



UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

Exploring the impacts of refugee camps on host communities.

A case study of Kakuma host community in Kenya.

Kristoffer Andre Grindheim

Supervisor

Christian Webersik

This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

University of Agder, 2013

Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences

Department of Development Studies

Abstract

The thesis explores how the establishment of a refugee camp has impacted the hosting community of Kakuma and its inhabitants. More specific how the camp establishment has impacted hosts household viability and how they have adapted accordingly. Of equal importance the research is exploring the relationship between host and refugee communities in Kakuma. By interviewing respondents from the host community, refugee camp and external actors of relevance the research addresses the above objectives. The findings are further analyzed in light of a theoretical framework.

The remote arid area of Kakuma is located in the Turkana County in north-west Kenya near the border to South Sudan. The inhabitants of Kakuma belong to the pastoralist tribe known as Turkana. The changing reality for Turkana`s in Kakuma of becoming a hosting community to a refugee population significant larger than their own population has brought on many changes, challenges and opportunities. The complexity of camp impacts on the host community has resulted in both positive and negative experiences. Socio-economic impacts have been positive such as new livelihood opportunities in the camp in addition to improvements in social services such as health and education. Negative impacts experiences by hosts have mostly been in term of their relationship with the refugee populations which has resulted in more insecurity and conflicts in the hosting community.

The conflicting relationship between hosts and refugees in Kakuma emphasizes the importance of identifying main sources that are creating conflict and coexistence in the relationship for achieving a peacefully relationship. The combination of limited livelihood opportunities in the host community and imbalance of humanitarian assistance are the greatest challenges for promoting more coexistence. Some collaboration between host and refugees are identified at individual levels through socio-economic impacts and humanitarian initiatives. Nevertheless, situations of conflict in the relationship are more common and a challenge towards coexistence. The research reveals that hosts experiences of camp impacts are much related to how their relationship with the refugee population develops.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to the following persons:

My supervisor Christian Webersik for all your guidance, encouragement, comments and discussions throughout the process. I also want to thank all the other professors and staff at the Development Management master's program at the University of Agder.

I want to especially thank my research assistant and dear friend Qaabata Boru. Without your invaluable assistance during my fieldwork I would not have been able to conduct this research. A special gratitude goes out to you and the rest of the brave journalists at KANERE.

The Lutheran World Federation (Kakuma) for hosting and assisting me during parts of my stay in Kakuma. All the amazing staff from different branches of the organization that assisted me during my time in Kakuma

The family and friends at Kakuma Guest House for your warm and caring friendships.

All the staff at Refugee Consortium of Kenya (Kakuma).

Staff from the following organizations (in Kakuma) for a variety of assistance during my stay in Kakuma: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, National Council of Churches of Kenya and OXFAM.

All the people and friends I got the pleasure to meet in Kakuma which are too many to name here. Thank you for all your friendships; hospitality and helping me feel at home in Kakuma.

The outmost gratitude goes to all the respondents that took part in this research and made it possible. Especially I want to thank the respondents from Kakuma host community and refugee camp for your time to contribute and share your stories and life experiences with me.

Table of Contents

- Abstract 3**
- Acknowledgements 5**
- List of figures 9**
- List of tables 9**
- List of appendices 9**
- Abbreviations and acronyms..... 10**

- Chapter 1: Introduction..... 11**
 - 1.1 Background 11**
 - 1.2 Area of study 12**
 - 1.3 Research objectives..... 13**
 - 1.4 Methodology in brief 14**
 - 1.5 Thesis outline 14**

- Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework 15**
 - 2.1 Literature Review 15**
 - 2.1.1. The diversity of impacts by refugee camps on host communities..... 15**
 - 2.1.2. Winners and losers in the refugee host community relations 18**
 - 2.1.3. Conflicts between host communities and refugee populations..... 19**
 - 2.1.4. Collaborative actions for promoting coexistence between host communities and refugee populations..... 22**
 - 2.2. Area of study 24**
 - 2.2.1. Kakuma host community 24**
 - 2.2.2. Host community of Kakuma: The Turkana tribe 27**
 - 2.2.3. Kakuma refugee camp 29**
 - 2.2.4. Refugee - host community relations in Kakuma 35**
 - 2.3 Research questions..... 36**
 - 2.4 Theoretical Framework..... 38**

- Chapter 3: Methodology 42**
 - 3.1 Methodology discussion..... 42**
 - 3.2 Choice of methodology 42**
 - 3.3 Qualitative research..... 42**
 - 3.5 Research strategy 43**
 - 3.6 Sampling 44**
 - 3.7 Data Collection 47**
 - 3.8 Data analysis..... 48**
 - 3.9 Limitations and challenges..... 48**

- Chapter 4: Findings..... 52**
 - 4.1 Findings from Kakuma host community 52**
 - 4.1.1 Changing livelihoods due to the establishment of refugee camp 54**

4.1.2 Impacts experienced.....	55
4.1.3 Adapting to the new realities.....	61
4.1.4 Hosts relationship with the refugee population.....	62
4.1.5 Conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refugee population	63
4.2 Findings from Kakuma refugee camp	68
4.2.1 Refugees relationship with the host community.....	69
4.2.2 Conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refugee population	71
4.3 Findings from external actors.....	75
4.3.1 Impacts by Kakuma refugee camp on the host community.....	77
4.3.2 The relationship between the host community and refugees in Kakuma	79
4.3.3 How to promote coexistence rather than conflict.....	83
 Chapter 5: Analysis	 85
5.1 Impacts of Kakuma refugee camp on the host community	85
5.1.1 Economic impacts.....	85
5.1.2 Social impacts	86
5.1.3 Environmental impacts.....	87
5.1.4 Political impacts.....	88
5.2 Balancing the impacts.....	89
5.2.1 Socio-economic impacts	89
5.2.2 Social and political impacts	91
5.3 More positive than negative impacts.....	93
5.4 Relationship between the host community and refugees in Kakuma.	95
5.4.1 Sources of conflicts	98
5.4.2 Sources of coexistence	104
 Chapter 6: Conclusion	 108
6.1 Recommendations	110
 References	 113
 Appendices	 118
Appendix 1	119
Appendix 2	120
Appendix 3	122
Appendix 4	123
Appendix 5	125
Appendix 6	126

List of figures

Figure 1: Map of Kenya.....	13
Figure 2: Map of Turkana County and Kakuma.....	26
Figure 3: Entering Kakuma Refugee Camp.....	27
Figure 4: Tarach River.....	28
Figure 5: Typical village in Kakuma host community.....	29
Figure 6: Inside Kakuma Refugee Camp.....	30
Figure 7: Kakuma Refugee Camp: Layout Map.....	32
Figure 8: A refugee plot fenced in	33
Figure 9: Turkana women selling charcoal in the refugee camp.....	34
Figure 10: Impacts by refugee camps on host communities.....	38
Figure 11: Map: Kakuma host community overview.....	53
Figure 12: Food Distribution Center.....	57
Figure 13: Water collection point inside the camp.....	71

List of tables

Table 1: Positive impacts.....	56
Table 2: Negative impacts.....	59
Table 3: Hosts relationship with the refugee population.....	62
Table 4: Refugees relationship with the hos community.....	69

List of appendices

Appendix 1: Overview of host community respondents.....	119
Appendix 2: Overview of refugee respondents.....	120
Appendix 3: Overview of external actors (respondents).....	122
Appendix 4: Interview guide: Host community of Kakuma.....	123
Appendix 5: Interview guide: Refugee population in Kakuma.....	125
Appendix 6: Interview guide: External actors.....	126

Abbreviations and acronyms

CPR	Common Property Resources
DRA	Department of Refugee Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FEWS	Famine Early Warning System
GoK	Government of Kenya
IDP	Internal Displaced Persons
IGP	Income Generating Programs
IOM	International Organization of Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KANERE	Kakuma News Reflector – A Refugee Free Press
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MP	Members of Parliament
NCCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
RCK	Refugee Consortium of Kenya
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
SAS	Small Arms Survey
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

In the event an emergency refugee camp needs to be constructed, it is not in all likelihood that it happens in an entirely “deserted” area. In other words local communities are already present and living in or around that specific area where the camp establishment takes place. In such a scenario the establishment of refugee camps and influx of refugees will in some way be affecting the lives of peoples living in that area. This often results in host communities to adapt to the changes and challenges brought on by the camps establishment that might have different impacts towards their livelihoods (Chambers 1986:245). In such scenarios, the attention is often focused on the refugee population as they are obviously in a crisis situation. Nonetheless, people of host communities have similar difficult living conditions where the presence of refugee camps often makes their lives even more challenging (UNHCR 2011:2). It is equally important that this group does not get neglected in such situations of crisis. The impacts of refugee camps on host communities may be both negative and positive, creating both winners and losers of the given scenario. How the diversity is affecting host communities and its relationship with the refugee population will be main focus of this research.

Defining a person as a refugee is according to the United Nations Status of Refugees (UNHCR 1979) a person *“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country...”*. Estimations by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) from 2012 are confirming it to be approximately 42.5 million displaced people in the world. From these figures 16.1 million recognized as refugees who have crossed national borders for refuge. The remaining 26.4 million are what are referred to as internally displaced persons (IDPs) as they are still within their country of origin (Norwegian Refugee Council 2012). There are uncertainties on the exact numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in the world as this is constantly changing. The amount nonetheless suggests that it is not likely that the refugee situation will disappear in the nearby future. Interactions between refugees and the communities hosting them are a reality when refugee camps are established. Understanding and knowledge of these relationships is of great importance for ensuring a sustainable and peaceful coexistence between them.

New realities experienced by communities hosting refugees are accompanied by many challenges especially in the initial influx phase as well as in long-term presence. Changes and impacts on the lives of the host community as expressed above can be varying both positive and negative depending on many factors. What is often experienced is that the impacts of new realities of hosting refugees are creating tensions and conflicts between the host community and refugee population (Crisp 2003:15). Such conflicts may take place for several reasons such as competition over natural resources or services accompanied by humanitarian agencies and others. The relationship is complex and affected by many factors, identifying these sources of conflict will be central to the research for further promoting coexistence instead of conflict.

1.2 Area of study

The chosen area for conducting the research is Kakuma located in Turkana County in the north-west corner of Kenya near the South-Sudan border. Kakuma is originally home to the pastoralist ethnic Turkana tribe. The environment of Kakuma is semi-arid with average temperatures of 40 degrees Celsius. Kakuma is located in one of Kenya's most remote counties. The harsh desert like environment makes sustaining livelihoods challenging. In 1991 Kakuma refugee camp was established much due to the civil-war in Sudan and other unstable conditions in neighboring countries. Since then Kakuma has hosted refugees from around 15 different nationalities, it is the only multinational refugee camp of its kind in the world and at present time hosting over 100 000 refugees (UNHCR a. 2012). The large influx of refugees over time has impacted the Kakuma host community in several ways which is why this is a valid location for conducting the research. In addition is Turkana County considered the poorest county in Kenya where over 94, 3% of its population (Turkana County) is estimated to be living in poverty (Kenya Open Data 2006).

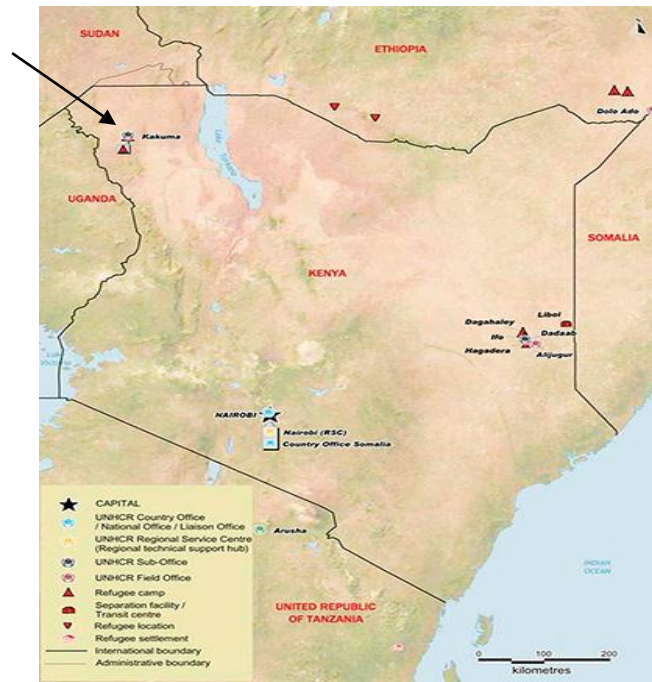


Figure 1: Map of Kenya and Kakuma (UNHCR a. 2013)

1.3 Research objectives

The relationship between the host communities and refugee camps will be central in this research. The research aims to explore and analyze impacts that may affect the lives of the people of Kakuma host community and its relationship with the refugee population. In specific it will aim to research and explore closer how the balance of these impacts accompanied by the refugees and camp presence are affecting the household viability of the host community. With household viability it will in this research refer to Kiberab's (1987:249) definition which is the following; *"the households ability to sustain itself by generating a specific minimum income which permits it to meet its consumptions requirements"*. In other words the research will explore how the refugee presence has affected the lives of the host community in terms of how they sustain their livelihoods.

The nature and changes of the relationship between the refugee population and the host community will be equally an interest of concern to the research. How the relationship can create both situations of conflict and coexistence will be analyzed aiming at identifying sources and root causes of conflict and coexistence in the relationship and how to promote the latter rather than the former.

The research is believed to provide valuable knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of how refugee camps impact communities hosting them and the relationship between the host community and refugee population. Further it can explore possible sustainable solutions for improving the relationship between them and how to better adapt and coexist which will be beneficial for both host communities and refugee populations. Finding sustainable solutions of coexistence between refugees and the communities hosting them is seen as crucial for development as refugee situations are not likely to disappear and understanding the dynamics of these relationships is much needed.

1.4 Methodology in brief

The design of the research will be a case study of Kakuma host community and the impacts by the refugee camp established in the community. The situation experienced in Kakuma is reflecting the earlier discussed scenario of host-refugee relations which makes it a valid location for conducting a case study of the topic. A qualitative approach will be the chosen method for conducting the research. Means for collecting the data will be conducted through semi-structured interviews and observations. The sample of the research will include both the host community of Kakuma and the refugee population of Kakuma refugee camp. In addition various actor's such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), government representatives and other organizations of relevance who are working with the host community and refugee camp are included in the sample.

1.5 Thesis outline

The outline of the thesis is the following: Chapter 2 will present a literature review on the topic of research, research objectives and a theoretical framework developed for the research. Further will chapter 3 present the methodology and strategies to be used in the research. Chapter 4 will present the empirical findings of the research, while in chapter 5 the findings will be further subjected to analysis in relation to the theoretical framework. Conclusions and recommendations of the overall research will be found in chapter 6.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Literature Review

The literature review will provide literature on the research topic in addition to contextual information on the locations of the research.

2.1.1. The diversity of impacts by refugee camps on host communities

The nature of impacts of refugee influx and camp establishments on host communities are many and diverse. Exact knowledge of these impacts and how they affect host communities is nevertheless lacking according to researchers of the field such as Chambers (1986) and Maystadt and Verwimp (2009). What is known is that refugee camps are commonly established in remote areas of poor and underdeveloped conditions where often host populations are struggling to sustain their livelihoods. That implies that refugee influx will have some effect on the lives of the people living in the area. How it will impact nonetheless depends on several factors and approaches where both positive and negative outcomes are possibilities (Maystadt and Verwimp 2009:1-2).

In situations of refugee camp establishments it is appointed usually to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) the leading organization in addition to the hosting government and various implementing partners (UNHCR b. 2012). For obvious reasons is UNHCR mostly concerned with assisting refugees as their mandate responds to the same. Chambers (1986: 246) argues that, research tends to emphasize more on the refugees in such situations as they are in an obvious crisis situation while the hosting part receives limited attention.

Literature on issues relating to impacts of refugee camps on host communities has received equally limited attention. Maystad and Verwimp (2009:1-2) claims that knowledge and literature on these issues has not improved much since the analysis of Chambers from 1986. Responding to these claims is this research aiming at contributing to the gap in knowledge of the complexity of impacts on host communities by refugee camps, and how this further affects the relationship between hosts and refugees.

People of communities hosting refugees are often experiencing similar difficult situations although they tend to be neglected in the increasing demand for attention and assistance of the refugee situation. Nevertheless, it can be argued that host communities are likely to even if in

a small amount receive more attention and assistance than prior to the refugee presence due to the influx of relief and aid agencies to the area. The increasing demand for relief and aid assistance in areas hosting refugees will have the possibility to raise awareness of also the host communities' challenges. The effects from refugee assistance and endorsements of economic functions are likely also to some extent benefit the livelihoods of the host community. Host communities can also suffer from such developments in terms of losing out to overexploitation of limited natural resources vital for sustaining livelihoods. This emphasizes the reality of the diverse set of impacts that refugees and camp presence may have on hosting communities where mixed consequences are the most likely outcomes. In such perspectives is it argued that more research and knowledge on these issues are needed for understanding the dynamics of consequences of how refugee camps affects host communities (Maystadt and Verwimp 2009:1-2).

Chambers (1986:246-249) explains likely cost and benefits for hosts in a refugee-hosting situation into three groups of hosts; surplus farmers, subsistence farmers and labors with negligible or no land. Further on Chambers offers five dimensions of analysis of the cost benefit relationship which is accordingly dependent upon food/land, labor/wages, services, common property resources (CPRs) and economic development. In early stages of refugee influx is it likely that before imported food aid assistance is fully implemented that depletion of local food supplies will drive up food prices. The outcome for the ones selling food such as surplus farmers would likely be positive, while negative for the ones who are depending on buying food supplies such as subsistence farmers and landless labors.

As with all possible impacts of refugee presence on host communities is the issue of food access and availability. For example many presence of refugees make food scarcer for the poorer host in terms of raising prices and pressure on resources. Nevertheless, it may also have the opposite effect through relief food becoming available to hosts in term of accessibility through trade. Although food aid distributed to refugees is obviously for personal use, it is common that portions of it are sold or exchanged for different food or other items at local markets in camps. Whitaker (1999) argues that around 75% of food rations distributed to refugees in camps in Tanzania during the early 1990s (1992-1993) were sold at local markets. The World Food Project (WFP) and UNHCR (1998) on the other hand claim that the numbers are closer to 20 or 30%. This does indicate that a significant part of food aid finds its way to markets also available for non-refugees. Such local markets and trading areas could also have

social effects on the relationship between the host and refugee populations where mutual benefits could be a possible outcome (Chambers 1986:250).

Similarly to the issues of land, do also labor and wages vary in their impacts towards host communities. For some it could result in cheap labor from refugees on abundant land to helping producing more goods. Alternatively if land and natural resources are scarce, hosts are likely to get hurt as competition for such resources could increase (Chambers 1986:252). The argument by Chamber on varying impacts is supported by empirical research such as by Maystadt and Verwimp (2009) from Tanzania where refugees provided cheap labor to hosts in sectors such as agriculture, construction and others. Jacobsen (2002:10-11) support Chambers claims that in areas where land and natural resources are scarce refugees can increase competition over these resources for host communities as experienced in refugee camps in The Horn of Africa.

In terms of social services it is usual that areas such as health and education receive assistance through development of schools and health centers. In the initial face of refugee influx is it typical that these accesses are reserved for refugees, although in long term they may also bring benefits to local communities as they will also receive more access to these services (Chambers 1986:252-253). A Development Report from 2011 (World Bank 2011:16-17) supports Chambers arguments that social services often are improved in refugee hosting communities, referring to experiences in Mexico in the early 1990s. Similarly UNHCR is arguing that health and sanitation services improve in refugee hosting communities. Data from refugee camps in Tanzania (between 1991 and 2001) suggests that around 30% of health service beneficiaries were local people (Maystadt and Wervimp 2009:8).

Competition for common property resources (CPRs) is a typical possible conflicting issue between refugees and locals according to Chambers (1986:253-254). Cultivation of land through camp development resulting in exploitation of grazing land, trees, firewood, food and water are some of the outcomes in the equation. In areas where these resources are limited is it likely that hosts will feel like losing out to the CPRs and possibly become a source of hostility towards the refugee population. Conflicts between hosts and refugees (also between non-refugee pastoralist communities) over CPRs have been experienced especially in the Sudan-Uganda-Kenya border region according to Jacobsen (2003:11).

Economic development within host communities as a result of refugee presence can vary a great deal. As expressed by Alix-Garcia and Saah (2009: 167) through a World Bank economic review discussing the economic impacts of refugee camps on host communities which can both be positive and negative. New market opportunities for locals to sell local merchandises may have a positive effect for some, while at the same time competition over already scarce resources may bring challenges for others. Experiences from refugee camps in Tanzania between 1993 and 1994 shows that hosts with farming opportunities experienced positive economic impacts through increased food demand (excluding food-aid) from refugees. On the other hand non-farming hosts suffered from increasing food prices (Alix-Garcia and Saah 2009:166).

Cheap labor, trading, framing etc. can stimulate economic development of the hosting area. Infrastructural improvements such as new roads, access to markets and goods can also raise economic activity. Population growth through non-refugee migration to the area due to opportunities accompanied by the refugee presences may also impact in different ways. The nature of the economic development will nevertheless depend on official policies and interventions of the hosting country (Chambers 1986: 255-256). This shows some of the complexity of possible impacts refugee influx may have on the economic as well as overall situation for people of host communities.

2.1.2. Winners and losers in the refugee host community relations

Refugee camps as discussed have possibilities to bring both positive and negative impacts on host communities. The benefits and costs experienced among people of the host community are nonetheless difficult to predict. What is often the case in such situations is that the assistance or benefits rarely reaches the poorest of the poor (Chambers 1986:245).

In cases of prolonged refugee situations is it likely that overall development is generated into the hosting area such as through labor demands, higher wages, improved supplies of consumer goods and means to paying for recurrent costs of services are some possible outcomes (Chambers 1986:256). Experiences are often that areas where refugee camps are established become subject to national migrations due to opportunities accompanied by the camp presence. Competition for resources and these new job opportunities may than become more competitive for the host community and even more challenging for the most vulnerable and poor.

Maystadt and Verwimp (2009:5-11) identify some possibly destabilizing impacts of refugee influx. As mentioned by Chambers (1986) sudden flow of non-refugee population influx can create more competition for already struggling hosts. In addition disease spreading, security threats and environmental impacts such as deforestation can contribute negatively to the livelihoods for the local population. Maystadt and Verwimp (2009:8-9) claim that research suggests that these destabilizing impacts decrease during time of refugee presence through NGO interventions.

The balance between “winners and losers” of the refugee presence is also evident in Maystadt and Verwimp`s (2009:X-1) empirical study conducted in Tanzania between 1991 and 2004. Although their findings suggest that local hosts don`t necessarily suffer due to refugee presence, they do also reveal that the economic benefits are unevenly distributed amongst host populations.

A well-documented fact of their research is that creations of new common marketplaces within refugee camps often take place. Their research further suggests that a significant amount of food rations distributed to refugees are sold or exchanged at local markets in camps both between refugees and local hosts (Maystadt and Verwimp 2009:6). Different experiences between hosts who were self-employed farmers and those of agricultural workers were also identified. The former benefitted through cheap refugee labor while the latter suffered from increasing competition on the labor market. In addition in their research suggesting that the closer the host lives to the camps the more populated they are and the larger the opportunities of positive impacts are. (Maystadt and Verwimp 2009:27-28).

2.1.3. Conflicts between host communities and refugee populations

When refugee camps are constructed also new relationships are created between refugees and the communities hosting them. What is often experienced in such scenarios is that situations of tensions and conflict between refugees and the host community prevails for different reasons. Refugee camps are also known as a possible area of recruitment and mobilizing for refugees forming political oppositions or executing attacks on their home government. Especially camps hosting refugees from neighboring countries are prone to such political aspects. Experiences with Rwandan Tutsi refugees hosted in Uganda, which in 1990 formed

the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and invaded northern Rwanda is one example (Lomo et al, 2001).

Crisp (2003:9-15) describe protracted situations in Africa as featured by limited physical security, violence and frequent conflicts between refugees local populations. Root causes for such uprising conflicts between refugees and local population are complex and many. Crisp (2003:15) identifies two typical areas that are creating tensions in the initial influx stage. The first one depends on the degree that locals recognize their benefits from projects and services provided to refugees. Increased pressure on vital natural resources which the host community is depending upon is another possible source of conflict between them. Causes of conflicts between refugees and hosts are not a straight forward process to identify, as many variables and impacts are affecting the relationship.

Jacobsen (2002:6) supports the arguments by Crisp (2003) that when refugees arrive in new communities there are likely risks of security problems of different nature both between refugees and with the host community. Such conflicts may vary over a broad spectrum including local crime and violence, clashes between refugees and the local community, organized crime, drug smuggling, human trafficking amongst others (Jacobsen 2002:8-9).

Why these conflicts take place is much based on contextual conditions, but some areas is recognized as more prone to conflicts to develop and escalate. Economic impacts is such an area; refugees can create problems for the host community in term of putting more pressure on scarce economic resources. Nonetheless, economic impacts of refugee influx are often mixed as refugees can also bring with them resources or contribute to economic stimuli to the area (Jacobsen 2002:10-11). Access to common property resources (CPRs) and environmental impacts is another possible conflicting area where the worst effects occur during mass influx or mass return of refugees. As access to natural resources are often scarce in communities where refugee camps are established more pressure can be put on these resources due to the refugee influx and act as a trigger to conflict between the two parties (Martin 2005:330-331, Jacobsen 2002:11). This indicates a difference in environmental and security impacts between self-settled refugees and refugees' kept in camps where the former is more likely to adapt sustainable practices.

Sources of these conflicts cannot be evaluated in an isolated vacuum. Usually there are combinations of several impacts that create situations of conflicts between host populations and settled refugees. Social and cultural impacts can also play a role in these complex situations. For example some refugees that arrive from neighboring countries have been historically in disputes with their neighbors that now become their hosts. Jacobsen (2002:11) explains that in the border area between southern Sudan and Kenya where the majority is pursuing a pastoralist lifestyle and where cattle-rustling has been a longstanding tradition. In such a scenario refugees and hosts with cattle can face challenges in their new relationship as incidents of cattle-rustling between them would be unlikely.

The inflation and availability of small arms especially in sub-Saharan Africa is also a constant threat to people's security. The Small Arms Survey (SAS 2002:57) from 2002 recognizes that around 30 million illegal small arms are in circulation in sub-Saharan Africa. The "easy" availability and access to small arms have undoubtedly been an obstacle for relief programmes, peace-building and development in Africa and other regions where weapons and arms are freely in circulation (Mkutu 2008:1). This is also a reality faced in remote areas where refugee camps are established. As Mkutu (2008:2) describes is the flow of arms in remote, bordering and marginalized areas proving difficult to regulate. In addition weapons are a necessity for many ethnic groups to protect their livelihoods such as livestock from neighboring tribes due to lack of government security presence in these areas. Muggah and Mogire (Muggah 2006:1) are addressing the concerns of militarization of refugee camps stating that arms availability is "*especially acute in so-called protracted refugee situations*". The access and availability to arms both by host communities and refugees are certainly a great security threat possibly affecting the relationship between the two.

Political actions by both hosting governments and UNHCR can also play a role in how the relationship between hosts and refugees develop. Refugees living in camps have at least to some extent access to services such as health care and education due to international aid and donor programmes, while such accesses may be limited or non-existing to the host community. Further refugees are provided with food and shelter by UNHCR (UNHCR b. 2012) while host communities who are often located in remote areas struggle to meet their daily needs. Such factors can contribute to increasing tensions and instability of the relationship which further potentially can escalate into conflicts (Loescher and Milner 2006:8-9). The experiences by the hosts are often that they are treated unfairly and that refugees

living on “their land” receive services and assistance while they are neglected and marginalized. Such grievances experienced by host communities are a strong and potential source of conflict towards the refugee population (Aukot 2003:74-75).

Bolesta (2005:27-28) identifies the amount of violence that takes place in refugee camps in Kenya (Dadaab and Kakuma) which she further describes as impossible to quantify. Deaths and serious injuries occur on a daily basis where safety and security fears are high within the refugee camps. These incidents include both inter-communal conflicts between refugees and also between refugees and host communities. The spillover and access to small arms in areas where refugee camps are present also play a huge part in these situations of violent encounters (Bolesta 2005:27-28). It is especially common that the local people of the area have access to small arms for different reasons such as protecting cattle or history of tribal disputes.

Conflicts between refugees and people of host communities often take place within refugee camps as it often is the main area of services and resources. Refugees are also usually restricted to movement while insecurity measures inside camps are high (Crisp 2003:14-15). Nevertheless, situations of violence and conflict between refugees and hosts are also present outside the camps. In such scenarios if donor support decreases over time refugees might be “forced” or tempted to go to search for livelihood resources in the host community which usually is illegal. Resulting in increasing competition over such resources with hosts can potentially become a source of tension (Loescher and Milner 2006:8-9). In worst case scenario’s refugees can start pursuing alternative coping strategies such as theft and banditry which obviously will have further negative effects on the relationship with the host community.

2.1.4. Collaborative actions for promoting coexistence between host communities and refugee populations

Karen Jacobsen (2002:1) emphasizes the need for finding ways for humanitarian assistance to increase economic security in refugee hosting areas by supporting livelihoods and ensuring the rights and wellbeing for both the host community and refugee population. As other literature reveals on the issue Jacobsen (2002:20-21) also confirms the broad complex set of challenges affecting both locals and refugees in such given situations. Solutions for benefitting both host communities and refugees may be found within collaborative involvement from both parts in addition to external actors.

In a refugee camp context are there typically two forms of international humanitarian assistance provided. The most common way is through formal livelihood support programs in camps such as food security, water safety, health, environmental protection, disease control and management of community resources. These resources at least in the initial phase of establishment are mainly concerned towards the refugee population, although it is possible that some become available also to the host community at varying scale. Livelihood support by humanitarian assistance may also have the ability to create economic stimuli to the economy of the host community (Jacobsen 2002:10-17). The influx of agencies to areas of refugee presence can create new economic demands and inputs spreading beyond the camp, empowering livelihood opportunities for both locals and refugees. This can be done through such areas as deliveries, construction, administrations and job generating. New economies such as markets and trading of food aid and other merchandises between refugees and locals are often experienced (Jacobsen 2003:14). It should be added that introduction of food aid on host markets could possibly lead to inflation on local food prices. On the other hand, areas where food availability are scarce is likely to benefit as food aid results in more opportunities for hosts to access food.

Nonetheless, one should also evaluate possible negative effects of humanitarian assistance. Competition for humanitarian assistance in areas of conflict and war could potentially lead to increasing violence. In worst cases could development of infrastructure such as roads potentially be misused and facilitate militias and warlords (if present) for easier access in transporting weapons from neighboring countries. Militarization of refugee camps is not an unknown phenomena. Northern Kenya is such an example, local media claim that refugee camps in Kakuma and Dadaab is used as trans-shipment points for illegal firearms transported from neighboring (former) Sudan and Somalia into Kenya (Muggah 2006:4).

Jacobsen (2002:17) emphasizes the importance of supporting livelihoods in conflict area with humanitarian aid including both emergency relief inputs as well as long-term livelihood support. Specifically, long-term support should reach both refugees and the host community for enhancing and promoting coexistence. Proactive measures in the implementing phase are equally important in the sense of analyzing before implementing. In such situations donors and humanitarian agencies should identify and consult local actors familiar with the political and security context of the area in how to best implement and distribute programs (Jacobsen 2002:17).

Encouragement of local integration for durable solution for refugees such as creating income generating programs (IGPs) could potentially be beneficial for host communities as well as refugees. IGPs have received limited support especially in Africa. This is much due to national politics of not integrating refugees with IGPs as it is considered to be promoting them to staying in the country which often is not an option from the hosting governments (Jacobsen 2002:18).

As expressed by Crisp (2003:20-21) is it misleading to think that are any quick or easy fixes to protracted refugee situations. Situations of conflict have been ongoing for generations with different approaches tried also including aid and development to host populations with relative limited success. What is an evident assumption is that focus on more mediation and peace building by the United Nations (UN) and other organizations present is needed if improvements are to be achieved. Realities for refugees are that very few will be able to get resettlement or return to their country of origin. Local integration is neither an option in most refugee hosting countries. In these challenging realities is it at least important to find sustainable solutions for coexistence between refugees and the communities hosting them (Crisp 2003:21.)

It is a common assumption of literature (Jacobsen 2002, Crisp 2003; Aukot 2003) that the problems of how to assist refugees in host countries are one of the greatest within international refugee regime. Sustainable solutions that are acceptable for all including the hosting country are certainly challenging. As mentioned are also people of the hosting communities experiencing similar difficult living conditions and conflict situations. Therefore is it equally important to address them as well for promoting coexistence and avoiding situations of conflict. As addressed by Chambers (1986), Jacobsen (2002), Crisp (2003) and others is it important to have more knowledge and understandings of the relationship between refugees and host communities in reach for pursuing more sustainable solutions that are acceptable for both.

2.2. Area of study

2.2.1. Kakuma host community

Kakuma is located in Turkana County in the north-western part of Kenya around 95 kilometers from the South Sudanese border (Forced Migration Review 2011:11). The Swahili

word Kakuma translated to English means “nowhere” which at least before the refugee camp presence would be a valid characterization of the area. The environmental context of Kakuma is semi-arid with an average temperature of 40 degrees Celsius. The semi-arid conditions makes agricultural opportunities extremely difficult, in addition is Kakuma continuously subjected to water shortages (Aukot 2003). Annual rainfalls in Kakuma are estimated to be 255 mm (Lutheran World Federation 2011:40). The conditions and scarce resources of the area make sustaining livelihoods very challenging for the people living in Kakuma.

The area of Kakuma in itself is not particular large in size, Turkana County covers approximately 63,000 square kilometers of where Kakuma is a small “town” (see figure 2) (McCabe 2004:40). The main road that goes from Kakuma town to the start of the refugee camp is considered the center of Kakuma. The main road has some small shops, restaurants and markets on each side. The Tarach River is the main source of water for the inhabitants of Kakuma. The river is located at the end of Kakuma town, further crossing a small bridge and you are approaching the refugee camp in a short distance. In walking distance from Kakuma town to the Tarach River it would not take more than ten minutes. When passing the river you will find the local police station and three big compounds hosting staff, vehicles and offices for UNHCR, International Organization of Migration (IOM), World Food Programme (WFP) and other NGOs working in the camp. Next to the compounds is the beginning of section one of the Kakuma refugee camp, stretching a significant distance by far larger than Kakuma town.

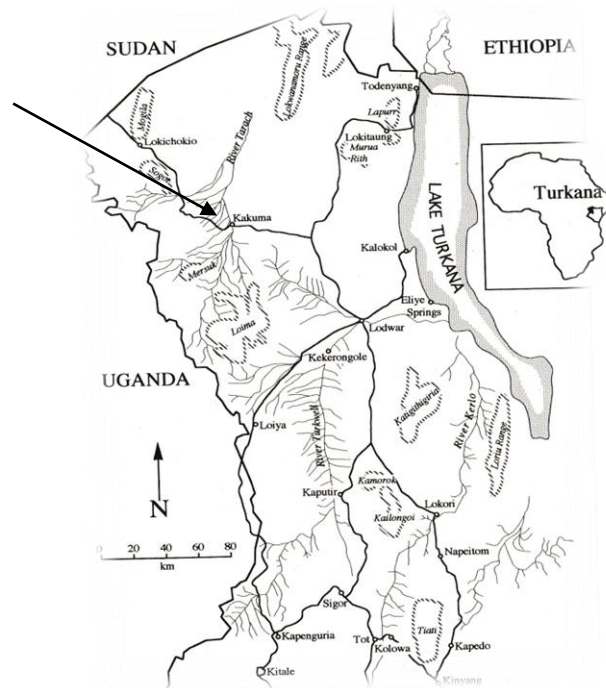


Figure 2: Map of Turkana County and Kakuma (McCabe 2003:8)

Kakuma was originally a pastoralist community prior to the refugee camp presence. People living in Kakuma were used to moving around searching for pasture and grazing land for their animals. Therefore there are many villages all around Kakuma bordering the camp from multiple sides with different distance.

The Kakuma population prior to the refugee influx where mainly consisting of the Turkana tribe which traditionally pursued pastoralism for sustaining livelihoods. The population of Kakuma was estimated to 9000 in 1991. Kakuma refugee camp was established in 1991 much due to conflict and civil war in Sudan. The demand for hosting large numbers of mainly young Sudanese boys fleeing civil-war lead to the establishment of Kakuma Refugee Camp (Aukot 2003:74). The refugee presence in Kakuma resulted in a catalyst of a huge population growth of both refugees and non-refugees to Kakuma. The large influx of humanitarian agencies resulted in a significant number of national migration (mainly from Turkana County)

to Kakuma due to the opportunities accompanied by the refugee and humanitarian presence. Estimations suggest that the non-refugee population in Kakuma grew from 9000 in 1991 to 40,000 in 2000. In addition is the Kakuma refugee camp hosting more than 100,000 refugees to date (UNHCR a. 2012). The dramatic population growth in Kakuma has undoubtedly brought changes to the host community. More pressure on already scarce and limited natural resources has been inevitable, while the refugee and humanitarian agencies also brought new opportunities and services in different scale. The balance of challenges and opportunities of these new realities is highly varying for the host community, some may benefit while others suffer.



Figure 3: Entering Kakuma Refugee Camp (Photo: Researcher 18.01.12).

2.2.2. Host community of Kakuma: The Turkana tribe

The host community of Kakuma has traditionally consisted of nomadic pastoralists who depend on cattle for livelihood. They are known as the Turkana tribe who are settled throughout the Turkana County. Development in Kakuma and Turkana has been significantly marginalized throughout history both in economic and political perspectives (Aukot 2003:74). The environmental conditions and scarce resource access makes living in Kakuma extremely challenging. In addition has the Turkana tribe for a long time been engaged in conflicts with neighboring tribes such as the Pokot, Karamojong and other bordering tribes (McCabe 2004 89-90). The Turkana has for decades been recognized amongst Kenya's 43 per cent population living in absolute poverty with continuous struggles for sustaining daily needs (Aukot 2003:74). Conditions of droughts and extreme flooding are common in Kakuma which

further makes the pastoralist lifestyle increasingly challenging and difficult. Especially have the server incidents of drought throughout history and until present day had crucial effects on the livelihoods of Turkana`s.

The Tarach River located in Kakuma is the major source of drinking water for the host community. The river is usually dry for most part of the year and people are forced to dig in the river or walk long distances for collecting water. When the river floods during rainy seasons (twice a year) is it dangerous fetching water at the river bank due to its strong currents and high flooding. Pollution and spreading of diseases are also frequent at this time jeopardizing the safety of the drinking water. Although some improvements on boreholes and taps for water have been created by different humanitarian agencies in recent years, water shortage is still one of the biggest challenges for the host community.



Figure 4: Tarach River. The main source of drinking water in Kakuma (Photo: Researcher 03.01.12).

The presence of the refugee camp has impacted Kakuma in many ways. Population growth has resulted in the Turkana`s originating from Kakuma have become a minority between refugees and migrated nationals. The reality for the host community is that they are facing

similar problems and difficult living conditions as refugees. The balance of benefits and cost of the refugee camp experienced by the host community is nevertheless uncertain and what this research aims to explore.

The challenging livelihoods for Turkana`s in Kakuma is very visible. At present time there are many villages spread around the Kakuma area. The typical housing in these villages is small “huts” constructed by bushes, plastic or other random materials that are available. Conditions of dust storms are also common in Kakuma. Living in such “primitive” housing in an arid environment without regular access to water is a great challenge for many in the host community. Extreme flooding during the rainy season brings other difficulties for these villages.



Figure 5: Typical village in Kakuma host community (Photo: Researcher 05.01.12).

2.2.3. Kakuma refugee camp

Kakuma Refugee Camp was established in 1991 much due to the large numbers of Sudanese boys who had fled civil war in Sudan. Since 1983, the Sudan People`s Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudanese Government have been at war in southern Sudan. The war is estimated to have cost more than 500,000 lives. Around 20,000 to 40,000 children between

the ages of 7 and 17 separated from their families gathered and walked the long distance to the neighboring country of Ethiopia in search for refuge (UNICEF 1996). After spending some time in Ethiopia this group also known as “lost boys” or “walking boys” again was forced to flee when the Ethiopian regime was toppled in 1991. A refugee camp was set up in the area of Kakuma located in north-western Kenya around 95 kilometers from the Sudanese border in south for receiving and assisting this group of (mostly) boys who had been walking from Sudan to Ethiopia and back fleeing war (Aukot 2003:74).

The Demand for hosting high number of refugees from Sudan and other neighboring countries resulted in the Government of Kenya (GoK) in collaboration with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to establish the refugee camp in Kakuma. The numbers from early 1990s suggest that the camp hosted a large majority of Sudanese refugees around 60.000 in additions to other nationalities fleeing countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo (DRC) and Uganda.

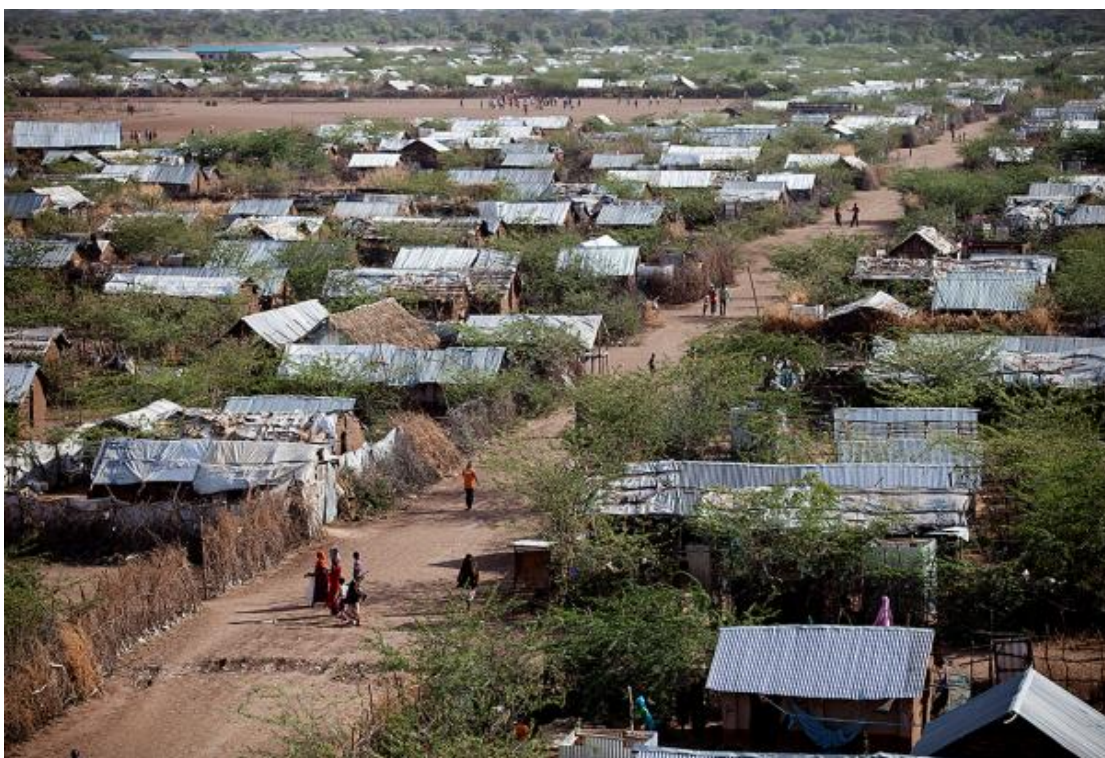


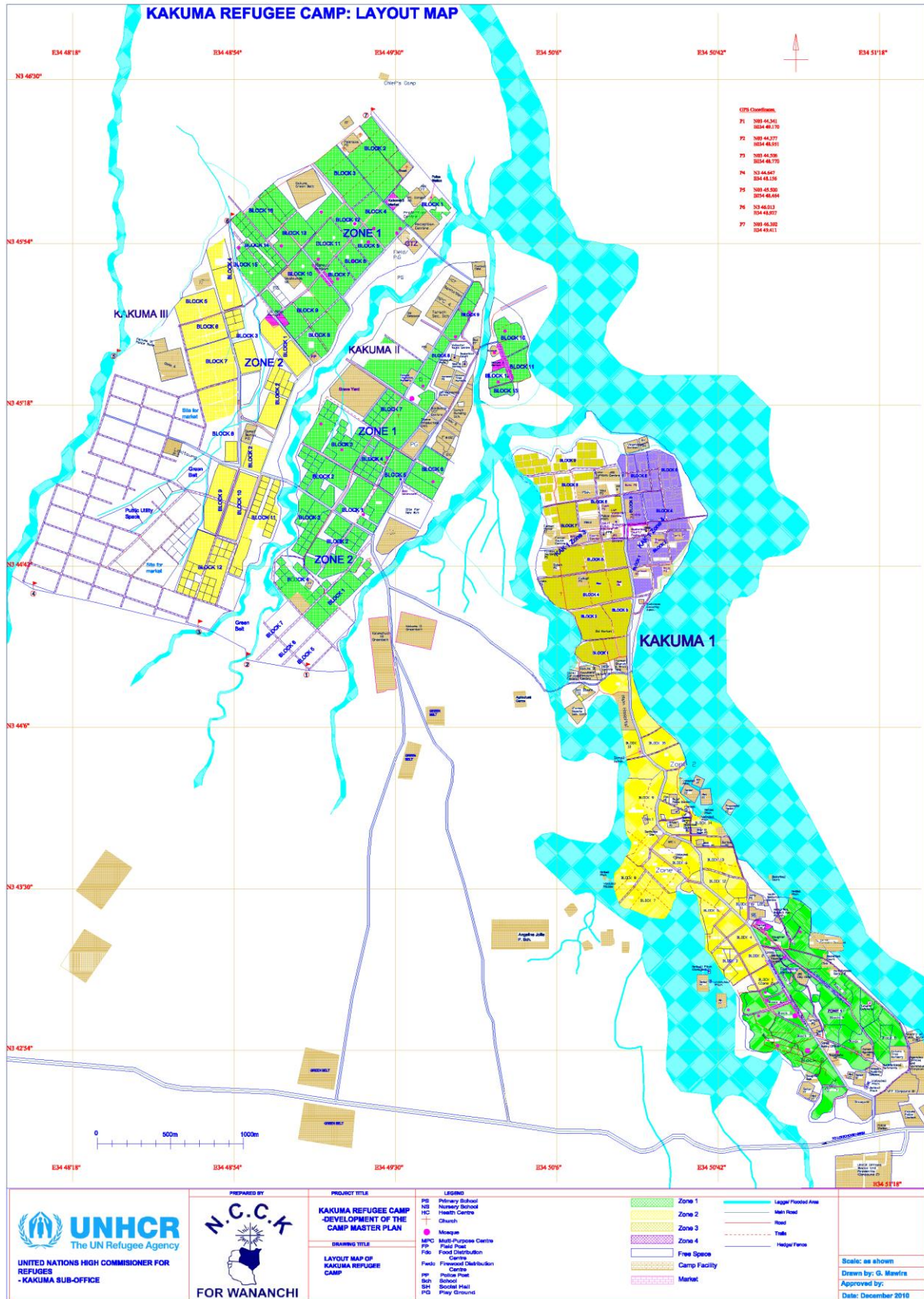
Figure 6: Inside Kakuma Refugee Camp (Røst 2013).

The number of refugees in Kakuma is constantly changing depending on the instability of the region. The large repatriation of Sudanese refugees in 2008 and increasing conflict crisis in Somalia has brought changes to the population diversity in Kakuma (UNHCR a. 2012).

UNHCR (a. 2012) statistics from December 2012 reveals the camp population at a total of 105,576. The largest refugee group is of Somali origin over 50,000, while the second largest group is from South-Sudan with over 33,000 in numbers. The escalating wars in Somalia and between (north) Sudan and South Sudan explains the two majority nationalities in the camp. In total is Kakuma refugee camp hosting refugees from 15 different nationalities at present time (UNHCR a. 2012).

The camp structure of Kakuma refugee camp (Figure 7) is divided into three sections, accordingly Kakuma 1, 2 and 3. Kakuma 1 being the oldest section and also the largest one in term of size and population. Kakuma 1 is divided in to four zones which further consisting of a blocking system between eight to fifteen blocks in each Zone. Kakuma 2 and 3 has two zones with similar blocking system. Nonetheless, the camp structure is continuously subjected to changes as new influxes acquire more space.

Figure 7: Kakuma Refugee Camp: Layout Map (NCKK 2011).



The camp in itself is maybe best described as “a town within a town” with houses mainly built of mud-bricks with iron-sheeted roofing. Most of the houses and plots are fenced in with bushes and tree materials including iron gates with chains and locks. The fencing is not provided by UNHCR, but constructed by refugees themselves. This further gives an indication of security concerns by the camp residents. Kakuma camp is Kenya’s oldest refugee camp already existing for over two decades which also has resulted in development within the camp. Different communities (Somali, Ethiopian, Sudanese and other nationalities) have its own markets (selling/trading different items) that have by far more selections than offered in Kakuma town. The realities are that many of the host community prefer going to the markets in the camp rather than in Kakuma town.



Figure 8: A refugee plot fenced in (Photo: Researcher: 26.01.12).

Education and medical opportunities in the camp is also attracting the host community as they are also available for them. The medical facilities in the camp run by humanitarian organizations are also used by many of the hosts. Schools in the camp have gradually become more available also for the host community. Although the majority attending these schools are refugees although they have become more available to hosts through different criteria.

Crisp (2003:11) describes different commercial trade activities located in the camp such as open markets, shops, butcheries, hair salons, restaurants, bars and video theatres. Although this might only benefit relatively few refugees with access to capital and entrepreneurial skills it is still improving access to different items and development within the camp context.

What is an obvious observation while traveling through the camp is that many of the Turkana hosts are going to the camp to work for refugees. Such work consists of bringing firewood, charcoal, trees for fencing plots, washing clothes and other small jobs. The food distribution centers seem to be the biggest “market” for host to get some work. A common sight is many hosts lining up outside the gates of the distribution centers when refugees collect their food rations. The Turkana hosts carry food rations for refugees in exchange for a small share of the ration or money.



Figure 9: Turkana women selling charcoal in the refugee camp (photo: Research assistant 14.09.10).

Although being provided with food, water and shelter, the life in a refugee camp is not a favored situation for anyone and life is extremely difficult. Bartolomei et al (2003:87-91) describes conditions in Kakuma refugee camp as extremely harsh in terms of the remote and semi-arid environment. Refugees being in a situation without citizenship in a foreign country have very few opportunities except waiting for returning home or resettlement to a receiving

third country. In addition is the security situation in refugee camps often an issue of concern. Jacobsen (2002:8) and Crisp (2003:8-9) are identifying serious problems for refugees staying in Kakuma in term of limited security, no freedom of movement, and limited civil, political and legal rights. Serious incidents of deaths and violence are also happening on daily bases in Kakuma refugee camp making the life for refugee even more difficult.

2.2.4. Refugee - host community relations in Kakuma

The refugee camp establishment in 1991 created an entirely new set of relationships in Kakuma. The reality of the Turkana people becoming a minority in Kakuma in addition to the changes of the large camp constructions and influx of new arrivals has brought both challenges and opportunities for the citizens of Kakuma.

Empirical research by Aukot (2003:76) suggests that the relationship between the host Turkana and refugee communities was relatively good in the first years of the camp existence. Although, is it documented that this good relationship has declined over time. The rising tension was especially between Turkana and the Sudanese Dinka tribe who were amongst the majority of the residents in the early days of the camp presence. Incidents were reported by hosts such as refugees entering their villages stealing, provoking fights, raping of women and murdering of Turkana people (Aukot 2003:76). On the contrary refugees claimed that Turkana`s conducted criminal activities such as cattle-rustling and other means of violence. Either way has these conflicts between the host Turkana and refugees had a negative impact on their relationship and coexistence.

Both Aukot (2003:74) and Crisp (2003:14-15) have identified the absence of security in Kakuma where UNHCR is expected to provide security for the refugees also in relation to the host community. Bartolomei et al (2003:88) is equally supporting the views of the Kakuma security situation as critical and affecting the relationship between the hosts and refugees. Further Bartolomei et al (2003:88) and Crisp (2003:14) reveals that tensions between the local Turkana and refugee community is high. In addition is the presence of weapons such as AK-47 high and violent incidents also resulting in death between the two groups are frequent.

Aukot (2003:74-75) recognizes the camp presence as an area of growing locality of social conflict, economic decline and political abuse. In that respect, one should for no reason underestimate the possible impacts of refugee camps on host communities.

Literature and descriptions of life in Kakuma refugee camp as elsewhere in Kakuma is fairly limited especially of recent years. Still it provides some indications on earlier conditions experienced. This further promotes this research as literature shows significant gaps both in recent contextualized research and particular towards in-depth knowledge of the relationship and impacts of refugee camps on host communities. This research will elaborate on more recent conditions experienced in the camp, host community and the relationship between refugees and the host Turkana.

2.3 Research questions

The main objectives to be addressed in this research is to explore impacts of the refugee camp on Kakuma host community, and how the host community has adapted to the situation and the relationship towards the refugee population.

More specific the research will first aim at identifying how the refugee camp presence is impacting the household viability of the host community of Kakuma. The second objective is to explore what sources that creates conflict and coexistence between the host community and refugee population of Kakuma. The vague and broad definition of the term *conflict* such as by Oxford Dictionary (2012) “*a serious disagreement or argument*” opens for multiple interpretations of the wording. The use of *conflict* in this research will be in relation to its violent features. It is more specifically related to violent conflicts between two or more parties including such actions as assault, robberies, attacks (on humans or property), threats, rape, killings and other forms of physical and psychological abuse from one part to another.

In the search for acquiring this information is five research questions developed based on the research objectives:

1. What impacts the host community of Kakuma has experienced after the refugee influx?

2. How has the refugee camp and influx affected the household viability of the Kakuma host community?
3. How has the host community of Kakuma adapted to the refugee influx and camp establishments?
4. What are the main sources that are creating tensions and conflict between the host community of Kakuma and the refugee population?
5. What are the main sources that are promoting coexistence and positive collaborations between the host community of Kakuma and the refugee population?

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The first objective to be addressed in the research will look closer into the balance of impacts that are affecting the people of the host community of Kakuma. As the size and diversity of impacts affecting the host community is significantly large, the research will not go into depth on all these impacts, but rather identify the ones of most significant effect. The research will focus on how the camps presence affects the household viability of the local communities in Kakuma and how they adapt as a result of the refugee influx. The second objective to be addressed in the research is how these impacts can create tensions and conflicts between the host community and refugees. In addition the research will explore how the same impacts can possibly create collaborations and positive relationships between them. In doing so will the research aim at identifying how to promote coexistence rather than conflict between the two groups.

Literature on the topic confirms that the understanding of these relationships is of high importance as such scenarios are not likely to disappear and where more knowledge of how refugee camps are affecting host communities is needed. To give an overview of how refugee camps may affect host communities have I developed a simplified figure explaining the main features of the relationship and possible outcomes (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Impacts by refugee camps on host communities

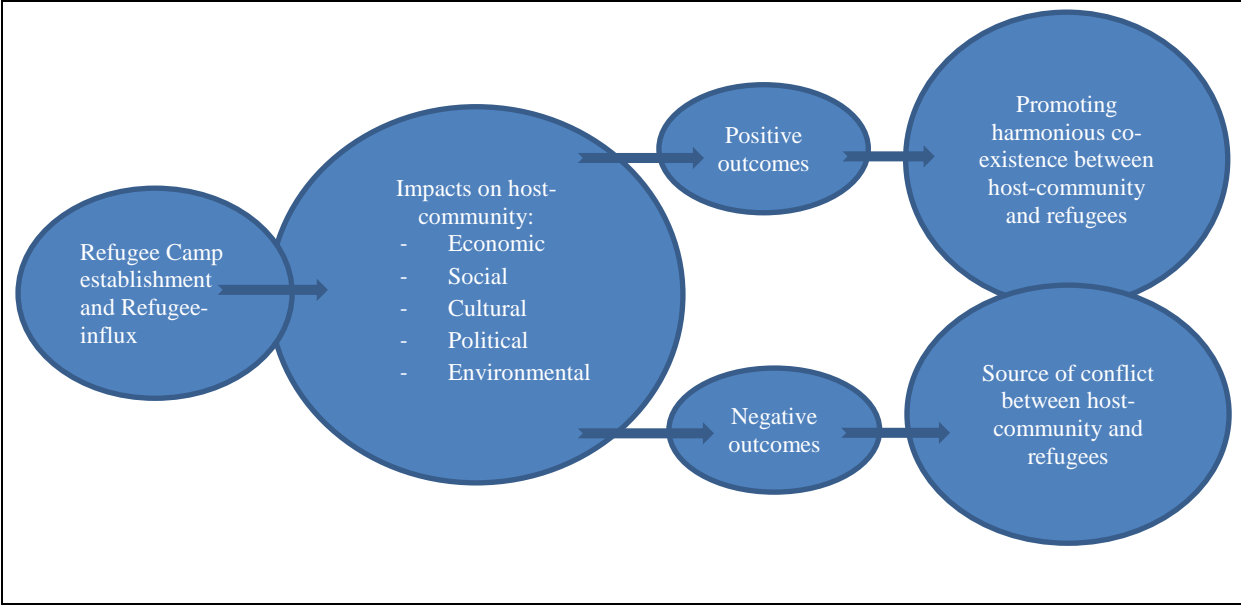


Figure 10 gives an overview on possible impacts for host communities becoming realities in scenarios where refugee camps are established. These impacts are all capable to affect the lives and in particular the household viability of the host community which is the first focus of the research. Figure 10 also introduces the nature of impacts and possible outcomes of the relationship between the host community and refugees.

Research objective 1

The first objective in the research to be addressed is how the refugee camp affects the host community and in particular their household viability. As explained, Kakuma host community is featured by a semi-arid environment with limited natural resources.

Chambers (1986) present theories on how host communities based on contextual conditions will be impacted by refugee camp presence. He argues that in areas where access to natural resources are limited is it likely that host communities are to be hurt as competition for these resources could increase. Chambers (1986) further claims that overexploitation of common property resources (CPRs) in hosting communities are likely due to camp development. The Kakuma context fits Chambers (1986) description of an area where CPRs are limited, and according to his theory would locals in Kakuma be losing out to these vital resources.

Chambers (1986) does also present a theory on how host communities may benefit from the refugee presence through development of social services such as schools and health services also becoming available for the hosting part.

Alix-Garcia and Saah (2009) confirms Chambers (1986) views that increasing competition for resources in addition to population growth and migration may negatively impact the host community and their household viability. They do also present a theory that new market opportunities for locals to sell, buy and trade merchandises with refugees may have a positive impact for the host community. Maystad and Verwimps (2009) empirical research from hosting communities in Tanzania supports this theory as they argue that a significant amount of food rations distributed to refugees are often sold or exchanged at new markets between refuges and local hosts.

The theories presented here on both how host communities can be hurt in terms of losing vital resources and benefit from hosting refugees through gaining more access to social services and creation of new market opportunities will be central to the research. The balance between these possible impacts is nevertheless complex, dynamic and to some extent unexplored according to literature. Therefore makes these theories presented an interesting framework for analyzing the findings from Kakuma host community in relation to research question one, two and three.

Research objective 2

The second objective in the research is concerned with the relationship between the host community and refugee population. More specific on what sources that creates situations of conflict and coexistence between the two groups (research question four and five).

Crisp (2003) identifies two common areas where tension and conflicts is likely to prevail in the influx stage of refugees to host communities. The first area is depending on how locals recognize their benefits from humanitarian projects and services provided to refugees. In other words Crisp (2003) is arguing that the approach from humanitarian agencies when setting up refugee camps in host communities can impact the relationship between the hosts and refugees. Loescher and Milner (2006), and Aukot (2003) are in line with Crips (2003) view on

the important role the humanitarian regime plays in shaping the relationship between host communities and refugees. The host communities' experience of being marginalized when hosting refugees is also according to them a strong potential source creating tension and conflict toward the refugee presence.

Increased pressure on vital resources that host communities are depending on is another theory of how conflict may prevail presented by Crisp (2003). If the refugee presence and camp development are using and creating competition over limited resources that are vital for the host community is it likely that host communities will channel their frustration towards the refugee population.

Nevertheless, it should be added that the role of humanitarian agencies also have the possibility to be a source promoting coexistence channel between the two parties. If the host community is also recognized at some level and benefits or at least not feel like losing out to the refugee presence this may also be a mechanism for creating coexistence with the refugee population. Jacobsen (2002) is presenting such a theory. She emphasizes that if livelihood support by humanitarian agencies are empowering both refugees and the host community this can have a positive impact on their relationship. To include both parties in humanitarian assistance is according to Jacobsen (2002) of great importance for promoting a peaceful relationship between host communities and refugees.

Jacobsen (2002) does claim that economic impacts of refugee influx are mixed and also have the possibility to gain host communities. According to her , refugees can also contribute to economic stimuli to the area, in such may it also promote coexistence and improve the relationship. The theory by Jacobsen (2002) is supported by Alex Garcia and Saah (2009) who argues that new market opportunities for locals to benefit from through trade with refugees promotes interaction and coexistence in the relationship.

According to theories presented here are the mechanisms which conflict and coexistence are created much related to the experiences of the host community in relation to the refugee influx. Host experiences such as being marginalized in relation to refugees they are hosting, losing out to vital resources, and not benefitting from humanitarian services are according to these theories all potential sources for conflict between hosts and refugees. These experiences

by the host community are not necessary that the refugees are to blame. Nonetheless, the frustrations experienced by the host community often get channeled towards the refugee population which further may escalate into conflict. The mechanisms through which coexistence is created is much related to the same impacts that are creating conflict according to the theories presented. The role of humanitarian agencies present and economic benefits accompanied by the refugee presence is mechanisms that may promote coexistence according to theory.

The chosen theories from the literature discussed here will work as the framework for analyzing the collected data and findings in relation to the research questions. Although these theories will function as a framework for the analysis, an inductive approach applied in this study where observations and findings will generate theory can be also relevant. As argued by Bryman (2008) do many researchers views of theory change as a result of collected data and *“the relevance of a set of data for a theory may become apparent after the data has been collected”* (Bryman 2008:10).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methodology discussion

The most common distinction of methodology in social research is between applying a quantitative or qualitative approach (Bryman 2008:21). This does not necessarily mean that researcher needs to strictly follow only one approach. A mixed method approach including both quantitative and qualitative strategies is also an option for researchers. Nonetheless, there are some clear distinctions between the two which makes them natural to divide; the most obvious is that quantitative researchers employ measurements while qualitative researchers do not.

3.2 Choice of methodology

To explore how the lives of the people from the host community have been affected by the Kakuma refugee camp, a qualitative method approach was intended. Qualitative research is often conducive to the exploration of people's lives and history (Silverman 2001:25) and was therefore the chosen method. A qualitative approach is also considered favourable for exploring the relationship between the host and refugee communities in Kakuma. As a framework a case study design will be adopted. This design is appropriate when researchers are concerned with in-depth elucidation of a situation (Bryman 2008:54).

3.3 Qualitative research

Silverman (2001:25) characterize the use of qualitative research with intention to explore people's lives and history. Qualitative research distinct itself from quantitative in the sense that it usually emphasize words rather than quantifications when collecting and analyzing data (Bryman 2008:366).

Bryman (2008:366) identifies three specific features that characterize qualitative research strategies. An inductive approach is common where theory is generated out of research rather than the other way around which is more usual in quantitative research. An interpretive epistemology is more common within qualitative strategies. Understanding the social world through interpretations from participants instead of through scientific models characterize qualitative strategies.

Bryman (2008:384-389) lists four main preoccupations of qualitative researchers. *Seeing through the eyes of the people being study*, is described by Bryman as common feature by qualitative researchers aiming at viewing the social worlds through the perspectives of the people they are studying. Qualitative researchers are also more concerned with providing *descriptions and emphasis on the context* of what they are researching. Further on Bryman (2008:388) claims that *emphasis on process* is central were qualitative research “*view social life in term of processes*”. Finally, quantitative research opposed to quantitative tends to be more *flexible and less concerned with structure*. Obviously structure is a part of qualitative research, but flexibility in relation to the phenomenon being research is an important preoccupation for qualitative researchers.

3.5 Research strategy

Bryman (2008:35) lists five different types of research designs when conducting social research depending on the approach and strategy the researcher chose. These designs are the following; experimental design, cross-sectional or survey design, longitudinal design, comparative design and case study.

I have chosen the case study design in my research as I found it the most suitable approach for this particular research project. Bryman (2008:52-53) describes the nature of a case study as a design that entails detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. Further is the “case” term in a case study design often associated with a study of a particular location or community. In my research have I chosen Kakuma host community as my “case” where the aim is to explore and provide detailed analysis of how the host community has been impacted by the refugee camp. In addition it will explore the relationship between the host community and refugees living in Kakuma.

I have used a qualitative approach as a research design. In term of the relationship between theory and research have I not a specific hypothesis, but rather a framework of theories. In addition I have developed a model (figure 10) which is used for analyzing the collected data from Kakuma. New theories can also be deduced from the collected data.

My choice of using a qualitative methodology includes the use of semi-structured interview and observations as the main research methods in addition to a literature review. The

questions presented in the interviews are mostly open-ended with the purpose of respondents to reply in which matter they choose. In depth interviews have the strength that it can reveal issues that may only be found by asking questions. It also gives the participants the opportunity to elaborate on questions which again can provide further interesting and valuable information (Bryman 2008:466).

Observations have also been a valuable part of the research. To be able to move around in the study area and gain better understandings of people's lives and livelihoods was important. Observations were done continuously during the research both in the different villages in the host community and the refugee camp. Observation has also been done in other central areas of interest to the research such as markets, food distribution centres, water collection points, river location and other areas where locals and refugees interact.

Other sources such as reports from UNHCR and other organizations have also been used to supplement and analyse collected data.

3.6 Sampling

Kakuma is located in a remote area in the northwest corner of Kenya. Contemporary research and detailed information on the locations context was limited. This gave me a bit of a challenge during my proposal work in order to mapping out the sample I needed for conducting the research. I made a broad estimation of how big the sample should be and who to include. It was not before I actually arrived in Kakuma that I was able to map out more exactly the context of the area and what kind of sample that I needed and was feasible for my research. My research assistant was able to give me a detailed map of the refugee camp including camp structure and population figures from an NGO (National Council of Churches of Kenya) which he was working at. This gave me an overview of the camp structure and how to proceed with the refugee respondents in the sample. The host community was a bit more challenging. Kakuma is originally a pastoralist community, at present time you can find lots of villages spread around the Kakuma area. The Turkana hosts have become minority compared to the refugee presence. Influx of nationals from outside Kakuma has also made the exact population figures of Kakuma difficult to estimate. However, my research assistant had lived in Kakuma for around 8 years. He was also familiar with the host community since he had done some research work with NGOs around different villages in Kakuma. A rough map

of the most central villages surrounding the camp was developed; this helped me to identify the main sample targets in the host community.

Deciding upon exact numbers and locations of households to be interviewed was done through a continuous process during the research. There was also emphasis on including a variety (both in host and refugee sample) of key characteristics in the respondent sample. Information such as age, gender, nationality, location and time lived in Kakuma was important for achieving as broad perspectives as possible. For example, older people may contain more knowledge about the past while younger people may be more educated in the current situation. Geographical differences may also unveil if there were different perspectives from people based on their location in terms of distance to the host community or refugee camp.

Including external actors in the sample was also important. Perspectives and information from humanitarian organizations and government officials working in Kakuma was considered valuable. These actors were believed to have information on the before and present situation in Kakuma, and concerning the relationship between the refugees and host community.

The sample from the refugee camp was based out of the context of the camp structure. As the Kakuma refugee camp layout map (Figure 7) shows is the camp divided into three sections. Section one of the camp is by far the largest and therefore also including more respondents than section two and three in the sample. People from different communities (Somali, Sudanese, Ethiopian etc.) is also located in different areas in the camp. The camp structure is also divided in terms of new arrivals and people who have stayed there for a long time.

The sample method used for the host community and refugee population can be described as a combination between purposive and random sampling. The goal of a purposive sampling is according to Bryman (2008:415) to “*sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed*”. I identified villages in the host community that were bordering and located within different distances to the camp as their different perspectives would be relevant for the research. For the same reasons where respondents from the refugee camp included in the sample based on their different locations in the camp. Selecting individual households after choosing them according to

locations (villages and sections in the camp) was done in a more randomly matter. This was done when walking through the villages and camp sections choosing random households to be interviewed (often with some distance from each other), although keeping in mind that a variety of key characteristics would be ideal.

My research assistance was skilled in the languages of English, Swahili, Ethiopian (Aromo and Amari) and spoke some Somali. He accompanied me during all my interviews in the host community and refugee camp. When interviewing respondents from the camp were we did not have the language skills did we use an extra interpreter usually from the same household who spoke Swahili or English. Some interviews were also done in English. The local language for the host community is Turkana. Due to the fact that Kakuma has hosted refugees for over two decades have made some hosts to learn Swahili. My experience was that there usually was one Swahili speaking member of each household. If not, there was at least someone in the village that could help us translate.

Recruiting respondents amongst the external actors' category was done through a purposive sampling method. After familiarizing with the context of Kakuma and the NGO community did it become clear which organizations and people that would be of most relevance to the research. These interviews were done in the later stages of the fieldwork when I was able to establish a network within the humanitarian community working in Kakuma.

Altogether, 27 households from the host community where interviewed from the following eight villages of Natir 1, Natir 2, Nadapal 1, Nadapal 2, Tokioto, Lejomaria, Amercian, Kalemchuch and Aule Aemejen (appendix 1). From the refugee population in total 40 households where interviewed from section 1, 2 and 3 of the refugee camp. Due to difference in population size was there conducted more interviews in section 1 than section 2 and 3 of the camp (appendix 2).

In addition were persons working in Kakuma interviewed as representatives for the following: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (Peace Building Unit), Lutheran World Federation (Peace Building Unit, Turkana Project, Chief security officer of Camp Security) and Kakuma Local Government (Nominated Counselor). All together 5 interviews were conducted amongst this group (appendix 3).

3.7 Data Collection

The data collection was carried out from the beginning of January 2012 until the end of March 2012. My initial plan was to start with the interviews in the host community as their perspectives were represented in all of my research questions.

Moving around the villages in Kakuma observing and interviewing provided me with lots of valuable information and experiences from the host community in term of how they were living and been impacted by the refugee camp. To get people from the host community to participate in their research was not difficult. They were mostly very eager to share their stories and challenges. Before each interview (also amongst the other respondents) did I and my research assistant always make clear why we were there, what the purpose of the research was and what would be done with their response. For each interview an interview guide was used as a framework for conducting the interviews (appendix 4). Probing and follow-up questions were sometimes included to achieve more information on different issues.

After receiving the permit to enter the refugee camp by the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) and the UNHCR I could start conducting my interviews with the refugee population. Similar as with the host community was respondents from the refugee population also very eager to participate in the research and share their perspectives and challenges. Many of the respondents was very engaged in asking what the intentions of the research was, what the aims where and how it could help them. I started with doing interviews in Kakuma 1 and further moved on to section two and three. I also moved back and forth between the sections during the collection period. The interview guide (appendix 5) used her for the same purpose as with the host community was developed mainly based on research question four and five. Overall, interviews in the host community and refugee camp were conducted in parallel.

Arranging interviews with organizations and persons working with the refugee camp and host community was done during the final stages of the research. By then I had already familiarized well with the different organizations and created a network within the humanitarian community in Kakuma. The interview guide (appendix 6) used for these respondents included questions from all of the five research questions as these persons were believed to contain valuable information on all aspects of my research.

Interviews with people from the various organizations were conducted only by the researcher as they were all English speakers. The interview with the representative from the Kakuma Local Government was nonetheless conducted with assistance from my research assistant as he was the one who manage to arrange the interview.

3.8 Data analysis

Overall, *grounded theory* has been the main approach for analysis throughout the research. Bryman (2008:541-542) describe the approach as closely related to method, data collection and theories. Transcribing field notes has been done continuously during the research, mainly during the same day as interviews were conducted. Dividing data into topics and further into categories has also been done continuously while collecting data. Most topics were developed prior to the fieldwork such as people's experience of conflict, collaboration and so on. Nevertheless relevant patterns and categories also emerged from the data and during the collection period.

Although analysis was done in parallel with collecting data, was most of it done when all information was gathered. In the findings section (p,) the data is presented into categories based on the different perceptions from hosts, refugees and external actors. Categories were developed to present the specific groups experiences related to their interviews. Moving on to the final stage of the analysis, chapter 5 is combining the categories into discussions answering the central questions of the research. In contrast to the findings section, chapter 5 is where my interpretations and discussion of the findings are presented. Answering research questions in light of the theoretical framework has been done in this section. The first part of the analysis is concerning categories related to impacts of the camp experienced by the host community, how the camp has affected hosts household viability and how hosts have adapted. The final part of the analysis has been devoted to exploring the relationship between hosts and refugees. More specific identifying main sources that are creating conflict and coexistence in the relationship.

3.9 Limitations and challenges

To be aware and acknowledge limitations is according to Bryman (2008:75) of great importance to addresses in the stages before the start of the research as such limitations may

jeopardize the research. Most of my challenges concerning the research were experienced in the planning stages of the fieldwork. The limited contextualized literature on Kakuma was a challenge for familiarizing and planning. As I was wandering into unfamiliar territories in a context of vulnerable people living in situations of crisis, there were several preconditions that needed to be in place. Accessing the correct permits for entering the refugee camp was a long and struggling process. Being hosted or assisted by an organization working in the area was considered as vital. Nevertheless, this was challenging due to human resource limitations of the many NGOs that usually do not assist students. Logistics and security issues were also something that needed to be addressed as the environment is known as relatively hostile. After endless email correspondents with organizations, researchers and others familiar with the area I was able to come into contact with the editor of KANERE (2012), a refugee newspaper run by exile-journalist living in the camp. His assistance became vital to me in order to get contextual and logistic information for planning and conducting my travels as well as my stay in Kakuma. Once I arrived in Kakuma I was staying at the only guest house available in the small town near the refugee camp recommended to me by a contact working with the organization OXFAM. Being present in Kakuma made the process of creating a network within the humanitarian community easier. With time I was able to be hosted in one of the NGO compounds which also made interacting with relevant actors and traveling to the camp easier.

Most interviews in both the host community and refugee camp were conducted without specific problems. The majority of respondents were grateful for someone to be concerned with their issues and challenges. On the other hand, being a foreigner conducting research in this context was also challenging. As a foreigner, people (both hosts and refugees) often assumed that I was working for the UN or other humanitarian agencies. Many wanted my assistance in issues such as resettlement problems, reported crimes, assist children that were sick and many other challenges of their daily lives. Therefore, it was important to provide clear, sufficient information to respondents before interviews on my role as an independent researcher and why I was there.

The methods and strategies I chose for my study have some limitations and possible challenges. To totally safeguard research against possible biases and influences by respondents is very difficult. Some measures can be done to limit those possibilities such as avoiding leading questions and pre-test interview guides (Silverman 2001:83). The respondents

life situations could also affect responses. Providing information in hope for their personal difficulties to be addressed is a possibility. Nevertheless, being clear on my role as a researcher and the aim of the research would limit the possibility of biased information. Confirming general patterns of responses with external sources such as NGOs, UNHCR reports and news sources contributed to the reliability of data. For example were conflict situations between hosts and refugees experienced in the camp and villages confirmed by such external sources.

Interpretation difficulties are always a possibility when the use of interpreter is needed. The interpreter may phrase the questions differently than you intended. Interpreting respondents answers based on the interpreters interpretation rather than the actually words that are said can be a possibility. Therefore having a good dynamic, understanding and collaboration with your interpreter is of great importance. I used the same research assistant throughout my research and established a good relationship. We discussed my interview guides, research and aims often together. He was very familiar with how I wanted to conduct the research and interviews. The fact that he had worked as a research assistant for other NGOs in Kakuma (both in the camp and the host community) was a great strength.

Bryman (2008:118) discusses four main areas of ethics in relation to research. The first ethical consideration is concerned with ensuring research participants against any harm during or after the research. The second ethical consideration is concerned with the consensus of subjects to participate in the research (Bryman 2008:121). Informants should be aware of the purpose and content of the research in addition be able to skip certain questions of the interview if they for different reasons do not want to answer. The third and fourth ethical area is about invasions of privacy and deceptions in relation to the research (Bryman 2008:123-124).

Many of the respondents interviewed in Kakuma are living in poverty, conflict and crisis situations. As with all participants that takes part in research it is important to ensure that they are not in any way harmed during the research. In addition is the conflict situation in Kakuma emphasizing the importance of anonymity, confidentiality and voluntary participation. For example can identification of people in search for refuge be dangerous if those who have been involved in their persecution receive information. The conflict situation between the host community and refugees also needed to be handled with caution for obvious reasons.

In general the limitations and challenges did not become a significant obstacle for conducting the research as it was intended. Some minor challenges with interviews were experienced. The most common experience was that more people wanted to be interviewed and share their challenges. It was difficult to say yes to some while no to others, some interviews also evolved to become group interviews. One thing that really surprised me was the hospitality and openness of the respondents. Although most were living in extreme difficult life situations did they offer so much hospitality and appreciation to be part of the research. Most respondents were grateful that someone was concerned about their issues and willing to hear about their challenges.

Obviously all research has potential for improvements and could have been larger in size and included more aspects of its objectives. Financial, human and time capacities are common challenges and have also been for this particular research. For example have not perspectives from host community respondents who have migrated away from Kakuma been included in this sample. Such perspective could have provided more information on reasons why some hosts have migrated from Kakuma, due to the refugee camp or external factors such as drought and other environmental impacts.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter will present the findings related to the research objectives. Firstly will perspectives from the host community be presented, followed by findings from the refugee population of Kakuma. Finally perspectives from external actors working in Kakuma with issues related to the host community and refugee camp will be presented.

4.1 Findings from Kakuma host community

The data and findings presented here have been collected from nine different villages located in Kakuma with different distance to the refugee camp. The villages included in the sample are Natir 1 and 2, Nadapal 1 and 2, Tokioto, Lejomaria, Amercian, Kalemchuch and Aule Aemenjen. Around half of the respondents have lived in Kakuma before the refugee camp establishment. The other half have moved to Kakuma from nearby areas after the construction of the camp (appendix 1). A variety of key characteristics amongst the respondents such as age, gender, household size and time lived in Kakuma has been included

I have in total conducted 27 semi-structured interviews on households located in Kakuma host community. The interviews have been based on an interview guide including 17 open-ended questions in addition to probing and follow-up questions (appendix 4). In-depth information on the respondents experiences of impacts by the refugee camp, changes and adaption of livelihoods in addition to their relationship towards the refugee population have been revealed. Each interview lasted from in-between 60 to 120 minutes.

Finding a detailed map on the exact location of the different villages was challenging. Kakuma is mainly a pastoralist community as earlier described. The main (visible) features in the host community are Kakuma town, Tarach River and Kakuma refugee camp. The arid dessert like terrain surrounding both Kakuma town and the refugee camp is regarded as the host community. Exact borders of where the host community start and ends is somewhat uncertain as pastoralists traditionally settle and moves according to changing pasture patterns. The villages included in the host community sample are surrounding Kakuma refugee camp from various angles and distances. A map (figure 11) has been (partly) developed to give an overview on the locations of the different villages were interviews was conducted. Although figure 11 might not provide exact geographical details of each village, it shows the approximately locations of the different villages. The different sections of the camp are

labeled (figure 11) as K1, K2 and K3. The Tarach River is labeled T. The village of Aule Aemejen is labeled as AA, while Kakuma town is only named Kakuma in the map.

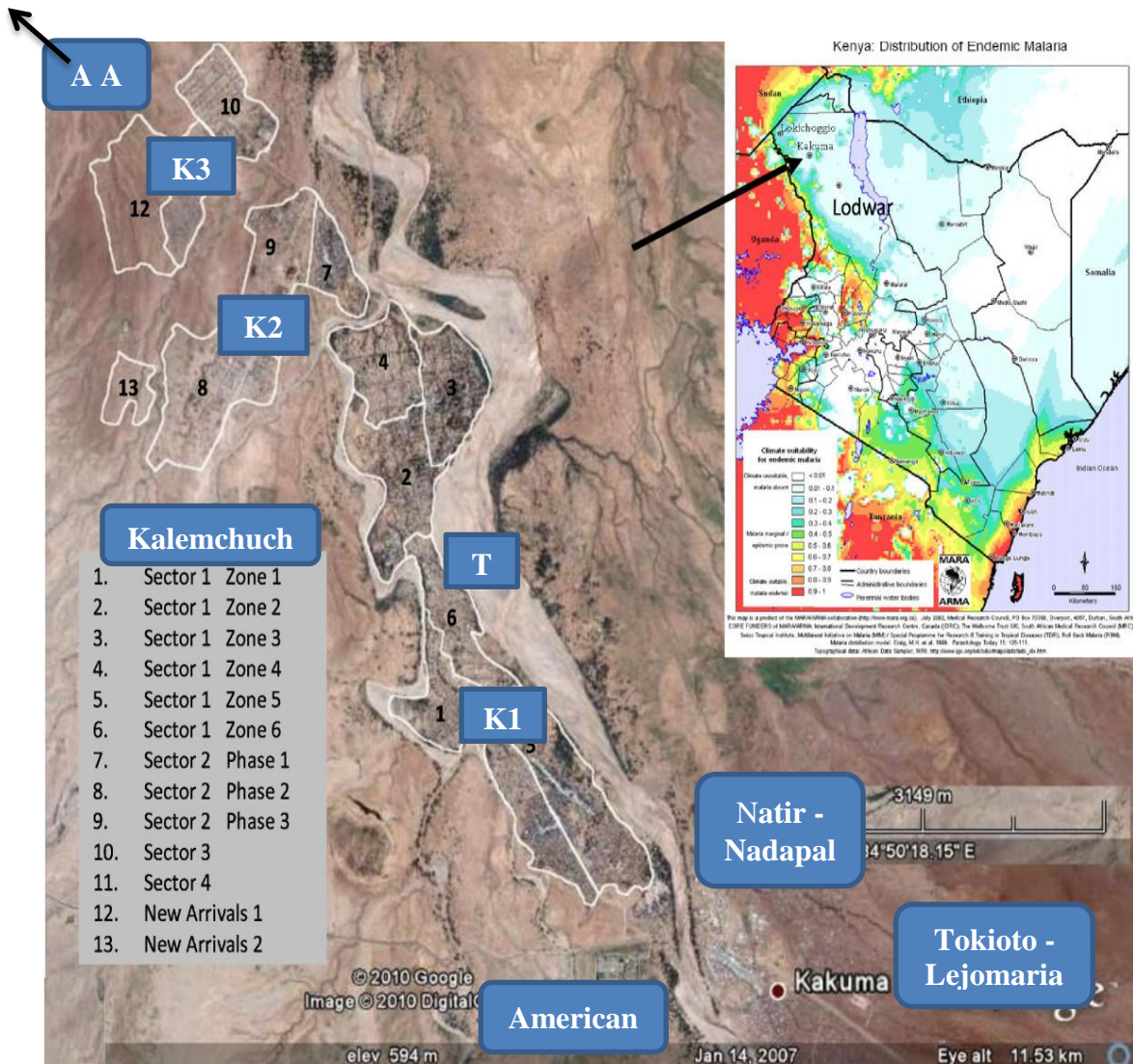


Figure 11: Map: Kakuma host community overview (Google 2010)

As the map (figure 11) shows are the villages of Natir 1 and 2, and Nadapal 1 and 2 located nearby each other and closely bordering Tarach River (T) and section 1 of Kakuma Refugee Camp. Tokioto and Lejomaria village are located further from the camp and closer to Kakuma town. American village is located near the start of section 1 of the camp and also next to the UNHCR compound. Kalemchuch village is located in-between section 1 and 2 although with further distance from the camp. Aule Aemenjen (AA) village is located at the end of section 3 of the camp. This village is located furthest from the camp of those in the sample. Walking

distance from Aule Aemenjen village to the camp is significantly longer than the other villages.

The findings from the host community will further be presented into different categories. Categories for presenting the findings are divided into the following: *changing livelihoods due to the establishment of refugee camp, impacts experienced, adapting to new realities, hosts relationship with the refugee population, and conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refugee population.*

4.1.1 Changing livelihoods due to the establishment of refugee camp

Providing livelihoods before the refugee presence is explained by all respondents as extremely challenging. Several respondents from the villages of Natir and Nadpal described the situation as featured by *“no food, no income and no sustainability”*. Eating wild fruits collected from far away and digging in the river for water was the main source of surviving for the great majority of the host community respondents. Respondents from several villages (Tokimoto, Lejomaria and American) explained that they could go starving for days without food, some even died of starvation according to the respondents. Income opportunities was minimal according to the majority, selling firewood and charcoal collected from far away was the most common way for them to try and provide some income. The respondents from Kalemchuch village differed from the other respondents in terms of providing livelihoods prior to the refugee presence. They depended on livestock for surviving and walked to remote areas for their goats and cattle to get access to pasture and grazing. The Kalemucuch respondents also confirmed that life in Kakuma was very hard and challenging.

Changes in term of providing livelihoods have been experienced although the scale and significance varies. The majority of the respondents identified that they have experienced some small changes. The most reported change in providing livelihood is that the refugee camp has created a larger market for them to sell items such as firewood, charcoal and others. In addition the camp presence has created new job opportunities for hosts. The creation of new market and job opportunities improved their situation to some extent in terms of providing livelihoods. For example respondents from American village emphasize that *“instead of walking long distances searching for food can we now go to the camp and look for*

work". The majority of the respondents are still facing great challenges in their daily lives and struggle to provide livelihoods for their families.

The residents from Kalemchuch village had a complete change in their livelihood approach after the refugee presence. They have changed from their previous livestock system to rather depending on the refugee camp where they go to work or beg for food and money. According to the Kalemchuch respondents their main reasons for giving up the livestock system were related to issues of drought, famine and clashes with bordering tribes from Uganda and Sudan (non-refugees) which caused them to lose all their livestock. Several of the respondents from Kalemchuch further argues that although they are living in similar challenging conditions as the refugees, they do not receive any assistance from the UNHCR or NGOs present in Kakuma. In addition are the food and services in the camp not available for them according to the Kalemchuch respondents.

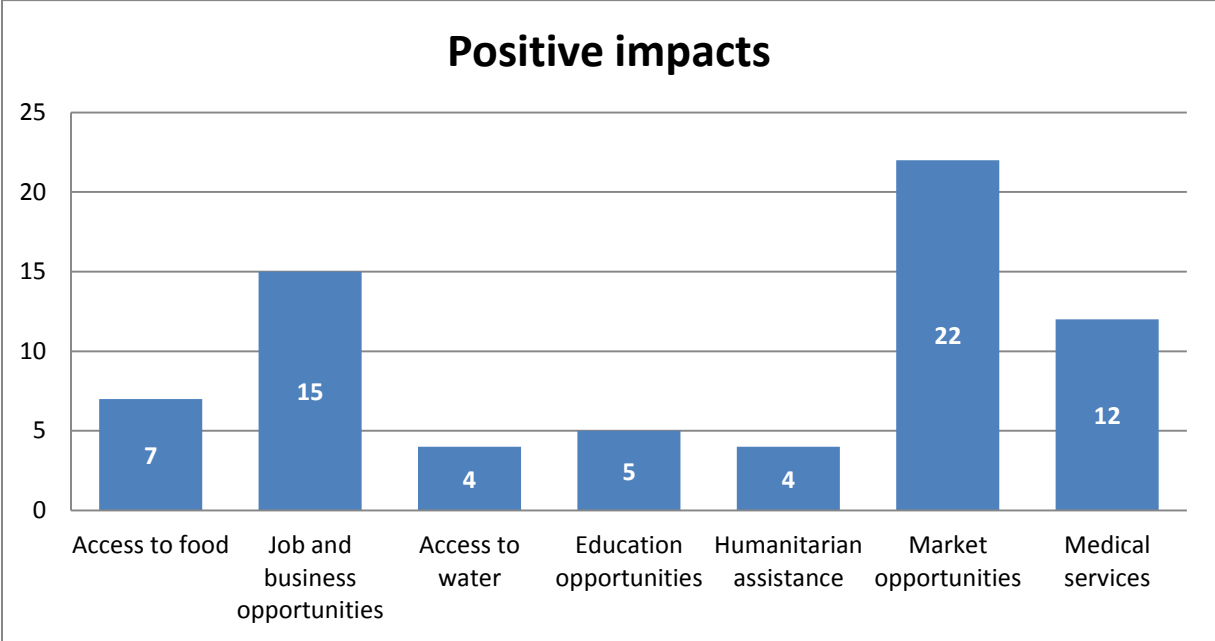
4.1.2 Impacts experienced

Positive and negative impacts by the refugee camp experienced by the host community will be presented here. I will first start by presenting the most reported positive impacts and further present negative impacts experienced. I have developed two tables (1 and 2) based on the data collected from the host community respondents to give an overview of the most reported impacts. The statistics in the tables is based on the perceptions of the 27 interviews conducted amongst the host community respondents.

Kakuma refugee camp has existed for over two decades and has changed the pastoralist community of Kakuma in several ways. Population growth and influx of new nationalities have undoubtedly been the most obvious change for the Turkana inhabitants living in Kakuma. The camp population has reached 100,000 and representing 15 different nationalities (UNHCR a. 2012). National migration from around Turkana County has also been significant as a result of the opportunities accompanied by the camp and NGO presence. The population of Kakuma has grown resulting in the host community becoming a minority. The refugee presence has impacted the host community in several ways, both positive and negatively according to the respondents.

Positive impacts experienced

Table 1: Positive impacts



As table 1 shows are the most reported positive impacts new market opportunities (22) and improved job and business opportunities (15). The majority of the respondents have reported that the new market opportunities in Kakuma have had a positive impact on their lives. These markets are according to the respondents located in the camp where locals can go and sell or trade collected firewood, charcoal and other items with refugees in exchange for money or food. Most of the respondents explain this as the biggest change in terms of their livelihood approach as they now have a larger market to sell and trade different items. Job and business opportunities were also mentioned as a positive impact by around half of the respondents (15). Business opportunities are described as closely linked to the new markets in the camp. Working small jobs for refugees have become a main source of income for many people in the host community according to the respondents. These jobs vary from washing clothes, cleaning plots, building fences, shelter construction, carrying food rations and other household jobs. A small number of the respondents also mention that they have been employed by some of the NGOs working in Kakuma. One of the most often reported jobs by respondents are carrying food rations for refugees. Refugees receive food rations twice a month at two food distribution centers in the camp. The amount of food distributed to

refugees is calculated based on their family size and is supposed to last for around two weeks. This is a large market for locals as the amount of food refugees receive is a lot to carry for one person to their homes in the camp. Therefore it is a common scenario to see many locals lined up outside the food distribution centers on days of the distributions. These situations are featured by lots of competition between locals for carrying these rations in exchange for some of the food or money. These situations may often seem very chaotic as food is distributed for the entire camp population in only few days at these locations. In addition to the food distribution centers being crowded with refugees collecting their rations is this also a main market for locals gathering to try and get employed by refugees.



Figure 12: Food Distribution Center, hosts gathering outside a food distribution center inside the camp trying to get employed carrying food rations for refugees (Photo: Researcher 05.02.12).

The medical services in the camp are also available for the host community and have been reported to be used by several of the respondents (12). The medical clinics in the camp are free of charge also for the host community. The alternative to the medical clinics in the camp is the Kakuma Mission Hospital located in the town. The hospital in town is not free of charge and therefore the camp clinics are used by the host community. It should be added that

surgeries and larger treatments are conducted at the Kakuma Mission Hospital (not free of charge for hosts).

More access to food (7) and water (4) is reported by some of the respondents. Nevertheless, these are not directly available or intended for the host community according to the respondents. More food (food aid) has become available through trading, working or begging to refugees in the camp according to the respondents. The water taps in the camp are reserved for the refugees and locals have to ask permission for access to fill their jerry cans and carry back to their village. Most of the respondents in the sample argue that they still experience the same problems of food and water shortage as they did before the refugee presence.

Education opportunities in the camp are also reported by a small number of respondents (5). These services have previously only been available for refugees, but have gradually become available to the host community.

The perception of the humanitarian presence in Kakuma is mixed amongst the host community respondents. Several respondents explain that NGOs and the UN are only concerned with the refugees and offer no assistance to the host community although they are living in similar challenging conditions as the refugees. Four of the respondents as shown in table 1 have experienced some form of assistance from humanitarian agencies. One respondent from Natir village highlighted that due to the humanitarian presence in Kakuma they “*at least have someone to complain their challenges to*”.

Negative impacts experienced

Table 2: Negative impacts

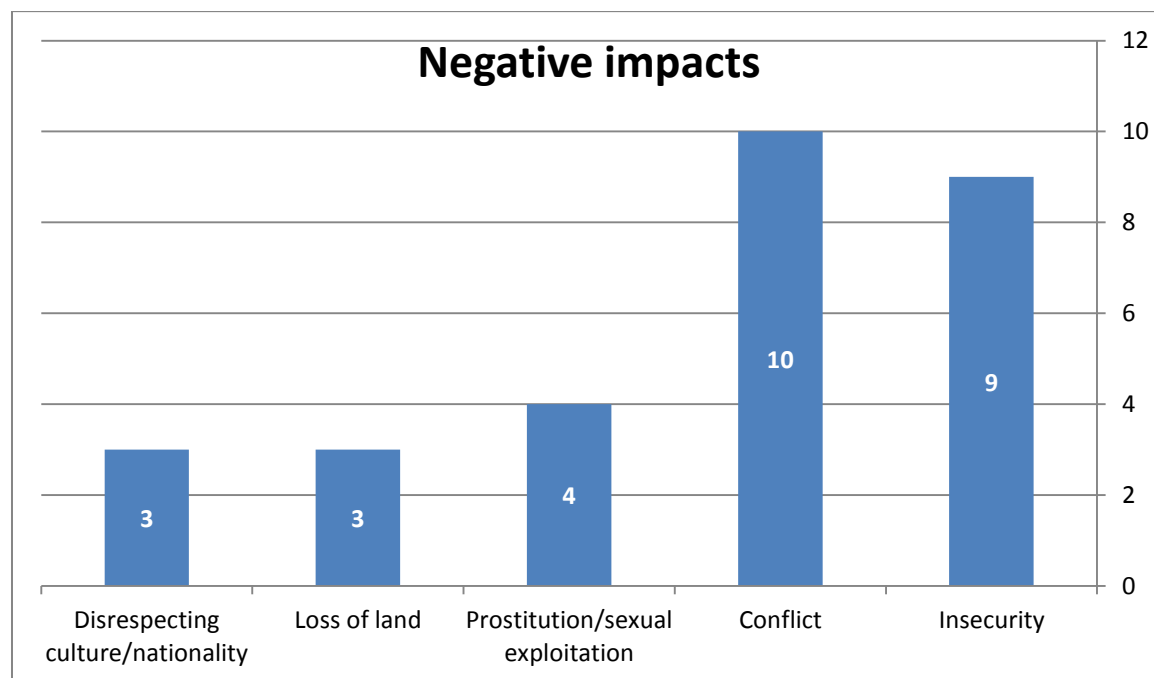


Table 2 shows that the most reported negative impacts relate to insecurity and conflicts between refugees and the host community.

Insecurity issues mentioned by the respondents include fearing to be assaulted, harassed or subjected to other incidents of violence with refugees when located in the camp and in villages. As table 2 indicates nine respondents have explained that they have experienced more insecurity after the refugee presence. The respondents argue that the conflicting relationship between locals and refugees has brought more insecurity to Kakuma. Two respondents also claim that the refugee camp has been hosting members of various militant groups which they see as a further threat to the security of their community.

Conflict situations is the most reported (10) negative impact by the host community respondents. The term conflict used by the respondents includes various actions of violence such as fighting, assault, robberies, rape and killings between refugees and the host community. Respondents from all villages except one (Kalemchuch) mentioned increased conflict situations as a negative impact by the presence of the refugee camp. The respondents

did not only argue that it is only refugees responsible for conflicts, but they recognize the fact that conflict situations between refugees and the host community has become a reality after the camp presence.

Prostitution and sexual exploitation of girls from the host community in the refugee camp is mentioned by four respondents. The respondents argue that girls from the host community go to the camp and get involved in prostitution in search for livelihood as their opportunities are limited.

Experiences of refugees disrespecting the Turkana culture and nationality are expressed by three respondents. They argue that refugees harass and disrespect them when they go to the camp to sell firewood or other items. Further are the respondents arguing that they receive no respect or gratitude from the refugees even if they are living in Turkana land and are hosted by them.

Loss of land is also a negative impact by the refugee presence experienced by three respondents. These respondents are all living in Aule Aemejen Village which is located behind section three of the camp (figure 10). They explain that many from their village lost valuable grazing land used by their animals due to population growth and more specifically due to the construction of section three of the refugee camp. The respondents explain that they were forced to relocate because of the camp constructions.

What can be seen from the negative impact table is that there are some common features between the negative impacts experienced by the host community. The two most reported impacts of conflict and insecurity relates to experiences and perceptions that the relationship between the two communities are conflicting for different reasons and hence creating situations of insecurity in the host community. The impacts of disrespecting culture and nationality, and locals being sexually abused or involved in prostitution can also be linked to the two communities' relationship.

Although these tables (1 and 2) present impacts experienced by the host community it is also important to explore the nature and context of these different impacts. For example, while new market and job opportunities are listed as positive, they also generate conflict situations with refugee communities. Accordingly, many of the respondents mentioned that conflicts

between the two communities often start at markets and when working for refugees. Several respondents also claim that refugees are not appreciating all the hard work from the host community when they walk long distances for collecting firewood sold at markets in the camp. Therefore, these impacts are not necessarily isolated events, but rather dynamic and therefore need to be explored and analyzed in its context. The balance between impacts and experiences will therefore be closer explored in the analysis part of the thesis.

4.1.3 Adapting to the new realities

Adapting to new realities accompanied by the refugee camp presence has brought changes for some. Around half of the respondents identified that they have experienced some improvement on the individual level. One respondent from Natir village explains that he can now sell goats to the Somali community in the camp and use the money to go a far distance and buy twice the amount of goats where the price is lower. The changes explained by the respondents mainly relate to the fact that they have experienced some improvements in terms of accessing the camp for providing livelihoods through work, business and trading. The other half of the respondents argues that the new opportunities are limited and still face similar challenges and have no sustainability in providing livelihoods. One respondent from American village mentioned that the opportunities accompanied by the camp and NGO presence have resulted in many nationals migrating from other parts of Turkana to Kakuma. The migration of nationals has increased competition for those opportunities that have emerged from the refugee presence making it even more difficult for Kakuma residents to benefit. Another respondent from Aule Aemejen village who has lived in Kakuma for 35 years and explains his situation in the following “*we have not received any assistance from the government since the 1980s and don’t even know which government we belong to anymore*”. Another respondent from the same village explains that his family was forced to relocate due to the construction of section 3 of the camp and lost valuable grazing land for his animals.

In terms of adapting to the refugee presence the majority of the respondents identified changes of both positive and negative nature. The difference is that some have been able to access the new opportunities while others have not. As mentioned above, around half of the respondents expressed that they have experienced some improvement from the refugee camp in their lives while the other half have not experienced significant changes. It should be added

that experiences of more insecurity and conflict has had a negative impact on a significant amount of the host respondents. Although livelihood improvements have been recognized by around half of the respondents, the majority of host (respondents) is still struggling to provide their daily needs.

The location of villages may also play a part in the respondent’s experience of impacts from the camp. One respondent from Tokioto village argues that the refugee camp has saved the lives for many in the host community because of the increased food and market availability. The respondents from Aule Aemejen village have a different perception of the impacts experienced by the camp presence. They explain that due to their long distance from the camp have they not experienced any positive changes of either food, water, market or other services.

4.1.4 Hosts relationship with the refugee population

In this part issues regarding the relationship between the host and refugee communities will be presented from a host community perspective.

Table 3 shows how host respondents describe their relationship with the refugee population in Kakuma. The categories (unbalanced, problematic and unproblematic) was not developed before conducting interviews, but developed according to the respondent’s description of their relationships.

Table 3: Hosts relationship with the refugee population

Villages	Unbalanced	Problematic	Unproblematic
Nadapal	3	1	1
Natir	3		3
Tokioto	1	1	
Lejomaria	2		
American	2	1	1
Kalemchuch	2	1	2
Aule Aemejen			3
Total (27)	13	4	10

The largest group of 13 respondents is stating that situations of conflict, violence and hostility between hosts and refugees are common. At the same time the respondents in this group have also experienced personal relationships with refugees that have not been problematic. Therefore respondents in this group have described their relationship as unbalanced. Several of the respondents further describe the relationship as unpredictable where they sometimes can work together and sometimes conflicts starts between them. Conflicts between hosts and refugees were more frequent in the past according to several of the respondents in this group. Four of the respondents in the host sample have only negative experiences (problematic) with refugees in Kakuma. According to them, the relationship is featured by hostility, violence and frequent conflicts between hosts and refugees. A significant large part of the respondents (10) argue that their relationship with refugees is unproblematic. Some have become friends and interact together in many different situations. Several of the respondents in this group points out that due to the long existence of the camp many hosts and refugees have learned each other's languages. Understanding each other and avoiding misunderstandings through breaking the language barrier has according to several respondents made it easier to communicate and improved the relationship.

The great majority of the host community respondents identify the camp as the main area where they come into contact and interact with refugees. More specific, they meet with refugees when they go to the camp looking for work, trading, selling firewood and charcoal, at food distribution centers, water points, medical facilities and schools. Most of the respondents are in frequent contact with refugees. In addition four of the respondents mentioned that they have become friends with people from the host community. Some inter-marriages between Turkana and refugees have also taken place according to the respondents. One respondent from Aule Aemejen village explains that they *“have become brothers and sisters with refugees and visit each other both in the camp and in their village, although at evening time are they not supposed to go to the camp due to security reasons”*.

4.1.5 Conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refugee population

I have chosen to divide this part between community and individual conflicts experienced by the respondents. The choice of dividing respondents' experiences of conflict in this way has been done for structural purposes and to enable a better understanding of what kind of

conflicts that has been experienced by the respondents in relation to the refugee population. The use of the term *conflict* in this research has been explained in chapter 2.3.

The nature of community conflicts is what the respondents describe as a conflict between communities rather than only few individuals. Individual conflicts are the kind of conflicts described by respondents as individual incidents including fewer individuals rather than whole communities. The divide between individual and community conflict levels is not always straight forward, but can also be dynamic where conflicts often start at individual level and escalate into what can be described as a community conflict.

Community conflicts

Respondents from all villages with the exception of one (Aule Aemejen) mention that they have either experienced or know about conflicts that they describe as large in scale and including several participants from both the host community and communities within the refugee camp.

Respondents from Nadapal and Natir testified that they experienced several large conflicts during the early years of 2000. In 2004 there was a conflict between Natir village and refugees from the Sudanese Dinka community that started from an inter-marriage issue. The incident escalated into a large community conflict that lasted for several days and forced several of the Natir residents to relocate from their village until the conflict ended. Another conflict in 2006 is also mentioned by respondents from both Nadapal and Natir. The conflict was believed to have started from a dispute over land between refugees and hosts living near the Tarach River bank. The conflict is described to have included incidents of rape, gunshots and killings both in the camp and villages.

Respondents from American and Kalemchuch village also mention several community conflicts between hosts and refugees during the years around 2000. In specific the respondents from American village mentioned large conflicts between the years 2003 and 2006 that included the use of weapons where both refugees and hosts got killed. The Kalemchuch respondents describe a conflict between their village and a Sudanese community from the camp that resulted in refugees chasing them into their own village and several girls from the host community got raped.

The Tokioto and Lejomaria respondents described an incident some years ago where two Turkana boys got beaten to death by some refugees. The individual incident further escalated into a community conflict between their village and refugees from the camp.

The majority of the respondents argue that conflicts described at community level between host and refugees were most frequent in the years between 2000 and 2008. These conflicts took place both in the refugee camp and in villages in the host community. Many of these conflicts have started from smaller incidents and then escalated. According to the respondents the main causes behind these conflicts relate to issues such as dispute over land, inter-marriage issues and the problems of food shortage in the host community. Conflicts between refugees and people from the host community are still frequent although smaller in scale according to the majority of the respondents.

Community conflicts mentioned by the host community respondents are also confirmed by other sources such as UNHCR and various humanitarian news reports. A UNHCR (2005:22) report from 2005 confirms big conflicts between the host community and Sudanese refugees in Kakuma in 2003 and 2004. The fighting which started in 2003 included the murders of 11 people, burning of houses and incidents of rape. Paramilitary troops from the General Service Unit were present during this conflicting period and withdrew in late 2004. The IRIN humanitarian news and analysis (2006) described increasing tensions and conflicts between hosts and refugees in 2006 involving several killings.

Individual conflicts

Respondents from all villages have experienced individual conflicts between the host community and the refugee population. These types of conflict largely take place within the camp. The nature of these incidents may nonetheless vary and include different features of the conflict term defined earlier.

Respondents from all villages explain a common situation where many individual conflicts between locals and refugees take place. Many people from the host community approach the camp in search for food and water which themselves are lacking. The perception from the majority of the respondents is that this is an area where disputes and conflicts between locals and refugees often start for different reasons.

Several respondents from Natir, Nadapal and Kalmechuch villages describe that conflict situations often take place when locals are working for refugees. It can be dangerous especially for women to go to the camp looking for work or selling items such as firewood. Women can easily be assaulted, exploited, raped and even killed if they are in the camp by themselves according to the respondents. Two respondents from American village explained that disputes often starts when locals are working for refugees and they disagree over the amount of food or money they are supposed to be paid. One of the respondents further adds that refugees often ask them “*why they have to go to the camp and look for food and why their government does not assist them*”. The same respondent explains that this is a common situation for many in the host community as they struggle to survive and therefore go to the camp looking for work and food. This is also an area where conflicts often start according to the respondent.

Respondents from Natir village mentioned that in section one and two of the camp there have been several conflicts in recent months (in the year 2012). The reason for these conflicts are that people from the host community have been refused by Sudanese and Somali refugees to walk through the camp when they are crossing to a different village. The Natir villagers feel that they are entitled to do so since the refugees are living on their land and being hosted by the Kakuma community.

A female respondent from Kalemchuch village explains that her friend got killed in the camp by refugees and her body got chopped into pieces and thrown into a toilet. The respondent further argues that there have been several incidents where people from their village have gone to the camp for different reasons and never returned. Similar situations of conflict are explained by several of the other respondents.

One incident that has been repeated to me by several people including respondents from the host community, refugees, UNHCR and LWF is an incident where a local police officer had been scalded with boiling water by some refugees after he had been accused of beating some refugees during food distribution. The situation was nevertheless under investigation at the time I conducted my research in Kakuma. I heard several versions of this case from different perspectives. It was obviously a situation of conflict that had escalated between the refugee

community and the local police of Kakuma where several incidents of violence took place from both parts.

According to most of the respondents individual conflicts between locals and refugees remain frequent. These situations usually take place inside the camp. The most commonly reported causes of conflict is when locals approach the camp to look for work and access to food and water. These conflicts often start through disputes over payment when working for or trading with refugees. Several of the respondents further argue that these individual conflicts easily can escalate into community levels.

Geographically Kakuma is located in a very remote area traditionally featured by insecurity, lack of rule of law and weakly governed (Crisp 2003:5). Therefore media coverage is also limited. The lack of government and security presence (before the refugee camp) in Kakuma has made the reporting of criminal activities by the host community rare. This is common in many remote pastoralist communities (in this region) where tribes are armed with firearms and solve disputes with neighboring tribes over such incidents as cattle rustling (McCabe 2003:89-94). Therefore finding additional sources on individual conflicts (outside the refugee camp) such as described by respondents above is difficult. Stated by the UNHCR (2005) is also that security issues happening outside camps are very little known. UNHCR have no form of reporting or recording such incidents. I am not in doubt that such situations as described by the respondents have and are taking place in Kakuma. The majority of host and refugee respondents argue that individual conflicts between the two communities are frequent. In addition is the conflicting relationship between the communities and incidents of violence confirmed by the Chief Camp Security Officer in Kakuma and other staff from UNHCR and Lutheran World Federation (LWF) (4.3.2, p 79-82). According to Crisp (2003:14) a UNHCR evaluation and policy study in 2001 describe security situations in Kakuma in the following: *“incidents involving death and serious injury take place on daily basis, and where outbreaks of violence and unrest occur without warning”*. Further is general information of the security situation addressed and confirmed in UNHCR reports (2005) and with their official implementing partner LWF (2008).

Collaboration

Situations of collaboration between the host community and refugees have been mentioned by several respondents. The most common situation of collaboration is when locals are working for refugees in the camp, and at the business and market places in the camp. These are areas where locals and refugees interact and to some extent collaborate. Some have even created friendships and participate together in other social activities according to one respondent from Tokiotot village. Inter-marriages and peace building meetings are other areas that potentially can bring people from the host community and refugees closer together according to respondents from Natir and Nadapal. Although respondents from all villages identify some central areas where collaborations may take place, the majority emphasized that there is nevertheless limited collaboration between the host and refugees at community levels. Several of the respondents' pointed out the need for more involvement from the Kenyan government and NGO actors in peace building activities for improving the relationship. Many of the respondents claim that collaboration between refugees and the host community has improved over time, as there previously was no form of collaboration between them. Collaboration between hosts and refugees tends to take place on the individual rather than the community level.

4.2 Findings from Kakuma refugee camp

This part will present experiences from the refugee population in Kakuma in relation to their relationship with the host community.

Data has been collected from all the three sections of the refugee camp including a variety of characteristics such as country of origin, age, gender, household size and time lived in the camp. The choice of including respondents from all sections of the camp (1, 2 and 3) has been done since the sections are located with significant distance to each other (see Figure 7). The different sections of the camp are also bordering different villages in the host community (see Figure 11). In total I have conducted 40 semi-structured interviews on households amongst the refugee population. More interviews have been conducted in section 1 of the camp as it is the largest in population. The interviews have been based on an interview guide including 15 open-ended questions in addition to probing and follow-up questions (appendix 5). In-depth

information on the respondents’ experiences in relation to their relationship with the host community has been collected. Time of each interview lasted from 45 to 60 minutes.

The findings from the refugee respondents will be divided and presented into the following categories: *Refugees relationship with the host community, and conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refuge population.*

4.2.1 Refugees relationship with the host community

The majority of the refugee respondents described the relationship between the host community and refugee population as either problematic or unbalanced. Table 4 shows how the respondents described their relationship with the host community. 20 respondents described their relationship as problematic and 14 as unbalanced. Only 6 respondents characterize their relationship with the host community as unproblematic.

Table 4: Refugees relationship with the hos community

Location	Unbalanced	Problematic	Unproblematic
Kakuma 1	8	10	4
Kakuma 2	3	8	1
Kakuma 3	3	2	1
Total (40)	14	20	6

The respondents (20) who described their relationship as problematic elaborates that the relationship is featured by conflicting and problematic relations that may result in violent interactions between the communities. Many of these respondents argue that they live in fear of being assaulted by people from the host community.

The respondents (14) who characterized their relationship with the host community as unbalanced argue that the relationship is featured by uncertainty. They have experienced both situations of conflict and relations without problems. Several of the respondents in this group state that their personal relationship is ok at the present time and has improved, but conflict situations between hosts and refugees are still taking place. One respondent emphasized that *“the problem is that Turkana people don’t have food and therefore cause problems, when or if they have food then there will be no problems”*.

A minority of 6 respondents describe their relationship with the host community as unproblematic. The respondents in this group state that they either have no specific relations to people from the host community or interact with them at marketplaces, schools and when hosts are working for them. Some have also created friendships.

The main areas where refugee respondents meet and interact with people from the host community are inside the camp. The majority of respondents confirm that they are in frequent contact with people from the host community. The most mentioned areas are at water collection points, markets, food distribution centers, medical clinics and when hosts are selling items such as firewood and charcoal or looking for work inside the camp. Many hosts are also walking through the camp when they are moving to other locations. Interactions outside the camp are reported by some. This is usually when refugees are not provided with enough firewood and have to move outside the camp looking for it. A few of the respondents also mentions interaction between refugees and hosts at other public areas such as schools, churches and at peace meetings organized by community leaders and local chiefs from both communities.



Figure12: Water collection point inside the camp. Water is available here at specific times reserved for refugees living in that particular community (Photo: Researcher 23.01.12).

Nine of the respondents (from the problematic category) suspected that many people from the host community may approach the camp during daytime to observe which households that contain valuables such as food and money and then come back at night to attack and rob.

4.2.2 Conflicts and collaborations between the host community and refugee population

For the same purposes as within the host community findings are conflict experiences divided between those of community and individual levels. The majority of the refugee respondents expressed that they have experienced or knew about conflicts between host and refugees. Conflict situations between hosts and refugees are frequent and mostly take place within the camp according to the respondents.

Community conflicts

Conflicts described as including large numbers of participants from the host and refugee community is mentioned by 11 respondents. Community conflicts were most frequent in the years in-between 2000 and 2010 according to the respondents. Several respondents mentioned that a large conflict between the host community and Sudanese refugees in 2004 resulted in many people from both communities getting killed. These conflicts are described to include large numbers of hosts and refugees confronting each other using firearms, weapons and other means of violence. One respondent claimed that hosts used to come in large numbers to the camp with guns breaking in doors to refugee homes and shoot the males, rape the females and steal all the food and money they found. The critical conflict situations between hosts and refugees during the early years of 2000 is confirmed by both UNHCR (2005) and various humanitarian news reports. IRIN humanitarian news and analysis (2003) have reported on the escalating conflicts between hosts and refugees in 2003. Estimations suggests that 30,000 Sudanese refugees had to be displaced from their homes in the camp due to conflicts with Turkana hosts, 11 people were also reported killed during this conflict.

Several of the respondents identify food issues as a common source behind these community conflicts. They further argue that hosts have the wrong perception and think that refugees are wealthy in terms of food and money; they come during the night to take it by force according to those respondents. Refugees respond by mobilizing for revenge. In such are these conflicts escalating to include large number of members from both communities according to the respondents. Two of the respondents argue that large conflicts were more frequent in the early days of the camp when the majority of refugees were of Sudanese origin. The Turkana hosts and Sudanese refugees generally had a conflicting relationship with lots of conflicts both in the camp and villages in the host community according to the respondents.

Two respondents mention that minor disputes between hosts and refugees can easily escalate into community conflicts. One of the respondents explains a recent incident in an Ethiopian restaurant in the camp that escalated into a community conflict. *“After a Turkana man refused to pay for a meal he had eaten some Ethiopians gathered and beat him. Several Turkana`s came back to take revenge and it escalated into a community conflict where one Turkana got killed by an Ethiopian refugee”*. Such conflict situations are common according to the respondents.

Individual conflicts

Individual conflicts between host and refugees are reported by the majority of respondents. Although not all respondents have been directly subjected to such conflicts are they confirming the fact that individual conflicts between hosts and refugees are frequent. The nature of these conflicts include robberies, assaults, rape, violent attacks using guns or other weapons and killings between host and refugees.

These individual conflicts are mostly reported to take place within the refugee camp according to the respondents. The most central areas of conflict are at refugees' home, water collection points, food distribution centers and at markets inside the camp. The most reported situation by the respondents are that hosts may be working or doing other businesses in the camp during the day and return at night and break into homes of refugees and try to take food or other items by force. During such robberies may also the use of weapons, assault, rape and even killings take place according to the respondents. Many conflicts often start at water collection points in the camp according to one respondent. A common scenario is that hosts try and use water taps located in the camp, they are refused by refugees as the water facilities inside the camp are reserved for refugees. Similarly refugees are refused by hosts to collect firewood outside the camp and conflicts may start from this. Refugees are sometimes "forced" to move outside the camp to collect firewood when not provided enough according to the respondents.

The night time is clearly the most critical time for conflicts between hosts and refugees to happen according to the respondents. Two female respondents explain that they fear to sleep during the night, they only sleeping during the day because they fear for their children's safety and attacks from the host community.

UNHCR confirms increasing reports on robberies inside the camp and individual conflicts between hosts and refugees in recent years. A report from 2008 state that repatriation of many refugees for South Sudan in 2008 left areas of the camp under-populated resulting in increasing criminal activities from the host community using these areas to hide and organize robberies and other crimes targeting refugees (UNHCR 2008:5-6).

One of the families interviewed in section 2 of the camp had recently been victimized by these frequent conflicts between hosts and refugees and shared their story:

A young boy of only 14 years was killed by gunshot outside his home after he had been watching a football game at a friend's house nearby his home. The brother of the boy explained that they heard several gunshots outside their house around 11 pm. The brother did not dare to go outside at first since armed robberies are common in this community. After a while did he go looking for his younger brother and found him dead, shoot with an AK-47 rifle just outside the gate to their home. Some days later the same community got threatened by two Turkana men armed with similar weapons. The family and neighbors emphasized that these situations of killings and robberies are common in the camp. They fear for the night as it is the most prone time for attacks from the host community. Especially the family of the young boy who got murdered expresses their frustration over the lack of security in the camp where similar incidents are common. Filed police reports, documentation and even pictures of the deceased body were delivered to me and my research assistant in hope of these serious issues would be addressed. (Interview in Kakuma 2, 26.01.2012).

Armed robberies in the Kakuma camp are not uncommon according to refugee respondents and representatives from UNHCR and LWF (4.3.2, p 79-82). Kenyan media have also been reporting more on these issues in recent times. The Standard Digital (2012) reports that a male Somali refugee was shot and murdered in Kakuma refugee camp on the 6th of August 2012. The incident took place when four men suspected to be from the host community armed with AK-47 rifles raided the home of the victim.

From the refugees' perspective are situations of conflicts including robberies, assault, fighting, rape and killings between hosts and refugees common and a great problem for the people living in the camp. The reality of frequent conflicts with people from the host community is affecting the lives of many. Experiences of insecurity, traumas, fearing to sleep and move around is expressed by several of the respondents. Especially is the night a fearful time for many. Although there is a curfew prohibiting hosts from being in the camp after 6 pm are most attacks and conflicts taking place after this time according to the respondents. The significant size of the camp and its structure (there are no clear borders) makes it difficult to control movement inside the large camp area. Lack of security inside the camp is also emphasized as a concern by many of the respondents.

Several of the respondents also complain over the handling of crimes reported to the local police. The refugee respondents argue that the local police who majority is of Turkana origin always favor hosts over refugees. Arguments for this are that local police are from the same tribe as the host community and therefore favor them over refugees in disputes. Some of the respondents claim that reporting criminal activities to the local police can even be dangerous as the police can forward their information to the perpetrators.

Collaborations

Around half of the respondents (21) explain that they have not experienced any form of collaboration or positive relations with people from the host community. Several of the respondents further argue that it can be dangerous to engage in relationships with Turkana hosts. One respondent emphasize that “*we fear them so we cannot collaborate with them*”, while another claim that “*if they have food and are not starving than there are no problems*”.

The other half of respondents have experienced some sort of collaboration with people from the host community. Most of these collaborations are on individual levels such as employing hosts to do small work on their plots and trading at markets inside the camp. Some of the respondents also mention schools and NGO initiatives such as intercommunity work and peace building meetings as areas where refugees and locals interact and create positive relationships. The respondents also claim that the relationship between the communities has improved. People from both communities have started to learn each other’s languages and culture which has made it easier to communicate and understand each other and improved the relationship according to these respondents. .

4.3 Findings from external actors

Perspectives from external actors working in Kakuma on how the camp has impacted Kakuma host community and the relationship between hosts and refugees will be presented here.

Continuously evaluation throughout the research have found that the most central actors/organizations to be included in this research are the following: *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR Kakuma Division), Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and Kakuma Local Government.*

UNHCR have been present in Kakuma since the creation of the refugee camp in 1991 and is the leading organization in term of operations in camp. Interview has been conducted with UNHCRs Peace Building Unit. One of its objectives is to build capacity of refugees and host communities to promote peaceful coexistence. The Peace Building Officer had at the time of the interview worked with UNHCR in Kakuma for six months.

Lutheran World Federation (LWF) is the official implementing partner of UNHCR and has been working with the refugee camp since the beginning of its existence (1991). LWF have several branches in responsible of different issues regarding the camp. The branches found of most relevance for this particular research has been the *Peace Building Unit, Turkana Project* and *Camp Security*. The Peace Building Unit has been a branch of LWF in Kakuma since 1998 with its aim “*to transform refugees to be able to embrace peace in the camp and coexistence with the host community*”. The unit also cooperates with the UNHCR Peace Building. The Peace Building Officer interviewed has been working in his position for six years and has grown up in Kakuma. Turkana Project was initiated as a part of LWF in 2002 due to many complaints that the host community was living in worse conditions than the refugees without receiving any assistance. Turkana Project work on addressing different needs in the host community such as issues related to water, livestock, conflict, insecurity and others. The person interviewed had worked with the Turkana Project for seven months in addition to similar work in the region for several years. The Chief Security officer of Camp Security has worked in Kakuma for seven months. He has also worked in Turkana County for seven years and has participated in conflict resolutions in Kakuma in 2004 and 2007. Camp Security has been a part of LWF since the establishment of the camp and has overall security responsibility of the camp and for LWF staff.

Nominated Counselor Ellen Muse is one of three counselors in Kakuma which all work under the direct supervision of Members of Parliament (MP) and the Minister for Local Government. The local government representative has been working as a nominated counselor in Kakuma for five years.

In total have 5 interviews been conducted amongst this group, each interview lasted around 60 minutes. An interview guide including 15 open-ended questions in addition to probing and follow-up questions have been used for all interviews. The findings will be presented in the following categories: *Impacts by Kakuma refugee camp on the host community, the*

relationship between the host community and refugees in Kakuma, how to promote coexistence rather than conflict. Further on will the findings be divided by perspectives from UNHCR, LWF, Camp Security and Kakuma Local Government.

4.3.1 Impacts by Kakuma refugee camp on the host community

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

The peace building officer argues that the host community struggles to sustain livelihoods and is living in worse conditions than refugees in Kakuma in term of access to food, water and shelter. All UN support, such as food rations, water and shelter are reserved for refugees. The hosts' experience of feeling marginalized in this situation is natural according to the peace building officer. Some economic benefits are nevertheless experienced in the host community such as new market opportunities. Although the host community was surviving and managing before the camp existed, the UN presence has given the hosts something to compare to in term of humanitarian assistance. The peace building officer emphasizes the jealousy of hosts towards these goods and services only distributed to refugees can certainly be a source of conflict from a host community perspective.

Lutheran World Federation

The LWF representatives also confirm the challenging livelihood conditions of the host community. Population growth has exceeded far beyond the refugee influx. Large numbers of national migration has also been experienced. This has resulted in more competition over resources for the Turkana`s living in Kakuma since before the refugee presence. The Turkana Project officer points out that the traditional way of providing livelihood has gradually changed from pastoralism to trade for the people living in Kakuma. Some have adapted to new lifestyles in relation to the refugee presence. In addition, many have suffered loss of livestock due to drought and conflicts with bordering tribes (non-refugees) which have forced them to adapt to new ways of living. Kakuma`s harsh environment has also caused many people to move to more suitable areas for pastoralism. The main reasons for hosts in Kakuma adapting to new livelihood approaches are related to drought, insecurity, population influx and the camps occupation of land according to the Turkana Project officer.

The Peace Building officer states that in the initial stage of the camp existence did NGOs only supported refugees. This caused tension and conflict between hosts, refugees and NGOs. At

present there are more NGOs addressing host community needs which have resulted in less tension. The host community has also benefited from the refugee presence according to the Turkana Project officer. Services such as water, health facilities and job opportunities have improved. Humanitarian organizations such as International Rescue Committee (IRC) have improved health issues in Kakuma. Turkana's are also given job opportunities by the many NGOs if they are qualified. Nevertheless, there are still big gaps in access to resources between the host community and refugees which is challenging for keeping peace according to the LWF representatives.

Camp Security, Chief Security Officer (LWF)

The security officer points out that several development improvements have taken place in Kakuma after the refugee presence such as infrastructure, roads, internet, mobile network and labor opportunities. The construction of the camp has also had some negative impacts for the host community. The area where the UNHCR compound is currently located was previously used by hosts for agricultural purposes during the rainy season. According to the security officer this is still an issue that many from the host community are complaining over.

The location of Kakuma as a host community was chosen because of its extremely dry environment so impacts of camp construction would not be significant. The security officer further explains that grazing opportunities for livestock was limited even before the camp existence. The host community has been introduced to education and school opportunities for their children instead of only taking care of animals. Refugees are also trading and buying things from the host community residents. The large influx of NGOs has created more job opportunities for the hosts according to the security officer.

Kakuma Local Government, Nominated Counselor

The counselor identifies several changes in Kakuma such as population growth and market development. Changes for those who are involved in business have been positive as the refugee influx has created a larger market for selling and trading. Education opportunities have made a revolutionary change for locals according to the counselor. Turkana's are originally nomads and illiterate, but have now got the opportunity to access education.

The counselor argues that the refugee influx also brought with them many problems in term of lawlessness and conflicts. Peace building initiatives by UNHCR and LWF have reduced

conflicts and improved the relationship between host and refugee communities. In the counselors' opinion the UNHCR and NGO presence has also brought some problems for the host community. According to her Turkana's have been denied employment opportunities in NGOs even when they are qualified. This has promoted lots of frustration for the host community. The counselor claims that Turkana's are being neglected and are suffering in their communities until they reach a point where they feel the only option left is to steal. Refugees are often the victims when such actions as stealing and robberies are committed.

Several other negative impacts brought on by the refugee presence are also identified. Spreading of diseases, refugees making local breweries (mostly Sudanese refugees), occupations of land and increased robberies both in the camp and town are some impacts experienced. Environmental impacts of the camp construction have also been experienced. Vegetation has been destroyed to construct shelters for refugees. Hosts sell trees to refugees for fencing their plots. NGOs offer tinder for firewood which encourages deforestation according to the counselor. Security threats in Kenya are rising along with country's involvement in the war in Somalia. In addition, large numbers of refugees from the camps in Dadaab (on the Somali border) have been relocated to Kakuma. Insecurity through possible members of the Somali terrorist group Al-Shabaab ending up in Kakuma has become a reality according to the counselor.

4.3.2 The relationship between the host community and refugees in Kakuma

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

The peace building officer describes the relationship between the two communities as difficult. The relationship is featured by frequent disputes and daily complaints from both parts. Refugees usually complain about robberies and assaults committed by the host community. Hosts argue that the refugees always blame them because they want resettlement away from Kakuma. The peace building officer explains that in general both groups accuse each other of crimes, and that the other community is armed with guns. It is not always easy to identify which allegations are true or false as both groups accuse each other of criminal activities.

These conflicts usually take place inside the camp and areas close to the Tarach River. Incidents can start from issues such as inter-marriage disputes or refugees complaining that

hosts attack and rob their homes at night. Refugees are also claiming that when they report criminal activities to the local police, the information is released back to the hosts who have committed the crimes. Refugees fear that hosts can come back and take revenge over the refugees who reported them.

The peace building officer emphasizes that there is a growing need for more attention and actions towards the relationship issue. Human and financial constraints within UNHCR Peace Building Unit make it difficult to also cover issues related to the host community.

Lutheran World Federation

The Turkana Project officer points out that the relationship between hosts and refugees is and has been problematic, while the Peace Building officer describes the relationship as “*good at this moment*”. Both LWF representatives argue that the relationship has improved as there was more hostility between the communities in the past. At present time there are more isolated conflict incidents rather than large community conflicts.

The Turkana Project officer mentions marketplaces in the camp as a common area where conflicts between hosts and refugees start. It is often women and children from the host community who approach the camp to sell firewood or other items to refugees. The project officer further states that situations where refugees refuse to pay hosts can easily escalate into conflict through hosts returning to their village to mobilize retaliation. Killings of both hosts and refugees can be a result of such conflicts.

Interactions between hosts and refugees have become more frequent. Hosts were afraid to approach the camp in the past. Today hosts and refugees meet and interact in the camp at schools, business areas and at workplaces which promotes more coexistence according to the LWF representatives. Although interactions between hosts and refugees have become more common there are still many problems in the relationships. The peace building officer identifies that the lack of assistance to the host community as the main source of conflict in the relationship. People from the host community feel unequally treated by the humanitarian agencies present in Kakuma and channel their frustration towards the refugee population. Although the situation for the host community has improved there is still a significant gap in

resource access which makes creating peace between the communities challenging. Overall the conflict situations has reduced, but hosts still feel that their needs have not been addressed.

Camp Security, Chief Security Officer (LWF)

According to the chief security officer the relationship between the two communities is not good and unlikely to be in the near future.

The refugee camp is the main area where refugees and hosts interact. The most common areas are at markets, food distribution centers, water collection point and when hosts work for refugees. Refugees also approach the host community outside the camp for purposes such as collecting firewood and sometimes herbs. The security officer points out that it is illegal for refugees to collect firewood outside the camp, but this happens when refugees receive limited amounts of firewood from the UNHCR.

Conflict situations can easily escalate from small disputes between refugees and hosts into large conflicts involving killings and rape according to the security officer. Common situations where such disputes may start are through communication misunderstandings, arguing over salary for work, when hosts want to use water facilities in the camp and when refugees go outside the camp to collect firewood. He further mentions that people from the host community have a curfew to leave the camp at 6 pm, but this is hard to control. The security officer explains how easily small incidents can potentially escalate into what he describes as “wars”. In 2004 a small conflict between some refugees and hosts escalated into a large conflict where many people, both host and refugee were killed.

The security officer identifies the main source of conflict between hosts and refugees relating to the limited resources and poor conditions the host community are living in. He further argues that refugees live in much better conditions than the host community. In addition unequal support by the humanitarian agencies contributes to the host community feeling marginalized and unfairly threatened. According to the security officer 80% of all NGO programs in Kakuma are directed to the refugee population while around 20% is related to the host community.

Adapting to the refugee presence has also been challenging for the host community. The security officer claims that when the NGOs first came to Kakuma the hosts did not participate

in the opportunities offered to them. Education opportunities at the time were not interesting for the traditional pastoralist community. In fact the majority of Turkana`s who are benefiting from the goods (jobs, education, etc.) accompanied by the refugee presence are people who have migrated to Kakuma from other parts of Turkana. This has caused frustration from the Turkana`s who lived in Kakuma before the refugee presence as they feel they are not benefiting anything from hosting refugees. As these hosts are lacking education they are rarely offered the most attractive jobs. Working small jobs for refugees are very low paid and hosts are often treated badly by refugees according to the security officer.

People from the host community are frustrated as they have the perception of refugees as “rich” and still receive support from the UN. Themselves they live in very poor conditions and struggle to survive. This has caused many hosts to channel their grievances toward the refugee population according to the security officer.

Kakuma Local Government, Nominated Counselor

The counselor confirms that the relationship between the host and refugee community is conflicting.

Conflicts often start at water collection points inside the camp. People from the host community approach these water points because they have no clean water in their villages. The areas around Tarach River is also a location where fighting between hosts and refugees take place according to the counselor. She claims that refugees sometimes pollute the wells around the river bank which is the main source of drinking water for the host community.

The counselor argues that unequal access to vital resources such as food and water are the main source of conflict in the relationship. This great gap in resource access can further escalate into conflicts between hosts and refugees. She further points out that “*refugee leaders have even asked NGOs to assist Turkana`s with food supplies, but nothing has been done for our people*”.

4.3.3 How to promote coexistence rather than conflict

United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees

The peace building officer state that there is a need for more attention and actions towards enhancing the relationship between the host and refugee community for promoting better coexistence. Peace building meetings involving community leaders from both communities needs to be more frequent and regular.

There are several challenges with progressing with these peace building meetings. The first challenge is the language barriers. There are over 11 nationalities in addition to the Turkana language. To get people from the host community to participate is also difficult. When hosts participate in these meetings they are losing important time used for generating income. Hosts therefore feel that they should be given something for participating. Financial and human resources are a great challenge for addressing all these big issues with the host community according to the officer.

Lutheran World Federation

The representatives from LWF all agree that improving mechanisms for promoting peace are important. Continuing initiatives and activities that are bringing both communities together is crucial for promoting more coexistence in the relationship. Sharing facilities between hosts and refugees such as mixed schools is emphasized by the Turkana Project Officer.

Joint forums for discussing problems and finding solutions together is mentioned as important for improving the relationship and avoiding conflicts according to the peace building officer. The officer further argues that peace meetings need to be more frequent and also involve participants from the government and NGOs. The government only participates in larger meetings which are conducted four times a year. This is far too rare in the officer's opinion. Challenges of new refugee arrivals are also something that needs to be handled.

The LWF Chief Security Officer points out that although there are many challenges in terms of the relationship there have also been some improvements. The change in security structure in 2005 to combine incentive staff (refugees) and local police has had a positive impact on the camp security and improved collaboration. Smaller incidents are now handled by the peace units (LWF and UNHCR) while larger cases are directed to the local police. The 2010

disarming campaign confiscated lots of weapons in the camp. He further adds that there has been a positive development of reporting criminal activities rather than being resolved by communities confronting each other.

Kakuma Local Government, Nominated Counselor

The counselor emphasize that more peace awareness is needed for promoting coexistence between the host and refugee communities. Involvement from the government together with residents (hosts and refugees) and NGOs should foster peace and tranquility together. The balance of humanitarian support is a great challenge according to her. There is still no clean water or food security for the host community. This is a challenge for creating coexistence when one community is supported with basic needs while their neighbor community struggles to survive.

Chapter 5: Analysis

In this chapter the empirical findings are discussed and analyzed in light of the theoretical framework. The analysis is divided into two parts. The first discussion concerns research questions 1, 2 and 3, how the Kakuma refugee camp has impacted the host community.

Research question 4 and 5 will be discussed in the second part of the analysis relating to the relationship between the host community and refugee population of Kakuma. The second part will further discuss how situations of conflict and coexistences take place in the relationship and how to promote the latter rather than the former.

5.1 Impacts of Kakuma refugee camp on the host community

Several impacts have been experienced by the host community of Kakuma after the refugee influx. Some of these impacts have been more significant and more reported than others. Figure 10 presented in the theoretical framework shows a simplified overview of possible impacts experienced by host communities in a refugee-hosting scenario. The figure (10) divides possible impacts into four categories of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental. This part of the analysis will specifically answer research question 1: *What impacts the host community of Kakuma has experienced after the refugee influx?* This will be done through presenting the impacts experienced by the host community in light of figure 10 from the theoretical framework.

5.1.1 Economic impacts

As table 1 in section 4.1.2 (p, 56) presents, increased market, business and job opportunities are some of the most reported impacts by the host community. The respondents describe these new opportunities as positive impacts of the refugee influx. Hosts have experienced more opportunities to generate income and provide livelihood through trading with refugees in the camp or working for them in exchange for food or money. This has been the most significant change in terms of their livelihood approach for many of the host respondents.

More access to food and water has only been reported by a small amount of respondents. Indirect access to food and water has nevertheless been experienced by many through new market and job opportunities located in the camp.

The camp establishment has had economic impacts regarded as positive by the majority of the respondents. Although most hosts still struggle to survive, the camp has created a larger

market for generating income and better opportunities to provide basic needs such as food and water. The majority of host respondents use the refugee camp for providing livelihoods. Similar findings are also identified in the empirical research by Maystadt and Verwimp from camps in Tanzania (2009). The creation of new common marketplaces within refugee camps were also external food aid are sold or exchanged have taken place in Kakuma much in line with the experiences from Maystadt and Verwimp (2009).

5.1.2 Social impacts

Improved access to health services is the third most reported positive impact by the host community respondents (table 1). Free medical services at clinics in the camp provided by humanitarian organizations have become available for the host community. Services in the camp are free of charge in contrast to the hospital in Kakuma town. The camp clinics are being used by the host community for medical needs and is reported as positive by almost half (12) of the host respondents. The impact of medical services also contributes to the economy of the host community as they now can receive free medical treatment.

Educational opportunities in the camp have gradually become available free of charge for the host community and is reported as a positive impact by some of the respondents (table 1). This development suggests that education opportunities will continue to become more significant for the host community. The nominated counselor of Kakuma local government states that this has been a revolutionary change for the host community, and has provided them with an alternative opportunity to their originally pastoralist livelihood approach.

The most reported negative social impacts are exposure to more conflicts and increased insecurity (table 2). Both of these impacts relate to the relationship between the host community and refugee population. Large conflicts involving entire communities are reported to be more common some years ago, but individual conflicts between hosts and refugees are still reported as frequent and negatively affecting the lives of many hosts. The reality is that more insecurity and conflict situations have been experienced in Kakuma after the refugee presence and had a significant negative impact on the host community.

Prostitution and sexual exploitation of especially young girls from the host community in the camp is reported as a negative impact by a few respondents (table 2). Prostitution may also be

used as means for gaining income or food by hosts living in a vulnerable situation due to lack of other options to provide livelihood.

Socio-cultural impacts have also been mentioned. Experiences of refugees disrespecting the culture and nationality of the Turkana hosts is reported by a few of the host respondents. The feeling of being disrespected and not receiving any appreciation from the people they are hosting have had a negative impact on the relationship with the refugee population.

5.1.3 Environmental impacts

According to respondents from Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Kakuma was chosen as a host community largely because of its extremely dry environment. Therefore, camp constructions and population influx would have had minimal environmental impacts. Although, it is argued by both LWF and the nominated counselor of Kakuma local government that population growth and camp construction has caused some hosts to lose land previously used for animal grazing and seasonal agriculture. A small part of the host sample from one particular village (Aule Aemejen) have confirmed that they were forced to relocate due to the construction of section 3 of the camp and lost valuable grazing land for their animals.

How significant overall environmental impacts have been on Kakuma are difficult to estimate based on this research. This research mostly identifies the environmental impacts that the camp establishment has had on household viability for host community respondents still living in Kakuma. Several respondents state that impacts not relating to the refugee camp (drought, famine, clashes with non-refugee bordering tribes) also contributed that many hosts migrating to other places to pursue pastoralism. The majority of the host respondents in the sample did not mention livestock as a main source of livelihood either before or after the refugee influx.

Although environmental impacts from camp construction and population growth have been experienced, this did not have a significant impact on the majority of the host community respondents. On the other hand environmental impacts have had a significant impact on the village of Aule Aemejen as they lost valuable land for pursuing livelihood. It cannot be ruled

out that similar impacts have been experienced by other hosts who have migrated to more suitable areas for pastoralism, but those perspectives have not been included in this research.

5.1.4 Political impacts

Discussing politics as an impact in a refugee-host community scenario includes both national politics of the Government of Kenya (GoK) and politics of the international humanitarian and refugee community (UNHCR and NGOs present in Kakuma).

The majority of the host respondents argue that they have been politically marginalized by their government prior to the refugee presence and have not experienced any change of government involvement after becoming a host community. Experiences of both political and economic marginalization in Kakuma and Turkana are also shared by other researchers such as Aukot (2003) and Crisp (2003).

Compensation for hosting refugees in term of humanitarian assistance has not been experienced by the majority of host respondents. Only few of the respondents state that they have received some sporadic humanitarian assistance by NGOs. Health and education services in Kakuma have improved after becoming a host community as discussed above.

In contrast, many of the respondents` claim that the UN and NGOs present in Kakuma are only concerned with refugee needs although hosts are living in similar challenging conditions. Representatives from UNHCR, LWF and local government confirm that the almost all humanitarian aid such as food, water and shelter are reserved for the refugee population.

The claims from the host community should probably be directed towards their government. Nevertheless, the continuously lack of political visibility by the GoK has caused hosts to rather address their frustration of being neglected towards the very much visible international humanitarian community. In such hosts grievances of the government`s failure of development have been directed towards the refugee and humanitarian communities in Kakuma. The unequal distribution of humanitarian aid has created lots of tension in the relationship between the hosts and refugees. Although the hosts may be wrong to channel their frustration toward the refugee population, this has become a reality. From a host perspective the humanitarian politics or mandate of who the aid is reserved for (refugees) may not matter much. In their reality they experience the same challenges and difficulties as the

refugees although receiving no or limited assistance. Representatives from UNHCR, LWF and local government emphasize that the large gap in resources and humanitarian assistance is a great challenge for keeping peace and promoting coexistence between hosts and refugees in Kakuma.

In these perspectives both the lack of political presence by the GoK, and politics by the humanitarian community have significant impacts on the host community in term of their relationship with the refugee population. Indirectly the political impacts are reported to be a contributing source of conflict in the relationship between hosts and refugees.

5.2 Balancing the impacts

This section will address research question 2 and 3, how these impacts have affected the household viability of the host community and how they have adapted as a result of the refugee influx.

5.2.1 Socio-economic impacts

Socio-economic impacts of the Kakuma refugee camp have mostly had a positive impact on the host community as discussed above. The research reveals that access to food and water is better in the refugee camp than in the host community. Although the host community struggles to provide sustainable livelihoods for their families, the majority of respondents use the refugee camp as a main source for providing income and basic needs. Situations of drought have also made this predominantly pastoralist community less suitable for livestock as a livelihood.

According to McCabe (2004:39) problems of drought have been common all over the Turkana in newer times. Droughts sweeping through Turkana during the 1980s and early 1990s had catastrophic consequences for many pastoralists living in the area. Bush (1995:247-259) explains that during an extensive drought in-between 1990 and 1992 the effects forced nomads to move to relief camps. This resulting in Turkana nomads became more integrated to external food assistance. Situations of drought have also affected Turkana`s in Kakuma after the refugee presence. BBC NEWS (2011) reported 14 deaths by starvation in the north-western Turkana region in 2011 due to drought. Further on the UN states to the same source that the region is facing its worst drought in 60 years, around four million Kenyans are threatened by starvation. An Lutheran World Federation (2011:32) report on Kenya confirms

that Kakuma is located in one of the areas hardest hit by the 2011 drought which are bringing enormous challenges for food security, water access and sustaining livelihood for local communities. There is no doubt that situations of drought has been and still is a great challenge towards providing livelihood for the Kakuma host community.

The alternative livelihood approach before the refugee presence was collecting wild fruits from far away and collecting firewood or other items to sell at markets. The camp has undoubtedly created a larger market for pursuing that kind of livelihood approach (selling firewood and other items) in addition to other business and income generating opportunities.

According to Chambers theory in section 2.1.1 (p, 15-18) the presence of refugees may result in either food becoming scarcer through increasing prices and pressure on resources, or the opposite of relief food increasing food accessibility also for hosts. The experience in Kakuma has been the latter of those two outcomes. Food availability was very limited in Kakuma prior to the refugee camp, environmental challenges over time such as drought and famine has also contributed to livestock opportunities decreasing. This has resulted in the food aid accompanied by the refugee presence becoming accessible (in different scale) by hosts through trading with refugees. It should be added that from the host perspectives this “new” food access have become available indirectly through negotiating with refugees and not assisted by humanitarians or government. The accessibility of this relief food is reported as limited by the hosts, but it has improved food access in general compared to before the camp presence.

The camp has become the new town and business center of Kakuma, the camp is where food, water and business opportunities are found. Employment opportunities for hosts in the camp have been a significant livelihood resource. The experience in Kakuma has been the opposite of what Maystadt and Verwimp (2.1.1. p, 15-18) describe in camps in Tanzania where hosts employed cheap labor from refugees related to agriculture. Kakuma’s extreme dry environment makes agriculture on land and soil limited. In term of access to food and water the refugees are in an advantageous position over most hosts. This results in refugees employing hosts to do small jobs for them. These jobs might not be ideal or well paid, but it has created livelihood opportunities for the host community.

Social services such as health and education have grown in Kakuma through the influx of humanitarian agencies accompanying the refugee presence. These services have become

available to the host community free of charge which has been a positive impact for the host community.

5.2.2 Social and political impacts

It is within the social impact category that most negative impacts experienced by the host community are found. Chambers (2.1.1. p, 15-18) argues that interaction between hosts and refugees through trading and business can have a positive social effect on their relationship as both groups are benefiting from it. Although the camp facilities are identified as positive in relation to searching for livelihood, the relationship between the host and refugees has largely been conflicting since the camps existence. The socio-economic opportunities have been positive for hosts. On the other hand the social areas inside the camp are reported to be a starting point for many conflicts. The large refugee influx has resulted in the Turkana hosts becoming a minority in Kakuma. The relationship between hosts and refugees has caused many from the host community to experience more insecurity and more conflicts as a result of the camp presence. The relationship is reported to have improved, some host respondents also mention positive relations and collaborating with refugees through their many areas of interaction. Nevertheless, the research confirms that social impacts of the relationship have had more significant negative impacts in the form of growing conflict and insecurity situations.

National migration accompanied by opportunities created by the camp presence has been significant as in line with Chambers theory on diversity of impacts (2.1.1 p, 15-18). The reality is that many of the job opportunities at NGOs are filled by Turkana`s who did not live in Kakuma before the refugee camp existed. As Kakuma is mainly a pastoralist community many of the Turkana living in Kakauma prior to the camp existence were illiterate. The influx of nationals with better education resulted in that the most attractive jobs where rather occupied mostly by Turkana`s migrating from outside Kakuma. This has resulted in the poorest and most vulnerable having difficulty in accessing these new opportunities accompanied by the camp.

Few respondents from the host community have experienced direct assistance by humanitarian organizations. The majority of host respondents state that they feel marginalized and unequally threatened by the UNHCR and NGOs who are only supporting refugees.

UNHCR's "overall mandate is to provide international protection and humanitarian assistance to refugees and persons of concern while working to find durable solutions to their situation" (UNHCR 2006). Rightfully the UNHCR may not be obligated to provide humanitarian aid to the host community as this is rather the responsibility of the Kenyan government. Nonetheless, political policies by UNHCR and its implementing partners (various NGOs) to provide assistance almost exclusively to refugees are impacting host-refugee relations. Chambers (2.1.1 p, 15-18) also claims that economic development in refugee hosting areas depends on official policies and interventions by the hosting country. Experiences of host community respondents describe government interventions as minimal. It is rather the humanitarian agencies that are the visible actors which hosts reach out to in demand for development and food security.

To describe these political impacts as negative might not be correct as these actors are present in Kakuma merely for the purpose of assisting the refugee problem. On the other hand, there are these realities experienced by the host community creating tensions largely driven by the refugees who receive assistance.

From a host perspective, they have experienced a large refugee settlement on their land, and feel that they have not received appreciation or direct benefits from it. The fact that many hosts have the opinion of refugees as "wealthy" confirms that there is a significant gap in resource access between hosts and refugees.

The host-refugee relations are affecting the daily lives of refugees, hosts and the humanitarian community working in Kakuma. Finding sustainable solutions of coexistence between hosts and refugees is crucial and important both for the safety and wellbeing of refugees and hosts. In addition, a good host-refugee relationship is of great importance to the international humanitarian community for succeeding in managing refugee camps as a purpose of providing international protection for people in need of refuge.

In this perspective, this research shows the lack of politics by the GoK and the international humanitarian community having a significant impact on the host community of Kakuma. In terms of hosts' experiences these political impacts are regarded mostly as negative, grievances of being marginalized has affected the host-refugee relationship

5.3 More positive than negative impacts

Research question 1 and 2 responds to what impacts have been experienced and how the refugee camp has affected *household viability* of the host community. The research argues that there has been slightly more positive than negative impacts. The camp has created more opportunities to provide livelihoods for the majority of the host community respondents. Although many hosts argue that these opportunities are limited and conditions working for refugees are not good, the fact is that the camp has provided a larger market for trading, business and job opportunities. Around half of the host respondents mention that their household viability has improved compared to before the camp presence. In addition have the majority of host respondents explained that they use the refugee camp as their main source for providing livelihood. This does not mean that hosts should be satisfied with these impacts, but rather stating the realities experienced. The majority of host respondents are still living in extreme challenging conditions, access to food and water in the host community is significantly scarcer than within the refugee camp. These differences in food and water availability have resulted in hosts feeling marginalized by the GoK and humanitarian community. Food and water security is still the biggest challenge for the host community. Statistics showing that Turkana County has the highest poverty level (94, 3%) in all of Kenya (Kenya Open Data 2006) further supports this stance.

Location of villages also affects hosts' experiences. The village of Aule Aemejen which is located with significant distance from the camp has experienced fewer impacts than the other villages. This confirms Maystadt and Verwimp's (2.1.2. p, 18-19) claim that the closer to camps hosts live they are likely to experience more impacts and opportunities. Although access to food, water and income has been limited for these respondents (Aule Aemejen), have they also been less exposed to conflicts and insecurity situations related to the camp. The only significant impact for this village has been environmental and economic (negative) when they were forced to be relocated due to camp construction thereby losing valuable land used for animal grazing. The views of Chambers (2.1.1. p, 15-18) and Martin (2.1.3. p, 19-22) on how camp constructions can occupy grazing land have been experienced by these respondents. Respondents from Lutheran World Federation and local government have also confirmed that environmental impacts of the camp have affected some hosts.

Responding to research question 3, the research reveals that majority of host respondents have adapted their livelihood approach to use the camp as their main source of livelihood. Health

and education services have also improved after the camp presence. Whether the camp dependency amongst hosts is positive in a long-term perspective can certainly be discussed. Some hosts have expressed concerns of what will happen to them if the camp closes down. How Kakuma would look today if the camp never had existed is difficult to say; but the fact that many hosts have become dependent on the camp suggests that it would have consequences for many if it closed down and all the refugees and humanitarian actors would leave.

The negative impacts of the camp should not be underestimated. The conflicting relationship between the host and refugee communities is well documented. Growing insecurity and more conflicts have been experienced by many hosts after the camp was established. The social impacts of the relationship with the refugee population have mostly been conflicting.

The perception many hosts have of refugees is much related to the humanitarian aid politics experienced by the host community. The greatest challenge for the host community before the refugee presence was allocation of food and water, and still is. The experiences of humanitarian aid influx only provided to refugees while Turkana hosts are struggling with the same challenges of providing food and water has caused problems. From a host perspective a valid question is *why one community is supported while another one is not when they are both obviously in need of it?* Although the refugees are not to blame for the hosts' challenges they can become victims of desperate and frustrated hosts. The most significant negative impacts revealed by the research are related to the host-refugee relationship.

The research confirms the views of Chambers, Alix-Garci and Saah, and Maystadt and Verwimp that impacts of refugee camps on host community are many, complex and have several possible outcomes. Nevertheless, the research has provided more information on the dynamics of the many impacts. The research is pointing out that the most significant positive impacts experienced are socio-economic while the most significant negative impacts are of a social and political nature. How to improve the conditions for the host community is not an easy task with a straight-forward answer. As the research argues are the positive and negative impacts experienced by the host community complex and closely linked together. The research shows that more emphasis should be placed on the social and political impacts to improve conditions for the host community and the relations between hosts and refugees.

5.4 Relationship between the host community and refugees in Kakuma

This section of the analysis will address research questions 4 and 5: *what are the main sources creating conflict and coexistence in the relationship between hosts and refugees in Kakuma.*

The nature of the relationship between the Kakuma host community and its refugee population have been well documented throughout this research. Perspectives from the host community, refugee population, humanitarian agencies and the local government have been included.

The majority of the refugee respondents describe their relationship with the host community as either problematic or unbalanced. The host community respondents differ somewhat from the refugees. Although almost half of the (host) respondents describe the relationship as unbalanced, one third labels their relationship as unproblematic. Only 4 respondents mention having only a problematic relationship. Despite hosts characterizations of their current relationship with the refugee population, insecurity and conflict have been their most reported negative impacts of the camp presence. Most conflicts in recent years are reported to take place inside the camp. Therefore it is likely that refugee respondents have been more exposed to the conflicting relationship than host respondents.

Over half of host respondents confirm that they have experienced some positive socio-economic impacts from the refugee presence. Although host respondents have experienced conflicts between the communities are many using and depending on the camp and refugees for providing livelihood. Therefore, it can be argued that it is likely that more host respondents have a “positive” relationship with the refugee population than vice versa. The location of the villages is also a factor for hosts’ relationship to refugees. The villages of Aule Aemejen and Kalemchuch are located within further distance from the camp than the other villages (figure 11) and are in less contact with refugees. Accordingly, 5 of the 10 host respondents describing their relationship as unproblematic are living within these two villages.

Based on the research's findings it is argued that the relationship has been and still is conflicting. Although larger conflicts between host and refugee communities have decreased since the mid-2000, individual conflicts between hosts and refugees are still frequent according to the majority of host and refugee respondents. These conflicts often start from smaller disputes at central areas in the camp and escalate to include conflict features such as fighting, assault, theft, robberies, rape and killings.

The decrease in community conflicts in Kakuma can possibly be explained by several factors. According to the Chief Security Officer of Kakuma Camp Security have securities inside the camp improved in recent years (4.3.3. p, 81-82). The disarming campaign in 2010 has had a positive impact on security as many weapons in the camp were confiscated. The large repatriation of Sudanese refugees in 2008 may also have impacted frequencies of community conflicts. According McCabe (2003:90) the Turkana tribe and bordering tribes from southern Sudan have a long tradition of conflicting relationships. The majority of these tribes are traditional pastoralists and cattle rustling have been a longstanding tradition in these areas. Claims (by respondents) that there has been a history of conflicts between Turkana hosts and Sudanese refugees in Kakuma is also supported by Aukot (2003:76). Crisp (2003:5) confirm insecurity issues in the north-western border areas of Kenya were banditry and cattle rustling between tribes and communities are common. Literature and findings of the research indicate that community conflicts were more frequent during the period of 2000 to 2010. At this time were also the majority of refugees of Sudanese origin. As described by respondents have community conflicts decreased intact with large numbers of Sudanese refugees leaving the camp. This is not suggesting that Sudanese refugees were the reason for frequent community conflicts, but several sources claim that the relationship between some of the Sudanese tribes and Turkana were particular conflicting. Conflicts in Kakuma have developed; individual incidents of conflicts have become more common rather than whole communities confronting each other. Nevertheless, conflict situations between hosts and refugees are still reported as frequent in Kakuma.

The camp has become the “new town” of Kakuma as many describe it. The camp's availability of food, water and income generating opportunities makes it natural for many hosts to approach the camp. From a host perspective they are struggling to provide sustainable livelihoods. During the two decades of camp existence many hosts have adapted their livelihood approach to the camp presence. Host respondents argue that many conflicts start

over issues when they are working for or trading with refugees. Disagreement over payments at markets or being exploited and threatened by refugees when selling items such as firewood is mentioned by several hosts. Being denied the freedom to move around in the camp by refugees is another cause of conflict. From a host perspective Kakuma is still their land. Restricted access to the same soil they have lived on as a pastoralist community for centuries has created tensions towards the refugees.

Refugee respondents claim that most conflicts start in areas where hosts try to access food and water in the camp. Water collection points, food distributions and markets are some examples. Similarly may conflicts start if refugees go outside the camp to collect firewood. Although hosts have curfew to leave the camp at 6 pm most conflicts take place after this time according to the majority of refugee respondents. Armed robberies are the most reported conflict situation. Refugee respondents claim that the combination of hosts' limited access to food and water, and their perception of refugees as wealthy have caused hosts to approach criminal activities for providing resources that they lack. Therefore, many refugees suspect that hosts enter the camp during the day "pretending" to do business before returning at night to steal.

Respondents from UNHCR, Lutheran World Federation and Kakuma local government confirm the conflicting relationship described by host and refuge respondents. Although improvements in the relationship have been identified, individual conflicts are frequent, causing serious consequences and affecting the lives of many hosts and refugees.

The findings reveal lots of distrust and negative perceptions between the two communities. Hosts may feel entailed to access the camp as it is located on their land, while refugees suspect hosts to merely access the camp for planning criminal activities. Although prejudices may be built on negative experiences of conflict between the two communities it does not mean that all hosts or refugees are hostile or criminals. Nevertheless, these prejudices and perceptions of the "other community" contribute to more hostility and tensions by both groups blaming and accusing each other. The social tensions in the relationship contribute to more conflicts.

For whatever reasons these conflicts take place the consequences hurt both communities. These are two extremely vulnerable groups who are both living in situations of crisis. The

refugees have fled their countries of origin due to war and persecution in search of safety and refuge. The host community of Kakuma suffers from poverty and struggles to provide basic needs. The one thing these vulnerable groups absolutely do not need is more insecurity and conflict. This has become the reality in Kakuma, where both groups have become victims of each other's sufferings. In search for improving host-refugee relations and eliminating conflict situations it is crucial to understand what creates these conflict situations. Therefore as stated in research question 4, the research will identify the main sources creating conflicts between the host community and refugees in Kakuma.

5.4.1 Sources of conflicts

Based on data collected and perspectives from hosts, refugees and external actors (UNHCR, LWF and Kakuma local government) the research has identified some main sources of conflicts between hosts and refugees.

Scarcity of food and water in the host community

Well testified through the research is that food and water scarcity are the primary challenges of the host community. Struggling to provide sustainable livelihood has been a reality for the inhabitants of Kakuma for many decades. The predominant pastoralist community has gradually changed its livelihood approach with the establishment of Kakuma refugee camp. Severe incidents of drought throughout history and continuing in present time have largely affected the traditional livelihoods for the host community. These factors have made pastoralism less suitable in the already arid environment of Kakuma. Using the refugee camp for providing livelihoods through interacting, working and trading with refugees has rather become the main livelihood approach for many hosts.

The main reason for people from the host community to approach the camp is to look for food and water which are limited in their own communities. The main source of drinking water for the host community is the Tarach River which is dry for most parts of the year. Livestock and agriculture opportunities are extremely challenging due to the harsh environment and water scarcity. The refugee camp has become the most attractive source of food and water for the host community. Although these necessities are not directly available for hosts the opportunities through negotiating with refugees are better than within their own community.

The main factors driving hosts to the camp in search for food and water is the lack of accessibility in their community. The loss of traditional livelihoods has caused them to adapt to the refugee camp instead.

The refugee camp is identified as the most central area where conflicts between hosts and refugees take place. Hosts lacking food and water might not be a direct cause for conflict in all situations, but the reality is that most conflicts start inside the camp where hosts negotiate with refugees over access to food, water and income. This does not suggest that hosts are to blame for all these conflicts, but situations where conflicts start are related to the fact that hosts have to approach the camp in search for food and water.

Crisp (2003) states that conflicts between hosts and refugees are most likely to take place within camps as this often is the main area of resources and services. Further, Jacobsen (2002) argues that economic impacts are a common cause for such conflicts, mainly through refugees putting more pressure on already scarce economic resources. In the case of Kakuma the previous pastoral economy has almost disappeared. Impacts not related to the camp such as drought has played a large part as earlier mentioned. The camp opportunities have created the rather limited economy that most hosts depend on. One might argue that the refugee camp has improved an almost non-existent economy in the host community. On the other hand are the economic differences between hosts and refugees in term of availability of food and water so significant that they often result in conflicts. Refugees also benefits from hosts through buying firewood and other items in addition to employing hosts to work for them. The socio-economic impacts that are benefitting both communities in different ways are not significant enough to provide sustainable livelihoods for the host community. Despite the positive potential of social relations through trading, the social impacts of the relationship often are resulting in conflicts. The economic imbalance in term of food and water accessibility has become an obstacle to coexistence in the relationship.

Robberies inside the camp are also reported as frequent events by refugees. Refugees claim that most of these robberies are committed by people from the host community. Conflicts between refugees and refugee communities also take place in Kakuma, although the nature, scale and frequency are not explored in this research. Therefore blaming all robberies or unknown perpetrators on the host community is not necessarily correct. Nevertheless, findings

from refugees, humanitarian agencies, local government, various reports, news sources and even some hosts confirm that robberies and thefts in the camp conducted by people from the host community does take place. The main targets for these robberies are believed to be food and money. Limited access to food and water is by no means a justification for committing criminal activities, but it can be an explanation for it. Argued by the nominated counselor of Kakuma local government is that many hosts are suffering in their communities until they reach a point where they feel the only option left is to steal to survive. Unfortunately, refugees often become the victims of those frustrated hosts. Several host respondents also claim to go hungry for days without food. The economic opportunities in the camp are featured by lots of competition and are difficult to access for many hosts. Negative experiences with refugee interactions from a host perspective may also make it “easier” to proceed with criminal activities for survival.

The research shows that one of the main sources behind these conflicts is lack of food and water access in the host community. If the host community were able to sustain themselves they would not need to approach the camp in search of the resources they lack, at least not as their main or only livelihood approach. Most conflicts are related to hosts trying to access food and water from refugees through different means.

Imbalance of humanitarian assistance

Humanitarian assistance in Kakuma provided by the United Nations (UN) and its implementing partners through food, water and shelter support is for documented reasons intended for the refugee population. UNHCRs primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and well-beings of refugees (UNHCR b. 2013). The majority of humanitarian actors present in Kakuma probably would not have been there without the refugee camp presence. It can be argued that the host community is assisted more now than in the past due to the humanitarian influx. On the other hand the gap in humanitarian assistance between hosts and refugees is so significant and visible that the smaller improvements experienced by the host community are overshadowed by the larger imbalance. Hosts feel that refugees are favored over them, and their needs as human beings are more important than those of Turkana origin. Respondents representing UNHCR, Lutheran World Federation and Kakuma local government claim that the great majority of humanitarian support in Kakuma is provided to refugees. Some humanitarian programs directed at the host community have been initiated due to the

conflicting relationship with refugees. Nevertheless, the clear inequality of humanitarian support has caused lots of frustration from the host community. Exact numbers on how much humanitarian aid consumed by hosts is difficult to measure. This research indicates that the parts of humanitarian aid (food and water) that are consumed by hosts are mostly finding its way indirectly through negotiating with refugees, and not directly through humanitarian agencies. It should be added that humanitarian assistance through health and education has improved significantly in the host community.

From a host perspective it is natural to feel unfairly threatened and frustrated when experiencing that livelihood support is delivered to the camp next to them when they are equally struggling to access food and water. The aid distribution is affecting the host-refugee relations. From a UNHCR perspective the distribution of aid might be justified, but not necessarily from a host perspective. The reality experienced by hosts is that one group of people is provided with humanitarian assistance while the other group is not. Hosts experience of inequality has become a significant source of conflict. The experiences of humanitarian inequality by the host community are also strengthened by the reality of their loss of traditional livelihoods. This has resulted in the host community becoming dependent on the humanitarian assistance intended for the refugee population.

Political impacts of hosting governments and humanitarian actors are recognized as playing a significant role in shaping relationships between hosts and refugees according to Crisp (2003) and Loescher and Milner (2006). Assisting one vulnerable group of refugees while another community living next to them is struggling to provide basic needs can contribute to increase tensions and instability in their relationship (Loescher and Milner 2006:8-9). Crisp (2003) further argues that the level of recognition by hosts on benefits from projects and services delivered to refugees affects host-refugee relations. The theories by Crisp and Loescher and Milner are confirmed by this research. Humanitarian actors' policy has resulted in hosts' grievances contributing to more hostility and conflicting relationships between hosts and refugees. Hosts might ask themselves if they need to cross a national border to receive assistance. Not being registered as a refugee has mostly disabled hosts from receiving food, water and shelter assistance from UNHCR in Kakuma. From a UNHCR perspective they are already struggling to support the large refugee influxes from Somalia and South Sudan into Kakuma. A Famine Early Warning System (FEWS) report from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID 2012) stated in September 2012 that the food security

situation for refugees in Kakuma refugee camp is endangering as the camp capacity is almost surpassed. Refugees are likely to experience poor access to shelter, food and other needs. UNHCR senior protection officer (in Kakuma) Jeff Savage has confirmed the concerns stating that Kakuma could soon reach its capacity and they are mobilizing for funds to scale up the humanitarian response of coping with the new refugee influx (UNHCR c. 2012)

Providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in Kakuma has clearly become more challenging for UNHCR due to increasing refugee influxes. Nevertheless, UNHCR's strategy and activities in Kenya for 2012 state that "*Other key priorities are: access to adequate housing, health, water, sanitation, education and livelihood opportunities for camp based, urban and host communities around camps*" (UNHCR b. 2011). Further, the UNHCR confirms that limited livelihood opportunities for refugees and host communities have a negative impact on the UNHCR's ability to find durable solutions through enhancing self-reliance. Although the UNHCR's strategies and activities (b. 2011) state that supporting host communities are amongst other key priorities this has not been experienced by host respondents in Kakuma. Refugees are clearly the main concern of the UNHCR. When there are challenges providing assistance to refugees it is likely to assume hosts to be of less concern. The UNHCR's peace building officer in Kakuma confirmed that human and financial constraints result in less attention devoted to host-refugee related issues.

Obviously the refugees in Kakuma are in a crisis situation and rightfully need all the support that they are receiving. The political history of Kakuma in addition to the humanitarian politics makes the refugee presence highlight the continuous experience of marginalization amongst the host community. Host feelings of being unequally treated by humanitarian agencies have resulted in grievances. The research shows that these grievances are often channeled towards the refugees who are receiving the humanitarian assistance.

This does not suggest that all hosts are involved in criminal activities, but the frustrations of many have contributed to more hostility toward refugees. Therefore the imbalance of humanitarian assistance is considered as a main source of conflict in the host-refugee relationship. As mentioned many hosts be wrong to demand assistance from those organizations concerned with international refugee protection. Nevertheless, they are the visible actors opposed to the Kenyan government from a host perspective. Government

involvement in Kakuma has increased after the camp establishment according to the LWF's Turkana Project officer. On the other hand host experiences of government involvement in Kakuma are mostly related to the refugee issue such as the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA). Therefore it has become natural from a host perspective to address their challenges towards the international refugee protection regime. Literature from Aukot (2003:74) supports hosts experiences of lack of government visibility in Kakuma both prior to the camp existence and after.

Establishing refugee camps among poor and underdeveloped host communities such as in Kakuma has caused problems in the refugee-host relationship. In such a scenario refugees have gained an advantaged position over the host community in term of food, water and shelter availability. Policies of the international refugee protection regime in assisting mostly refugees have promoted tensions in the relationship where conflicts have been one outcome. Needless to say humanitarian agencies responding to refugee crisis should not be blamed for the lack and failure of development in impoverished communities around the world. On the other hand consequences of assisting refugees and not hosts can as experienced in Kakuma result in conflicts. When hosting and assisting large groups of people in crisis in a community where people with similar challenges are living, there will be a demand from them as well.

The economy of aid distribution plays an important part in this dilemma. Providing food, water and shelter for around 100 000 people over many years is not cheap. It may be unreasonable to expect the same humanitarian assistance to hosts as they rather are within the responsibility of their government. On the other hand humanitarian actors could put more effort on promoting sustainability to host communities that become exposed to refugee camp establishments. There is often a growing need for development in impoverished hosting communities such as Kakuma. Stated by several respondents in this research, the host community for different reasons has not been able to benefit in larger scale from the humanitarian and refugee presence. Employment by hosts in NGOs or other areas related to the camp has not been significant. Promoting hosts to feel that they are participating and also benefiting from hosting refugees could improve hosts' sustainability and their relationship with refugee communities. In addition could participating and benefiting promote some sort of "ownership" feeling toward being a host community.

Argued by Jacobsen (2002) these conflicts cannot be evaluated isolated in a vacuum. There are usually combinations of several impacts affecting conflict situations. Shown in this research there can be several impacts affecting host-refugee relations. Conflicts often start at social places in the camp that also benefit both communities. Some contributing factors are historical lack of security, development and political presence in the hosting community. Arms availability, militarization of refugee camps and cultural issues may also impact and contribute to conflicts. This research shows that although there might be many and complex impacts contributing to conflicts between hosts and refugees there are also some underlying sources that are central for conflicts to prevail. The combination of hosts' limited livelihood opportunities through scarcity of food and water, and the imbalance of humanitarian assistance are main sources creating conflicts between hosts and refugees in Kakuma. The findings of the research in addition to the discussion above are arguments for stating this.

The research argues that refugee-host relations have been underestimated. This is important not only for the purpose of the well-being of struggling hosts. The tensions created between hosts and refugees have also become a threat to the very same people the refugee regime aim to protect.

5.4.2 Sources of coexistence

Based on data collected and perspectives from hosts, refugees and external actors the research addresses research question 5, and have identified some main sources promoting collaboration and coexistence between hosts and refugees.

Experiences of collaboration and positive relations between hosts and refugees have been mixed. The majority of host respondents state that such experiences have been limited. Many request more initiatives from the government and NGOs in peace building for improving the relationship. On the other hand, several host respondents mention that they collaborate with refugees when working for them in business and at marketplaces inside the camp. A few respondents have also created friendships with refugees and some inter-marriages have also taken place.

Around half of the refugee respondents state that they have not had any positive experiences with people from the host community. Several of them express fear of interacting with hosts. One respondent claims that the food issue is a contributing factor, if hosts have food security than it would not be any problem interacting with them according to the respondent. The other half of refugee respondents is more positive. They mention areas such as schools, employing hosts, trading, intercommunity work and peace building as positive interactions between refugees and hosts. Mutual learning of language and culture is emphasized as a positive development that has made it easier to communicate.

A majority of respondents from both communities argue that the relationship has improved compared to earlier. Still collaboration and coexistence is limited and mostly take place on individual levels. Respondents from UNHCR, Lutheran World Federation and Kakuma local government confirm these views.

Socio-economic impacts/activities

The research reveals that one of the main sources creating collaboration and promoting coexistence in the host-refugee relationship is socio-economic. Common areas where hosts and refugees meet and benefit through interaction is reported to promote some level of collaboration. These are areas where socio-economic benefits are experienced (in different levels) by both communities such as through business, trading, workplace and schools. Theories on how economic impacts can promote coexistence are also supported by Jacobsen (2002) and Alex-Garcia and Saah (2009).

Mixed Schools are emphasized by respondents in both communities as an important place for integration and creating friendships. The gradual change of making schools in the camp available for hosts has had a positive impact on the relationship. Continuing this will be important for further improving the relationship between hosts and refugees.

Socio-cultural impacts such as inter-marriages and learning of language and culture has also contributed to better understandings between the communities. Although these impacts have likely developed from interactions at the socio-economic forums mentioned above.

The paradox is that several of the same areas and impacts that promote coexistence also create conflict. This confirms the features of figure 10 in the theoretical framework that shows how the same impacts have the ability to create both conflict and coexistence. The challenge then is to enable these impacts to promote more coexistence than conflict. For example, the socio-economic opportunities of the camp have had a positive impact on the host community. Nevertheless, conflicts are often reported to start in areas of business and trade. Improving the social interactions at these areas is crucial for achieving more coexistence. The possibility for improving collaboration and coexistence at these areas is revealed in the research and discussion above. The key to achieving this is through further improving the socio-economic impacts of the host-refugee relationship. Improving conditions for trade and employment between hosts and refugees may be one approach. Obviously there is something that goes wrong in this transaction. Disputes over payment or price indicate that there are some communication problems regarding these issues. Hosts feel that their services are unfairly appreciated while refugees on the other hand have a very limited economy to pay for these services. Fixed prices on services such as firewood, jobs, carrying food rations and others could contribute to limit misunderstandings in trade and business. Although, there are several challenges to this such as lack of market structures (inside the camp) and large host competition to work for refugees. The fact that refugees often use food aid as currency is also a challenge.

Humanitarian initiatives

Initiatives from humanitarian and government actors are a demand from both hosts and refugees for enhancing the relationship. As mentioned by both hosts and refugees such initiatives as peace building have been positive for both parts. These initiatives bring people from both communities together, sharing experiences and learning from each other. This promotes both interaction and collaboration to resolve disputes and conflicts between them. Evidence from this research also shows that humanitarian initiatives such as creating education and health care opportunities that are available to both hosts and refugees have had a positive impact on their relationship. Therefore, improving initiatives can lead to more collaboration and further improve coexistence in the relationship. From a host, refugee and external actors' point of view these initiatives are too rare, but the positive potential is there as expressed by both hosts and refugees. Theory by Jacobsen (2002) address the same needs as experienced and demanded in Kakuma. Jacobsen (2002) highlight the need for including both

relief inputs as well as long-term livelihood approaches when supporting refugees in a hosting community. Such an approach could have both improved livelihoods for hosts in Kakuma in addition to creating more coexistence in the relationship between hosts and refugees. More livelihood approaches for the host community could ease hosts dependence on the refugee camp as their main source of livelihood.

Responding to research question 5, the research has found that the main source creating coexistence between hosts and refugees are socio-economic impacts and humanitarian initiatives. It should be added that these sources (at the time of this research) are not found implemented enough to promote significant coexistence between hosts and refugees in Kakuma. Unfortunately, this research has revealed that situations of conflict are a common feature of the relationship.

Identifying main sources that are creating conflict and coexistence improves knowledge of which areas and measures that need to be improved for promoting the latter of the two. In the end we can see a common theme throughout this research. Impacts from the refugee camp have been both positive and negative. The same impacts may both result in positive and negative outcomes in terms of hosts' household viability and their relationship with refugees. Although slightly more positive than negative impacts have been experienced they have not been significant enough to provide sustainability to the host community. Limited livelihood opportunities combined with experience of unequal humanitarian assistance in the host community have led hosts to approach the camp in search for livelihood. The research states that improving hosts experiences will also improve the host-refugee relationship. Finally the research shows that if the host community is continuing to struggle to provide livelihoods it is likely that the conflicting relationship between hosts and refugees will continue.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Impacts by refugee camps on host communities are complex and may be both positive and negative. A good host-refugee relation cannot be underestimated and it is crucial for the international refugee protection regime to provide protection for refugees. Hosts experiences of camp impacts is also affecting and shaping their relationship with the refugee population. Negative experiences from the camp presence will promote conflicts in the relationship, while positive experiences are likely to promote coexistence between hosts and refugees.

The impoverished community of Kakuma has experienced several impacts during its two decades of hosting refugees. Positive impacts have been of socio-economic nature. Social services such as health and education have improved and become more available for hosts. Business opportunities in the camp have created a larger market for hosts to sell and trade of different items such as firewood and charcoal with refugees in exchange for food or money. Employment opportunities through doing small jobs for refugees have also contributed to the host economy.

Most negative impacts have been related to the social relationship with refugees and the political policies of humanitarian actors. Interactions with refugees have for different reasons led to more insecurity and conflicts in Kakuma. Conflicts between hosts and refugees are the most reported negative impact and affecting the lives of many hosts and refugees. Harsh environmental conditions, server incidents of drought and continuously lack of development in Kakuma has made hosts address their needs and challenges towards the humanitarian agencies.

Overall this research argues that the host community have experienced slightly more positive than negative impacts. Hosts have adapted their livelihood approach to opportunities found in the camp. Although most of the host community still struggles to maintain a stable livelihood, the majority is using the camp and it has improved the household viability for many, if only in small scale.

The relationship between the two communities has been and is still conflicting. Frequent incidents of individual conflicts between hosts and refugees have negatively affecting the lives of many. The research have found that lack of vital resources such as food and water in

the host community combined with the imbalance humanitarian assistance is the main source behind these conflicts.

Limited livelihood opportunities in their communities have made the hosts to approach the camp in search for food and water through negotiating with refugees. Hosts feel marginalized by the great majority of humanitarian support provided to refugees while they themselves are equally struggling. These factors have contributed to grievances and frustrations by hosts that further has led to increased tension and conflicts between them and refugees.

Collaborations between hosts and refugees have been limited. Some areas of socio-economic nature have been reported as positive. Mixed schools inside the camp have become an important arena for integration. Trade, business and employment have also promoted some collaboration between hosts and refugees where both can benefit. Nevertheless, these same areas and impacts also promote conflicts in the relationship. The limited capacity and economy of both groups leads to often disputes through trading. Although business, markets and employment areas have a potential for promoting coexistence, there are also many challenges leading to conflict. The main sources promoting coexistence between hosts and refugees through socio-economic impacts and humanitarian initiatives are nonetheless found less significant than sources creating conflict in the relationship.

Impacts by the refugee camp are closely linked and shape much of the relationship between the host community and refugees. In specific, the lack of development and livelihood opportunities in the host community is a great challenge for promoting coexistence between hosts and refugees. Political policies favoring one group over another in terms of food and water support has increased the experience of inequality by the host community. Although channeling frustrations towards refugees or the humanitarian community may be arguably understandable, the humanitarian agencies are bound to certain legal principles that govern their interventions. Yet, these real and perceived differential treatments are the source of grievances and conflict.

Improving positive impacts towards the host community and empower them to better sustain is a crucial ingredient in improving host-refugee relations. The research argues that solutions

for these issues are to be found within limiting negative impacts and promoting the once proven to be positive. Improving socio-economic impacts on the host community will enable hosts to better cope with the many daily challenges. Improving livelihood opportunities for the host community is also likely to limit negative impacts of tensions and conflicts with refugee communities. Being able to promote development within the host community could result in less demand from hosts toward those of concern to refugee protection. As the research reveals is a main challenge from the host community lack of livelihood opportunities. The other main source of conflict in the host-refugee relationship is unequal access to humanitarian assistance. These issues are complex and needs collaborative involvements from national government and international humanitarian actors in addition to both host and refugee communities.

Issues of camp impact on host community and especially the dynamics of the relationship between hosts and refugees have received little attention. The aim of this research has been to shed more light on these important issues, and provide more knowledge on the linkages between impacts of camp establishments and host-refugee relations. Further, it identifies main sources of conflict and coexistence for promoting the latter.

Contextual conditions are of obvious relevance when discussing issues related to refugee camp impacts and host-refugee relations. Nevertheless, there can be common challenges in other areas where camps are established in underdeveloped impoverished communities such as Kakuma.

6.1 Recommendations

The research presents the following recommendations. These recommendations are intended for those working in Kakuma with issues regarding the Kakuma refugee camp and host community. The recommendations are based on the findings and analysis of this research and how to improve concerning issues faced in Kakuma

Host community development

Develop strategies for host community development. Promoting much needed development in the host community could improve livelihoods for hosts in addition to their relationship with the refugee population. This could also improve the well-being of refugees through tensions between host and refugees decreasing. In specific, the issue of food and water security is

important for the host community. Providing more access to water and promote sustainable livelihoods could be one approach. If hosts are better equipped to sustain themselves it is likely that they will be less dependent on searching for livelihoods in the camp. It is important to balance the bridge between humanitarian and development aid. Providing only “hand-outs” to hosts would not promote sustainability. Promoting sustainable ways of providing livelihood could be more efficient in the long-term. The balance between involving hosts in hosting refugees and limit the dependency on the camp could be a dilemma. When or if the camp closes down it is important that the host community is not only dependent on the camp for surviving. Nevertheless, it is clearly that hosts are eager to benefit more from being a hosting community and be involved. Increase employment of hosts in NGOs, especially unskilled labor can be one approach. Providing practical education for hosts to be better equipped for jobs in NGOs could make hosts more attractive in the job market.

Improve the social relationship between hosts and refugees

Social tensions between hosts and refugees are a reality in Kakuma for several reasons discussed in this research. Continuing initiatives that are reported to bring the communities together and promote coexistence is important. Peace building and peace education such as by Lutheran World Federation and UNHCR should continue, expand, include more actors and try to become even more efficient. Continuing with mixed schools are creating good relationship and interactions between hosts and refugees. Marketplaces and hosts working for refugees are reported to be an area where both conflicts start and where mutual benefits are experienced. Improving this area could benefit both groups. Promoting more structure in the markets in the camp could be one approach as many disputes start from disagreeing over payment. Although, this is obviously a challenge since many refugees use food aid as a currency for trading or employment.

References

- Alix-Garcia, J. and Saah D. 2009. The Effects of refugee Inflows on Host Communities: Evidences from Tanzania. (Online), *World Bank Economic Review* 2010. <http://wber.oxfordjournals.org/content/24/1/148.short> (accessed 28.10.11)
- Aukot, E. 2003. "It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya. *Refuge*, Vol 21, No 3 (2003). (Online), *Global Movement for Refugees and Migrant Rights*. <https://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/refuge/article/view/23482/21678> (accessed 24.10.11)
- Bartolomei, L., Pittaway E. and Elizabeth E. 2003. Who Am I? Identity and citizenship in Kakuma refugee camp in northern Kenya. 46:3; 87–93; 035672. *Society for International Development, SAGE Publications*.
- BBC NEWS. 2011. *Kenya Drought: Starvation claims 14 lives in Turkana*. (Online) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14417545> (accessed 20.12.11)
- Bolesta, A. 2005. *Refugee Crises and International Response: Towards Permanent Solutions? Leon Koźmiński Academy of Entrepreneurship and Management, Warsaw, Poland*.
- Bush, J. 1995. *The Role of Food Aid in Drought: Oxfam's North Turkana (Kenya) Drought Relief Program, 1992-1994. Disasters, 19(3), 247-259*.
- Bryman, A. 2008. *Social Research Methods*, 3rd Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chambers, R. 1986. 'Hidden Losers? The Impact of Rural Refugees and Refugee Programs on Poorer Hosts', in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, Special Issue: Refugees: Issues and Directions, pp. 245-263. (Online) The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2546034> (accessed 24.10.11)
- Crisp, J. 2003. *No Solution in Sight : the Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa. Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR*. (Online) *Working Papers, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, UC San Diego*. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/89d8r34q> (accessed 13.12.12)
- Forced Migration Review. 2011. *The Technology Issue*. (Online) *University of Oxford, Refugee Study Center*. <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/technology.pdf> (accessed 13.12.12)
- Google. 2010. *Kenya Distribution of Endemic Malaria*. (Online)

http://www.google.no/search?hl=no&site=img&tbm=isch&source=hp&biw=1366&bih=667&q=kakuma+map&oq=kakuma+map&gs_l=img.3..0i19.1344.4542.0.4905.10.8.0.2.2.0.24.162.8.8.0...0.0...1ac.1.15.img.1lnKDZEnjB8#facrc=_&imgrc=W_K6DQHtbY-MnM%3A%3B9h6C9uJkYg71gM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fwww.malariajournal.com%252Fcontent%252Ffigures%252F1475-2875-10-149-1-l.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fwww.malariajournal.com%252Fcontent%252F10%252F1%252F149%252Ffigure%252FF1%253Fhighres%253Dy%3B1200%3B909
(accessed 02.06.13)

IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis (a service of the UN Office for the Coordination of – Humanitarian Affairs). 2003. *KENYA: Thousands of refugees displaced by unrest at camp*. (Online) <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/44551/KENYA-Thousands-of-refugees-displaced-by-unrest-at-camp> (accessed 13.12.12)

---. 2006. *KENYA: Tension in Kakuma camp after refugees killed*. (Online) <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/60447/KENYA-Tension-in-Kakuma-camp-after-refugees-killed> (accessed 13.12.12)

Jacobsen, K. 2002. Livelihoods in Conflict: The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugee and the Impact on the Human Security of Host Communities. (Online) *International Migration*, Volume 40 Issues 5, pages 95-123, Special Issue 2 2002. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2435.00213/abstract> (accessed 13.12.12)

KANERE. 2012. Kakuma News Reflector – A Refugee Free Press. (Online) <http://kanere.org/> (accessed 30.12.12)

Kenya Open Data. 2006. *District Poverty Data KIHBS, 2005/6*. (Online). <https://opendata.go.ke/Poverty/District-Poverty-Data-KIHBS-2005-6/pnvr-waq2> (accessed 10.11.12)

Kiberab, G. 1987. *Refugees and development in Africa: the case of Eritrea*. (Online). The Red Sea Press, INC, New Jersey. [http://www.google.com/books?hl=no&lr=&id=PXPrG78EkC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=Kibreab,+G.+\(1987\).+Refugees+and+development+in+Africa:+the+case+of+Eritrea.+The+Red+Sea+Press,+INC,+New+Jersey.&ots=OyysmCXo83&sig=RACqtmSntC8pPgLc7XctAz3_2pc#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://www.google.com/books?hl=no&lr=&id=PXPrG78EkC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=Kibreab,+G.+(1987).+Refugees+and+development+in+Africa:+the+case+of+Eritrea.+The+Red+Sea+Press,+INC,+New+Jersey.&ots=OyysmCXo83&sig=RACqtmSntC8pPgLc7XctAz3_2pc#v=onepage&q&f=false) (Accessed 24.10.11)

Loescher, G. & Milner, J. 2006. The significance of protracted refugee situations. *The Adelphi Papers*, 45:375, 7-12. *Routledge*.

Lomo, Z., Naggaga, A. and Hovil, L. 2001. *The Phenomenon of Forced Migration in Uganda*.

- An overview of Policy and Practice in an Historical Context. Working Paper. (Online). *Refugee Law Project*. Uganda.
- Lutheran World Federation (LWF). 2008. *FEATURE: A war Is Ready to Return Home*. (Online)
<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/feature-awar-is-ready-to-return-home.html> (accessed 10.05.12)
- . 2011. *Kenya – Djibouti Annual Report 2011*. (Online)
<http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/LWFDWS-Kenya-Djibouti-Annual-Report-2011.pdf> (accessed 13.12.12)
- Martin, A. 2005. Environmental Conflict Between Refugee and Host Communities. (Online)
Journal of Peace Research May 2005, vol 42, no. 3, pp 329-346.
<http://www.projectgaia.com/files/EnvironmentalConflictRefugeesHostCommunities.pdf> (accessed 13.12.12)
- Maystadt, J. F. and Verwimp, P. 2009. Households in Conflict Network (Working Paper 60):
 Winners and Losers Among a Refugee-Hosting Population. *The Institute of Development Studies – at the University of Sussex – Falmer – Brighton*.
- McCabe, J. T. 2004. *CATTLE BRINGS US TO OUR ENEMIES: Turkana Ecology, Politics, and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System*. The University of Michigan Press.
- Mkutu, K.A. 2008. *Guns & Governance in the Rift Valley - Pastoralist Conflict & Small Arms*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Muggah, R. 2006. *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa*. Zed Books, London – New York.
- NCKK (NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CURCHES OF KENYA). 2011. *KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP: LAYOUT MAP*.
- NRC (Norwegian Refugee Council). 2012. *FLYTKNING-REGNSKAPET 2012*. Flyktninghjelpen, Oslo.
- Oxford Dictionaries*. 2012. (Online)
<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/conflict?q=conflict> (accessed 13.12.12)

- Røst, E. 2013. *Kakuma 5*. Bistandsaktuelt. (Online) <http://www.bistandsaktuelt.no/nyheter-og-reportasjer/arkiv-nyheter-og-reportasjer/vi-kan-ikke-dra-tilbake-til-somalia#articleCarousel> (accessed 01.06.13)
- Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction*, 2nd Ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Small Arms Survey (SAS). 2002. *The 2001 UN Conference On Small Arms*. Oxford University Press.
- Standard Digital. 2012. *Refugee killed Kakuma, another injured in attack*. (Online). http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000063576&story_title=Refugee-killed-in-Kakuma,-another-injured-in-attack (accessed 13.12.12)
- UNHCR. 1979. *Handbook on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status under the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*. HCR/IP/4/Eng/REV.1 Reedited, Geneva, January 1992, UNHCR 1979. (Online). <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/refugeehandbook.pdf> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2005. *Analysis of Refugee Protection Capacity Kenya, Based on research by Danny Turton (B.A., L.L.M) UNHCR Consultant Strengthening Protection Capacity Project April 2005*. <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendocPDFViewer.html?docid=429b1d3e2&query=Kakuma%20host%20community> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2006. *UNHCR's global Strategic and objectives*. UNHCR Global Appeal 2006. <http://www.unhcr.org/4371d18e11.pdf>
- . 2008. *STRENGTHENING PROTECTION CAPACITY PROJECT: PROJECT PROPOSALS: Strengthening Refugee Protection, Assistance and Support to Host Communities in Kenya*. (Online). <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendocPDFViewer.html?docid=48d8e4ed2&query=Kakuma> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2011 a. *UNHCR Global Appeal 2011: Kenya*. (Online). <http://www.unhcr.org/4cd9600d9.html> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2011 b. *KENYA: Working Environment*. (Online), <http://www.unhcr.org/4ec230fbb.html> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2012 a. *Refugees in the Horn of Africa: Somali Displacement Crisis*. (Online). <http://data.unhcr.org/horn-of-africa/settlement.php?id=17&country=110®ion=12>
- . 2012 b. *Global Operations*. (Online). <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646ccb.html> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2012 c. *Refworld – Kenya-Sudan-South Sudan: Back in Kakuma camp again*. (Online). <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,IRIN,,SDN,,4fbb823f2,0.html> (accessed 13.12.12)
- . 2013 a. *2013 UNHCR country operations profile – Kenya*. (Online).

- <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483a16.html> (accessed 30.05.13)
- . 2013 b. *Protection: A Safety Net*. (Online).
<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646cc8.html> (accessed 31.01.13)
- UNICEF (United Nations International Children`s Emergency Fund). 1996. *THE STATE OF THE WORLD`S CHILDREN 1996: The lost boys of the Sudan*. (Online).
<http://www.unicef.org/sowc96/closboys.htm> (accessed 13.12.12)
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID). 2012. *Kenya Food Security Outlook*. (Online).
http://www.fews.net/docs/Publications/Kenya_OL_04_2012_final.pdf(accessed 01.06.03)
- WFP (World Food Programme) and UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees). 1998. *Household food economy assessment greater lukole camp. ngara district tanzania*. World Food Program/United Nations High Commission for Refugees Joint assessment 10 July- 12 August 1998.
- Whitaker, B. E. 1999. Changing opportunities: refugees and host communities in western Tanzania. *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, pages 1{23.
- World Bank. 2011. *World Development Report 2011: The Impacts of Refugees on Neighboring Countries: A Development Challenge*. (Online).
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTWDR2011/Resources/6406082-1283882418764/WDR_Background_Paper_Refugees.pdf (accessed 13.12.12)

Appendices

Appendix 1

Overview of host community respondents

Resp. No.	Sex	Age	Village	Household size	Time lived in Kakuma
1	Female	30	Nadapal	9	Born in Kakuma
2	Female	52	Nadapal	14	Before camp presence
3	Male	55	Nadapal	55	Since 1997
4	Female	35	Nadapal	13	Since 2000
5	Female	35	Nadapal	10	Born in Kakuma
6	Female	25	Tokioto	9	Before camp presence
7	Female	-	Tokioto	9	After camp presence
8	Female	44	Lejomaria	10	Born in Kakuma
9	Male	-	Lejomaria	6	Since 2010
10	Male	15	Natir 1	10	Since 2006
11	Male	35	Natir 1	8	Born in Kakuma
12	Male	28	Natir 1	6	Born in Kakuma
13	Male	68	Natir 2	10	Since 2009
14	Male	25	Natir 2	8	Since 1998
15	Female	60	Natir 2	13	Since 2007
16	Female	45	American	7	Since 2002
17	Female	30	American	7	Since 1997
18	Female	35	American	11	Born in Kakuma
19	Female	32	American	5	Since 2007
20	Female	35	Kalemchuch	7	Born in Kakuma
21	Male	24	Kalemchuch	4	Since 2000
22	Male	55	Kalemchucu	6	Born in Kakuma
23	Female	20	Kalemchuch	6	Born in Kakuma
24	Female	65	Kalemchuch	8	Since 1998
25	Female	30	Aule Aemejen	8	Born in Kakuma
26	Female	50	Aule Aemejen	7	Born in Kakuma
27	Male	43	Aule Aemejen	7	Since 2008

Appendix 2

Overview of refugee respondents

Resp. No.	Country of origin	Sex	Age	Kamp section	Household size	Time lived in the camp
1	Somalia	Female	32	1	6	Since 2007
2	Somalia	Female	25	1	8	Since 1992
3	Somalia	Female	28	1	2	Since 1992
4	Somalia	Female	66	1	9	Since 1996
5	Somalia	Male	41	1	5	Since 1992
6	Somalia	Female	48	1	6	Since 2008
7	Somalia	Female	31	1	7	Since 2008
8	Somalia	Female	43	1	4	Since 2009
9	Somalia	Female	51	1	2	Since 2009
10	Congo (DRC)	Female	19	1	4	Since 2010
11	South Sudan	Female	27	1	5	Since 1999
12	Congo (DRC)	Male	25	1	1	Since 2010
13	Ethiopia	Female	33	1	6	Since 2011
14	Somalia	Female	65	1	7	Since 2008
15	Congo (DRC)	Female	37	1	7	Since 2010
16	Congo (DRC)	Male	23	1	4	Since 2008
17	Somalia	Female	35	1	12	Since 1995
18	Somalia	Female	44	1	8	Since 2007
19	Somalia	Female	-	1	11	Since 2007
20	Somalia	Female	27	1	3	Since 2002
21	Uganda	Female	19	1	3	Since 2000
22	South Sudan	Male	26	1	1	Since 2003
23	Somalia	Female	45	2	7	Since 2004
24	Somalia	Male	20	2	3	Since 2008
25	Somalia	Male	40	2	3	Since 2002
26	Somalia	Female	27	2	7	Since 2008
27	Somalia	Female	26	2	7	Since 2007
28	Somalia	Female	28	2	3	Since 2009
29	Somalia	Female	30	2	3	Since 2010
30	Somalia	Female	60	2	14	Since 1998
31	Congo (DRC)	Male	26	2	5	Since 2008
32	Burundi	Female	50	2	5	Since 2011
33	Congo (DRC)	Female	24	2	5	Since 2010
34	Congo (DRC)	Male	30	2	7	Since 2009
35	Congo	Male	25	3	8	Since 2008

	(DRC)					
36	Sudan	Male	18	3	2	Since 2006
37	South Sudan	Female	16	3	11	Born in the camp
38	Sudan (Darfur)	Female	27	3	4	Since 2009
39	Somalia	female	30	3	11	Since 2008
40	Somalia	Female	20	3	3	Since 2009

Appendix 3

Overview of external actors (respondents)

Name	Employer	Area of work	Position	Time working in Kakuma
Katsunori Koike	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	Community service, Peace Building Unit	Peace Building Officer	6 months
Francis Namoya	Lutheran World Federation	Peace Building Unit	Peace Building Officer	6 years (grown up in Kakuma)
Erenius Nakadio	Lutheran World Federation	Turkana Project	Turkana Project Officer	7 months
Charles Sibena	Lutheran World Federation	Camp Security	Chief Security Officer	7 months (worked for 7 years within Turkana County)
Ellen Muse	Government of Kenya	Kakuma Local Government	Nominated Counselor	5 years (lived in Kakuma since 1977)

Appendix 4

Interview guide: Host community of Kakuma

Question	Probe questions/follow-up questions
1: How many members are there in your household/family?	
2: Gender of respondent?	
3: Age of respondent?	
4: How long have you and your household/family lived in Kakuma?	Lived there before the refugee influx? Moved to Kakuma after the refugee presence, if so why?
5: In your perception/experience has Kakuma changed since the refugee camp was established?	How has it changed?
6: How did you provide basic resources such as food, water, firewood etc. before the refugee presence in Kakuma?	
7: How do you provide basic resources such as food, water, firewood, etc. at present time in Kakuma?	What factors have contributed to the change? Positive/negative? Have there been changes in availability and access to providing such incomes and resources?
8: Have there been any positive and/or negative experiences/changes in your daily life as a result of the refugees and camp presence in Kakuma?	What experiences/changes? How have these impacts changed the life for you (your family/household) in Kakuma? Have these experiences/changes developed during the years of the refugee camp presence and how?
9: How have you (your family/household) adapted to changes, challenges and opportunities accompanied by the refugee camp presence in Kakuma?	Changed livelihoods? New opportunities? Difficulties sustaining livelihoods?
10: When are you in contact with refugees living in Kakuma?	Frequently, how often?
11: How would you describe the relationship between the local community of Kakuma and the refugee population?	Your relationship? General perception of the relationship?
12: Have you experienced situations of conflict between people of the local community of Kakuma and the refugee population?	In which situations? Is this a common situation of the relationship? Why do you think these situations are creating conflicts?
13: Have you experienced situations where good relationships and collaborations between people of the local community of Kakuma and the refugee population have taken place?	In which situation? Is this a common situation of the relationship? Why do you think these situations are creating good relationships and collaborations?
14: How do you think collaborations, positive relationships and coexistence between the local community and refugees in Kakuma could be promoted?	In which situations do you think the refugee population and the local community could benefit from each other? How could conflict situations between the local

	communities and refugee population in Kakuma be avoided?
15: Have your relationship with the refugee population of Kakuma changed during time of their presence in Kakuma?	In which way? If so why do you think it has changed? Have NGOs (other actors) contributed to changes in the relationship?
16: How do you see the future of the relationship between the local community and refugee population of Kakuma?	Positive/negative? More or weaker relations?
17: Is there something you would like to add in relation to the questions and topic presented?	

Appendix 5

Interview guide: Refugee population in Kakuma

Question	Probe questions/follow-up questions
1: Nationality of respondent?	
2: Gender of respondent?	
3: Age of respondent?	
4: Members of family/household?	
5: Camp location (Kakuma 1,2,3,4)?	
6: How long have you (and your family/household) lived in Kakuma?	
7: How would you describe the relationship between the refugee population and the local community of Kakuma?	Your relationship? General perception of the relationship?
8: In which situations are you in contact with people of the local community of Kakuma?	Frequently, how often?
9: How is your relationship with the local community of Kakuma affecting your daily life?	In which way? Had to adapt as a result of the relationship?
10: Have you experienced situations of positive relationships and collaborations between refugees and the local community of Kakuma?	In which situations? Is this common a situation of the relationship? Why do you think these situations are promoting positive relationships and collaborations?
11: Have you experienced situations of conflict between refugees and the local community of Kakuma?	In which situations? Is this a common situation of the relationship? Why do you think such situations take place? How do you think such situations could be avoided?
12: Have your relationship with the local community of Kakuma changed during your time in Kakuma?	In which way? If so why do you think it has changed?
13: How do you think the relationship between the refugees and local community of Kakuma could be improved?	In which situations do you think the refugee population and host community could benefit from each other? How could coexistence be promoted? What is lacking? What modes/mechanisms need to be established? Which actors should be involved?
14: How do you see the future of the relationship between the local community and refugee population of Kakuma?	Positive/negative? More relations?
15: Is there anything you would like to add in relation to the questions and topic presented?	

Appendix 6

Interview guide: External actors

Question	Probe questions/follow-up questions
1: NGO/profession/actor?	
2: How long have you and/or your organization been present/working in Kakuma?	
3: How would you describe the relationship between the host community and refugee population in Kakuma?	
4: In which situations do the refugee population and the host community come in contact with each other?	Frequently, how often?
5: What is your experience of situations that are/could be conflicting between the refugee population and the host community?	Why do you think these situations are/ could create conflicts between them? Do these situations frequently take place?
6: What is your experience of situations that are/could be creating positive relationships and collaboration between the refugee population and host community?	Why do you think these situations are/could create positive relationships and collaboration between them? Do these situations frequently take place?
7: What do you think could be done for improving the relationship between the refugee population and host community and promote coexistence and collaborations?	What measures would be needed? Which actors should be involved?
8: In your perception/experience how has Kakuma changed since the refugee camp establishments?	
9: In your perception/experience how has/is the refugee camp presence affecting the lives of the host community in Kakuma?	Positive and/or negative impacts?
10: In your perception/experience how has/is the host community adapting to changes brought on by the refugee camp presence in Kakuma?	
11: In your perception/experience how is the access for locals in Kakuma to services accompanied by the refugee camps such as within health, education, jobs etc.?	Is access to these goods a potential source of conflict?
12: In your perception/experience how has/is the host community affecting the lives of the refugee population in Kakuma?	How do the refugee population adapt?
13: In your perception have the relationship between the host community and refugee population of Kakuma changed during your time	How has it changed?

in Kakuma?	
14: How do you see the future of the relationship between the local community and refugee population of Kakuma?	Positive/negative? More relations?
15: Is there something you would like to add in relations to the questions and topic presented?	