*: UNHCR
[36] Schirch, L. (2000) *Civilian Peacekeeping: Preventing Violence and Making Space for Democracy.* Sweden: Life and Peace Institute Uppsala
[37] Tandon, Y. (1999). *Root Causes of the Peacelessness and Approaches to Peace in Africa*.UNPAN010409.pdf

communities for pastures and water. These strife turns chaotic at times forcing communities to flee to neighboring countries. The current drought in Kenya for example has sparked conflicts between communities residing in Baringo and this has seen many flee to neighboring Uganda for safety where they are registered as refugees.

1.5.2.5 Human Rights victims

A good number of refugees in Africa today are victims of human rights abuses which are rife in Africa.[38] The continent is still rife with authoritarian regimes which oppress any dissidents and crackdown on perceived opposition to their rule. Many African states lack democratic leadership. African leadership in many states are known for torturing, killing and depressing civil rights of their citizenry to quell down any perceived or emerging opponent voice. Many of those who therefore find themselves targeted may be forced into exile or as refugees in other states that are more sympathetic to their cause.

Hamilton notes that abuse of human rights has been most prevalent under autocratic African leaders like Nguema from Republic of Equatorial Guinea and Idd Amin from Republic of Uganda. These governments forced many opponents to flee as refugees in neighboring countries.

1.5.2.6 Religious Intolerance

Africa is a largely religious continent with at least 80 percent of its population belonging to a given religion.[39] Among the most practiced religions in Africa is Islam and Christianity. However the continent has also witnessed religious intolerance among religious groups leading to strife and eventually sending many people packing to neighboring states as refugees. The most prevalent have been Christians against Muslims. In Sudan, Muslims Arabs in the North consolidated state powers. They then controlled and lorded over their Christian counterparts in the South and this sparked a two decade war which saw a great number of refugees flee to Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. A sectarian war in Central Africa Republic (CAR) since early 2013 between Muslims and Christians saw many people dead and many continue fleeing to

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[38] Hamilton, H.(1999) Refugee Women, UNHCR and the Great Lakes Crisis
[39] Mbiti, J. (1990). *African Religions and Philosophy*, African Writers Series, Heinemann

neighboring countries as refugees.[40] Some states have banned Jehovah Witnesses religion from practicing in their territories.

1.5.3 The Refugee situation in the greater Horn of Africa

The European Union[41] estimates that the Horn region today has an estimated 1.7 million refugees staying in its member states as of January 2016. These soaring numbers that keep growing every fortnight has been caused by various reasons.

Harsh climatic changes in the Horn of Africa in the last one decade have made the region food insecure with many facing dire need of humanitarian aid and assistance. As from February 2015, El Nino has been active in the Horn region causing unpredictable patterns that have resulted in droughts in some areas and famine in others. This has seen many people from the Horn of Africa move to states on the geographical south of the greater Horn region (Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan) moving as refugees to seek for food and pastures for their animals.[42] The greater Horn of Africa region has been famine affects parts of NFD in Kenya, Sudan and South Sudan forcing residents to cross over borders registering as refugees in neighboring states where they can find food and pastures for their animals.

In Ethiopia, famine has become rampant making 8.2 million people food insecure by October 2016 according to the European Union report. Thousands have pastoralists in the Northern and Eastern regions have lost their livestock and fearing death from hunger, crossed over to Eritrea and Djibouti as refugees. In Somalia, 10,000 people have moved into Kenya following a poor rainy season in 2016 as well as floods in the Southern parts of the country. The country reported that 30,000 people were affected by drought and many had moved across borders to seek for food and stay in neighboring states until conditions improve. The situation has been largely the same in Djibouti throughout 2016. Food insecurity has triggered over 200,000 refugees to cross borders in the entire greater Horn region.[43]

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[40] Guterres, G. (2012). *CAR violence and displacement 'disastrous'*: UN High Commissioner for Refugees
[41] Ibid 9
[42] Refugees International. *Horn of Africa: Not the Time to Look Away.* December 13, 2011.
[43] UNOCHA (March 2015): *Horn of Africa Crisis.* UNOCHA Situation report available at http://www.unocha.org/crisis/horn-africa-crisis.

Additionally, the Refugee situation has also been worsened by persistent conflicts and wars especially in region. The current conflict in South Sudan that has persisted since 2013 has seen 650,000 refuges cross over into Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan and Kenya as refugees[44]. Many of them are women and minors in need of assistance. In the ongoing conflict in Burundi, around 560,000 refugees form that country have fled to Uganda and Rwanda and Tanzania. Conflicts from outside the greater Horn of Africa region have also contributed to escalating refugee numbers in region. The civil strife that happened in Yemen saw 30,000 refugees flock into Djibouti putting additional strain on the number of refugees hosted in the region[45]. States have therefore become concern of these refugee influx and are looking for ways of coping. Kenya has opened up a new camp in Kakuma to accommodate an additional 100,000 refugees fleeing violence in Somalia and the republic of South Sudan.

In 2012, the government of Kenya signed a tri-partite agreement with the republic of Somalia, UNHCR, and Kenya to assist willing refugees to voluntarily go back to Somali. This was in a bid to decongest the Dadaab refugee camp and has seen over 6000 Somali refugee go back home by January 2016. This was following negotiations after Kenya expressed its desire to expel Somali refugees back home accusing them of causing insecurity a move heavily criticized by international humanitarian agencies like Amnesty International[46].

The weak economies of majority of greater Horn of Africa states have compounded the development challenges that face the region especially in handling refugees. Majority of the states in the region rank as some of the poorest marked with poor indicators of human progress. This has seen the region rely on rain fed agriculture exposing it to famine and erratic rains. Djibouti is most vulnerable as three quarters of its land is not arable. The food insecurity of these regions combined with their low economic abilities have worsened the refugee crisis in the region as they are not able to sufficiently provide for their populations during times of crisis[47].

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[44]EU: Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Report: *Horn of Africa; Echo Factsheet.* Brussels, January 2016

[45] WFP. *Horn of Africa Crisis*. September 15, 2011. Available at http://www.wfp.org/crisis/horn-of-africa.

[46] Amnesty International. (Dec 9th 2010). *From Life Without Peace to Peace Without Life: The Treatment of Somali Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in Kenya*, AFR 32/015/2010

[47] Ibid 9

In summarizing the refugee situation in the greater Horn of Africa region, political strife, droughts and famine, corruption and overstretched weak economies have seen a continued influx of refugees throughout the region. These refugees have in turn stretched the already stretched economies of the states that have received them. Insufficient medical services, food insecurity and hostile host communities are some of the conditions that have met refugees in the greater Horn of Africa region. States have become concern of the criminal elements that come into their territories as refugees and disturb the peace of their citizens. This is in addition to the severe environmental, economic and social burdens imposed by refugees on their host states.

1.5.4 The situation of Refugees in Kenya

The republic of Kenya has provided refuge to many refugees, majority of whom originate from the Horn of Africa region since the 1990s. This was the period when Kenya started receiving a high number of refugees from Somalia after the latter descended into lawlessness in 1991after the fall of Siad Barre.[48]

Today, Kenya hosts 593,881 refugees as of January 2016.[49] Majority of them stay in Dadaab camp in Northern Kenya, set up in 1991 to specifically cater for Somalia refugees fleeing lawlessness in their country. Dadaab has been described as the world's largest refugee camp making many Kenyans to take notice of the camp and its inhabitants who were largely unheard of or of no major importance before 2009.

The rise of terrorism perpetuated by Al-Shabaab in Somalia and the current political strife in South Sudan that has left many Somalis and South Sudanese running for safety in Kenya has compounded the security situation of Northern Kenya in particular and Kenya in general.[50] As if the humanitarian situation resulting from hosting half a million refugees against its capacity of 90,000 was not enough, Kenya is now facing the dilemma between hosting the refugees according to international laws and provisions it has signed and protecting its own citizens and national borders. This is due to the rise of insecurity in areas around the two camps of Dadaab

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[48] Loescher, G. (Ed. 2012). *Refugee Movements and International Security in the Horn of Africa*, Adelphi Paper 268, (London: Brassey"s for IISS, 1992),

[49] Ibid 10

[50] Canadian Council for Refugees (2001), *Preserving the Civilian Character of Refugee Camps*: *Lessons from Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee Camps in Kenya.* CCR vol.9 no.3.

and Kakuma which has seen the Northern Frontier District (NFD) region of Kenya experience multiple terror attacks in the last three years. This has been attributed to the ease with which Somalia terror elements cross the border into Kenya as genuine refugees and once admitted at Dadaab, sneak out of the camp to carry out terror attacks in the area.

The large numbers of refugees have also made it practically impossible for the government to plan for the development of the NFD. The Garissa District leadership noted that in its 1994 to 1996 development plan, it became virtually impossible to supervise development projects in the region due to refugee influx into the district[51]. In the ensuing report of 1997 to 2001, the Garissa District leadership still noted that the persistent security situation in Somalia had seen an additional 150,000 new refugees flow into Kenya compromising the security of the region. As a result, the District had been forced to divert a lot of resources meant for development to catering for the humanitarian needs of the refugees as well as dealing with the insecurity. Many refugees sneaked into Kenya small arms which saw the rise of cattle rustling, banditry and general crime in the NFD.

Refugees in Kenya have also been accused of being a destabilizing factor to the country's political decision making especially in the NFD. Somali refugees have been accused by local politicians of taking part in the country's elections by being smuggled and illegally being registered as bonafide voters. They have hence been accused of determining voter behavior and patterns in the regions. Key opposition figures have over the years accused some elements in government of registering Somali refugees in the NFD as voters to vote for them. This has been made possible by the inability of government officials to differentiate between Kenyan Somalis and Somali refugees as they bear the same biological and physical features[52].

The Kakuma Refugee Camp has not been very peaceful either. The camp mainly host South Sudanese refugee fleeing from the political strife in their country. A report by the UNHCR[53] notes that violence often occurs in the camp unexpectedly. The report notes an increase in the

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[51] Republic of Kenya, *Garissa District Development Plan* (1994-1996), (Nairobi: Government printer), 81.
[52] Mogire, E. (2011) *Victims as Insecurity Threats*: *Refugee Impact on Host State, Security in Africa.* England; Ashgate Publishing Company
[53] Internal UNHCR document released on, 25 May 1999

general incidents of crime in the areas surrounding Kakuma camp. The presence of refugees from South Sudan in Kakuma has caused tension between them and the government as they do not adhere to Kenyan systems of justice. By nature of international law, Crisp argue, their stay in Kenya means they should be governed by Kenyan justice system.[54]. However South Sudanese refugees have assumed their own system of justice using the tradition judges and employing bench courts. These bench courts (conducted under trees by elders) wield power of summoning, punishing and imprisoning offenders in jails which have been established by local NGOs in the camp.

Kenya has also experienced conflicts concerning locals and refugees. Kenyan Somalis who live in the Dadaab area have often accused the government and humanitarian agencies of caring for the refugees in the camp more than them.[55] Local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have partnered with international agencies like UNHCR to provide humanitarian aid like food and medical services to the refugees. Kenyan Somalis residing in the area therefore have felt aggrieved over the years especially with local Kenyan NGO of neglecting their plight and paying more attention to refugees. Many Kenyan Somalis are not in a state to afford basic services like education and medical services due to the hardship of the NFD and therefore see refugees in the camp (who are fellow Somalis) as enemies who receive all these services for free to their detriment. In the Kakuma camp, the local Turkana community have also felt aggrieved of refugees in the camp receiving food rations while they consider themselves equally as needy as the refugees but get none.[56]

The aforementioned challenges have seen a change in Kenyan government as well as citizenry's attitude to refugees from one of hospitality and tolerance in the early 1990s to one of coldness and at times hostility.[57] Many Kenyans now see the refugee influx issues as a source of instability and insecurity weakening the region. The Kenyan government has hence initiated policies aimed at tightening the free entry of refugees into the country and trying as much as

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[54] Crisp, J. (1999) *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No.16, A State of Insecurity: the political economy of violence in refugee-populated areas of Kenya.

[55] Verdirame, G. (1999) *Human rights and refugees: the case of Kenya.* Journal of Refugee Studies, 12, 1

[56] Aukot, E. (2003) *It is better to be a Refugee than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya.* Global Movements for Refugees and Migrant Rights. pp73-84

[57] Khoti, K. (2015). *Human rights*, *use of Force and Displacement in Great lakes region,* in Hollenbach, D. *Refugee Rights: Ethics Advocacy and Africa,* (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2015), 163

possible to keep its border's closed especially to refugees from Somalia. The government has made clear its intention to close the Dadaab camp, send back all refugees from Somali to their country. International agencies and the UN have opposed this move. The Kenyan government recently assented to an agreement with UNHCR and Somali to only send back willing refugees to Somali.

1.5.5 The situation of Refugees in Uganda

Uganda has hosted refugees in its borders since way back in the World War II. Back then, some Europeans were displaced by the war and settled in Uganda as refugees[58]. In the mid-1950s, there was an influx of refugees from Sudan following by other refugees from different parts of the region forced out by independence struggle wars with colonial masters. Other refugees included Rwandans fleeing the 1959 civil war and Congolese following crackdown after Patrice Lumumba's assassination in the early 1960s.

By 2011, Uganda hosted 150,000 refugees in its territories[59]. These numbers accounted for refugees running away from civil strife in Rwanda, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Burundi. It host refugees from the entire greater Horn of Africa region. Uganda has been praised by the international community as having an open door policy in welcoming of refugees over the last five decades. Unlike other states in the region, Uganda does not restrain refugees to camps but admits them into special settlements for refugees where they can rely on themselves. This is because they are allocated pieces of land where they can farm. Once refugees have become adequately sufficient, the Ugandan government allows them into urban areas to work and look for jobs while those still struggling are kept in refugee settlements.

In the last few decades however, Uganda has been forced to revise its open door regulations to refugees. This has been due to rising and new security challenges. In 1982, the Ugandan government was forced to expel Rwandan refugees from Uganda for allegedly sympathizing with the then National resistance Movement which was by then a guerrilla movement[60]. The then

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[58] Gingyera, P. (Ed) (1998) *Uganda and the Problem of Refugees*, Kampala, Makerere University Press.
[59] UNHCR report 2011. Global Trends Report: 800,000 new refugees in 2011. Geneva.
[60] Mushemeza, E. (2007) *The Politics and Empowerment of Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda 1959-2001*. Kampala, Fountain Publishers Ltd.

government accused the Rwandan refugees of being 'terrorists' and a destabilizing force to Uganda. President Obote's government felt many Ugandans were also being disadvantaged because of the presence of refugees who were utilizing their resources.

In 1990, the government of Uganda forcefully moved refugees from Sudan residing in Uganda from Moyo District to Masindi District.[61] This was after Sudanese planed invaded Moyo District to allegedly revenge for the LRA's support of Sudanese People's Liberation Army-SPLA who were fighting for independence of South Sudan. To avoid further such attacks, the Ugandan governments moved all refugees forcefully from the area. Most recently in 2010, the government of Uganda forcefully deported around 2000 Rwandan refugees accusing them of causing insecurity[62]. This was after a Rwandese refugee was arrested with a gun in Bushenyi.

Today, Uganda has become increasing selective in admitting refugees to its borders. With the rise of terrorism, Uganda has suffered in the hands of terrorist bombings and therefore has associated refugees with terrorism. The rise of crimes and small arms in Uganda has also been blamed on South Sudanese refugees fleeing their country's ethnic conflicts. The government has been forced to therefore change most of its policies towards refugees.

Another reason for hostility of Uganda to refugees is the fear of refugee militarization. Rwandan refugees in Uganda formed the Rwanda Youth Movement and used it to wage the war back in their country. Rwandese refugees also helped the current NRA government when it was fighting the government of the day. The Ugandan government also has developed fears over the possibility of having militarized South Sudanese refugees in its territories. Many South Sudanese participated in the wars of independence against Sudan and therefore some refugees may possess military knowledge and skills hence become a destabilizing factor. This has seen the government of Uganda develop hostility to refugees from Rwanda and South Sudan[63].

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[61] Nabuguzi, P. (Ed) (1998) "Refugees and Politics in Uganda" in A.G.G Gingyera Pinycwa (Ed) (1998) *Uganda and the Problem of Refugees*. Kampala: Makerere University Press
[62] Focus on Uganda. November 2010, No.1, Vol.3.
[63] Kaiser, T (2008) 'Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya' in Gil Loesher et.al (Eds) (2008) *Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*. Tokyo, New York & Paris, United Nations University Press

The government of Uganda has alleged there exists a nexus between places refugees dwell in Uganda and the rise of crime in the surrounding areas.[64] Many Ugandans have also accused the refugees for increased cases of land conflicts with locals, banditry and robbery in the areas they dwell. In Nakivale, both the government and the residents have blamed refugees for violence and robbery. There have also been reported cases of murder and violence inside the settlement of refugees at Nakivale.

The rise of terrorism in the Horn of Africa region has also sounded caution to the government of Uganda in dealing with refugees. Uganda has been a victim of terror attacks which occurred in July 2010. Al-Shabaab elements protesting over the involvement of the Ugandan military in Somalia, penetrated into Uganda and caused terror attacks in Kampala. Following the attacks, the government of Uganda cracked down on Somali refugees in Uganda and many were forcefully deported to their country[65]. While terrorism was a western concept or majorly occurred in the West in the 1980s, the rise of terror groups in the Horn of Africa region has seen Uganda being forced to redefine its treatment of refugees.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This research study utilized the Liberal Universalism Theory (LUT) to understand the relationship between the variable in the study. LUT has been attributed to the works of Thomas Nagel '*The Last Word*'[66].LUT is founded on the basis that all human interests and equal and should be therefore assigned equal consideration. It is therefore premised on the understanding that all human beings have a moral authority to pursue this interests including his safety and well-being. According to LUT therefore, all individuals (states) should give equal considerations for the facilitation of the interest of each human being regardless of their identifying characters (which in this case can be race, religion, political view etc.).

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[64] Ahimbisibwe, F. & Mugarura, E. (2011) *Land Conflicts and Livelihoods of Refugees and Host Communities in Uganda.* Saarbrucken, VDM Verlag Publishers
[65] Muggah, R. & Mogire, E. 'Arms Availability and Refugee Militarization in Africa: Conceptualizing the Issues' in Muggah Robert (Ed) (2006) *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa.* London & New York, Zed Books
[66] Nagel, T. (1997). *The Last Word*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

In applying the theory to refugee rights and protection, LUT portrays concepts of both free human beings and fleeing refugees' rights.[67] The author argues LUT supports the concept of moral equality of all people on earth. According to Boswell, human beings' entitlement to autonomy, generates entitlements and rights which are inclusive of rights to life, safety and access of basic requirements. This entitlements and rights form the basis of non-refoulment especially the right to safety entitled to refugees. Boswell argues that according to LUT, all states are under obligation to assist, protect and provide for the basic needs of all people under persecution, without discriminating them based on their identifying characteristics (race, religion, sex etc.)

1.7 Methodology

This section deals with the research method that was used in carrying out the research study. The study utilized secondary data inclusive of findings, reports, publications, books etc.

1.7.1 Classification of Secondary Data (Design)

The study used both quantitative and qualitative secondary data. Quantitative data was used by the researcher to inform the phenomenon under study with past data and re-assess past data sets of figures with the phenomenon under study. Qualitative data was used to inform the current study with thematic and narrative data as well as compare it with past research findings.

1.7.2 Sources of Secondary Data

The study used both Internal and External sources of secondary data. Internal sources (which are sources internal to The University of Nairobi) of secondary data were attained from the University of Nairobi, the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, and online Publications & Research reports by University of Nairobi academic staff, students and affiliated researchers. External sources of secondary data (which are sources not affiliated to The University of Nairobi) were acquired from various reports of organizations and entities like the World Bank, the UN Development Programme, Magazines and blogs etc. They were both online (softcopy) and textbook (hardcopy) publications.

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[67] Boswell, C. (2002) .*The Liberal Dilemma in the Ethics of Refugee Policy.* Institute for Peace. University of Hamburg Research and Security Policy: New Orleans

1.7.3 Breakdown of Secondary Data Source

Chapter Two: The chapter relied heavily on the joint UNHCR and World Bank report of 2011 that looked at the analyzed the socio-economic effects of refugees in Kenya. It also heavily borrowed from the Human Rights watch report of 2002 that highlighted the plight of refugees in Kampala and Nairobi. Works by other authors including Tureti-2003, Mwagiru-1999, and Kashambuzi-2010 etc. were also extensively quoted and analyzed.

Chapter Three: The chapter heavily relied on the World Food Programme report of 2011 that analyzed extensively the refugee crisis in the Horn of Africa. It also heavily quoted from the International Organization of Migration (IOM) report of 2017 that examined the refugee crisis in the Horn of Africa and East Africa regions. Other heavily quoted sources include, Refugee International-2011, Humanitarian Practice Network Report-2015, UNHCR Report-2011, Tadese-2001 etc.

Chapter Four: The chapter relied majorly on the UNHCR Report of 2016 that analyzed the health and social complications of refugees in Africa. Equally, the World Bank-2011 report that analyzed the economic impact of refugees on host countries was factored. Other major sources include; Salehyan-2008, Rashid-2008, Kirui & Mwaruvie-2012 among many others.

1.7.4 Data Analysis

The study set to use both qualitative and quantitative secondary data in the study. The data reviewed was aimed at understanding the impact of refugees on the socio-economic, political fabric as on the Horn of Africa's security. All secondary data reviewed aided in advancing the arguments, targeting these issues under study and were organized in narrative form. The arguments resulting therefore, helped in building thematic arguments that aimed at answering the research questions. The variables in the study were refugees' hosting (presence) on one hand, and regional (in) security on the other.

1.7.5 Presentation of Findings

Having studied the issues outlined above and considered various qualitative and quantitative secondary data sources, the findings were presented in descriptive narrative form. Sub-themes were built around the findings which fed into building larges themes and the findings presented in narration.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

Horn of Africa: This term has been used in the study to mean the region covering four member states Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and Eritrea as recognized by the UN.

The greater Horn of Africa: The term has been used to mean the expanded region comprising 8 states; Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Eritrea, Sudan, and Uganda as recognized by IGAD

Regional Insecurity: This term has been used in term to specifically refer to acts destabilizing normalcy and tranquillity in both Horn of Africa and greater Horn of Africa regions.

1.9 Chapter Outline

This research comprised of five chapters. Chapter one of this research focused on introducing the problem of the study, gives its background, states the research objectives and questions, gives the justification of the study, analyses literature related to the phenomenon under study and gives out the methodology. Chapter two evaluates both socio-economic and political impacts of hosting refugees in Kenya and Uganda. Chapter Three assesses the regional effects of hosting refugees originating from countries experiencing strife in the region. Chapter Four evaluates challenges confronting regional countries in combating insecurity and hosting refugees. Chapter Five gives the summary of the findings and conclusions as well as give the recommendations.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPACT OF HOSTING REFUGEES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at addressing the research question 'what is the socio-economic and political impact of hosting refugees? 'To answer this question, the study will utilize secondary data and examine findings of past related studies, reports, and publications on the subject by referring to the cases of Kenya and Uganda.

2.2 Understanding the term 'Impact'

The term 'impact' has different meanings to various people and is understood differently across different disciplines. The few questions that can direct the study in understanding the term include; impact on whom (refugees or hosts); impact on what (welfare, property), and what is the measure (impact on welfare, or on the economy)? For economists, the impact on welfare is what matters most in this case.

This study will take a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary approach. In this regard, the study will evaluate how the presence of refugees in Kenya and Uganda has affected the economic, societal and political fabric of the surrounding communities as well as the host states in general. The impact on individuals in communities surrounding refugee camps varies and largely depends on whether refugees increase their purchasing ability or contribute to straining of the available resources. An examination of the sum effect of the experiences of these individuals plus that of all state agencies, and systems interacting with refugees at one point or another in Kenya and Uganda will then give the study a more reasonable measure of 'impact'.

Having established this ground for the understanding of the impact, the study understands that refugee inflow to Kenya and Uganda causes various multi-dimensional effects. These effects are largely divided into two as already established in the foregoing argument; Market effects (which are those affecting individuals' welfare in terms of prices of services, goods and production factors) and non-market effects (those affecting the welfare of communities/the state and have no fixed price tags on them such as environmental degradation, national security, exhausting of land and water sources etc.). The study will look at both effects in the context of Kenya and Uganda.

2.3 THE CASE OF KENYA

2.3.1 Socio-economic impact of hosting refugees in Kenya

In a joint study by the UNHCR and the World Bank[68], the study found that the continued stay of refugees in Kenya has a positive economic impact on the communities that reside around refugee camps. In Kakuma and Dadaab camps, the study found that the presence of refugees has boosted the overall income and domestic employment rates of the Turkana and Garissa communities. In the report, the Gross Regional Product (GRP) of the two communities has increased by an average of 3.4% since they started hosting refugees. In terms of employment, the employment rates have increased by 2.9%. These are mainly locals employed by the numerous NGOs and humanitarian agencies working in the camps. Finally, in terms of per capita income of the two regions, there has been an increase of 0.5%. The report hence concludes that the continued stay of refugees assumes a positive bearing in Turkana and Garissa's economies.

According to the joint UNHCR and World Bank report[69], the presence of refugees in Kenya has led to an increased demand for housing (rental houses) especially in urban areas like Garissa and Nairobi. The report found out that well to do refugees prefer to live in middle-income rental houses and this has driven the demand for rent upwards. The report notes that even if this benefits local house owners and investors, it has disadvantaged the local populations in demand for rental housing. The report concluded that while the arrival of refugees in Kenya benefits those with access to power and resources (especially landlords and housing estate investors), it further marginalizes those who lack the resources (local tenants). This is because well to do refugees push them further to the periphery of their societies.

This report reinforces the findings of an earlier publication by Valtonen[70] who found out that refugees living in urban areas like to stay in densely populated areas which in most cases are poorly serviced informal environments. Once they settle in a place, Valtonen argues they invite fellow refugees from their communities to come and join them and with time, their presence grows in the informal settlements. With this growth, they insert growing competition for housing

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[68] UNHCR & World Bank Group (2011). *In my backyard? The Economics of Refugees and their Social Dynamics in Kenya*
[69] Ibid 1
[70] Valtonen, K. (2004) *From the margin to the mainstream: conceptualizing refugee settlement processes*, Journal of Refugee Studies, pp. 70-96

resulting in strife between them and locals who are equally in demand for low-cost housing. Limitation in land and water in these informal settlements lead to a rise in the potential for crises in urban settlements.

According to the joint UNHCR and World Bank Report, the presence of refugees positively affects agricultural activities and production especially among surrounding communities. These activities include farming and livestock keeping. The report found that high refugee numbers provide an incentive for more agricultural and livestock production as they serve to accelerate competition for livestock and agricultural produce in the local communities. The report found that 33% of families living in Turkana (especially around Kakuma camp) practiced farming in 2014. Form their produce, the report found that around 40% is consumed by the producing families themselves while around 30% is sold in the local markets whose main customers are refugees. The report noted that households in the area get around Ksh. 3000 from sale of farm produce per harvesting seasons. Due to prolonged drought however, most households in the region are unable to practice meaningful farming and rely on livestock keeping. In Garissa town, livestock demand is ever on the increase according to the report due to refugees from Dadaab buying meat and milk products for their consumption.

In another study, the finding is that that refugees have helped boost the economy of the surrounding areas.[71] While studying the Somali in Eastleigh area of Nairobi, Hassan found that many Somali refugees work as laborers in informal sectors, run businesses and others rely on remittances from relatives abroad to survive. Another study shows that 22% of refugees staying in Kenya's towns, have employment while 45% are self-starters.[72] The study by Wagacha and Guiney found that the Somali in Nairobi have developed elaborate family and clan networks that many use to build businesses. This has seen them drive the business sector in Eastleigh and also in the Nairobi CBD. Hassan's study concludes that the presence of Somali Refugees in Eastleigh has transformed the town into a commercial hub boosting government revenues and uplifting the lives of the people living in Eastleigh through improved economy.

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[71] Abdi Hassan (2010). *Economic effects of Urban Refugees on Host Community: A Case of Somali Refugees in Eastleigh.* Published M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi.
[72] Wagacha, J. and J. Guiney, *The Plight of Urban Refugees in Nairobi, Kenya, in Refugee Rights: Ethics, Advocacy, and Africa* edited by David Hollenbach, SJ, Georgetown University Press, 2008

On a negative note, Hassan finds that despite the contribution of the refugees to the country's economy in terms of employment and business, there have been losers too. The losers, he argues, are Kenyan citizens at large who have had to contend with competition for employment with refugees. He found out that in some cases, the refugees in Kenya especially in urban areas of Garissa and Nairobi arrived and occupied some employment spaces, affecting the welfare of local communities. His findings are similar to those in a conference paper report which found out that although the aggregate impact of refugees is positive in Kenya, it has, too, had a negative impact on the welfare of jobs in the Kenyan market. [73] This they attribute to the provision of cheap labor by refugees who have been largely employed in various middle-class jobs like shop keepers, housekeepers and hotel caterers. This has, in turn, had a negative effect on the wages of locals who have had to contend with low wages given by employers due to competition and provision of cheap labor my immigrants.

In another study, a finding was made that the settlement of refugees in Kenya has at times caused simmering tensions between them and host communities[74], found. According to Campbell, it's true that refugees in Kenya have lived in a relatively peaceful co-existence with their host communities. However, he also found existence of simmering tension and violence between locals and refugee communities. This he says has been largely caused by the psychological narrative of locals on refugees as the 'violent other'. This narrative exists across Turkana, Garissa and Eastleigh in Nairobi. These tensions are caused by various reasons. In Turkana, Campbell says the locals reported that they are often mistreated and experience forms of violence in the Kakuma camp once they go there to trade.

In Garissa, many locals have a feeling the Dadaab camp sits on part of their grazing land. The local communities are largely pastoralists and claim the camp was part of their grazing land and at times a pathway to their grazing land. According to similar findings the locals have also

[73] Torezani, S, Tilbury, F. and Colic-Peisker, V. *Seeking jobs, finding networks: refugees' perceptions of employment services*. Presented at TASA Conference, University of Western Australia on 7 December 2006
[74] Campbell. E. (2006) *Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Problems of Protection, Mechanisms of Survival, and Possibilities for Integration*, Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 402

accused refugees of contributing to the insecurity in towns through proliferation of small arms.[75] In Eastleigh, locals accuse the Somali community of edging them out of business by practicing unfair business practices. They claim that many Somalis smuggle goods through the border and sell them cheaply in Eastleigh as they have not been taxed. Both Campbell and Apruva agree that such claims contribute to tensions between locals and refugees.

2.3.2 Political/policy impact of hosting refugees in Kenya

The republic of Kenya has become a host of many asylum seekers and refugees since the year 1990 when the Republic of Somali went into anarchy. While Kenya hosted 14,000 refuges in 1990, the number grew to 400,000 in 1992 which then went down to 150,000 by 1997 after the government repatriated many Somali refugees according to a report by Human Rights Watch[76]. The report notes that by the end of 1997, six refugee camps remained operational in Kenya.

In a study carried out in 2003, the growing numbers of refugees especially from Somali forced the government of Kenya in 1994 to request the UNHCR for additional refugee campsites.[77] The government was also forced to reach out to NGOs and the UNHCR as the number of refugees had grown past the government's ability to provide for their well-being according to the study. In a related finding by Radoll, the government of Kenya made a decision in 1994 to close all the refugee camps at the coast and move them to North Eastern Kenya[78]. This, the government argued, was a measure taken to promote the tourism industry at the coast which was being adversely affected by the refugee camps there. According to Rdoll, the then Minister of Home Affairs Mr Francis Lotodo told parliament that the tourism industry that supported the country's economy was under threat due to insecurity caused by refugees at the coast. This saw the government close all the coastal refugee camps and establish only two camps in the country, Dadaab refugee camp in Garissa and Kakuma Refugee Camp in Turkana region.

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[75] Apurva, S. (2015). *The peculiar economics of a refugee camp*: *'Yes in my backyard.'* Brookings Blog. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/future-development/posts/2015/03/25-economics-refugees-sanghi
[76] Human Rights Watch Publication (2002), *Hidden in Plain View: Refugees Living Without Protection in Nairobi & Kampala,* NY, USA.
[77] Tureti, M. (2003) *Impact of refugees on host communities: the case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northwestern Kenya, 1992-2002*. Political science. University of Nairobi
[78] Radoll, S. *Government to close all Refugee Camps at the Coast*, The Standard, October 6, 1994

In terms of political commitment, Kenya has signed a number of international and continental legal instruments which regulate the welfare and treatment of refugees. Kenya being a host nation of refugees is therefore bound by these international and continental instruments. Among instruments signed include the Geneva Convention on the status of refugees of 1951, and the OAU Convention on Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of 1969. Besides, Kenya has also assented to many other human rights treaties such as the UDHR of 1948 which also regulate treatment of the refugees.[79]

However at the country level, an observation made is that there is lack of political will to domesticate these international instruments.[80] Despite Kenya having signed these binding legal instruments, the country lacks guarantees to ensure their implementation. It is therefore safe to say that these instruments exist only in books. Mwagiru concludes that Kenya does not lack international instruments to govern refugee treatment but lacks political will to domesticate them.

Kenya practices a camp confinement policy for refugees which is based on an unwritten executive policy of the government. Currently only Kakuma and Dadaab camps exist and this executive policy requires all refugees to live within these two camps. The minister of interior is mandated to enact policies that require aliens to remain within specific camps during a war or national emergencies. However, this power has not been exercised in Kenya according to Tureti's findings and neither the minister nor parliament has legislated policies around this encampment policy. However practically, Kenyan officials insist that refugees have to remain in designated camps so as to qualify for any government or humanitarian organizations' assistance.[81]

The existence of growing numbers of refugees in Kenya and the insecurity associated with their presence has also become a political issue in Kenya according to other findings.[82]. Politicians in

[79]Ibid 10

[80] Mwagiru, M. (1999) *The Refugee Crisis, Diplomacy and Foreign policy in the Horn of Africa: Contextualising the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention.* Journal of Conflict Studies Vol 2.

[81]Ibid 10

[82] Kirui, P. & Mwaruvie, J. (2012). *The Dilemma of Hosting Refugees: A Focus on the Insecurity in Northern Kenya.* International Journal of Business and Social Science. Vol 8, No. 3

Northern Kenya have long accused each other during general elections of registering Somali refugees as Kenyan-Somalis to vote in their favor according to the report. This is aided by the challenge of differentiating between Kenyan Somalis and Somali refugees due to their similar physical and biological characteristics. Kirui and Mwaruvie also found out that the Kenyan government has raised concerns over increased insecurity in Garissa Township and parts of Nairobi. The Government has blamed refugees from Somalia of proliferation of small arms in Northern Kenya as well as sustained grenade attacks in Nairobi and its environs. This saw Kenya send its military into Somalia in 2011 to stop Somali based Al-Shabaab terrorists from attacking Kenya. The findings of the two indicate that the issue of insecurity has defined how the Kenyan Government relates to the UN and in particular UNHCR and developed nations supporting refugee rights in Kenya. The politics surrounding the insecurity problem and its relation to refugees has seen the Kenyan government threaten to forcefully repatriate Somali refugees in Kenya back to their country which goes against its international obligations.

2.4 THE CASE OF UGANDA

2.4.1 Socio-economic impact of hosting refugees in Uganda

Uganda has experienced a mixed socio-economic impact from hosting of refugees. The continued stay of refugees in Uganda generates improvements to the local Ugandan economy more so in the communities surrounding refugee camps. A study done on refugee welfare in Uganda found out that the World Food Programme (WFP) has shifted its policy in assisting refugees in Uganda and now prefers to give cash aid as opposed to food aid.[83] This has a trickle-down effect on the economy of the communities surrounding refugee camps and the Ugandan economy in general. Taylor et al found that giving refugees cash gives them purchasing power and makes them the avenue through which cash circulates into the economies of surrounding communities. With the cash, refugees buy foodstuff and other basic necessities in the areas around the camps and this creates a demand for the goods consumed by refugees.

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[83] Taylor, E. (2016). *Socio-Economic impact of refugee settlement in Uganda.* World Food Programme (WFP).
84 Karadawi, H. (1999) *Constraints on Assistance to Refugees: Observations from Uganda and Kenya.* World Development Vol.ll,No.6

A similar study found that the refugees in Uganda have increased the country's agricultural produce as well as livestock numbers. [84] Upon successful registration in Uganda, refugees are allocated pieces of land for their survival by the government. The WFP then gives cash aid to refugees to jump start their lives. With the cash they receive, many refugees invest it in the pieces of land they have been allocated, growing crops and keeping livestock. The study found that the allocation of pieces of land to refugees creates an additional layer in boosting Uganda's food security. Possession of cultivatable land by refugees empowers them to turn from consumers to producers. They grow food crops that are on demand in the local community markets in Uganda. The study found that only 1% of refugees in Uganda are totally dependent on humanitarian aid as some are engaged in farming and livestock keeping activities. At the end of the harvesting season, they sell their crops at the local markets, simultaneously increasing the local supply of food crops. They also sell their livestock in the local markets and thus contribute to balancing the supply and demand food chain of local communities.

Another study found that the stay of refugees in Uganda has mixed effects on the local labor market in Uganda.[85] Influx of refugees into Uganda has expanded Uganda's labor supply. Employers have had increased options to choose labor from as there are many refugees who are willing to work for less as compared to the locals. Therefore to many employers, refugees create a cheap source of labor and thus maximize their profits. However Taylor et al found out that this has led to fall of local wages by many employers and which in turn has created undesirable effects on the locals. Many Ugandans have been forced to compete with refugees who are willing to work for less wages in urban areas. Taylor et al found that this has been aggravated by Uganda's policy of allowing refugees into main towns like Kampala to find employment. This, Taylor et al conclude, has led to simmering tensions between refugees and local Ugandan populations.

A World Bank [86] report, indicates that there have been improved social interactions in Uganda among refugees and communities surrounding refugee camps and settlements. The report notes

[85] Nabuguzi, P. (2002) *Refugees and Development; A reflection on East Africa's refugee policies and Lessons to be adopted*. M.Sc. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1992.
[86] World Bank. (2016). *Uganda's Progressive Approach to Refugee Management.* WORLD BAK GROUP

that there has been generally a peaceful co-existence between refugees and host communities in Uganda for the last two decades. This peaceful co-existence coupled with interactions in trade and other aspects of life the report notes, have led to accelerated relationships between Ugandans and refugees living in Uganda. The report adds that as an aftermath of this social interactions, intermarriages between local Ugandan citizens and refugees especially from South Sudan, Burundi and Rwanda have been reported to be taking place in Uganda. This, according to the report, has worked to strengthen family and social ties between Ugandans and refugees and largely promoted the peaceful co-existence between these two groups.

Proper alignment of national refugee policies in Uganda has had the social effect on refugees finding acceptability among the Ugandan population. This is because the Ugandan government has provided an enabling environment to refugees seeking asylum in Uganda as far back as the Second World War. Provision of an enabling environment for refugees in Uganda has empowered refugees who in turn benefit their hosts rather than become a burden to them. The report states that Uganda has preferred inclusion to marginalization when it comes to refugees. Rather than coerce them into camps, the report notes Uganda allows them to move freely, go to school and access employment. Thus the enabling environment has made refugees self-sustainable. The report further notes that even some refugees have employed local Ugandans. This has made it easier for Ugandans to relate to refugees as they do not bear a burden on their government and many Ugandans are welcoming to refugees, according to the report.[87]

A joint UNHCR and World Bank report[88], observes that Uganda has experienced a challenge when it comes to land management issues between locals and refugees. The report notes that use of land by refugees has led to tensions between refugees and locals. It gives an example of Nakivale region where locals and refugees have exchanged accusation of grazing their livestock on each other's fields thus destroying farm crops. Many refugees who have stayed in the area for long, have bought livestock which they graze on grounds along the settlement regions. Locals from the host community are also good livestock keepers and at times when there are limited

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[87]Clements, K., Shoffner, T., and Zamore, L. (2016). *Uganda's approach to refugee self-reliance.* UNHRC
[88] UNHCR & World Bank (2016). *An assessment of Uganda's Progressive Approach to Refugee Management.* WORLD BANK GROUP, Washington, DC. USA

pastures, the two groups have often wandered with their animals, occasionally grazing into each other's areas of residence.

Tensions have simmered between these groups and the local government officials have been forced to intervene many times to solve the disputes. The report also gives another example of Kamwenje District where some locals settled on land gazetted for refugee settlement. Officials and police from the Office of the Prime Minister forcefully ejected them in an inhumane manner and this brought anger of the local community against the refugees. There were widespread protests with local community members accusing the government of Uganda of treating refugees better than its own citizens. The report, however, notes that in the end, a compromise was reached after the government of Uganda appeased the local community by giving two square miles of land meant for refugees to the Kamwenje authorities to settle their residents.

2.4.2 Political/policy impact of hosting refugees in Uganda

Unlike many of its horn of Africa neighbors, which settle and enclose refugees in camps, Uganda allows self-reliance of refugees. This gives them more access to means of survival rather than relying on humanitarian aid like many other countries do. Uganda, therefore, allocates refugees pieces of land on which to farm and others are also allowed to settle in the capital Kampala and engage in gainful activities in a broad development-based approach to assistance of refugees. Uganda has thus been taunted as having a liberal policy when it comes to refugee settlement policies around the continent and this has defined its political engagement with humanitarian organization and the UNHCR.

Uganda's refugee policy states that while refugees are housed in settlements, they are still given the freedom to move freely and seek employment so that they can be self-reliant. In Uganda children belonging to refugees can freely go to pre-primary and primary schools across Ugandan, the same right enjoyed by Ugandan citizens.[89] The study established that the UNHCR works closely with the government of Uganda in developing refugee policies and within refugee settlements in the country. The UNHCR and the government of Uganda collaborate in providing facilities needed in aiding refugee survival like boreholes.

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[89] Ibid 14

In a related study the finding made was that Uganda has developed a progressive refugee policy whereby upon registration, refugees receive parcels of land on which they farm for self-survival and reliance.[90] In assessing Uganda's refugee policy, the UNHCR[91] report notes that the policy rests on three pillars;

❖ Equality (meaning all refugees are equal before the law), dialogue (between government, humanitarian agencies, partners, and refugees) and mutual support (from all partners) which leads to community resilience

❖ Sustainable livelihoods support (ensuring all refugees can fend for themselves and have access to basic needs) while taking into account the cultural, demographic, economic and cultural foundation of every community

❖ Including refugees in access of government support systems, (including nutrition and health, environment, education, prevention of gender violence and children services)

Politically, the huge numbers of refugees in Uganda has sparked controversial debates as to the role they play in the country's politics and population planning. Other findings indicate that Uganda has pursued liberal labor immigration policies since colonial times and this has led to a complication in its demography and political economy.[92] The author argues that the time has come when Uganda can no longer ignore the refugee crisis. Rwanda's civil wars after independence but before the genocide, saw many Tutsi refugees flocked to Uganda. While some returned to their country after stability returned to Rwanda, Kashambuzi's findings indicate that many Tutsi refugees stayed back in Ankole region of Uganda and started playing an active role in Ugandan politics. The then government of Uganda tried to forcefully repatriate them back to Rwanda but many resisted and joined Museveni's guerrilla forces which overthrew the government and installed the National Resistance Movement (NRM) in 1986.

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[90] Sokiri, A. (2011). *The social problems and political predicament of refugees, a case study of Ibuga refugees settlement .in Western Uganda* , M.A. thesis .University of Dar-es-Salaam.
[91] Ibid 21
[92] Kashambuzi, E. (2010). *Impact of Refugees on Uganda's Population and Political explosion.* Available at http://kashambuzi.com/impact-of-refugees-on-ugandas-population-and-political-explosion

Kashambuzi's findings are supported by Winter[93] who found out that the National Resistance Movement tried to give citizenship to Tutsi refugees in Uganda and allow them join the NRM but heavy criticism saw the government drop the project. Winter says his study found that the NRM government has continued to rely on Rwandese refugees in the economic and political spheres of Uganda until today at the expense of local Ugandans.

Both Kashambuzi and Winter found out that many Ugandans believe that the NRM government has continued to allow refugees from Rwanda and Burundi to enjoy certain state privileges meant for Ugandan nationals only and even occupy some strategic positions in President Museveni's government. Winter further found that many Uganda believe the NRM government has continued to use Rwandese and Burundi refugees in Uganda to boost its supporter bases and rig general elections in Museveni's favor. The report says some refugees from Rwanda and Burundi are registered falsely as Ugandan citizens to vote for Museveni's government in general elections especially in Ntungamo district.

2.5 Conclusion

Based on the foregoing discussion, the study draws the following conclusions in answering the research question: what is the socio-economic and political impact of hosting refugees? Refugees create a largely positive impact on the economies of the communities surrounding their settlements/camps. In Kenya, refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab engage local communities' members in trade around the camps as well as in the local markets to acquire foodstuff as well as other needs. In Uganda, with cash transfers from the WFP, many refugees are channels through cash flows into the local economies of the surrounding communities. Refugees are also given land upon which they grow crops, keep livestock and this gives them trading commodities in terms of food crops, livestock and animal products making them active partners in Uganda's trade.

The presence of high numbers of refugees in both Kenya and Uganda has also re-shaped the local labor market. Refugees have affected the labor demand both positively and negatively. In both Kenya and Uganda, refugees have brought a stiff competition to the local labor market. This

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[93] Winter, R. (2003) *Uganda: Creating a Refugee Crisis.* Cultural Survival Quarterly

is because they are willing to work for less. This has been good news for employers who are happy to get cheaper labor as it will drive their profits up. However, in the reverse, refugee labor has significantly brought down wage levels in the local job market. Employers are offering less and this has negatively affected the local residents. Since refugees are willing to take lesser wages, the prevailing situation has forced local residents to compete for low-paying jobs with refugees affecting their livelihoods negatively. This has been challenging in a country like Kenya where the prices of basic commodities have been on a steady rise in the last two years making them unaffordable to majority of low wage earning Kenyans. This has created tension and hatred between locals and refugees.

As far as general refugee-local resident relations are concerned, the study concludes that there has been relative peace between the two groups in both countries. There has been a few reported cases of tensions and hatred between refugees and local residents. In Uganda, some refugees have had conflicts with citizens as the two groups accuse each other of grazing their livestock into each other's farms, destroying crops. In Turkana, some local residents have developed hatred for refugee in the Kakuma refugee camp whom they feel are being better treated than them. However, these case and complains are fewer in between and the general picture is that there are relatively peaceful relations between refugees in Kenya and Uganda and their host communities.

Politically, the study concludes that both Uganda and Kenya have at times used refugees for political reasons. Politicians in Kenya and Uganda have used refugees to gain political mileage. In Kenya, Somali refugees have been used by some politicians who register them as Kenyan citizens to vote in their favor in the general elections. In terms of security, the Kenyan government has also largely accused refugees camps especially Dadaab, of hiding terror elements from Somalia who cause insecurity in Kenya and called for closing of the camp and sending refugees back home. In Uganda the study found that refugees from Rwanda and Burundi have been employed by government and used by the ruling NRM to gain political mileage.

The study also takes note of the unique self-reliance refugee policy offered by Uganda. Unlike many African countries, Uganda allocates refugees pieces of land on which to farm, allows them access to basic primary education, give them the freedom to move freely and find

accommodation. Kenya on the other hand practices encampment policy for refugees. In conclusion, the study finds that the presence of refugees in Kenya and Uganda has largely had a positive socio-economic and political impact by creating an overall beneficial impact on host communities/state economies. With proper planning and effective policies, the few socio-economic and political challenges posed by hosting refugees can be adequately addressed.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: UGANDA AND KENYA: THE EFFECTS OF HOSTING REFUGEES ON REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at addressing the research question 'What is the effect of hosting refugees on regional security and stability?' To answer this question, the study will utilize secondary data and examine findings of past related studies, reports, and publications on the subject. The study will refer to the Kenya and Uganda cases but as well examine the security and stability of the greater Horn of Africa region in general.

3.2 Conceptualizing State 'security' and 'stability'.

Security is a rather contested term as there is no generally agreed definition of the concept. Security or lack of it depends on a state's national interests to a greater extent and its held values and beliefs to a lower extent. State security is defined as encompassing three aspects; the ability/capacity of a given state to safeguard its subjects from threats emanating from within and without its borders; the ability to maintain its territorial integrity and national sovereignty, and; the ability to maintain stability, peace, and prosperity for all its citizens.[94]

In prospect of these three elements, Zacarias opines that insecurity in a state arises when a person or a group of people or state elements (police or military) from within or outside the state, threaten other citizens' lives, values, livelihood or rights. In this view, Zacarias acknowledges the fact that security, therefore, implies continuity and stability. He establishes that in the absence of one of the above three aspects of security, a state is said to be unstable (instability sets in). In giving examples, he points out that some of the elements/factors that can lead to insecurity therefore, compromising stability in a state include; natural disasters, state-sponsored persecution, social vulnerabilities such as outbreak of deadly diseases, and civil wars among others.

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[94]Zacarias, A. (1996) *The Security Concept in Southern Africa: Prospects for the Post-Apartheid Era*. http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/1426/1/U087011.pdf

Stability has also been independently defined as the ability of a state to maintain power and influence, and keep its political, fiscal/monetary and social policies predictable[95]. Its policies should be adequately predictable by all players (especially investors) such that they are not prone to sudden or radical changes. States hosting refugees have been forced to adapt/resort to restrictive policies due to the perceived security challenges posed by hosting refugees in the Horn of Africa region. This shift in policy is a destabilizing aspect according to the definition.

3.3 The growing link between refugees and insecurity

Other authors take a humanitarian stand in the analysis of refugee treatment. They argue that there is prima facie evidence that human rights of refugees are violated across the world and that refugees are a vulnerable group. They argue refugees are deprived of their right to staying in peaceful environment and hence forced to run across their home state boundary to seek safety across borders. This alone constitutes abuse of their rights.[96]

Other scholars however, do not share this view. Some argue that though refugees are largely a consequence of insecurity in Eastern Africa, they have also contributed immensely to insecurity and instability in the Horn of Africa.[97] This he says, has led to a shift in refugee protection in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania from hospitable and tolerant in the early 1980s shifting to resistance and hostility in late 1990s. Refugees according to him, have become a phenomenon of national and regional instability in the Horn of Africa. He concludes that this has seen a shift in national policies of Eastern Africa states from open welcoming borders to closed/tightly controlled borders to keep out asylum seekers, deny entry and where possible, repatriate those within their borders, back home.

Many countries have experienced a paradigm shift in security and refugee studies due to the perception that refugees pose a security threat among policy makers and security analysts. In the wake of terrorism and increased crime, how have Kenya and Uganda treated refugees? Have

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[95]*Rethinking Global Security: An African Perspective*. (2006) Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation.
[96]Betts, A., &Loescher, G. (2011). *Refugees in International Relations* (UK: OUP), 1.
[97]Khoti, K. (2008) *Human rights*, *use of Force and Displacement in Great lakes region.* (Washington DC: Georgetown University)

these states protected refugees as provided for by international law or have they placed responsibility on this group as the agents of terror and crime?

The shift in security experienced after the Cold War, reiterated rising concern that refugees are a safety concern. Realists focused on external threats to a state's sovereignty and survival, throwing focus on refugees and placing them in the same category as insurgencies and terrorist elements. This was due to categorization and focus of non-military threats to a state's stability and security by realists. Other non-military threats focused on at this period included population growth, environmental degradation, crime and immigration across state boundaries[98].

Other researchers have taken a keen interest in examining the link connecting refugees, migration patterns and security at the close of the 20[th]C as well as the opening of the 21st Century.[99] The authors note that there is growing concern among security experts on the emerging relationship between existence of refugees and preservation of regional security as well as stability. The authors attribute this concern to various factors among them; human rights and security concerns arising from politicizing and militarizing refugee camps (including when refugee camps are controlled by armed non-military elements) and attacks on refugee camps by rebel movements and militias (including hatred and conflict between host communities and refugees).

3.4 Refugees in the Horn of Africa

Refugees have been increasing viewed as a diplomatic burden, embarrassment (as they portray instability of the countries in the region) and political irritants in the Horn region. This is so among East African states which always strive to remain neutral among any conflicts occurring within the block. In 1995, Burundi accused Tanzania of training Burundian refugees hosted in the latter as militias with an intention of sending them back to Burundi to cause instability. This caused tensions between the two states for a while[100].

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[98]Myron, W (2003) (Eds.) *Security, Stability and International Migration.* International Security*, 17 (3) (*UK: OUP,) 91-126, 106-7.

[99]Patil, V. & Trived, R. (2000), *Migration, Refugees and Security in the 21st Century*; New Delhi: Authors Press. P. 85.

[100]Mogire, E. (2011) *Victims as Insecurity Threats*: *Refugee Impact on Host State, Security in Africa,* England; Ashgate Publishing Company

Refugees have also been linked to other cross-border crimes such as trafficking in human and drugs as well as smuggling cartels. These transnational movements have at times affected domestic behavior in various sectors for example voting trends. This has been witnessed in Northern Kenya where Somali refugees have determined outcomes of local politics by being registered as legitimate voters and taking part in local politics. Many international relations scholars note the fact that refugees not only come about due to absence of security, but they directly also contribute to instability and insecurity[101].

3.4.2 Effects of Refugees on the Horn of Africa's Regional Security and Stability

The influx of refugee numbers across the East African region has increasingly posed new challenges to the security and tranquillity of the region. Crossing by a high numbers of refugees from Somalia, South Sudan and Burundi have seen militant and criminal elements cross over too jeopardizing the security and stability of the host states. Militant elements not only pose the risk of attacking host states, but also attempting to forcefully repatriate refugees back to their countries. Refugees have also been accused of smuggling weapons across the East African territories leading to increased crime and proliferation of small arms in host countries. Refugee camps have also in some cases become breeding grounds for recruitment of militants to train in Somalia[102].

Political instabilities in Somalia, South Sudan and Burundi in the recent years have caused an incursion in refugee numbers into Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda causing instability in the region. Governments have been forced to divert resources to catering for swelling numbers of refugees and curbing insecurity especially around refugee camps. Small arms have found way into refugee camps throughout the Horn of Africa region and this has seen rising cases of cattle rustling across boundaries, banditry, and general violence[103]. Terrorism has also arisen in the region. Kenya and Uganda have become victims to the terror threat of the Al-Shabaab group operating from inside Somalia. Having close ties with Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, the Al-Shabaab has

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[101]Niklaus, S., Gibney M. (2003), *Problems of Protection: the UNHCR, Refugees and human Rights;* New York: Routledge.

[102]Kirui, P. and Mwaruvie J. (2012)*The Dilemma of Hosting Refugees: A focus on the Insecurity in Northern Uganda and Kenya,* International Journal of Business and Social Science, Vol, 3. no. 8

[103]Ahianga, L. "*Our Territory is under attack on Four Fronts and there is Danger it Could get Worse*", The Standard Sunday May 10, 2009.23

attacked the Northern towns of Garissa and Mandera as well as Nairobi several times. Kampala has also been hit by this terror group on a number of occasions. Although the Al-Shabaab claim to be attacking Kenya and Uganda due to their involvement in restoring peace in Somalia, there is a likelihood that their long term intention is to introduce an Islamic state in Northern Kenya[104]. The Kenyan government has blamed the Dadaab Refugee camp in Northern Kenya as a staging site for terror attacks and harboring criminal elements from Somalia.

The high number of piracy activities in the Indian Ocean waters in the early 2000s was also partly blamed on refugees. The Al-Shabaab hijacked ships and sea vessels off the coast of Somalia, demanding ransom for their release. This threatened to disrupt business along the Indian Ocean coastline for many decades. Following the incursion of regional military forces into Somalia, Al-Shabaab elements have been dislodged from their central operation base in Southern Somalia and have consequently escaped as refugees to Kenya, Ethiopia and other neighboring countries from whence they organize and continue to carry out their piracy activities (albeit on a limited scale unlike before). Proceedings from these piracy activities have been traced back to the Al-Shabaab elements in Somalia who then use it to acquire weapons and plan attacks in various parts of the region including Kenya and Uganda[105].

In terms of stability in the region, influx of refugees has caused instability among some member countries. The situation has also been worsened by persistent conflicts and wars in region. The current conflict in South Sudan that has persisted since 2013 has seen 650,000 refuges cross over into Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan and Kenya as refugees. Many of them are women and minors in need of assistance. In the ongoing conflict in Burundi, around 560,000 refugees form that country have fled to Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania. Conflicts from outside the greater Horn of Africa region have also contributed to escalating refugee numbers in region. The civil strife that happened in Yemen saw 30,000 refugees flock into Djibouti putting additional strain on the number of refugees hosted in the region[106]. States have therefore become concerned of these

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[104]Joost, H and Ernst, R (2012) *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence and Human Rights in Africa.* New York: Human rights Watch
[105]Reuters, "*Somali pirates seize Panama-flagged vessel as 24 killed in battle*" Daily Nation Thursday June 3rd ,2010
[106] WFP. *Horn of Africa Crisis*. September 15, 2011. Available at http://www.wfp.org/crisis/horn-of-africa.

refugee influx as they must find resources and control the refugee numbers as they have a direct bearing on their local populations.

Food security of the Horn of Africa has been compromised and partly due to climatic realities and refugee numbers acting as a destabilizing factor to the region. Harsh climatic changes in the Horn of Africa in the last one decade have made the region food insecure with many in dire need of humanitarian aid and assistance. As from February 2015, El Nino has been active in the Horn region causing unpredictable patterns that have resulted in droughts in some areas and famine in others. This has seen many people from the Horn of Africa move to states on the geographical south of the greater Horn region (Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan) moving as refugees to seek for food and pastures for their animals.[107] The greater Horn of Africa region has seen famine affect parts of NFD in Kenya, Sudan and South Sudan forcing residents to cross over borders registering as refugees in neighboring states where they can find food and pastures for their animals. As they move, they compromise the food security of the host communities where they settle due to their large numbers and governments have been forced to re-strategize and acquire more food stocks.

Ethiopia is concerned about growing security nightmare along the Horn of Africa that has affected its security and stability. Today, Ethiopia has admitted many Somali and Eritrean refugees. As consequence, these populations have at times led to tension and insecurity within its own border. Terror acts have been perpetrated by Somalia and Eritrean refugees hosted within its borders. Between 1995 and 1997, Somalia based Al-Ittihad Al-Islamiya (AIAI) terror group remnants inside Ethiopian refugee camps perpetuated attacks against the Ethiopian people. The AIAI coordinated with the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) carrying out bombings of public buildings, hotels and bars where people crowded. The AIAI group also attacked Ethiopian forces in the town of Dollo during this period. In 2006, the Eritrean Islamic Courts Union (ICU) announced war on Ethiopia increasing the risk of coordinating and gathering intelligence from the already hosted Eritrean refugees inside Ethiopia[108].

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[107] Refugees International. *Horn of Africa: Not the Time to Look Away.* December 13, 2011.
[108] Belay, G. (2013) *A review of Ethiopia's Security Challenges in the Horn of Africa.* P.A: US

In terms of instability, the IOM notes that repatriation of refugees (willing or forceful) has posed stability challenges to the home states. The United Republic of Tanzania repatriated Burundian refugees due to improved security in the Burundian state after the post-election turmoil. However, the republic of Burundi is now having challenges integrating the returnees back into the population. This is due to the large number of these returnees. This has been worsened by the fact that the country has an additional 80,000 people internally displaced. The country is geographically small and has to find adequate land and resources to resettle all the returnees as well as IDPs who neither have land nor houses[109].

IOM argues that land is a sensitive and emotive issue in Burundi as it is in most African societies. In Burundi, it is particularly limited due to the high population and smaller geographical coverage of the country. This means the government must subdivide land into small parcels which translates low productivity of food that may compromise Burundi's food security in the near future.

The IOM says notes that this problem in not unique to Burundi. After years of civil war, South Sudan is finally regaining some form of normalcy after several rounds of IGAD backed peace talks. Many South Sudanese refugees from Uganda, Kenya and other neighboring countries are finally returning home. In addition, several South Sudanese who have been staying in Sudan since the South gained independence are still trickling into South Sudan. The government of Juba has been faced with a hard time trying to find land to settle this population as well as provide basic services to them.

In the aftermath of Tanzania and Uganda's tightened migrations and refugee policies, the Republic of Rwanda is facing similar issues according to the IOM. As from 2013, Tanzania tightened its refugee policies sending back several Rwandese refugees back to Rwanda. Rwanda has also been affected due to mixed migration and refugee flows staying in and transiting through Rwanda. Refugees from Burundi transit through Rwanda to Uganda and this has forced Rwanda to apportion resources to cater for these populations. Bearing in mind the size of

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[109]IOM. (2017). *East Africa and the Horn of Africa*. Switzerland.

Rwanda and the limited resources at its disposal, the IOM concludes, the high numbers of refugees are meant to cause instability to the government of Kigali for some time to come.

3.5 Refugees, and insecurity: The Case of Kenya

Without a stable government since the fall of Siad Barre in the early 1990s, Somalia has become a haven of Islamic fundamentalists. The fundamentalists were organized and hence were quick to fill the vacuum left by the Islamic courts giving them a comparative advantage over other small factions that lacked resources or recognized ideologies. Many youth were attracted to join the Al-Shabaab fundamentalists due to a myriad of reasons including desperation, religious affiliation, and idleness. Today, the Al-Shabaab wars have led to thousands of Somali residents fleeing into Kenya as refugees. With them, criminal elements have also crossed over into Kenya and some have set up Al-Shabaab recruitment bases at the camps. They target Kenyan youth for recruitment and use political Islam as a weapon to target non-Muslim populations. The Al-Shabaab have been accused by security agencies of targeting to destroy the tolerance between Christians and Muslims in the Horn of Africa region with an aim of introducing Islamic caliphates[110].

The security of Northern Kenya has worsened with the influx of refugees.[111] The Humanitarian Network Practice (HNP) notes that travel to the area is now restricted and any organizations visiting the area must be accorded a government pass and police escort. The report takes note of Islamist militias and armed bandits roaming in the precincts of the camp and the Northern region as a whole. It takes note of increased clan feuds, which has increased threats to both humanitarian and government workers. Even the UN mission to the camp, operates under stipulated restrictions, always travelling in convoys and escorted by armed police. Staff of the UN and other major organizations are banned from moving in Northern Kenya without armed police escort and even within the refugee camps, can only operate between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. The Humanitarian Network Practice report notes that with the 2010 incursion of Somali and South Sudanese refugees and into the camp, the Northern region has become one of the most dangerous places to operate in, in Africa. It takes note of two Spanish aid workers belonging to Médecins

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[110]Tadesse, M (2001) *Islamic Fundamentalism in Somalia: Its nature and implications* (WIC)04/10/0104
[111]HNP (2015) *Conflict and deteriorating security in Daadab Kenya.*

Sans Frontières (MSF) who were kidnapped on 13th October 2011 from Ifo camp while their driver was shot dead. This was followed by a kidnapping of a Kenyan driver working for CARE Kenya. On 26th October the Al-Shabaab attacked people with grenades in Nairobi injuring 30 people.

Lately, the report notes, Al-Shabaab faction in the refugee camps have begun targeting refugee officials whom they accuse of cooperating with the police in giving information. The report notes that escalation of insecurity cases among refugee camps in Kenya has prompted humanitarian agencies to scale back on their operations. This has seen many humanitarian officers withdraw from camps causing a negative effect on security of refugees and host communities.

Fighting among communities in Ethiopia, has caused spill over effects into Kenya. The fighting has caused several Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) elements into Kenya as refugees. The strife between the Ethiopian government forces and the OLF elements have led to catastrophic results as many Ethiopian citizens caught in the fighting have been forced to flee into Kenya. The Ethiopian military has been accused of crossing over into Kenyan territory to pursue OLF elements and the Borana people who support them. OLF elements have also been accused of placing landmines in Kenyan lands across the border and attacking ethnic Somalis in Northern Kenya. In 2002, approximately 30,000 people were displaced after Ethiopian militia crossed over into Kenya and attacked people in Wajir[112].

The conflict in the republic of South Sudan has also negatively affected the security of the region and Kenya in general. It has seen thousands of Sudanese flee into Kenya and Uganda as refugees. The government of South Sudan has been accused of using local warriors to carry out attacks on Sudanese refugees in Kakuma refugee camp as well as Turkana people in Kenya. This has led to cases of banditry and theft of animals along the border of Kenya-South Sudan. Flow of refugees from South Sudan has also seen criminal elements fleeing the fighting cross into Kenya with small arms and light weapons[113].

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[112]Graham, D. &Poku, N. (2000), *Migration, Globalization and Human Security*, New York.
[113]*Africa Confidential*, 9 November 2001

The South Sudan crisis has also strained its bilateral and diplomatic efforts with Kenya. After its independence in 2012, South Sudan has improved relations with neighbors in the region, joining various regional blocks including EAC, IGAD and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). Kenya also happens to be a member of all these regional blocks. Since the escalation of the South Sudan crisis, the refugee numbers flowing into Kenya's Kakuma camp have more than tripled and with these, posing economic and security dilemmas on Kenya. Kenya has been forced to discuss the South Sudan problem in almost every regional block gathering and this has not gone well with South Sudan who feels Kenya is exerting undue pressure on her and sometimes taking sides on the conflict. These has seen diplomatic and bilateral ties between the two countries strip down to the bare minimum. Exchanges between them have scaled down and the South Sudanese ambassador to Nairobi has remained just a figure behind an office desk[114].

3.6 Refugees and insecurity: The Case of Uganda

The Rwandese civil war in 1959 which was closely followed by the Burundian unrest of 1960 saw a big number of refugees stream into Uganda. By the close of 2010 Uganda's neighbors Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, and Kenya had all experienced civil wars and unrest resulting in an influx of refugees into Uganda. This was largely due to Uganda's open door policy to refugees which does not restrain refugees to camps but admits them into special settlements where they can farm and fend for themselves[115]. Uganda hence accommodates refugees from the entire Horn of Africa region and this has not come without challenges to its security and stability.

In the early 1980s' tension arose between Uganda and Rwanda due to Rwandan refugees in Uganda. The government of Uganda accused Rwandan refugees of sympathizing, assisting and joining the National Resistance Movement (a guerrilla militia fighting the government). Uganda accused Kigali of using Rwandan refugees inside Uganda to destabilize the Ugandan government and consequently expelled Rwandan refugees from Uganda. This led to tension and counterclaims between the two countries with Rwanda accusing Kampala of mistreating

[114] Odhiambo, P., & Muluvi, A. (2014) *Impact of prolonged South Sudan Crisis on Kenya's Economic and Security Interests.* KIPPRA.
[115] UNHCR report 2011. *Global Trends Report: 800,000 new refugees in 2011*. Geneva.

Rwandan refugees in their territory. President Obote's government however accused Rwandan refugees of being terrorists and a destabilizing force in the region[116].

In the early 1990s, tension arose between Uganda and Sudan over the latter's behavior over Sudanese refugees hosted in Uganda. This was as a result of tension between Kampala and Khartoum. Sudan accused the Ugandan government of destabilizing the country through the support of Sudan's People Liberation Army (SPLA) who had moved to Uganda as refugees. Sudan attacked the refugees inside Ugandan territory with military planes forcing the government of Uganda to move the refugees from Moyo District to Masindi District[117]. This led to tension and accusations between Khartoum and Kampala for a long period.

Today, the government of Uganda has raised numerous concerns both at the IGAD and AU level on the rise of terror activities resulting majorly from Somali refugees it hosts. Uganda has suffered in the hands of terrorists with casualties. The Al-Shabaab claims it is punishing Kampala for its interference in Somalia's affairs as Uganda is part of the AMISOM forces in Somalia. On its part however, the Ugandan government has accused Somali refugees of harboring terror elements within their midst. They have also accused Somali refugees in Uganda of providing information about the country to terrorist elements from Somali who then target and kill Ugandan citizens[118].

Uganda has raised concerns over the fear of militarization of refugees and hence accused them of being a destabilizing force to Uganda, the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. This has made it increasingly selective on the admittance of refugees through its borders and granting of asylum to asylum seekers. The government has raised the alarm about the trafficking of small arms especially from refugees fleeing conflict zones like South Sudan and Burundi. It has warned that these armed refugees are a cause of insecurity to the region in general as they are likely to engage in crime across borders[119]. Militarization of refugee populations has been largely

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[116]Mushemeza, E. (2007) *the Politics and Empowerment of Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda 1959-2001*. Kampala, Fountain Publishers Ltd.
[117] Nabuguzi, P. (Ed) (1998) "Refugees and Politics in Uganda" in A.G.G Gingyera Pinycwa (Ed) (1998) *Uganda and the Problem of Refugees*. Kampala: Makerere University Press
[118]Focus on Uganda. November 2010, No.1, Vol.3.
[119]Ibid 19

blamed on Rwandese refugees. This is due to the fact that most Rwandese refugees in Uganda form part of the Rwanda Youth Movement which was a militia waging war against the government of Kigali and hence these refugees possess war skills and tactics. Kampala also notes that some of the refugees from South Sudan are former militias in the fighting sides of the South Sudan war and these elements possess military training that is dangerous to be among civilian populations[120].

The government of Uganda has claimed of a nexus between refugees from the Horn of Africa hosted in its territory and the rise of acts crime especially in the host communities around refugee camps. Ever increasing land conflicts have been reported between locals and refugees. Increased cases of cattle rustling have been noted as well as banditry and robbery. This acts have been linked to increase in cases of terrorism and cross border crime in the Horn of Africa region in general[121]. Uganda has fallen victim to terrorists from Somalia in July 2010 when Al-Shabaab elements protesting over the involvement of the Ugandan military in Somalia, penetrated into Uganda and caused terror attacks in Kampala. This attacks led to government crackdown on Somali refugees in Uganda and many were forcefully repatriated.

3.7 Chapter Summary and Conclusion

The notion 'security' has for long failed to get a universal definition, depending rather on the actors involved and their interests and values. Zacarias however tries to give security a general meaning and attaches it to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national interests of a nation. He additionally clarifies (and very importantly so) that insecurity can be caused by external or internal factors. In concluding his definition, he established a link between insecurity and instability, pointing out that the insecurity leads to instability in a country especially when the former is on a large scale.

Scholars have over time attempted to establish a link between refugees and security. Betts and Loescher take on a unique perspective, arguing that refugee's rights are abused in the first place

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[120] Kaiser, T (2008) 'Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya' in Gil Loesher et.al (Eds) (2008) *Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*. Tokyo, New York & Paris, United Nations University Press

[121] Ahimbisibwe, F. &Mugarura, E. (2011) *Land Conflicts and Livelihoods of Refugees and Host Communities in Uganda*. Saarbrucken.

and its insecurity that causes them to run across state boundaries to seek shelter and peace. In such thinking, they point to the fact that refugees are victims of insecurity too just as host states are. Other authors, however, point to the fact that refugees have become phenomenon of national and regional insecurity especially in the Horn of Africa region. They establish a direct link between refugees and insecurity and say this accounts for the shift in refugee policy in East and Horn of Africa from open and welcoming borders to closed and tightly controlled, exercising their right of admission.

The Horn of Africa region has remained a conflict laden zone. Conflicts in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and South Sudan have seen a large number of refugees move into Kenya and Uganda as well as other neighboring countries. This refugee numbers have been widely acknowledged as a destabilizing factor in the Horn of Africa region. Ethiopia has accused Somalia and Eritrea refugees hosted within its borders, of collaborating with elements in Somalia and Eritrea and attacking Ethiopian civilian and military populations. This has led to mass causalities and forced the Ethiopia government to reconsider its continued hosting to Somalia and Eritrean refugees.

The Al-Shabaab militia originating from Somalia has sparked terrorism acts across Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia, making securing their citizens a nightmare for these countries as Al-Shabaab are a 'hit and run' force and do not engage in open and direct confrontation. These makes them harder to track down and arrest or kill. There are rising cases of cross-border cattle rustling across Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopian borders blamed on refugee camps and refugees in these states. Cases of piracy on the Indian Ocean coastline have continued to occur, perpetuated by refugee criminal elements from inside refugee camps. The high number of refugees and returnees have become an instability factor in the region forcing countries like South Sudan, Burundi and Rwanda to re-strategize and look for resources and land to re-settle the returnees and IDPs.

Kenya has fallen to terror acts perpetuated by Somali elements in collaboration with Somalia refugees within the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. Cases of cattle rustling and conflict with host communities have also been on the rise around the Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. Kenya's neighbor Uganda, has also suffered due to refugee hosting. Rwandese and

Burundian refugees have been a source of instability with Rwandese refugees taking part in guerrilla combat in collaboration with the National Resistance Movement against the Obote government. Conflicts and hostilities involving refugees and host communities have been on the rise in Uganda due to Uganda's policy of allocating land to refugees for their daily subsistence. This land acquired from host communities, have become a source of tension in addition to increased cases of cattle rustling.

In conclusion, there is a great amount of evidence that refugees have been a source of insecurity and instability in the Horn of Africa region. Even though, this extent has not been fully documented, stated or researched, there nonetheless is sufficient literature proving that refugees are a source of national and regional instability. Cases of terrorism, cattle rustling, piracy, proliferation of small arms, hostilities with host communities, insecurity and rise of crime around refugee camps, interference of refugees in local politics, the instability high numbers of returnees cause to home governments in trying to re-settle them, have all been documented as some of the examples of the problems associated with refugees which have a direct bearing on state and the region's stability and security. While this study acknowledges that refugees are not the only nor the largest factor causing instability and insecurity in the Horn of Africa region, it acknowledges the role they play. It particularly takes note of the rising cases of terrorism which have become a security concern to the region, and the connection between terrorism and refugees in various host countries.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: REFUGEES AND REGIONAL INSECURITY – AN ANALYSIS OF CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the challenges and remedies of responding to insecurity in the East African region arising from hosting refugees. The challenges entail the key barriers to sustainable security solutions to host countries, particularly; Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda which have hosted regional refugees for protracted periods as case studies in this research study. The challenges discussed in this chapter are contextualized in the existing legal frame work governing the status of refugees and the responsibility that host countries have in securing themselves. These challenges will be evaluated collaboratively with struggle by regional countries trying to balance the need to exercise control of their national borders and protecting refugees.

4.2 The Challenge of Regional Proliferation of Small Arms and light weapons (SALW)

Continuous proliferation of arms and weapons into the hands of civilians in Kenya and Uganda is partly contributed by the presence of Refugees from various countries in the East African region hosted by these two countries. The illicit movement of arms has caused ramifications on peace and security of civilians in Kenya as well as in Uganda especially for those people living in respective country's refugee Camps, slums and areas of constant ethnic conflict such as the northern part of Kenya.[122] The number of SALW which find their access in this region create conducive environment for increased absence of rule of law and continued human suffering.

Recent studies indicate that the numbers of SALW that permeate East African region originate from conflict zones found in the region and are to a greater extend responsible for the increased suffering among citizens.[123] The illegal movement of SALW arises from recent civil wars experienced in South-Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and in Ethiopia which have created a massive entry of illegal weapons in this region creating for them lucrative markets, increased use and rise of arms politics in the region.[124] The entry of these weapons to this region have now re-energized

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[122]Gikonyo, J. K. (2012).*The Illicit Proliferation and Use of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Human Security in East Africa: A Case Study of Kenya*. Nairobi.
[123]Ibid
[124]Mogire, E. (2014). *The Humanitarian Impact of Small Arms and Light Weapons and the Threat to Security*. Accessed on 10th July, 2017

resource-led conflicts, cattle raiding, banditry and inter-ethnic armed violence which have affected both state and human security in this particular region. Many factors have been given to account for this phenomenon.

Among them include the physical presence of hosting regional refugees, polarity of state borders, evident state weakness and in-effective SALW control initiatives which have been directed towards this region among other factors.[125] The control and management of SALW has been futile given the re-currency of conflicts and the weakness of institutions and systems. Due to vast borderlines which demarcate international boundaries, control and proper manning of entry points has been futile and these weapons have managed to penetrate beyond military and police possession. Criminal organizations, individuals and bandits have managed to acquire these weapons at relatively cheap prices.

For instance, Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have been acquired from Kakuma Refugee settlement area by nomadic cross-border pastoralist to offer themselves security but that change occasionally to commit traditional cultural practices which include cattle raiding. Using these weapons which have deadly force have led to mass casualties making cattle rustling a deadly affair.[126] The presence of arms among pastoral communities has seen illegal movement and acquisition of arms to communities surrounding them as pastoralists act as merchants of arms trade. Weak state institutions in the region have made their supply unable to detect by government operatives increasing civilian vulnerability and insecurity. Additionally, poor state policing has made their use tolerable and this has increased the level of criminality and insecurity.

Due to the polarity of borders and infiltration of militias in the refugee camps, there is no single state which can claim to be able to control the proliferation of SALW in the region on its own. The socio-economic conditions which exist in this region have to a greater extend generated un-ending demand for these weapons to thrive. Only a regional and international community

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[125]Ibid

[126]Wepundi, M. et al. (2012). *Availability of Small Arms and perception of security in Kenya*. Nairobi. SAS-SR16

concern will address the problem in a holistic way since no single state which can handle the challenge on its own.

Illegal trafficking in SALW originating from conflict zones around the Horn region have led to flooding of the region with arms. This has had devastating effects leading to rise of crime and destabilizing the peace and security of the region. SALW have been found to be the sources of conflict, crime and cattle rustling in the region and this has led to large scale conflicts, spread a culture of violence as a result, seen the incursion of high refugee numbers into Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. The impact of use of Small arms in Kenya has been greatly felt particularly among pastoralist communities. Pastoral conflicts over natural resources like water and grazing land have over time remained bloody due to employment of SALW.[127]

Pastoral communities found in Kenya's North Rift, those in Upper Eastern and those in North Eastern have often clashed in inter-ethnic cattle rustling which is culturally embedded in societal fabric and which is commissioned by use of SALW. According to some studies these areas suffer from high levels of insecurity and violence due to availability of SALW and presence of refugees from neighboring countries.[128] It is therefore evident that the challenge of addressing SALW in East African region cannot be solved without solving refugees challenge first which greatly has challenged both national and regional security. These studies have established a close link between hosting of refugees, proliferation of SALW and regional insecurity.[129]

4.3 Un-realistic government policy Challenge

As already discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter Three), states that play host to large numbers of refugees over long periods have in most cases experienced socio-economic and political challenges relating to their national security. Even if the challenges states face due to hosting refugees are complex and differ from state to state, the challenges posed to their mitigation lies within government policies. When such polices do not exist or are weak, the long

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[127]Muchai, A. (2005). Insecurity: A Case Study of Northern Kenya.' In Micha Hollestelle and Simon Simonse, eds. *Security When the State Fails: Community Responses to Armed Violence*, Vol. 5. The Hague: Pax Christi

[128]Mkutu, K. (2008). *Small Arms and Light Weapons among Pastoral Groups in the Kenya–Uganda Border Area. African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422

[129]Horst, C. (2001). *Vital links in the social security: Somali refugees in the Dadaab camps, Kenya. New Issues in Refugee Research.* Columbia University Press.

term ramifications of hosting refugees also become complex and challenging. The migration and asylum policies among regional countries are often absent, unrealistic, very complex and bureaucratic, often conflicting with international laws and norms.

In assessing the effect of refugees in the Dadaab camp of Northern Kenya, it was evident that the environment has been negatively affected. This was attributed to lack of proper government policies on housing refugees which saw a large number of refugees restricted and housed in a small space leading to overburden of the environment in and around the camp. Such un-realistic government policy has resulted to environmental degradation in the settlement area, where the refugees cannot access natural resources and land for food production. Consequently, this has led to over-crowding and cut-throat competition for the available resources such as firewood and water leading to massive deforestation and sanitation problems which directly challenge human and state security. The government's policy of settling refugees in such an arid and semi-arid land in North-Eastern Kenya with no potential for production has greatly reduced the refugee's capacity to be self-reliant and consequently dependent on humanitarian aid offered by donors.

The government's policy of restricting their movement has curtailed their economic potential to engage in commercial activities and seeking paid labor in the host country market. Past studies from Zambia and Tanzania portray a picture of increased refugee productivity in their host countries, with access to factors of production. As a consequence of this productivity, there is low reliance on aid on the part of refugees. In the case of Kenya, when the government imposed a legal exemption policy on taxation on Somalia's refugee's business in Mombasa, black-market practices thrived and drove many of their host's businesses into oblivion, hence creating animosity between the Somalis and their local hosts (Coastal People).

Resentment towards the Somali refugees grew to threatening levels where demands for repatriation of Somali's to their country of origin grew exponentially, particularly in Mombasa. The conditions were so harsh and unbearable forcing a good number of refugees to opt for going back to Somalia fearing for their lives in (Kenya) the country which was hosting them. The Kenyan government has continued to maintain a strict encampment policy despite the implementation of the new Refugee Act of Government of Kenya 2006. This is a classic scenario

where government's policy becomes a challenge to refugee-host relations which further challenges state security and regional stability.

4.4 Challenge of Imbalance between refugees and host communities

A lot of grievances have been levelled against the government and institution's treatment of both refugees and their local host. Majority of people in areas where refugees have been settled have occasionally complained about an imbalance between them (Hosts) and the refugees. Whereas, the host community is debilitated with diseases and hunger, marginalized and illiterate, the refugees they host in their communities are socially protected by municipal and international laws of refugee protection. Practically, they are fed, clothed, educated and employed by various NGOs and humanitarian agencies with no regard to their host. The government of Kenya has often complained about the conduct of refugees in its borders and this results from the differences between Kenyan's refugee policies and international instruments.[130] Refugees within Kenya's borders have as a result raised concerns about their treatment in Kenya calling for humanitarian assistance and access to basic social and health services.

Refugees in Kenya claim they are not properly treated when it comes to provision of aid and assistance by the government and aid agencies. This has led to a blame game between Kenya and the international agencies. The agencies blame Kenya for failing on its part to provide the basic services that is should to refugees inclusive of health care while the government of Kenya on the other hand, blames refugees for demanding too much from a young economy like Kenya. The government claims it lacks enough resources to cater for the needs of the large number of refugees. Locals also complain of favouritism. They say their goods are heavily taxed while Refugees commodities are highly subsidized or free altogether, but they both trade in them.[131] In a memo to the UN (Host community-Turkanas) desired to see refugees moved out of the Kakuma camp area citing unfair practices.[132] Once they were moved to a new camp, the residents started going back to the refugee camp again to purchase goods from the refugee shops.

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[130]Aukot, E. (2015). *It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma: Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya*. University of Warwick. Journal of International relations. Vol.21. No.3
[131]Letter to the UNHCR, Kakuma Turkana proposed assistance from UNHCR branch office through UNHCR sub-office, Kakuma, 15 September 2007.
[132]Ibid

This is because the prices were lower at the refugee camps compared to the host community shops.

Majority of Turkana residents are livestock keepers who move from place to place with their animals in search of pastures and water. This community has suffered neglect from successive governments since independence hence poverty levels are high in the community. They area has been largely marginalized in the development history of Kenya. Among the Kenyan communities, Turkanas are among are ethnic minority communities. Apart from the glaring poverty, they have over decades been engaged in conflicts and cattle raiding activities with their neighbors the Pokots, leading to deaths, displacements and more impoverishments.[133] The setting up of a refugee camp in this area by the government, attracting many humanitarian agencies and aid programme providers to the area has therefore left a bitter taste in the mouth of locals who feel refugees are treated better than them. This provides fertile ground for conflict and hostility between refugees and the host community.

With humanitarian agencies, refugees receive food, shelter and health services from the international communities, pleasures which the Turkana only dream about. Their hatred towards the international community and national government is therefore sealed. The population of over 83,000 refugees is pitted against 10,000 local hosts.[134] As beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance, refugees are better off than their hosts, while problems faced by the hosts are similar to those that caused the flight of refugees. The imbalance has created situation of animosity with the host community terming favouritism and preference of the refugees on their land while themselves (Host) continue with their usual problems with nobody's attention. The situation has escalated to include armed violence particularly between the Dinka from South Sudan and the Tukana's. Insecurity, crime and refugee to host conflict has intensified particularly in Kakuma Refugee Camp.

The establishment of the Kakuma camp and the subsequent posting of refugees there saw good relations between refugees and the Turkana community residing in the area. With time however,

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[133]Guglielmo V. (2009). *Human Rights and Refugee Camps in Kenya*. Journal of Refugee Studies Vol.12. No.1.
[134]EDP-UNHCR SO (2012). *Kakuma, Statistics Update Nationality, Gender and Age Group* (Present at Headcount), 29 August 2012

this relations quickly deteriorated with the Turkana accusing refugees of freely moving into their villages, stealing from them and causing fights between them and locals.[135] Another area of confrontation was that refugees cut down trees belonging to Turkana's for domestic use and when the local community objected to this, the refugees formed gangs that would attack Turkanas and cut their trees by violence. [136] There were also cases of murder and rape of Turkana women by refugees from South Sudan staying in the camp.

4.5 Challenge to Public Health

Refugees have become a source of insanitation with adverse effects to the surrounding communities. With the crowded situation of refugee camps, most refugees have poor drainages and some do not have access to toilets and bathroom. Some of them bath and defecate in the open, a condition leading to outbreaks of cholera. With increased number of refugees in both Kenya and Uganda, regional governments are straining to provide medical services to the refugees in form of medicines and medical services. Most refugees come from conflict backgrounds and hence also need medical and psychological counselling.[137] Studies have confirmed that refugees are a large contributing factor to the spread of ailments such as diarrhoea and malaria.[138] Poor sanitation in Refugee camps is mostly occasioned due to lack of properly built pit latrines and toilets and the presence of many refugees. For instance, the arrival of Somali-Bantu refugee in Kakuma Refugee Camp led to accusations of them (Somali-Bantu) bathing along wells dug by locals and this led to cases of water-borne diseases such.[139]

Countries hosting refugees for protracted period risk spread of these communicable diseases which not only threatens their public safety but also endangers the livelihoods of their populations. Sexual exploits and prostitution among refugees and local populations, has led to spread of HIV and other sexual transmissions.[140] Prostitution unfortunately is used as a source of

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[135]See- *Refugees Must Move, Says Elders,* Daily Nation, 7 March 2016- Interview of Turkana Elders and Chief
[136]Supra note 13
[137] Ghobarah, H. *et al.* (2003) *Civil Wars Kill and Maim People.* Journal of Peace Research. Vol.2.No. 128
[138]Crisp, J. (2000). *New issues in Refugee Research. Africa's Refugee: Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges*: Working Paper No.28 UNHCR CH.IZ1, Geneva.
[139]Otieno, J. (Daily Nation). *230,000 Face Starvation in Refugee Camps, Says UN Body*, Daily Nation, 23 January 2013. Accessed online on 12/7/2017
[140]Grindheim, K, A. (2013). *Exploring the impacts of refugee camps on host communities. A case study of Kakuma host community in Kenya.* University of Agder. Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences Department of Development Studies

income by many women and young ladies in the camps as well as host communities. Due to lack of safety precautions and protection, sexually transmitted diseases are easily spread to a large population in the camp and local community.

The deadly spread of the Ebola Pandemic was highly attributed to migration of Refugees particularly, Ivorian Refugees. The disease was able to spread to other countries killing thousands and sickening many more. According to UNHCR, when the Ebola pandemic broke out in Liberia, refugees took the frontline health role.[141] Liberia recorded the outbreak of Ebola with the first patient diagnosed on March 2014. In a short duration (of months) the Ebola spread to 7,400 with an estimated 4,500 people dying making it the most affected country in West Africa.[142] Many people fled the country after the outbreak making it (Ebola) more complex and difficulty to contain.[143] Majority of Ivorian Refugees remained in exile in Liberia after some 240,000 of Ivorians fled their country following 2011 post-election violence. The Refugees were hosted in Maryland, Nimba, and Grand Gedeh where 123 cases of reported Ebola were registered.[144]

The Public health emergency related to Ebola that caused an international uproar in West Africa was lifted in 2016 but having caused devastating damage to both Liberia's Public Health and regional countries' health security. The Ivorians who returned to their country of origin upon the outbreak were directly responsible for the new infections which were recorded in their country. The countries which host refugees and their neighbors therefore risk of increased transmission upon outbreak of highly contagious health risks such as Ebola, Cholera and others which in effect threaten security of their host as well as that of their origin. As discussed above refugee can be both a burden to the public health system as well as be a source of diseases which in itself is a challenge to regional security.

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[141]UNHCR. (2016). *When Ebola Hit Liberia, Refugees took the frontline*. Liberia. UNHCR Publication. Accessed on 12/7/2017
[142]Ibid,20
[143]Ibid,20
[144]Ibid

4.6 The Challenge of Radicalization and spread of Terrorism

Previous studies on the impact of refugees on host communities have indicated that when refugee camps are based close to national boundaries of their home state, then they can easily harbour criminal elements and militias especially in cases where the home state is in civil war as it will be a ground for radicalization and recruitment of new members.[145] Refugee camps have occasionally been utilized by organized criminals and militia groups as fertile grounds for the spread of rebel networks. Research has shown that a good number of refugees are victims of violence and conflict and do not directly participate in violence. However, a good number of refugees are former combatants in civil wars in their home states and cross over territories with paramilitary knowledge and even weapons which they use to commit crimes. Some become mercenaries for hire while others become recruiters for their militant groups and wings back home.[146]

Many states in the region lack the capacity to closely monitor refugee conduct in their camps. For example in Kenya, the government lacks enough security personnel to deploy to watch over the half a million refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma. In Uganda where refugees are allowed to move to urban areas to look for jobs, it's even harder to track them since they are always on the move. It therefore becomes easy for refugee groups to militarize within and without the camps without government knowledge.

There have been cases of accusations among countries in the horn of Africa about support for rebel activities in other countries territories. The government of Ethiopia has long accused the Eritrean government of supporting and training Oromo Liberation Front elements staying in Eritrea as refugees, to come back home and fight with government forces. However, while this accusations exist it is hard to quantify them with tangible prove.

Ethiopia has not been able to date to produce concrete evidence of its allegation. During the Sudanese wars of independence, the government of Khartoum accused Kampala of training SPLA forces in Uganda as refugees with the aim of coming back to Sudan to fight for the

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[145]World Bank. (2011). *The Impacts of Refugees on Neighboring Countries: A Development Challenge*. Washington. World Bank Development Report 2011

[146] Salehyan, I. (2008*). No Shelter Here: Rebel Sanctuaries and International Conflic*t, Journal of Politics and International Organization. Vol.60. No.2

freedom of South Sudan. However, Sudan would not concretely prove it. Refugee existence has therefore been underlined with claims and counter claims of insurgency, armed movements and criminal elements.[147] This has drawn out bilateral relations between states for long in the Horn of Africa and at times caused diplomatic tensions.

According to Salehyan, the influx of refugees from unstable neighboring countries has led to destabilization of the host countries through radicalization.[148] For instance, in Pakistan refugees from Afghanistan aided the resistance struggles from the Communist power with Soviet support in the 1980s. With this war, Pakistan radicalized Afghanistan refugees leading to proliferations of SALW. These refugees became a source of state insecurity leading to weakening of the post-independent Afghan regime.[149]

In the Eastern African region, the rebels from Rwanda based in Uganda, formed the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) in their host state and invaded northern Rwanda in 1990 operating from Refugee camps in their host country (Uganda). It is therefore evident that Refugees present a security challenge to both their country of origin as well as their host country through acts of radicalization and expansion of their social networks that aim to diffuse violence. This has been explained by closeness to the border of Refugee camps to the country of origin which potentially can harbor rebel elements and form a base from which to carry out operations and fertile grounds for recruitment. Both Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps are located close to the boundaries of the country from where Refugees found in the camps originate from hence a serious challenge to Kenya security and regional stability.

4.7 Challenge to inter-state Relations
Hosting refugees has occasionally strained inter-state relations particularly in African and Asian states. Refugees and their presence can strain relations between the host state and the home state.[150] If not properly handled, this would lead to a diplomatic crisis leading to even war or aggression between states. In 1994 and 1995, relations between Rwanda and Burundi

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[147] Gil L. (1992). *Refugee Movements and International Security*. London. Adelphi Paper 268: Brasseys- IISS
[148] Ibid
[149] Rashid, A. (2008). *Descent into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia*. Washington. Penguin Group
[150] Kirui, P & Mwaruvie J. (2012). *The Dilemma of Hosting Refugees: A Focus on the Insecurity in North-Eastern Kenya*. Karatina. International Journal of Business and Social Science, Vol. 3 No. 8

deteriorated with accusations and a breakdown of diplomatic relations. This was after several refugees fleeing the genocide in Rwanda fled into Burundi and strained Burundi's resources, itself being a weak economy. Further complicated relationship between Rwanda and Burundi resulted from accusations from Kigali that Burundi was training and arming Tutsi refugees in Burundi.

Refugee hosting states have been forced to balance between their international obligation and their national security.[151] Kenya and Tanzania have been victims of these. Tanzania hosted a large number of Rwandese and Burundian refugees fleeing from conflict. However, the Tanzanian government accused Kigali of arming Hutu refugees in Tanzania. Kigali also blamed Tanzania of doing nothing while Rwandese refugees regrouped and rearmed inside its territory.[152] This then led to accusation from countries of origin that the host states were aiding and facilitating the regrouping of refugees to attack their home states. The suspicion that arose as a consequence poisoned relations between these East African states and the presence of refugees raised more questions than answers.

In the period of World War II, many people generally thought that refugees were temporary inconveniences and that they would go back to their home states at the end of the war. This saw them get a lot of aid and sympathy.[153] In the 1948 aftermath of Israel-Palestine wars, many Palestinian refugees flocked to all states in the Middle East. With time however, the high numbers of Palestinian refugees begun putting a strain on the already weak economies of the Middle East.

With this cases in question, Kenya and its Horn of Africa neighbors is not the first country to feel a threat to its security by refugees. The relationship between refugees and the host countries has not been a very cordial one. Refugees receive cordial welcome in the Horn of Africa nations but behind this welcome are feelings of mistrust, suspicion and deep sited hostility by the host communities. Like states found out in the after War period, many states in the Horn of Africa are

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[151]Ibid
[152]Ibid
[153]Oroub El-Abed (2009). Unprotected Palestinians in Egypt since 1948. Ontario: Co-Published by Institute for Palestinian Studies, Washington DC and International Development Research Centre Ottawa

not willing to welcome refugees to their boundaries because they are no longer short term visitors. They additionally are a long term security challenge.

Inter-state relations have been strained by accusations and counter-accusations of harassment, exploitation and segregation of people based on their nationalities between states-governments. While states view refugees as security threats to national security, refugees have often accused host governments of harassment, and exploitation due to their status and plight. Many refugees in East Africa have accused host states making policies that do not favour them. They also accuse them of blatant disregard for international laws and policies regulating the safety, treatment and rights of refugees and asylum seekers.

The PLO which was formed by refugees from Palestine participated in civil wars in Lebanon and Jordan a case in point where host states exploited the plight of refugees. These strained diplomatic relations between these three states.[154] Refugees have occasionally posed political and security threats to their hosts creating tensions in bilateral relations of neigbors. For instance, the involvement of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in the assassination of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 over his perceived accommodation of the Sri Lankan government turned sour the relations between India and Sri Lanka, while, on the same account, the involvement of Rwandan Tutsi refugees in Uganda in the throw of Obote from power strained inter-state relations between these two countries (Rwanda and Uganda) reason being-refugees.[155]

4.8 Environmental Degradation Challenge

Hosting of refugees for protracted period of time leads to environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources which potentially is a threat to national security. Experiences in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia have shown that, refugee's arrival is followed by un-precedent depletion of natural resources with first indicators being high intensity deforestation. The assessment of the environmental impacts that refugees pose in Daadab, Kenya also portray the picture that refugee's settlement contributed to environmental degradation.[156]

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[154]Salehyan, I. (2005). *Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Movements*. Honolulu, Hawaii. Paper presented at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association

[155] Ibid. See Ref. 24.p.12

[156]Berry, L. (2008). New Research in Refugee Research; the Impact of environmental degradation on refugee-host relations: A case study from Tanzania. University of Denver. Research paper No. 151

Research findings from Tanzania show that majority of the host states emphasise that the presence of high numbers of refugees degrade their environment. In western Tanzania, deforestation as a result of refugee activity is a major concern where the depletion rate of forests is higher than the national average.[157]

According to findings of research study done by a relief NGO, Refugees and local community members now travel to distant lands to look for firewood and timber for construction as all the trees around the area have been felled.[158] Others have chosen to cut down any nearby forests and trees instead of going to distant lands to look for wood and this has led to rapid degradation of the forests and tree cover in Western Tanzania.[159] According to the UNHCR, there were over 62 thousand refugees in Western Tanzania as of September 2006 most of whom were from Burundi.[160] Reports and findings done by environmentally sensitive NGOs as well as the District Natural Resources Office indicate that the environmental degradation in the region was as a direct result of refugee settlement. They pointed to issues of soil erosion, depletion of water towers and deforestation, as the major environmental concerns.[161] Bush and wild fires were another major problem, and this are majorly set up by farmers to clear their fields, but which sometimes turn into large fires and burn a larger space than expected.

Cases of illegal wildlife poaching have been reported as another major environmental concern arising from high numbers of refugees which severed relations between the refugees and the host government (Tanzania). The Tanzanian government's response was the repatriation of all Burundian refugees to their home state.[162]Without doubt, the environmental degradation levels in the refugee-settled camps in Western Tanzania caused conflict and friction between the refugees and the local communities which endangered not only Tanzania's peace and security but also threatened the livelihoods of the refugees themselves.

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[157] Ibid
[158]Relief to Development Society. (2003). *Report on Buyungu forest reserve.* REDESO. Dar-es-salaam. Kibondo office.
[159]Ibid
[160]UNHCR. (2006). *Refugee Hosting Area (RHA) Report*. Available Online at: http//www. unhcr.org/ statistics. Accessed on 13/7/2017. 4.38
[161]Ibid. ref.40
[162]Ibid.ref.36.p.6

Environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources by refugees has potentially created hostile refugee-host relations in Kakuma Refugee Camp and their host Turkana in North-western Kenya. From a study done by Ekuru Aukot, he found that cutting down of trees apart from causing friction between host communities and the refugees, went against the *Nyayo* philosophy which advocated for replacing each tree cut with two new ones. He found the refugees planted none after the several ones they cut down.[163] Refugees were responsible for destruction of 5 kilometres of trees. The host communities argued that the livestock they possessed depended on the forests for their upkeep and the cutting down of trees put their livestock in jeopardy as they risk pastures.[164] Host communities also showed the desire to control the supply of building woods and firewood as this would bring economic benefits to them.[165] These issues have resulted into conflicts between hosts and refugees and this has turned violent in some cases.

4.9 Cultural Erosion Challenge
Although cultural erosion is not in itself a threat to national or regional security, adoption of some cultural practices are equally harmful if they violate fundamental human rights and threaten human security. Exiled populations constituted threat to social stability once they are associated with vices such as alcoholism, drug trafficking, banditry, crime and prostitution. Cultural erosion occurs when the host community adopts some of the 'alien' practices and loses identity with their original customs, beliefs and traditions. Evidence from Kakuma Refugee Camp and the host community socialization process reveal that phenomenon of cultural erosion. According to the Turkana culture, marriage was a highly treasured affair and is widely regarded as a valued tradition. Brides' parents would receive up to 30 animals in dowry payment (Market Value=Ksh. 1.5 M).

Weddings and marriages were affairs that were properly planned by parents and communities from both sides. With the refugees coming into Turkana (Kakuma camp) parents have noted cases of their girls eloping with refugee young men with no bride price paid. Even though elopement is not a completely new practice, Turkana cultures dictate that the families must be

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[163]Ibid. Ref.9. p.78
[164]Ibid
[165]Ibid

properly introduced so that ultimate respect can be observed by both parents from both sides. Proper introduction is also done after the bridegroom shows his intention to get married.

However, with the refugees, these traditions are alien to them as they may not necessarily conform to their own tradition. Most therefore chose to elope with girls from the host community than to be taken through a host of cultures and processes. They elope with girls without the due process of culture which makes them confront harshly with Community elders over such violation. A dismissive argument has most of the time been that it is the girls who follow them (refugees) out of their own willingness. Community elders also cited the poverty levels in the area as the cause of more elopements. Many families are poor and some girls are under pressure to help their mothers fend for their families. With provision of cheap gifts and presents, many girls therefore easily elope with refugee men. There are also increased cases of prostitution with young girls forced to fend for their families.[166]

This kind of phenomenon explains a community losing its cultural identity and adopting potentially harmful practices which threaten not only their health security but also threatens social fabric. Cultural erosion could potentially threaten regional security if for instance drug trafficking being a socially un-accepted norm is adopted by the host community as is witnessed in the United States with Mexicans and Columbians migrants.

4.10 Remedies Developed to Mitigate Refugee Challenges

As established in this chapter, the challenges of incursion of refugees in the region can bear mixed outcomes depending on the cultural context of the host state. To address the challenges of forced displacement fully, one must hence get proper understanding of the specific context of countries hosting refugees and how refugee numbers affect the economy of host states. In this regard addressing the challenges of insecurity presented by refugees is a more actual approach in addressing the negative outcomes and challenges established herein. This chapter endeavored to find suitable remedies of mitigating challenges presented by refugees.

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[166] Ibid. Ref.9. Interview of Turkana Elders and Chief, September 2001.

4.11 Vetting of Refugees

This chapter has realized that illicit proliferation of SALW has had a negative impact on peace and security of civilians in Kenya as well as in Uganda especially for those people living in respective country's refugee Camps, slums and areas of constant ethnic conflict such as the northern part of Kenya due to high flow of refugees from neighboring states. The government of Kenya in collaboration with the UNHCR has undertaken a security task of vetting all the refugees who arrive in the camps before being admitted to rid them of arms and weapons. The disarmament and granting of refugee status process must be is closely done under the guidelines of the 1951 Convention and its 1967 optional protocol.

In this way, asylum seekers will only be granted refugee status is their reasons for running away from their home states are genuine and meet the requirements.[167] According to Kiswii, in efforts to promote national and regional security, the local communities must be prevented from acquiring illicit SALW as well as report criminal elements possessing weapons to security apparatus.[168] Law enforcement agencies, particularly the Administration police (AP), are the core players in prevention and tackling of proliferation of SALW. The Kenyan government has taken steps in ensuring the country is safe from the security threats posed by the refugees. The government is also keen on protecting the rights and security of the refugees.

4.12 Disarmament Operations

The government through the administration police in collaboration with the military have been conducting disarmament operations to rid the refugee camps of SALW in a bid to improve the security structure of the camps. The disarmament drives have to a larger extend reduced the number of illicit SALW in the refugee camps and in the host community's areas. Although, the exercises have been riddled with many human rights violation cases, the net effect has seen the reduced cases of insecurity. As cited by Kiswii, while these measures have not fully yielded the desired results, they have gone a long way in reducing the weapons in wrong hands.[169] It is worth noting that with provision of security to all residents and refugees, then many people possessing

[167]Konzolo, S. &Ayiera E., (2008*). An overview of the Refugees Act in Refugee Protection in the context of National security,* Nairobi: Refugee Consortium.
[168]Kiswii, E.M. (2013). Refugee Influx and (In) Security: Kenya's Experiences, 1991 – 2012. Nairobi. UoN press
[169] Ibid

arms illegally are bound to give them back to the state as some people also acquire illegal weapons to protect themselves.

4.13 Income Generating Projects for Refugees (IGPRs)

In efforts geared towards eliminating dependency on aid, the government of host countries particularly Kenya, have initiated income generating projects for refugees through job creation and employment opportunities. The main object of the projects includes bringing down poverty levels among forcefully displaced peoples and those in refugee camps. Project interventions for IGPRs include various sectors such as infrastructure, health, education, agriculture, and forestry. For instance, the government of Zambia launched an income generating project dubbed the Zambia Initiative (ZI). The Zambian government through the project brought up many security and environmental concerns occasioned by the presence of refugees in the country.[170]An evaluation report done by UNHCR of the Zambian Initiative deemed it as a positive move in supporting refugee productivity and finding the delicate balance between the needs of the refugee populations as well as the host community/government. The same initiative can be replicated into the East Africa situation. Both the Kenyan government and the UNHCR can collaborate to initiate such an initiative.

4.14 Naturalization and resettlement of Refugees in the Host countries

In finding long lasting solutions to the refugee security problems in the region, there is need to provide them with opportunity to participate in economic growth where they can engage productively as citizens of the host country. The process of naturalization serves better to develop sustainable security and peace in the region. The naturalization process was developed and adopted by the Tanzania to Burundians, Congolese and Rwandan refugees. After decades of hosting refugees from neighboring countries, Tanzania adopted a move to naturalise 162,000 Burundi refugees into citizens.[171]The scale of this move was the first of its kind in Africa and became a trend setter. While the prolonged presence of refugees in the country has led to strained natural and government resources, and degraded the environment, it has on a positive note

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[170]United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2006). *Evaluation of the Zambia Initiative*. Switzerland. UNHCR

[171]Milner, J. (2010). *Responding to Forced Migration in a Reforming UN System: The case of Burundian Refugees in Tanzania*. Canada. Carleton University

boosted trade due to expansion of markets and eliciting competition in prices of basic commodities. Refugees also provide a customer base for host country's goods.

4.15 Providing Alternative sources of Energy

This chapter has realized that environmental degradation is rampant in refugee camps presenting a security challenge inherent in competition for the fuel among the refugees. In order to mitigate the challenges of environmental degradation this study has established that development of alternative sources of energy is imperative and sustainable in the long-run. In the Dadaab refugee camps the UNHCR has prioritized provision of solutions to the environmental challenges as provided for in the UNHCR SAFE global strategy which has been adopted by a number of countries.[172] The agency in 2015 identified other sources of energy for home use for instance the Liquefied Pressurized Gas (LPG) and Ethanol as alternative fuels which are to be used as a complement to wood and charcoal. To reduce the rate of deforestation, there is urgent need for stakeholder partnership between forestry departments and county authorities so as to regulate tree harvesting. The need of firewood should be limited to *prosopis juliflora*, which has been tested in Kakuma in the year 2014.

This is a best alternative since *Prosopi sjuliflora* has been declared an invasive species in Kenya which is now earmarked for removal. Its use as an energy source will therefore be a positive move in providing a win-win situation between refugees' needs for energy and the local community's need for its eradication. The long term benefits will entail environment conservation and reduced competition for firewood fuel which breeds insecurity.

4.16 Chapter Findings and conclusion

This chapter has evaluated the challenges that host countries experience as they uphold an international obligation of hosting refugees and preserving their own security. Essentially, the chapter has reviewed some of the challenges that East African states (i.e. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) have experienced while hosting refugees from the region's conflict areas (South Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi) which have had an impact on their own state security and state sovereignty. Some of the pertinent challenges that have been revealed include the increased

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[172]Mazou, R. (2015). *Kenya Comprehensive Refugee Programme*. Nairobi. UNHCR

proliferation of SALW which have threatened both the state and regional security and stability. The threat presented by small arms seems to be a trans-national pandemic which is highly catalysed by the presence of refugees.

This chapter has realized that refugees have led to government adopting some un-realistic policies which have resulted to environmental degradation and diffusion of criminals with civilians. There develops a perception of unfairness among the host-refugee relations when the former attract both national and international attention while the latter is neglected and marginalized. Experiences from refugee hosting areas in both Kenya and Uganda reveal that imbalances exist when refugees are able to access amenities and provisions from refugee agencies and international donors while host communities suffer in neglect and poverty. This chapter has also revealed that refugees are a threat to states public health and its wellbeing.

Refugees have been instrumental in transmission of communicable diseases, occasionally facilitating transmission of HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis and recently Ebola which have threatened not only regional security but also international security and stability. Additionally, this chapter has realized that refugees pose an environmental challenge to countries which host refugees for protracted periods. Lastly, refugees threaten social cohesion and social fabric of their host if they erode their customs and norms and replace them with their own 'alien' and harmful culture. The chapter has also developed remedies suitable to mitigate the negative challenges associated with refugees which result to insecurity to host state and the region in general. Among the solutions that have been provided in this chapter include the need for vetting of refugees before being admitted into the host country territories, naturalization process is a long term remedy which states which host refugees can adopt to address the challenge of insecurity. Additionally, this chapter has provided alternative sources of energy as a solution to mitigate environmental degradation challenge which emanates from hosting refugees for protracted periods. Lastly, provision of income generating activities for refugees has been cited as a sustainable way of mitigating challenges of insecurity resulting from hosting refugees.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter therefore, summarizes the findings of the entire study, makes relevant conclusion and proposes tailor-made recommendations to policy stake-holders which can facilitate incorporation of refugees to broader developmental and security concerns of regional states.

5.2 Summary of Findings

First, the paper sought to determine the socio-economic and political impact of hosting regional refugees by both Kenya and Uganda using a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary approach. It has established that, refugee inflow to Kenya and Uganda causes various multi-dimensional effects. In Kenya, this study has established; the continued presence of refugees has a positive effect on the economies of communities that reside around refugee camps. In Dadaab and Kakuma camps, the study found; the presence of refugees has boosted the overall income and domestic employment rates of both the Turkanas and Somali communities while in Uganda, this study has found that the existence of refugees, has mixed effects on the local economy. In Uganda, the mixed impact is mostly experienced in the labor market where there are both winners and losers based on labor supply and wages.

This study has established that there have been improved social interactions in Uganda among refugees and communities surrounding refugee camps and settlements. The study notes that there has been generally a peaceful co-existence between refugees and host communities in Uganda for the last two decades. This peaceful co-existence coupled with interactions in trade and other aspects of life the report notes, have led to accelerated relationships between Ugandans and refugees living in Uganda. This study has established that there has been relative peace between the two groups (Host-Refugee) in both countries. There has been a few reported cases of tensions and hatred between refugees and local residents in both countries.

In the political sphere, both countries have experienced political manipulations where the presence of refugees has been utilized by politicians to gain political mileage. In Kenya, Somali refugees have been used by some politicians who register them as Kenyan citizens to vote in

their favour in the general elections, while in Uganda, the study found that refugees from Rwanda and Burundi have been employed by government and used by the ruling NRM to gain political mileage. The study finds that the presence of refugees in both Kenya and Uganda has largely had a positive socio-economic and political impact by creating an overall beneficial impact on host countries-economies.

Secondly, the study aimed at establishing the impact of hosting refugees on regional security and stability. Although, security is a contested terminology, in this study it denoted the ability of state to protect its citizens from both external and internal threats. In that particular case, insecurity in a state arises when a person or group of person or state elements (police or military) from within or outside the state, threaten another citizens life, values, livelihood or rights. This study has established that there is a great amount of evidence that refugees have been a source of insecurity and instability in the Horn of Africa region. Cases of terrorism, cattle rustling, piracy, proliferation of small arms, hostilities with host communities, insecurity and rise of crime around refugee camps, interference of refugees in local politics, the instability high numbers of returnees cause to home governments in trying to re-settle them, have all been documented as some of the examples of the problems associated with refugees which have a direct bearing on state and the region's stability and security. This study established a close link between refugees and terrorism along the Horn region, which is a security concern for the global community.

Thirdly, this study sought to establish the challenges that confront the regional countries in hosting refugees and fighting regional terrorism. The pertinent challenges that have been revealed by this study include the increased illegal movement of SALW which have threatened both state and regional security and stability. The threat presented by small arms seems to be a trans-national pandemic which is highly catalyzed by the presence of refugees. Another challenge experienced by states as they host refugees include the hostility between locals and refugees. There develops a perception of unfairness among the host-refugee relations when the former attract both national and international attention while the latter is neglected and marginalized.

Lastly, on the challenges that host state face while hosting refugees this study has revealed that refugees are a threat to both public health and environment which both threaten regional security and peaceful co-existence. This study has revealed that refugees have been instrumental in transmission of communicable diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis and recently Ebola, while at the same time, refugees threaten social cohesion and social fabric of their host if they erode their customs and norms and replace them with their own foreign and 'harmful' culture.

5.3 Conclusion
This research study endeavoured to evaluate the contribution of refugees to regional (in) security in the greater Horn of African region using the experiences of both Kenya and Uganda as case studies. This study realizes that, the presence of refugees provides mixed effects to both refugees themselves and host communities. For the productivity of the refugees to be realized, good local community-refugee relations cannot be over-emphasized. If the local communities feel they are positively benefiting from refugee camps in their midst, the relationship will be cordial and vice versa. It is however the duty of international and national actors to protect the refugees in cases where they experience hostility from the host communities.

The study reached the conclusion that the presence of refugees has a large impact on the security of both the host state and the region. The security situation in the refugee camps has the potential to spill over to the local community and the nation at large. The differing interests between humanitarian refugee agencies and host governments are also a factor in the impact of refugees on both host communities and the whole country as well. The government's ability to protect refugees and provide for their basic needs has a direct bearing on the host state's economy and resources and this too cannot be ignored.

Citing examples from Kakuma and Dadaab refugee in Kenya and Nakivale and Bwaise regions in Uganda, the study concludes that countries hosting refugees have a delicate balancing act to consider between their obligation to international refugee regimes (in their role to protect refugees) and their national security needs and concerns.

Relating to Kenya's case (as a host of the world's biggest refugee camp), the study concludes that refugees pose a threat to national security especially the closeness of the Somalia-Kenya border where criminal elements just cross over into Kenya.   These criminal elements pose security challenges to locals as well as the nation. Towards this end, the Kenyan government has largely accused refugees' camps especially those in Dadaab, of hiding terror elements from Somalia who cause insecurity in Kenya and called for repatriation of refugees. In Uganda, the study found that refugees from Rwanda and Burundi have been employed by government and used by the ruling NRM to gain political mileage which escalates animosity between opposition and the ruling party.

This study reveals that insecurity resulting from refugees is a complex issue to handle as a result of competing and often conflicting interests between the host country and refugee protection agencies. This study found out that refugee at times creates a burden on the public health sector with adverse effects for the host country's social security. In conclusion therefore, refugees constitute a potential threat to regional security amongst states which host refugees for protracted periods.

5.4 Areas for Further Research

This study identifies thematic areas of concern for discussion. These include the need to review the encampment policy adopted by the government which many refugees see as enslavement within a camp. Refugee camps in Kenya are like prison camps. There are watchful eyes to ensure that these people remain confined in the camps. Their living conditions are deplorable and their basic human rights are flouted. It is interesting to note that those without any skills, in form of education or technical skills stand a better chance of being recruited into illegal organizations. The regional governments seem not to see this as a point of concern but rather than ensuring their own safety by encamping policy, the government seems to be growing resentment which potentially increases insecurity in the region.

This research finds it quite debatable the requirement of the state to uphold international humanitarian norms and principles of securing their own territories. The delicate balance which exists between hosting the refugees and securing a nation has fundamentally diminished the

power of the state to make independent choices without regard to international morality. Essentially, balancing between hosting refugees which potentially hurts national security is a matter of affirming loss of sovereignty and upholding of it. While the international refugees' law mandates the state not to '*refoul*' any asylum seeker in their territory, the state is held at ransom when its own security is challenged by the presence of '*harmful*' refugees in their own territory. The challenge of hosting refugees and concern on regional public safety is compounded by the weak institutional capacity within governance systems in the region. The incidences of corruption and other governance mal-practices put the entire state and region at jeopardy when criminal elements infiltrate refugee camps and it becomes hard for authorities to differentiate between genuine refugees and criminals. Given that terror activities have been planned and executed from refugee camps, this highlights the weakness of the state agencies of securing themselves and their nations from criminals which it (state) is protecting on grounds of humanitarian concerns.

Another concern for discussion involves; who takes the responsibility for the livelihood concerns for the refugees? Whereas, traditionally the responsibility for feeding, and housing the refugees rests with the international community under the auspices of UNHCR, the host government takes the lion's share of the responsibility when it comes to security, medical health care and educating of refugees which at times might not be the same treatment for the host community. This study has revealed that such tendencies potentially create animosity and bad-blood between refugees and the host community.

The areas of conflict become certain in these factors: The current setting of the regions cultural and social setting does not have the capacity to integrate with refugees. Many refugees feel rejected in their host states as they are limited from moving, accessing services and even participating in the activities of host communities and states. Then there is the problem of language barrier. Many refugees cannot speak the language spoken by the host country's citizens. The different cultures also mean the host community will have presumptions and perceptions about the refugee population that will either hinder or smoothen the relationship between the two. However, these factors are in conflict in both Kenya and in Uganda which begs

this study a question; is it possible to integrate refugees to the broader social, economic and political spheres of the host's national fabric?

This study realizes that there is a wide-spread political marginalization of the host community by both the government and the international humanitarian agencies. Majority of previous research studies argue that; many of the communities surrounding refugee camps are politically marginalized communities by their respective governments. Many of them feel they are not positively affected by the presence of the refugees either hence feel their lives are stagnant with or without refugees. This study discovered that the international actors present in most refugee camps commit themselves to the needs of the refugees and largely ignore those of the local communities. It is therefore debatable whether host communities should take that social responsibility of hosting foreigners only for them to make a good livelihood than them in their own country? The delicate balance which exists balancing between how refugees and the host communities are catered for by responsible authorities is food for thought.

5.5 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations. The recommendations are addressed to various parties including refugees, refugee agencies and host countries. The recommendations are drawn from the study's findings and conclusions reached on how to improve on concerning issues. The study offers to start with the latter.

5.5.1 To the Host Countries

This study recommends that host countries should uphold the rule of law and in this case; the International Conventions which protect refugees. In the case of African states, particularly those in the Horn of Africa region, adhering to the stipulations enshrined in Art. 1 (2) of the OAU Convention is imperative if such states are to achieve international harmony and cooperation especially during violent conflicts. Threats to human security which forces people to cross international boundaries should not be interpreted as threat to host state's security and therefore an opportunity to affirm national sovereignty without regards to international conventions.

The host country should try to balance the imperfect host-refugee relations. This entails empowering its citizen particularly those communities hosting refugees. Whereas, refugees are a concern of the international community, their host communities are a concern of their own country. Humanitarian aid which is advanced to refugees by international agencies seems to disadvantage the host communities despite both (refugees and Host) facing the same socio-economic challenges. Balancing the relationships between the host and the refugees requires socio-economic empowerment of the host community which rests with the state's government. This study recommends offering education, creating employment opportunities and offering public good to the host community. This will diffuse the notion that refugee aid is an economic gain which guarantees life, but rather a humanitarian one. Consequently, this will reduce hatred on grounds of favouritism, on part of the host and will increase the host's capacity to accommodate refugees.

The host country should ensure transparency and accountability in all procurement practices offered to refugees and their host community projects and businesses. The government should prioritize competitive tendering where public participation is ensured for inclusivity and openness. Procurement opportunities which arise should prioritize business interest of the host community to increase their economic ability and capacity to accommodate refugees. Other economic opportunities include the adoption and implementation of Quick Impact Projects (QIPs). Engaging both refugees and their host in government businesses will inspire growth of local economies due to expansion of local markets and lowering prices of goods.

The host state should review the encampment policy. This study has established that the encampment policy is detrimental to integration and productivity of the refugees. The host government should offer refugees physical mobility and if possible allocate them land for productive ventures. Refugees with access to land can engage in subsistence agriculture hence reduce dependency and increase their purchasing power parity. Physical mobility of refugees facilitates social integration with their host consequently diffusing conflicts. The government of Kenya in particular should consider naturalization of Somali and South Sudanese refugees in her territory (Benchmark from Tanzania). Naturalization is a long term sustainable solution to

refugee problems which takes into account humanitarian considerations, national aspirations and regional security and stability.

Lastly, there is need among host countries to gather and share information at the border points. This will deter criminal elements from crossing over into other states. It will also help to stop conflicts from spilling over across national boundaries to neighboring states. The states of the Horn region should also come up with early warning mechanisms to nub conflict before it spreads. Refugee hosting states in the Horn region should work together with international refugee regimes to address the challenges posed by refugees in host states. Countries in the Horn should also create border military brigades to control the flow of refugees, and stop trafficking of SALW.

5.5.2 To Refugees
The refugees should always uphold the rule of law of the host country and adhere to stipulations issues by the host state. The Refugee Convention calls upon all refugees to adhere to the national rules and statutes of the country that hosts them. The refugees are also called upon to collaborate with security agencies in the maintenance of law and order in the camps. The refugees therefore have a duty to give information to security agencies of any criminal elements within the camps as well as the presence of SALW amongst their colleagues.

Refugees should adopt dispute resolution mechanism offered by their host country and minimize direct confrontation when faced with differences. Refugees should realize that they are subject to foreign authorities which govern with different legislations which need to be respected. Harboring of terrorist in refugee camps should be interpreted legally as facilitating crime which refugees need to refrain from if their humanity is to be considered by the host state. Additionally, refugees should refrain from engaging in military expeditions and insurgency activities while still being hosted as refugees. Their involvement in either political or military expeditions compromises not only their human security but also their host national security and regional stability.

Refugees should also engage in educational and sporting activities so as to increase their competitiveness and social development. Refugees should enrol their school-going children to education opportunities offered by the host government and refugee agencies. There are many ways in which refugees can contribute to the growth of their host country's economy. In Eastleigh area of Nairobi for example, many Somali refugees have set up shops and businesses in which other Somali refugees can work as casual labourers. This can be a source of employment for many refugees.

5.5.3 To the Refugee Agencies

This study recommends that refugee's agencies should shoulder the burden of providing for the refugees without necessarily relegating that to host governments. The refugee agencies should work in close collaboration with the host governments, international agencies like UNHCR, NGOs, Civil Society groups on human rights, advocacy groups and the Media, all in concert to tackle cultural, stereotypes on refugees in the Horn of Africa region. Refugee's agencies should clearly distinguish refugees from other groups and criminal elements committed by other migrant groups so as to exercise fairness in punishing criminal elements so as not to apportion collective blame. The agencies should take it as a challenge to register all refugees in the country of asylum to avoid misconceptions and for proper planning.

The refugee agencies should also try to balance the needs for the refugees with those of the host community. Refugees should not be *pampered,* or be seen to be living under privilege unlike their host counterparts. The refugee agencies should conduct a needs assessment test to evaluate the general requirements which cut across all demographics without regard to personal status. They should offer humanitarian aid to refugees while at the same time advocating for improvement of socio-economic conditions of their hosts. This will improve host-refugee relations and diffuse insecurity associated with refugees.

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