

SOCIO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN TURKANA WEST, KENYA

VOLUME I:

REPORT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Socio Economic Development in Turkana West, Kenya

Volume I: Report on Socio-Economic Conditions

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Abbreviations

ASALs	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CGT	County Government of Turkana
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
FGD	Focused Group Discussions
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GoK	Government of Kenya
ISUDP	Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan
KIIs	Key Informant Interview
KISED	Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LAPSSET	Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor
LCDA	LAPSSET Development Authority
LED	Local Economic Development
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NEC	Northern Economic Corridor
NOREB	Northern Rift Economic Bloc
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



Executive Summary

Turkana West is sub-county Turkana County, which is also part of the wider cross-border Karamoja cluster which is dominated by pastoralists. Pastoral communities are among the most marginalised in the world. This holds true in Kenya, where regions inhabited by pastoralists have experienced decades of marginalisation, rendering them some of the nation's most underdeveloped and frequently recording socio-economic indicators below the national average. Turkana County is one of these regions, with a population of close to 1 million people – mostly nomadic pastoralists. The county is part of the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) regions of Kenya, where desert-like conditions compound the area's prevailing socio-economic development challenges. Yet Turkana County plays a significant international role in advancing the humanitarian-development-peace nexus as it is the home of Kenya's second largest refugee settlement: the Kakuma Refugee Camp and the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement (Kakuma-Kalobeyei) in the sub-county of Turkana West. Of all of Turkana's sub-counties, Turkana West has the largest population, reported as 239,627 persons during the 2019 census period. However, these official figures do not include refugee populations. According to UNHCR, the refugee population in Kakuma-Kalobeyei at the end of May 2021 was 211,337 persons. When factoring in a net increase in the host community population since the 2019 census, the combined Turkana West population is in fact closer to 500,000 people – double that of the official census. If the Kakuma-Kalobeyei cluster were identified as an urban area, it would be among the 10 largest urban centres in Kenya. This relatively high population presents significant socio-economic and environmental challenges and opportunities to the local area.

While the presence of refugees has contributed to the growth of the local economy, poverty levels are high and the provision of basic services is inadequate, while environmental resources are becoming increasingly strained, especially water and vegetation.

Most of the research into the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Turkana West has focused on the refugee population. There has been very little integrated research that simultaneously studies both the refugee and host communities, either in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei cluster or beyond. This survey addresses this lack of integrated and interlinked analyses of the prevailing conditions, and can inform the design of future interventions. It should be noted that the Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme (KISEDPP) follows this more integrated area-wide approach to interventions, however, it is spatially confined in the Kalobeyei area, thereby excluding the opportunity for a broader local area approach.

While most of the population of Turkana West is concentrated in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei cluster and Lokichoggio town, there are many households in sub-county rural settlements. These rural areas have very underdeveloped infrastructure networks and often face significant connectivity challenges. Currently, the A1 Kenya-South Sudan Road links the Kalobeyei-Kakuma cluster to Lokichoggio and the centres in between. After decades of poor conditions, the road is now being improved, which will significantly transform the connectivity of Turkana West with the wider Kenya-South Sudan region.

However, the benefits of this will only be felt at local and household levels if investments targeting socio-economic improvement and basic infrastructure are made in Turkana West. The design of appropriate interventions requires data and information about the prevailing socio-economic conditions and insight into the issues affecting the socio-economic development of the area.

Responding to this need, this research was designed to produce crucial data about Turkana West's households (both refugee and host community), beyond the spatial boundaries of the Kakuma-Kalobeyi cluster. It was undertaken between September and November 2020, targeting

the main centres in Turkana West and employing both qualitative and quantitative methods. This involved conducting interviews and focus groups with key informants, household sampling, and data/findings feedback sessions. The findings revealed that the socio-economic conditions of the Turkana West population are mostly below the national average, though some variations occur when compared locally between refugee and host communities, and between settlements. The report provides important data and information for deepening the understanding of the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Turkana West, and aims to contribute to the design of better-informed interventions for the area's humanitarian- development programming.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Population and Demographics

Most of the population in Turkana County live in rural settlements. The urban population is mainly concentrated in Lodwar – the largest urban centre – as well as other small towns, including Kakuma, Kalokol and Lokichoggio. Kakuma-Kalobeyi is the largest clustered human settlement in the county due to the co-existing refugee (Kakuma and Kalobeyi) and the host community settlements. As aforementioned, the sub-county of Turkana West has the largest population in the county comprising an estimated 500,000 people when both refugee and host communities are included. This population is predominantly young, with children, youth and working-age adults making up the largest demographics. This presents both opportunities and challenges with regards to development planning. The demographic breakdowns of Turkana County and Turkana West both correspond to Kenya's national demographic structure in both their refugee and host community populations, i.e. children, youth and those below 50 years old constituting the majority of the demographic composition.

Household Composition and Heads of Households

A significant number of Turkana West's households are headed by women. Households also tend to be larger than the national average. The survey showed that the average household size across both refugee and host community populations in Turkana West is 5.5 persons. Kenya's 2019 census data had previously reported Turkana County's household size as 5.3, and Turkana West's as 5.4. World Bank studies in 2019 and 2021, however, indicated that the current average household size for the refugee population at Kalobeyi Settlement is 5.8, while that of Kakuma Camp is 6.3. All these household sizes are above the national average, reported as 3.9 persons in the 2019 census. The survey also revealed that people aged 0-19 years old account for 68% of the overall population, followed by the working-age adults. This signals an increasing demand for education and other social amenities and services. An increasing population of working age adults points to a rising concerns for job and livelihood opportunities, which are currently scarce, as well as issues of affordable housing.

According to the survey data, women make up most of the population in both host and refugee communities in Turkana West, comprising 56.8% and 58.5% of the population respectively. The 2015/16 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) indicated that 52.1% of Turkana County households are headed by women. The 2019 World Bank study echoed those findings at a county level, finding 52% of households were headed by women, with that number rising to 56% when considering only Kakuma. Women in Turkana County's main settlements, particularly within host communities, were found to take an active role in supplementing family income by engaging in alternative economic activities, while men focused on herding and seasonal movement with livestock. This has resulted in a hybrid lifestyle that combines sedentarism and nomadic pastoralism. The high prevalence of women-headed households in host communities is caused by men's absence due to nomadic pastoralism, loss of life during conflict, or through loss of livestock, leading to women taking up the role of income generation through alternative livelihood strategies.

Incomes and Poverty

Incomes tend to be low in Turkana West and there is high prevalence of poverty in both refugee and host communities. Financial aid is the main source of income for refugees, while for the Turkana host community it is livestock sales. Although both communities are actively involved in Micro and Small-Scale Enterprises (MSEs) to supplement livelihoods, and a growing number of youth are seeking livelihoods other than keeping livestock, there are limited opportunities for them to pursue their aspirations. According to the 2019 census, 58,378 people in the host community are actively looking for jobs, while Turkana households are among the most financially excluded in Kenya at 29%. The survey established that a sizeable proportion (45%) of both refugee and host community households in Turkana West are undertaking some sort of business as a source of income. But while 75.7% of host households indicated that they were reliant on some form of businesses to generate income, including livestock sales, all refugee households

ultimately indicated their reliance on humanitarian support. The dominant form of formal employment in the region is in the humanitarian-aid sector. This is because many NGOs operate from Kakuma-Kalobeyi, offering support primarily to the two refugee camps, and some to the host community.

The income levels exhibited in the broader region are affected by levels of education, the local economy, pastoralism and policy frameworks. Just under half of households (41%) earned a monthly income of less than KES 5,000, with most of the households (90%) sampled in Lopur ward reporting this level of income. Only 5% of the households in the sub-county of Turkana West registered a monthly income greater than KES 20,000. The business community highlighted that the local business environment is determined by the purchasing power of households, who typically have low-incomes and are living in poverty.

The survey indicated that 46.7% of households had their primary source of income negatively affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. This figure mainly consists of host community households who reported disruption to their businesses and livelihood strategies. Most refugees noted during focus group discussions that their primary source of income is humanitarian support, and therefore were not as negatively affected.

Education

Education levels and transition rates are low in Turkana West compared to the national statistics. The survey showed that 36% of the respondents lacked any formal schooling, while only 15% have pursued a post-secondary education. Refugees were found to have better education and training opportunities than the host community as well as a higher transition rate. This is largely due to the support provided to refugees by humanitarian organizations.

The combined transition rate among host and refugee communities from Early Childhood Development Education (ECDE) level to primary school is 57%, whereas it is 98% from primary to secondary school, and 27% from secondary to

tertiary. Overall, low transition rates were attributed to poverty, nomadism, accessibility, insecurity, child labour and cultural practices that act as barrier to education. For both refugee and host communities, access to specialised training and skills development is a major challenge among the youth.

Some of the areas where access to education is strained include Lokipoto, Nawountos, Nadapal, Kangitesiro, Oropoi, Kaenyangaluk, Loritit, Lodakach and Nanaam. Local administrators cited several challenges including understaffing, overcrowding, inadequate school facilities, declining interest in formal education, and insecurity leading to the underusage of some facilities. However, access to schools in urbanized areas such as Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio was found to be comparatively good, but faced the challenge of class congestion. While some schools situated within refugee settlements are accessible to the host community, there are still barriers preventing integration. These barriers are largely related to socio-economic factors and 'biased' support from some organizations. For instance, some members of the host community living around Kalobeyei New Settlement said they could not afford basic school supplies, yet support organizations tended to overlook their needs in favour of refugee children at the same school. Refugee children enjoy the full support of these organizations, including stationery and uniforms, making the host-community children attending those schools feel discriminated against and 'feeling out of place'. Some were reported to discontinue learning due to such sense of humiliation, especially when the parents/guardians are totally unable to provide those learning needs.

Low levels of education and training have disadvantaged many local youth in actively participating in the formal job market created by the NGOs and INGOs operating in Kakuma-Kalobeyei. These jobs tend to be outsourced elsewhere, which also means that a significant share of the incomes associated with these jobs is spent outside Turkana West.

At the same time, this gives rise to the possibility of in-migration, as people seek access to opportunities requiring higher levels of education and technical capacity. The host community is increasingly embracing formal education with the hope that upcoming generations will be able to pursue alternative livelihood strategies. This has been prompted by dwindling returns from livestock, as well as climate change concerns about droughts and the resulting loss of herds. If this shift in the host community is to result in meaningful socio-economic transformation, it must be underpinned by investments.

Healthcare

The majority of the households (86%) indicated that they had good access to basic health services, through variations exist between communities and locations. While most health services are rendered free of charge to both host and refugee communities, the majority of health facilities are located within refugee settlements, and refugees generally experience better care compared to members of the host community. Access to specialised healthcare remains a major challenge for both refugee and host populations, as these services are not available locally and require travel to major cities, which can be difficult and costly. Of the households surveyed, 42% described the provision of health services as remaining the same over the last five years. The common diseases affecting the population include cholera, typhoid, malaria and diarrhoea¹. After the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, health conditions deteriorated because patients avoided health clinics for fear of contracting the virus, according to the health officer at Kakuma Mission Hospital.

Food Security

Apart from red meat, Turkana West relies heavily on externally sourced and produced food. This food is mainly sourced from Kitale County and accessed locally from public markets. The average household monthly expenditure on food is KES 4,082 across Turkana West Sub-County.

¹ These diseases cause the most deaths in the county and are associated with poor hygiene (i.e. water and sanitation) and malnutrition, according to a 2020 study by Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation

Of the households surveyed, 35% admitted having missed a meal or two in the past two weeks due to lack of food in the household. Lunch was the most frequently missed meal for both refugees (69%) and host communities (67%). Severe food insecurity at a community level stands at 41% for refugees and 21% for host populations. When asked about how the COVID-19 pandemic had most affected them economically, 60% of households pointed to the deterioration of the food situation. The survey indicated that 46% of the households reduce their daily food consumption in response to food insecurity, while many others engage in additional economic activities to increase their household income. Approximately 35% of households were dependent on humanitarian assistance.

It was also noted that some refugee households from Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have begun small-scale food gardens, while some households within the host community also practice small-scale crop farming. Unfortunately, small-scale farming is unreliable due to persistent water scarcity in the area.

Communication

Mobile phones are the main tool of communication in Turkana West, although service coverage is largely limited to the Kakuma-Kalobeyei area and Lodwar town. Most households possess a mobile phone (79%), but low ownership was reported in the Lopur and Songot areas. Ownership of mobile phones among the refugee and host communities was fairly high, at 80% and 74% respectively. Mobile phone services are crucial in Kenya, as they significantly enhance access to internet services and facilitate financial inclusion through mobile banking and money transfer services, such as Mpesa and Airtel Money.

Housing Conditions

A variety of housing typologies are available for refugee and host communities. Though the adequacy of housing varies, most households own the shelter they live in (74%). While many households lack formal tenure, de facto tenure provides relative security for households and the risk of eviction is low.

Refugee settlements have a relatively standardised forms of shelter, predominantly the Temporary-Shelters (T Shelters) and recently a module for durable housing in Kalobeyei, which are mainly provided by UNHCR and its implementing partners. Over time, households have consolidated their shelters by gradually investing in more durable options. This consolidation is most evident in Kakuma Refugee Camp, whereas in Kalobeyei New Settlement the transition to durable shelter options is programmed as part of ongoing cash-based interventions. While housing design transformations are common in refugee settlements, they are limited by other factors such as land availability and finance. The need for shelter transformations are evidence of inadequate shelter designs and spaces provided by support organizations.

For the host community, the increasing need for housing space is not constrained by land availability, but rather by financial limitations. Indeed, any kind of market for providing affordable housing improvements is circumvented by organizations' tendency to build their own accommodation facilities for staff. The study also indicated that in the main urban areas, such as Lokichoggio and Kakuma, a commercial housing sub-sector is almost non-existent.

Adequacy of housing varies considerably across groups, with only 42% of refugee respondents indicating that their shelters were adequate. The challenges of housing are compounded by the inadequacy of efficient water and sanitation services, as well as a shortage of well-planned open spaces, especially in Kakuma town and refugee settlement.

Water and Sanitation

Turkana West is a very dry area and lacks a strategic water source for the growing population. While water stress affects both refugee and host communities, this study shows that refugees have relatively better access to tap water. A majority of refugees could access drinking water through a shared tap (72.5%), while only 27.5% of host community respondents could access water through taps. Because the new refugee settlements at Kakuma-Kalobeyei have not been

accompanied by investments in a strategic water supply, the influx of refugees to the area has exacerbated water challenges. The main source of clean water remains boreholes, which are unable to maintain an adequate domestic supply, let alone support agriculture or other commercial needs. Domestic water service is free for refugees, while 51.2% of the Turkana host community, and 66.7% of the migrant host community pay for this access. It should be noted that the host community are primarily pastoralists, who are compelled to rely on seasonal movements in search of water and pasture.

While efforts have been undertaken to ensure that only clean water is dispensed at the standpipes and public taps, contamination can still occur during collection and storage at a household level. Indeed, in Turkana West, water-borne diseases are a major public health and socio-economic problem, which are compounded by inadequate sanitation systems. While the use of dry sanitation systems is common, open defecation in the host community area remains a major public health problem. Solid waste management is also of great concern, particularly in the Kakuma-Kalobeyi settlement cluster. The survey established that many households in Turkana West used burning as their primary disposal method, including 52.7% of refugee households and 44.3% of the host community households. There is no solid waste management facility in the area, despite the high concentration of people.

Energy Sources and Services

Firewood and charcoal are the prevalent sources of energy used by both refugees and host communities. These sources are linked to health concerns (risk of indoor pollutants) and environmental concerns (loss of vegetation cover). Among the host community, charcoal energy (52%) and wood energy (51%) were the primary fuels used for cooking. The continued reliance on these resources has sustained a business supply chain involving both host and refugee communities.

The survey noted that various small-scale interventions are taking place in refugee settlements to address the problems associated with firewood and charcoal. Such interventions include the promotion of alternative cooking energy, such as Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG), ethanol stoves and briquettes.

With regards to lighting, the survey found that the primary source of light energy was tin lamps, used in 20% of the households. Other light sources included solar powered lamps (16%), pressure lamps (12%), kerosene lanterns (10%), torches (10%), phone torches (7%), electricity from portable generators (4%) and gas lamps (3%). The majority of households earning a monthly income of less than KES 5000 used tin lamps as their major sources of light (52%), and wood as their cooking energy (64%). This indicates that low incomes and poverty are a major barrier to alternative and clean energy services. Meanwhile, solar energy has great potential in Turkana West, and ongoing interventions ought to increase investments accordingly.

Mobility

Households in Turkana West have a varied experience in terms of mobility. At a regional level, decades of marginalisation had resulted in Turkana West being disconnected from the national road and transportation network until the national government recently embarked on the construction of the A1 road linking South Sudan and Kenya through Turkana County. However, rural villages far from this main road remain largely 'cut-off' because secondary and tertiary roads that feed traffic to and from the hinterlands are dilapidated. This means that people residing in those areas incur an extra mobility burden when accessing certain services and amenities. Households in towns and refugee settlements have relatively better access to facilities and functional nodes, but still face various challenges related to the poor condition of the infrastructure. Walking and use of motorcycles (*bodaboda*) are the main modes of transport in the area.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on these findings, the research has recommended a set of policy and programmatic interventions that can stimulate enhanced socio-economic development in Turkana West.

Leveraging Ongoing Interventions to Enhance Turkana West Socio-Economic Development

- Adopt an area-based approach to humanitarian and development programming. The Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-economic Development Program (KISED P) is a particularly visible institution in the sub-county and is an integral part of County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP). It is critical for both KISED P and CIDP to focus resources on programmes that enhance socio-economic conditions, especially education, energy, healthcare, livelihood strategies, water and sanitation.
- Emphasise programming through CIDP, as this affords the opportunity to address the long-term needs of the local area by linking humanitarian and development interventions. This is especially important in the wake of the Kenyan Government's announcement to close all refugee camps in the country.
- The completion of the A1 road will significantly improve connectivity in Turkana West. It will provide households with opportunities linked to improved transportation between the area and the rest of the county, and to other regions of Kenya. However, for the communities to leverage the benefits of this, it is important to invest in the improvement of local transportation networks and the enhancement of livelihood strategies such as livestock keeping.

Humanitarian-Development Planning and Decision Making

- Establish a local municipality where the integrated and sectoral planning of KISED P can be institutionalised. A similar governance structure is needed for Lodwar, as well as an overall strengthening the sub-county's administration.
- Strengthen public participation with regular consultative stakeholder engagements in humanitarian-development programming. Both host and refugee communities need to be effectively included in public participation, especially in development planning, budgetary processes, project implementation, as well as the monitoring and evaluation of CIDP projects. This will allow for the prioritisation of development projects that have the highest impact on the most pressing challenges in the sub-county.
- Design policy and governance frameworks and provide the necessary infrastructure to attract potential investors and support agencies to access land and invest in the sub-county. This will enhance the local economic development and improve opportunities available to the youth.

Infrastructure and Access to Basic Services and Amenities

- Increase investments in road infrastructure with attention to Non-Motorist Transportation and increased local connectivity.
- Develop a sustainable water supply system for the sub-county, including considerations for attaining reliable municipal water systems for Lokichoggio and Kakuma-Kalobeyi areas.
- In the main clustered settlements, design and invest in a reliable storm water management infrastructure.
- Improve waste management and sanitation conditions by increased investments in infrastructure, low-cost sustainable technologies, and social programs to support uptake of solutions.
- Establish more recreational facilities to increase opportunities for integration between the refugee and host communities.
- Install more health infrastructure in strategic locations in wards for ease of access, e.g. along the A1 road.
- Establish a 'one-stop-centre' for government services in the sub-county, e.g. a Huduma Centre. Services would include the acquisition of IDs, passports, and other relevant government documents.
- Enhanced investments in communication infrastructure to provide households with better and more reliable mobile phone services.
- Provide more education and training facilities and social programs that target increasing enrolment.

Addressing Poverty and Inequalities

- Diversify livelihood strategies for pastoralists by supporting the establishment of alternative livelihood means, and for refugees by shifting from an over-reliance on financial aid. This will require a combination of policy reforms and significant investment in the development of the area.
- Strengthen the economic benefits derived from pastoralism. Design and promote sustainable livestock and crop farming value chains. Provide support services, such as infrastructure and financial support, to promote small stock livestock farming, e.g. poultry. This involves considerations of value-addition and improvement to the livestock market system, providing support infrastructure, such as a modern abattoir, and organizing pastoralists to strengthen their niche in the value chain system.
- Improve financial inclusion for both refugees and host communities.
- Support households engaged in business-incubation and entrepreneurial training with seed capital and economic empowerment. Though many people are interested in starting a business or upscaling an existing business, most face challenges in accessing formal capital. To address this, better financial opportunities are needed for local businesses and industries.
- Work with both refugee and host communities to develop housing solutions. This will ensure adequate and affordable housing is accessible to the diverse needs of the populace, with attention to the local adaptiveness of shelters. Housing interventions are particularly needed in the main towns and settlement areas.

Safety and Peace Building

- Enhanced safety in the area is imperative for achieving improved social-economic conditions. It ensures children are able to access education facilities in places where learning is often interrupted by conflicts or attacks, and to prevent loss of life arising from such conflicts. This requires the sources of the conflicts to be addressed, e.g. tensions and conflicts between communities regarding access to scarce water and pasture resources. Development interventions will be required to ensure equitable sharing of these resources, as well as programmes to diversify livelihood strategies and address the challenges created by the area's historical marginalisation.
- Equitable allocation of resources to refugees and host communities is crucial for reducing tension and strengthening cohesion. This promotes peaceful coexistence.
- The national governments in the Turkana West border region must strengthen regional interventions for cross-border peace building. Enhanced peace in the region will facilitate a good economic environment where cross-border economic activities can flourish.

CONCLUSION

The research has demonstrated multiple socio-economic challenges as prevalent in Turkana West, with indicators that are largely below the national average in most of the indicators analysed. It is also evident that while these challenges are prevalent among the refugees and host community, the degree of their severity vary between the groups. Fundamentally, to comprehensively address these issues, it is important to adopt and strengthen existing integrated and local area approaches such as KISEDIP. This demands interventions at strategic level such as addressing the prevalent water scarcity, poorly developed local infrastructure and inadequate basic services, low education and literacy levels, low incomes, poverty and marginalization, and addressing a local economy that is over-reliant on humanitarian financial streams.

Without addressing these core issues, attaining self-reliance in Turkana West can be far-fetched. Furthermore, with the pending closure of the refugee camps, following Kenya's directive on the same, it is critical to re-imagine Turkana West, notably Kakuma-Kalobeyei, beyond the status of hosting refugees. This requires learning from the case of Lokichoggio, where the town has since declined following withdrawal of refugee-based programming in the area. It means undertaking a deliberate effort to plan and strategize the future of Kakuma-Kalobeyei, including shifting the current programming from humanitarian assistance to humanitarian-development focus (short-term and mid-term) and a development focus for the long-term.



CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Overview

The sub-county of Turkana West, in Turkana County, hosts one of the largest refugee settlements in Kenya and is among the country's most marginalised and underdeveloped areas. It exists in a crucial humanitarian-development-peace context: its international role – hosting refugees and contributing to the protection human rights and peace in the region – is balanced with the immediate and long-term development needs of its host community. This reality demands a fundamental shift in how programming for humanitarian and development interventions are conceptualised, designed and implemented in Turkana West. Already, the multi-agency programme KISEDIP, formulated in 2015 (UNHCR, 2018),² uses an area-based approach that commits to a departure from business as usual. However, changing the KISEDIP vision from a 'policy proposal' to tangible and transformative socio-economic development benefitting both refugees and host communities requires significant resources and inclusive programming, rooted in recasting problem and intervention framing, as well as a fundamental reconfiguration of assistance financing. Recently, the Government of Kenya (GoK) announced plans to close all refugee settlements in the country (UNHCR, 2021)³. This will present another layer of complexity, opportunity and challenges in addressing the socio-economic development of Turkana West.

The project, '*Sustainable Economic Development Along Turkana West Development Corridor Through Enhanced Connectivity*', of which this study is a part, was designed to support the ongoing intervention to reimagine socio-economic development in Turkana West, with emphasis on its regional context. It assumes that the enhanced connectivity and integration of Turkana West with its wider region is crucial for local area transformation. To configure this towards practical policy and programming, a socio-economic survey was designed that focuses on refugees and host community households, businesses, spatial analysis, and Local Economic Development (LED). This multi-dimensional analysis is crucial to better inform policy and planning for the humanitarian-development needs of the area. Many studies in Turkana West have previously focused solely on the refugee community, either ignoring the host communities or approaching communities in isolation, with a limited focus on spatial analysis and businesses. This limited focus regarding business was also noted in another recent Turkana West study (Sterck et al, 2020).⁴

This report (Volume I) documents the findings from the survey component that examined the socio-economic conditions of households in Turkana West. These households can be broadly categorised as either refugee or host community households. The report then relates the analysis of households' socio-economic conditions with the LED context – i.e. economic activities and livelihood strategies, infrastructure development, geography, spatial functions, planning and the policy environment.

2 UNHCR (2018). Kalobeyi Integrated Socio-Economic Development Plan in Turkana West: Strategic Overview. Access 11/02/2021 on: <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/12/KISEDIP-Strategic-Overview.pdf>

3 UNHCR (2021). UNHCR Statement on the Government of Kenya's intention to close Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. Accessed 26/06/2021 on: <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/19849-unhcr-statement-on-the-government-of-kenyas-intention-to-close-dadaab-and-kakuma-refugee-camps.html>

4 Sterck, O., Rodgers, C., Siu, J., Stierna, M. F., and Betts, A. (2020). Cash Transfer Models and Debt in the Kalobeyi Settlement (Oxford: RSC). Accessed 24/06/2021 on: <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/cash-transfer-models-and-debt-in-the-kalobeyi-settlement/@/download/file>

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

This research was designed as part of the broader project '*Sustainable Economic Development Along Turkana West Development Corridor Through Enhanced Connectivity*'. This project is focused on developing 'soft infrastructure' that can support enhanced socio-economic development in Turkana West. This survey contributes useful data and information for designing interventions that promote LED, including through KISEDIP and CIDP. The research was also designed to inform the feasibility of planning for the 'Kalobyei Corridor Development Area', strategically located next to the Kalobyei New Settlement, along the A1 Road connecting Kenya and South Sudan, and near the proposed Lamu Port, South Sudan, Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET).

The specific objectives of the socio-economic survey were to:

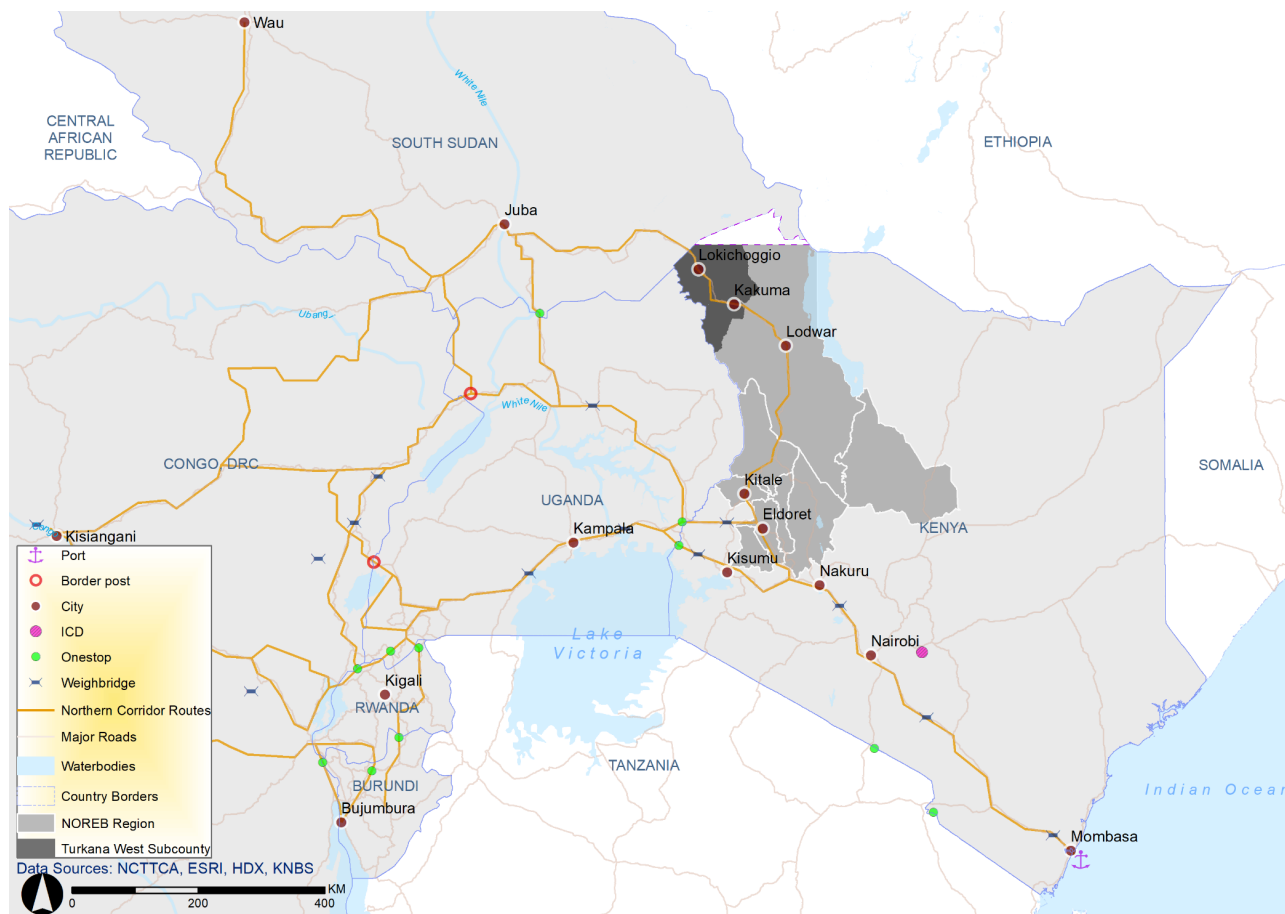
1. Establish the prevailing socio-economic conditions for refugees and host communities in Turkana West.
2. Identify key opportunities and challenges linked to improved socio-economic conditions Turkana West.
3. Establish the nature of businesses and local industries in Turkana West
4. Establish the issues, opportunities and challenges related to businesses in Turkana West
5. Examine supply chains and aspects of connectivity and integration of local businesses with regional economic flows and markets.
6. Identify opportunities and possible interventions for supporting businesses and enhanced local economic development in Turkana West.
7. Examine the urbanization context of Turkana West in relation to the regional context.
8. Identify and recommend policy interventions for enhanced socio-economic development in Turkana West.

The content of this report (Volume I) is primarily focused on Objectives 1, 2 and 8 of the survey, though the analysis and discussions inevitably connect with other objectives. The subsequent reports of this survey, i.e. Volume II on 'Businesses and Local Economic Development' and Volume III on 'Urbanization in North Rift Kenya', cover the other objectives in more depth.

Geographical Setting of the Study

This study refers to Turkana West, which is part Turkana County and wider North Rift Kenya. Turkana West is one of six sub-counties in Turkana County, and plays a crucial national and international role – hosting refugees and asylum seekers. The sub-county borders Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Fieldwork for the study primarily concentrated on Turkana West sub-county, targeting towns and the two refugee settlements of Kakuma and Kalobeyei.

Figure 1.1 Regional context of Turkana West area



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

The study covers the entire sub-county with detailed focus in Kakuma and Kalobeyei settlements, where the population is most concentrated. Specifically, the household survey covered Kakuma, Kalobeyei, Letea, Lopur, Songot and Lokichoggio wards. Nanaam Ward was not covered for the household questionnaires due to high safety risks at the time of the fieldwork. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focused Group

Discussions (FGDs) were conducted primarily in Turkana West, as well as Lodwar and Kalokol in Turkana County. Further KIIs and FGDs were conducted in Eldoret (Uasin Gishu County) and Kitale (Trans Nzoia County) because of trade links to businesses in these locations, including the supply of food to households in Turkana West. Findings regarding these businesses are presented in Volume II of these reports.

About Turkana West Sub-County

The 2019 census reported the sub-county of Turkana West has a population as 239,627, comprising 44,740 households and with an average density of 14 persons per square kilometre (KNBS, 2019a).⁵ The density figure indicates a dispersed population distribution, primarily linked to the dominance of nomadic pastoralism as the main mode of livelihood sustenance and enterprise. Kakuma sub-location (town and rural areas) was reported to have a population of 103,632, while Oropoi sub-location recorded a population of 53,766, of which 35,512 were in the Kalobeyei area (KNBS, 2019a). However, this census data does not include the refugee population, which recent data indicates is 162,544 at Kakuma Refugee Camp, and 41,522 at Kalobeyei New Settlement (UNHCR, 2021).⁶ Therefore, the combination of refugee and host communities makes a total population of more than 343,210 in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei area. This large population is concentrated in an arid and historically marginalised area, with poorly developed infrastructure and environmental challenges. The main urban centres in the sub-county are Lokichoggio and Kakuma towns, whose populations were reported by the census as 11,626 and 22,984, respectively.

Notably, the 2019 census reports a lower population for Kakuma town compared to the 2009 census, which indicated that the town's population was 31,581. A decline in Lokichoggio's population was also recorded, when compared to the 13,728 residents counted in 1999 (Brinkhoff, 2021).⁷ While the decline in Lokichoggio's population can be linked to the economic decline and out-migration caused by the closure of refugee assistance operations in the town, the reasons for Kakuma's decline are less clear, requiring an examination that considers the referenced town boundaries and the timing of the census.

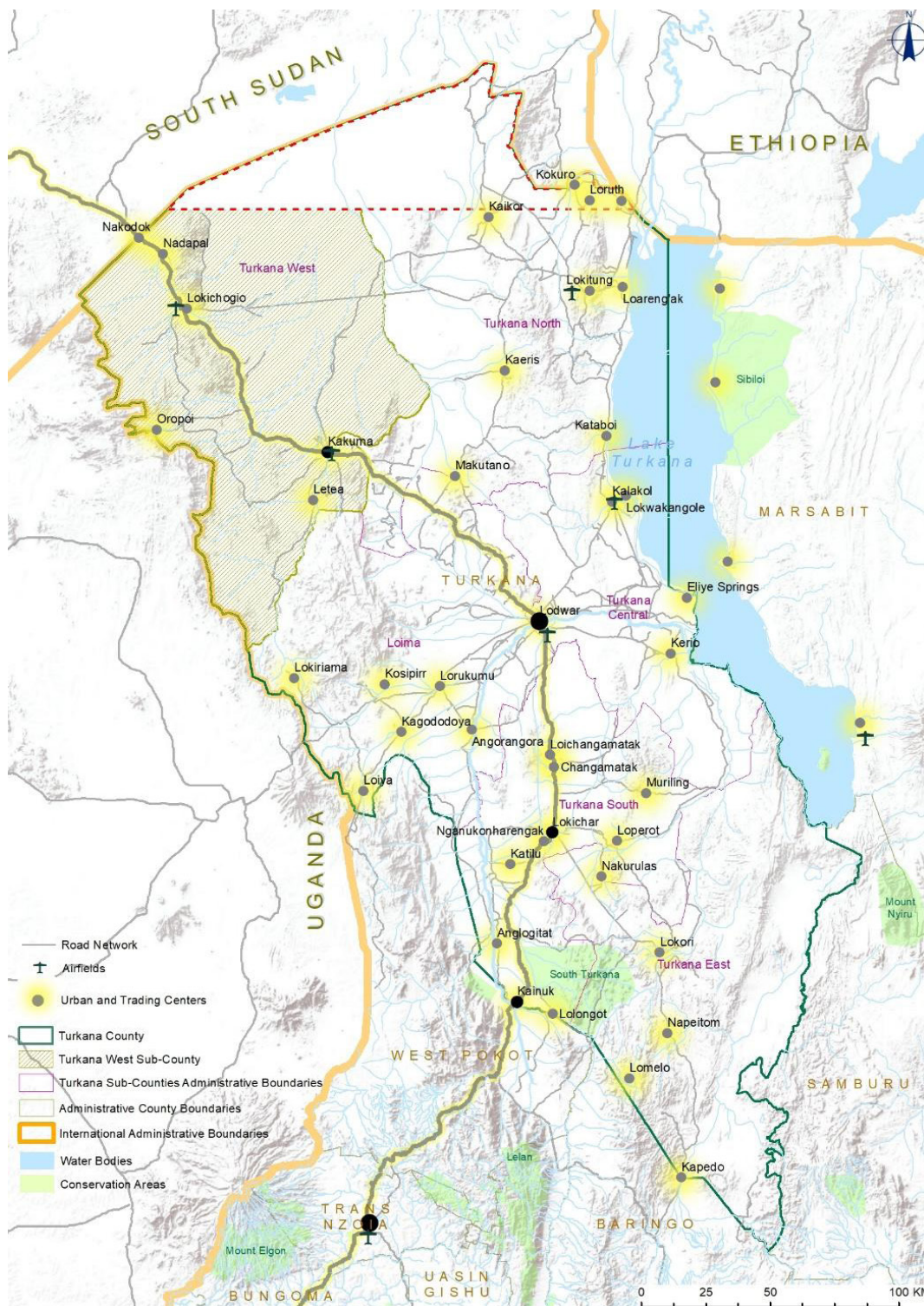
The A1 international road connects Kenya and South Sudan through Turkana West. For many years, this road was in poor condition and of limited use, but ongoing reconstruction efforts will soon open it up for intensified transportation between the two countries. In addition, Kenya and South Sudan have planned to invest through the LAPSET program to build a railway, pipeline and highways to enhance connectivity in the future. However, poor road conditions and poorly developed infrastructure, including energy, education and healthcare infrastructure, (UNHCR, 2018) remain significant barriers to the area's socio-economic development.

5 KNBS (2019a). 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census: Volume II. Nairobi, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS).

6 UNHCR (2021). Total Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Turkana. Online Access (11/03/2021): <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/KEN/796>

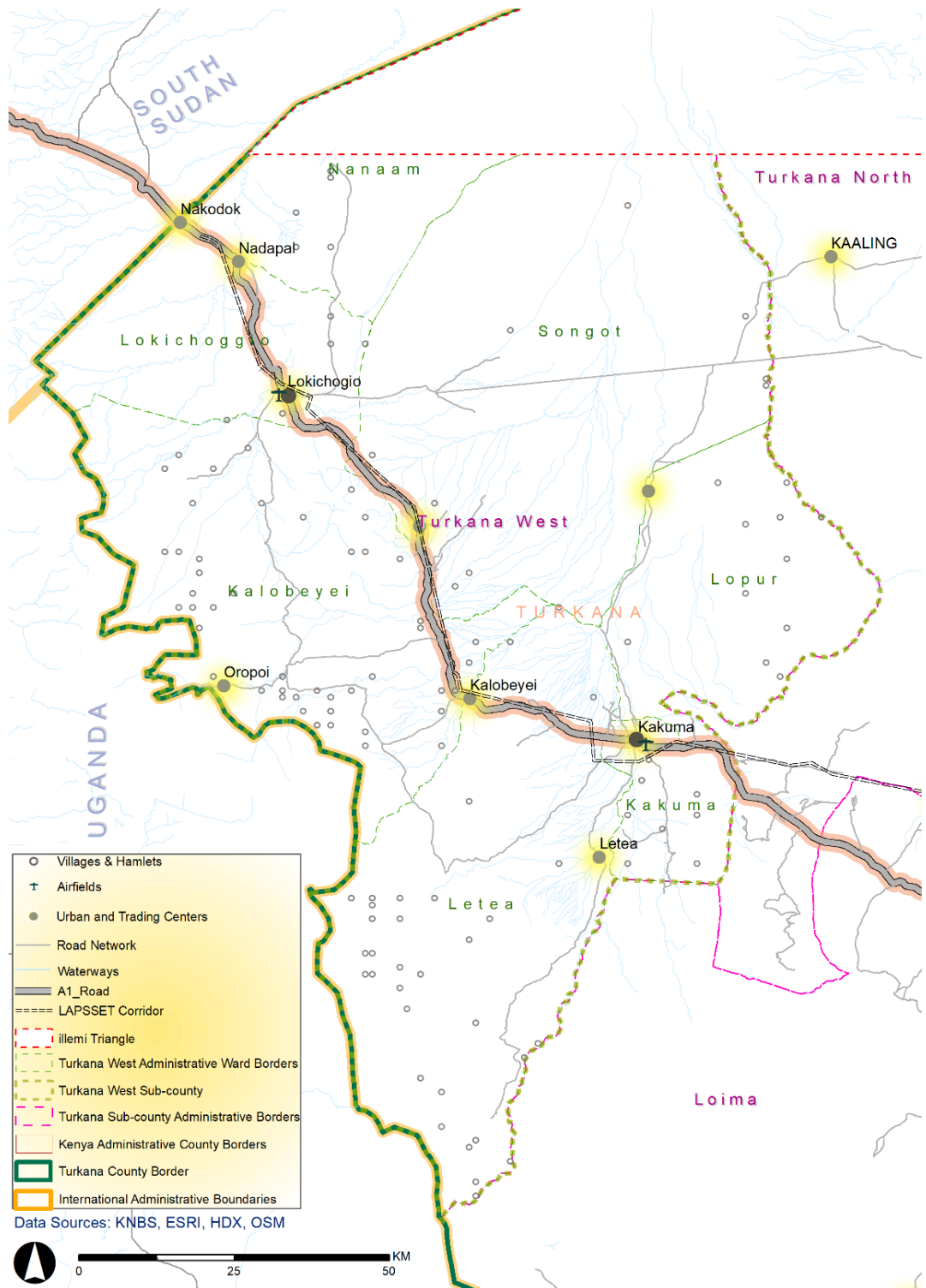
7 Brinkhoff, T (2021): City Population. Online Access (11/03/2021): <https://www.citypopulation.de/en/kenya/cities/>

Figure 1.2 Turkana West Sub-County in relation to Turkana County



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

Figure 1.3 - Turkana West Sub-County



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

Conceptual Framing and Methodology

This study was informed by a four-dimensional conceptual approach, which includes spatial, economic, socio-political and environmental dimensions. This framework informed the study's data needs and the focus of the fieldwork. Prior to fieldwork, the study undertook a desk review of existing literature and conducted spatial analysis at various scales (international, national, regional, and local) to position Turkana West in terms of a spatial-economic context.

Figure 1.4 Conceptual Approach of the Study



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

A mixed methods research design was applied, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques for data collection and analysis, and utilizing both primary and secondary data. Secondary data focused on reviewing recent studies and literature related to socio-economic development in Turkana West. This desk review provided a critical entry point for the formulation of primary data collection activities that combined quantitative and qualitative tools.

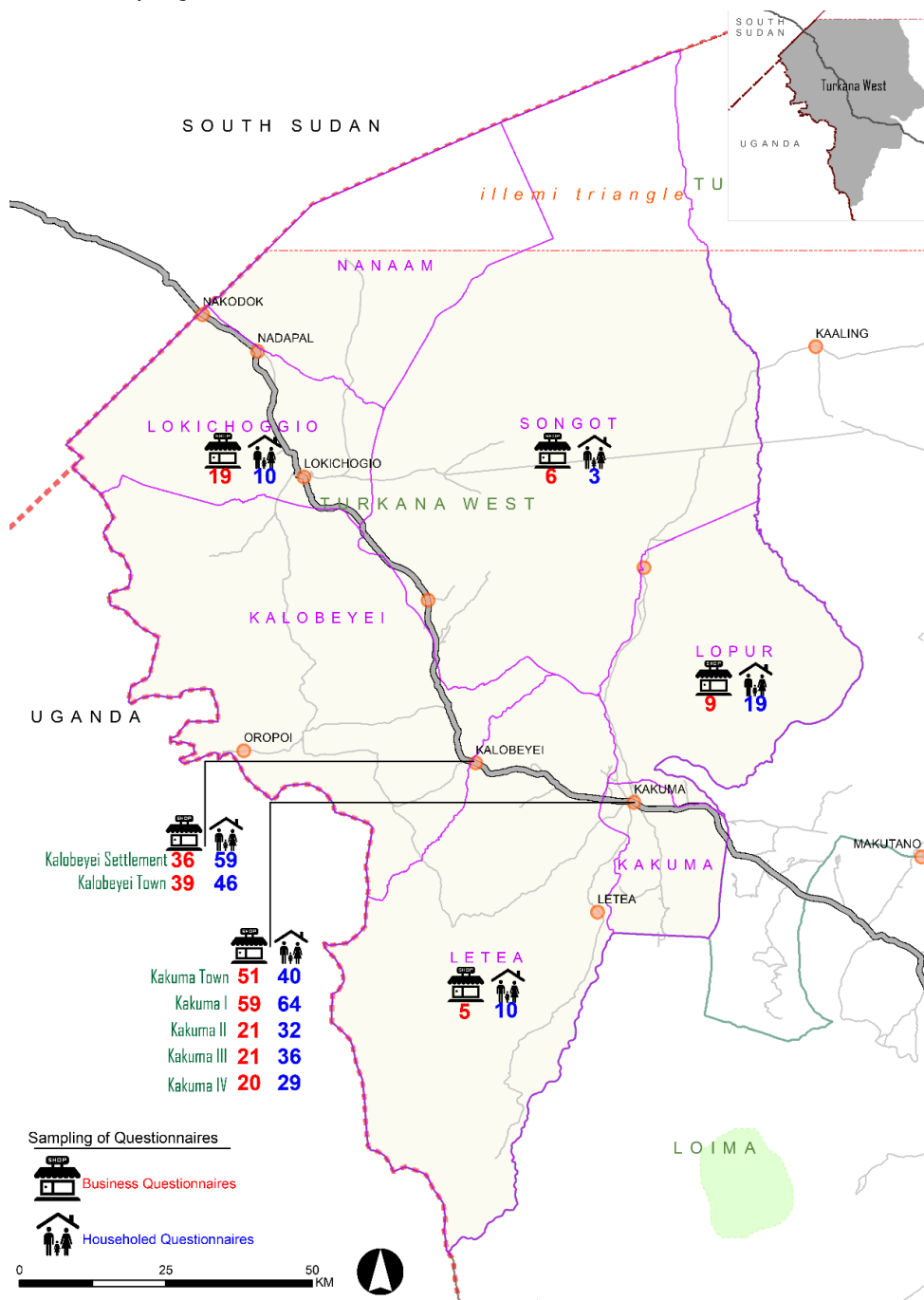
The primary data was collected between October 2020 and January 2021, and was analysed and synthesised with the secondary data analysis. As this data was collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, the stipulated health protocols were observed. However, this timing presented various limitations to the study, which will be discussed later in the report.

Field Surveys

The field survey entailed the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, and spatial profiling of public markets and settlement formations in Kakuma-Kalobeyei.

Quantitative Data – the field survey covered a sample of 306 household questionnaires from various wards, but mainly focussing on Kakuma-Kalobeyei. Respondents were selected randomly, with a sampling design that considered age, nationality, gender, location and residence status (i.e. refugees, the host community or migrants from other parts of Kenya). The survey was administered through KoBoCollect toolbox. The respondents were adult household heads or household members who had sufficient knowledge about the sampled household.

Figure 1.5 Sampling Distribution for Household and Business Questionnaires



Source: UN- Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

Qualitative Data – Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were designed to gather qualitative data by engaging participants in in-depth conversations. Some were conducted face-to-face and others virtually, particularly the KIIs with officers working with government and support organizations. The survey conducted 37 KIIs, selecting informants from local actors in community leadership, business leadership, county government officers, national government officers and officers working with various humanitarian-development support organizations. Seven FGDs were conducted with residents, local leaders and business operators in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio areas.

Spatial profiling of public markets and settlements – Informal markets were found to be a major space for socio-economic activities. While many households derive livelihoods from these markets, they are also a major space where households can access food supplies. The study designed a method to profile public markets that combined informal interviews with market leaders and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping using Android apps, such as MAPinr and GPS Essentials. This mapping captured the location and basic information about each market, including a profile of traders, the commodities traded, the infrastructure and services available to market operators, as well as constraints and opportunities etc. The profiling of markets was complemented by a similar profiling exercise that targeted clustered settlements, focussing on the assessment of housing, infrastructure and utilities, land use, environmental conditions and social amenities.

Study Limitations

The study encountered several limitations. Most notably, conducting fieldwork during the COVID-19 pandemic present various challenges. Although the research relied on digital questionnaires, administering the questions required the physical presence of the data collector, as many of the respondents could not participate virtually due to connection issues. The questionnaires were administered with social-distancing and the wearing of masks, but communication was

not as effective as it would have been in ordinary circumstances. KIIs and FGDs were also limited in the size of groups, the duration and the number of sessions conducted. As such, virtual discussions were prioritised. Mobility was another challenge faced during fieldwork as rainfall, combined with poor road conditions, prevented access to various parts of Turkana West. Moreover, poor telecommunication infrastructure and safety risks prevented data collection in some remote rural areas, especially Nanaam Ward. Similar safety challenges prevented access to parts of Lopur, Letea, Lokichoggio and Songot wards.

The local community (both refugees and hosts) speak a variety of languages, with no universally spoken language. The indigenous Turkana language is the main language for the host community, supplemented by Kiswahili. Among the refugees, language is primarily determined by origin, i.e. nationality and tribe. For instance, refugees from Somalia are fluent in Somali, while those from South Sudan are fluent in Dinka and Nuer etc. Consequently, the research had to rely on translations from English to the languages spoken in the community. Although the survey tools were administered as targeted, the language barrier remained a challenge as meanings can be lost when framing questions or recording the responses of participants. Conducting findings sessions with respondents helped validate the findings, but this does not entirely ameliorate language as a limitation in studies of this nature.

In addition to the limitations related to primary data, the scant spatial data available in Turkana West limited the scope of spatial analysis. However, by rebuilding published map data, open source data (e.g. Google Earth) and attributing data in various documents, the study was able to undertake crucial spatial analysis. The study was also limited by the lack of existing research that analysed Turkana West as a whole. Many studies related to the area tend to be one-sided, either focusing solely on refugee issues or host community issues, such as pastoralism. Moreover, many studies have not connected household socio-economic conditions with local economic activities.

Structure of the Report

This report is organized into five main chapters as follows:



Chapter One: Introduction, providing a general introduction and background to the study.



Chapter Two: The Socio-Economic Development Context, which presents the desktop research that provides a wider context to the specific findings in Chapters Three and Four. It outlines population and demographics, urbanization in the region, infrastructure and connectivity, socio-economic conditions at county level, and the policy context.



Chapter Three: The Socio-Economic Conditions in Turkana West, which presents findings from the survey addressing the prevailing socio-economic conditions, including the composition of households, incomes and expenditure, food security, health, education, communication, host and refugee relations, and the future aspirations of participants.



Chapter Four: Housing Conditions and Basic Services, which presents findings from the survey regarding housing issues, including housing conditions, housing typologies and their implications, and analysis of specific basic services (water and sanitation, energy, mobility etc).



Chapter Five: Recommendations, which summarises the key issues emerging from the survey and outlines various recommendations for policy and humanitarian-development programming in Turkana West.



Eldoret town. © UN-Habitat, Dream Magical Studio



CHAPTER 2. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

Overview

This chapter will analyse Turkana County in the context of refugees, migrations and urbanization in Kenya. According to the UNHCR, Kenya currently has 508,033 registered refugees and asylum seekers, of which 84% live in camps, mainly in Dadaab (Garissa County) and Kakuma-Kalobeyi (Turkana County).⁸ While the Government of Kenya has announced its intention to close these camps,⁹ their presence over many years has contributed significantly to urbanization in Turkana and Garissa counties, as well as significantly impacting the local socio-economic conditions. As such, the local social-economic development must be rethought in terms of what the situation will be after the camps close. Such rethinking will benefit from an analysis of the local socio-economic development context. This chapter will therefore highlight the socio-economic context of Turkana West, focussing on county population and demographics, regional issues of refugees and migrations, and the connection between refugees and urbanization.

Turkana County Population and Demographics

Most of the population in Turkana County live in rural settlements. The county's urban population is mainly concentrated in Lodwar – the largest urban centre – as well as other small towns including Kakuma, Kalokol and Lokichoggio. Kakuma-Kalobeyi is the largest clustered human settlement due to the co-existing refugee camps (Kakuma and Kalobeyi) and the host communities. According to Kenya's latest census data in 2019, the population of Turkana County was reported as 926,976 persons (KNBS, 2019), but that figure is significantly higher when the refugee population is included.



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8 UNHCR (2021). Kenya: Registered Refugees and Asylum Seekers. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/02/Kenya-Infographics-31-January-2021.pdf>

9 Ministry of Interior & Coordination of National Government (2021, May 3). Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee Camps Roadmap. <https://www.interior.go.ke/dadaab-and-kakuma-refugee-camps-roadmap/>

Table 2.1 Population of Turkana County by Subunits

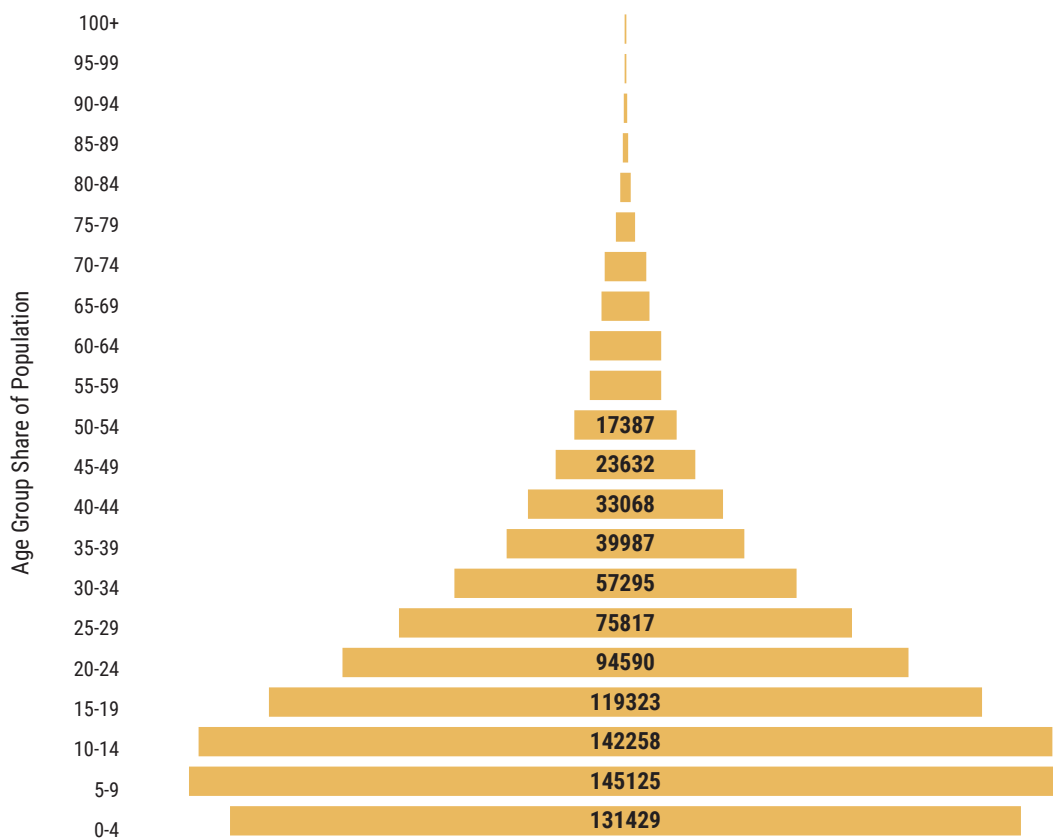
Sub-Location	Kibish	Loima	Turkana Central	Turkana East	Turkana North	Turkana South	Turkana West
Sub-Total	36,769	107,795	185,305	138,526	65,218	153,736	239,627
Male	18,651	54,341	93,145	76,871	32,810	78,402	123,867
Female	18,117	53,453	92,160	61,643	32,408	75,329	115,758
No. of Households	5,805	19,438	38,173	17,981	13,119	24,552	45,451

2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census

Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020 / Data Source: KNBS 2019- Vol II Report

The county's population is predominantly young, with children, youth and working-age adults (up to 55 years old) constituting the vast majority. This follows the same pattern as the national population.

Figure 2.1 Age Composition of Turkana County (Host Community)



Source: UN- Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020/ Data Source: KNBS 2019-Vol IV Report



The distribution of the urban population in the county can be categorised as follows:

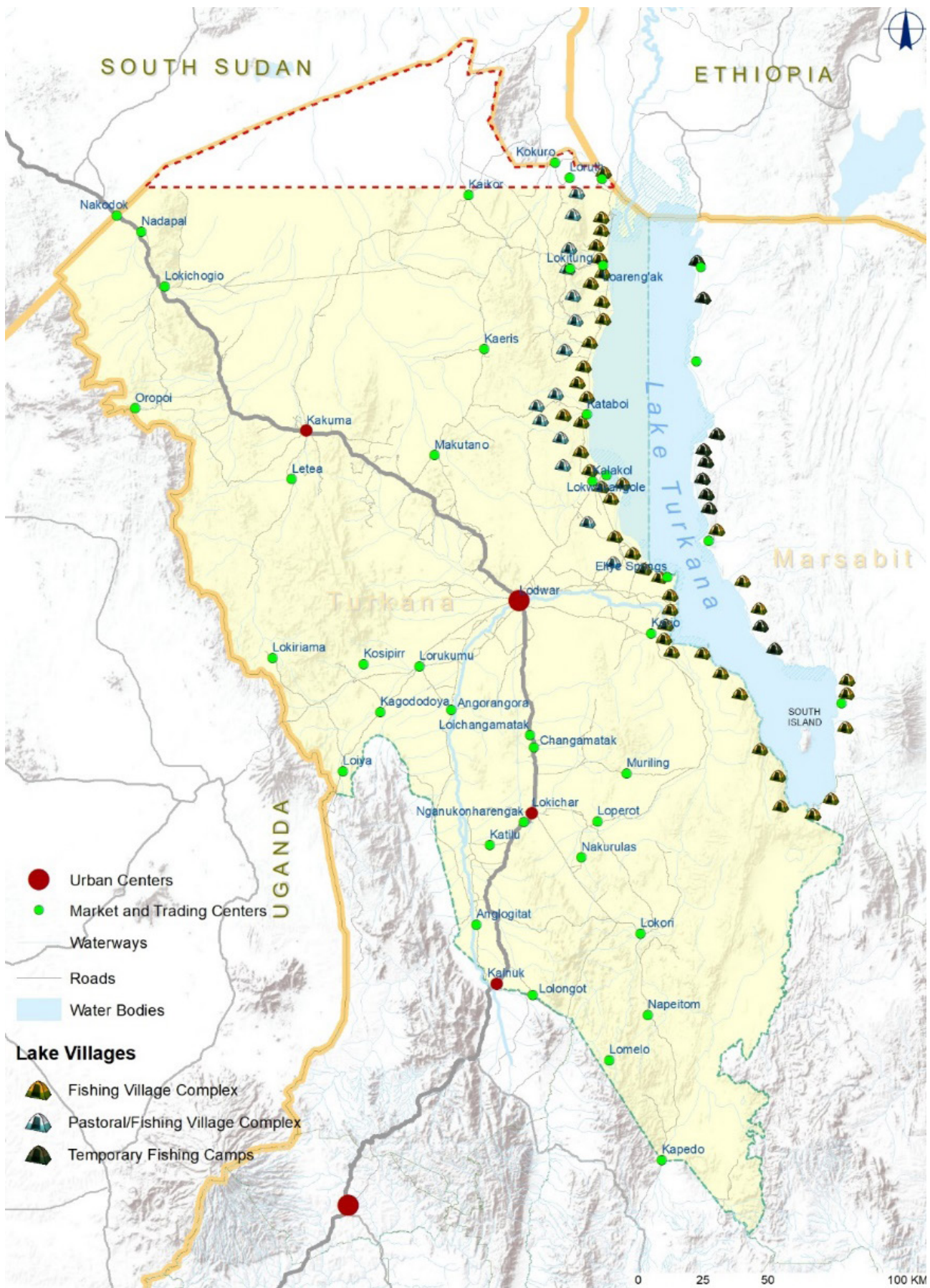
- **Large Towns** – Lodwar and Kakuma. These towns offer formal employment (mainly NGOs and INGOs), livestock markets, transport businesses and active airstrips. Kakuma's growth is attributed to the presence of refugee settlements and the related operations of support organizations. Lodwar is the county administrative capital and largest commercial hub in Turkana.
- **Small Towns** – These are second level towns with livestock markets, decentralised county administration, trade and commerce, relatively small resident population and minimal operations by NGOs. Small towns include Lokichar, Kainuk, Lokori and Lokichoggio.

- **Small lake towns** that depend on fishing include Kalokol and Lowarengak. Lowarengak is closer to Ethiopia and relies on cross-border trade. Lokichar's recent growth is due to oil and gas exploration activities in the area and speculation around future LAPSSET developments.
- **Rural Market Centres** – These are small centres mainly characterised by shops and small livestock markets with a predominantly 'day-time' population and relatively small 'night-time' population. They include Kaaleng, Kalemunyang, Letea, Lokitaung, Kalemungorok, Makutano, Oropoi, Turkwel etc.

The towns and rural market centres in the county are growing quickly. The rapid growth around some of the centres is due to mining activities (Save the Children, 2016).¹⁰ Mining areas in the county include Lokichar, Namorputh, Nakalale and Lapur wards.

¹⁰ Save the Children (2016). Livelihood Profiles Baseline Update Six Livelihood Zones in Turkana County, Kenya. <https://kenya.savethechildren.net/sites/kenya.savethechildren.net/files/library/Turkana%20HEA%20Baselines%20Report%20December2016.pdf>

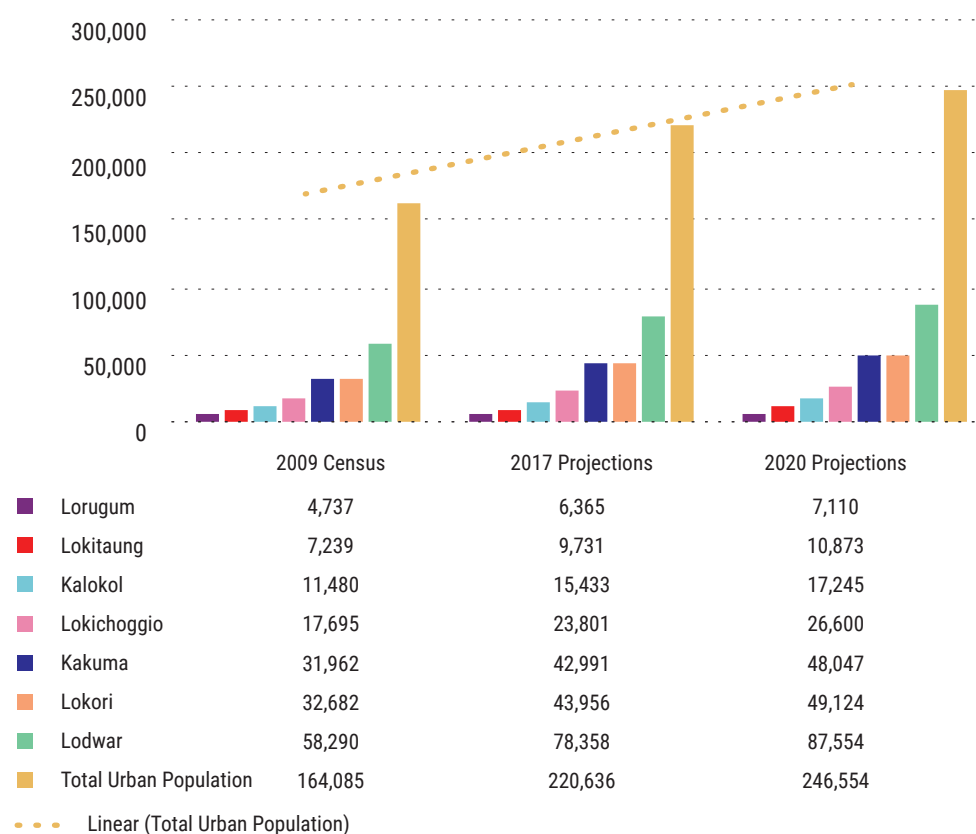
Figure 2.2 Major towns in Turkana County and Settlements on the shores of Lake Turkana



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

Although Turkana County, is among the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) of Kenya, where urbanization is at its lowest compared to other regions, the growing small towns and centres are playing crucial role in the socio-economic development of the area.

Figure 2.3 Urban Population Growth Projections in Turkana County



Data Source: Turkana County CIDP 2018-2022

Turkana West Population

Of all of Turkana's sub-counties, Turkana West has the largest population at 239,627 persons during the 2019 census period. However, these official figures do not include refugee populations. According to UNHCR, the refugee population in Kakuma-Kalobeyi at the end of May 2021 was 211,337. When factoring in a net increase in the host community population since the 2019 census, this means that the combined Turkana West population is, in fact, closer to 500,000 people – double that of the official census.

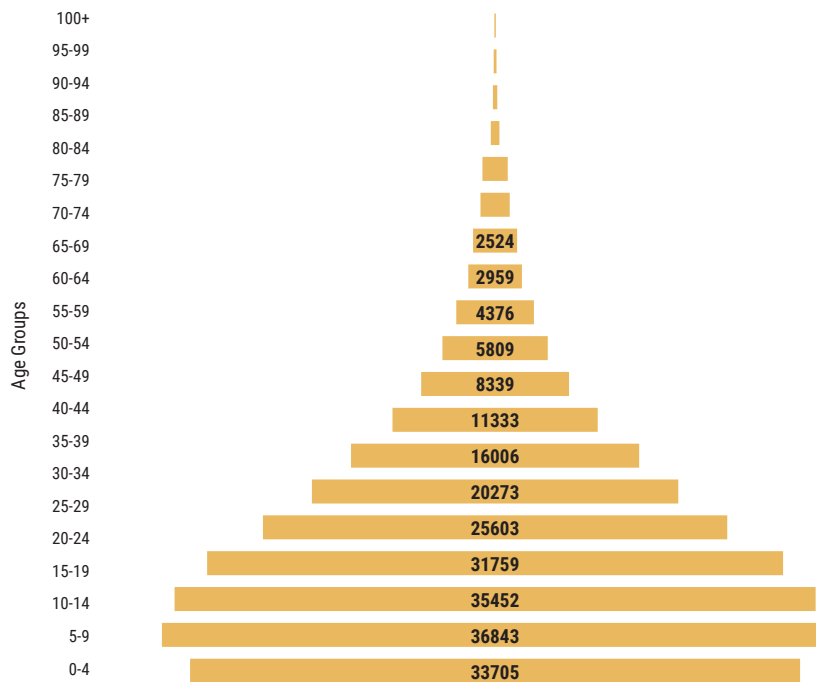
Table 2.2 Population of Turkana West according to the 2019 Kenya Census Data

Wards	Kakuma	Lokichoggio	Nanaam	Oropoi	Total Sub-County
Total Population	129,545	30,411	25,905	53,766	239,627
Male	67,297	16,336	13,386	26,848	123,867
Female	62,247	14,075	12,519	26,917	115,758
No. of Households	26,122	5,420	3,841	10,068	45,451

Source: KNBS (2019-Vol II report)

The demographic breakdown of Turkana West’s population (including both refugee and host populations) indicates that most of the population are children, youth or working-age adults. This has significant policy and planning implications, including concerns over childcare, education and training, housing and accompanying amenities, livelihoods and employment etc. The findings in Chapters Three and Four of this study will show that current responses are inadequate and ongoing interventions must scaled up to match demand.

Figure 2.4 Age Composition of Turkana West Host Community Population



Source: UN- Habitat/Turkana West Survey 2020/ Data Source: KNBS 2019-Vol IV Report



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Table 2.3 Age Composition of Turkana West Refugee Community

Kakuma Camp	Age Group 1	Sex				Total	
		Female		Male		#	%
		#	%	#	%		
0-4	10,466	6.3%	11,032	6.6%	21,498	12.9%	
5-11	16,590	9.9%	17,784	10.6%	34,374	20.5%	
12-17	13,851	8.3%	18,463	11.0%	32,314	19.3%	
18-59	34,439	20.6%	42,219	25.2%	76,658	45.8%	
60 and above	1,552	0.9%	885	0.5%	2,437	1.5%	
Total	76,898	46.0%	90,383	54.0%	167,281		

Kalobeyei Settlement	Age Group	Sex				Total	
		Female		Male		#	%
		#	%	#	%		
0-4	3,234	1.9%	3,392	2.0%	6,626	15.9%	
5-11	5,773	3.5%	6,100	3.6%	11,873	28.5%	
12-17	3,620	2.2%	4,595	2.7%	8,215	19.7%	
18-59	7,669	4.6%	6,944	4.2%	14,613	35.0%	
60 and above	264	0.2%	129	0.1%	393	0.9%	
Total	20,560	49.3%	21,160	50.7%	41,720		

Source: UNHCR (2021b)*

*UNHCR (2021b). *Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Kenya: Kenya Statistics Package*. Accessed 02/07/2021 on: <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/06/Kenya-Statistics-Package-31-May-2021.pdf>

Refugees and the Regional Context of Forced Displacement

Migration and the presence of refugees are significant for population growth in Turkana West. In Eastern Africa, Kenya is a major destination for refugees and migrants seeking opportunities and residence in the major cities (International Organization for Migration, 2015).¹¹ This phenomenon is linked to several factors, including rural-urban migration within the country, 'economically-driven' cross-border migrations, and the forced migration of refugees and asylum seekers. Across Africa, Kenya ranks highly in the admission of forced migrants, recording a refugee and asylum seeker population of 519,989 in May 2021 (UNHCR, 2021),¹² though this figure does not account for the country's many unregistered refugees and asylum seekers. Turkana County is affected by both internal (i.e. domestic) and international migration.

Internal migration is linked to the temporary and perennial movement of pastoralists, however, recently there has been significant rural-urban migration centring on Lodwar town as the primary destination.

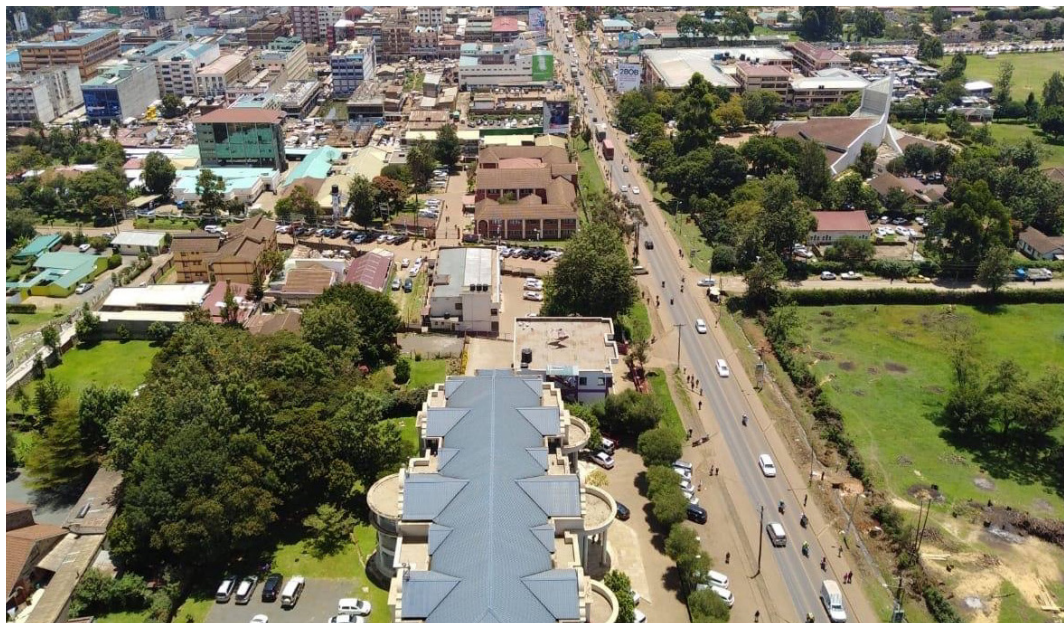
Major catalysts for cross-border migration in the region include perceptions of better economic and livelihood opportunities, as well as forced migration due to conflict, political tension, natural disasters and other forms of regional insecurity. The Eastern African countries of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda host the highest number of international migrants across Africa, as of mid-2020 (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). Many of these migrants are transiting to Southern Africa or the Middle East and are largely unregistered.

¹¹ International Organization for Migration (2015). *Migration in Kenya: A Country profile 2015*

¹² Ibid.



“Urban economic growth has been established around population centers and productive agricultural regions, with most urban dwellers living near the Northern Corridor, which connects Mombasa Port through Nairobi to Malaba, with a branch line to Kisumu in the west. Less than **14 percent** of urban dwellers live in remote towns farther than 35 kilometers from the Northern Corridor. In total, **76 percent** and **85 percent** of urban dwellers live within 15 kilometers and 35 kilometers of this corridor, respectively, underscoring its importance to urbanization.”
 – *World Bank (2016).*



Eldoret town. © UN-Habitat

This form of migration is less understood in the Kenyan context and there is very little research on the topic (Marchand, et al, 2017).¹³ While Kenya hosts many refugees from South Sudan, there is very little labour migration between the two nations. With enhanced transportation connectivity between Kenya and South Sudan via the A1 road through Turkana County, labour migration between Kenya and South Sudan is likely to increase. This will introduce a new dimension to how migration is understood and addressed in Turkana County, especially with regards to the role that secondary cities in the North Rift Region will play in this future pattern of migration.

Refugees and asylum seekers who arrive in Kenya are mainly hosted in the Kakuma-Kalobeyi and Dadaab refugee camps, where the camps have evolved into the largest form of clustered settlements. Kenya's refugee population has fluctuated over the years, often due to

events occurring in refugees' home countries. For instance, periods of relative stability in South Sudan and Somalia see less refugees entering Kenya. Most recently, GoK has announced plans to close the refugee camps in Kenya and to pursue alternative interventions to address the regional refugee crisis.

Urbanization and Refugee Settlements in Turkana

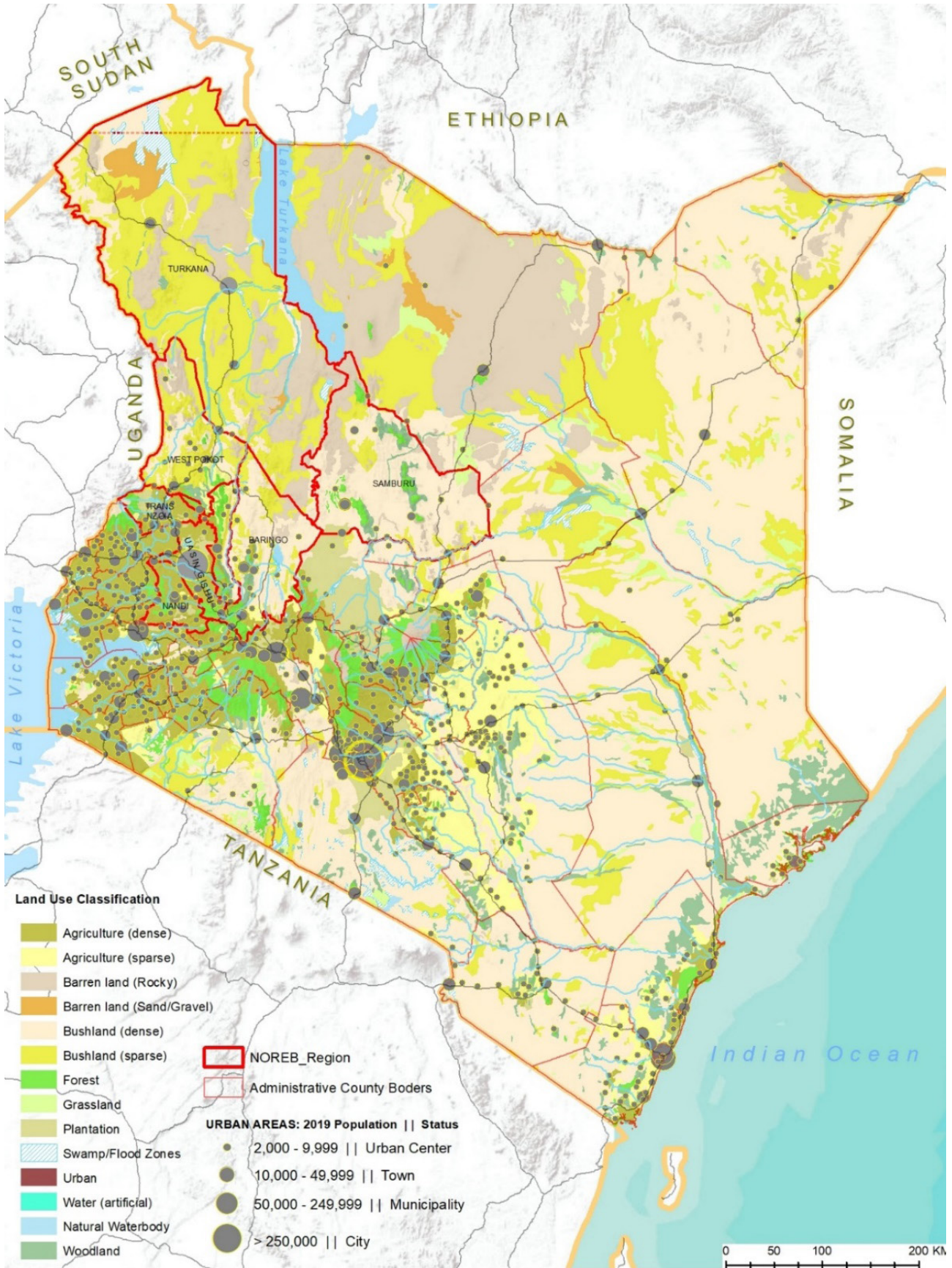
Urbanization in Kenya is strongly linked to increasing rural-urban migrations in the country and region. The urban population has steadily increased, with recent data indicating that 31% of Kenya's population (or 13,486,823 persons) now live in urban centres (Republic of Kenya, 2020).¹⁴ The majority of Kenya's urban population is concentrated along the Northern Economic Corridor, which is comprised of three economic hubs (World Bank, 2016):¹⁵

¹³ Marchand, K (2017). Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa. Online Access (19/2/21): <https://www.merit.unu.edu/publications/uploads/1517475164.pdf>

¹⁴ Republic of Kenya (2020). 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census: Volume II. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi

¹⁵ World Bank (2016). Kenya Urbanization Review. Washington DC, World Bank Group

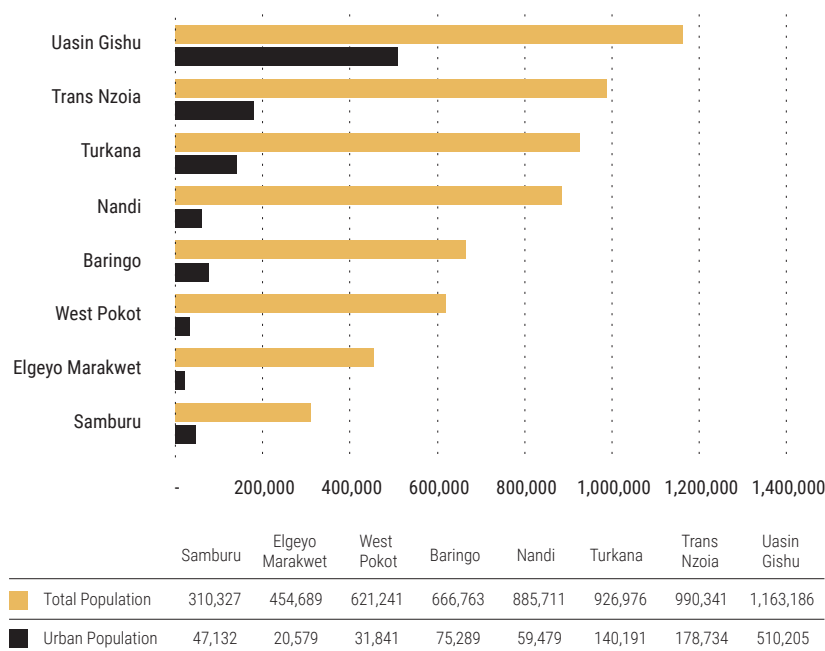
Figure 2.5 Kenya's Urbanization Geography



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

Northern Kenya and the ASALs in general are the least urbanized regions in Kenya. ASALs include areas in the Northern Rift Economic Bloc (NOREB) region, specifically Samburu, West Pokot, Turkana and Baringo counties. The process of urbanization has been very slow in these counties – something that can be closely associated with the region’s population growth dynamics, the sedentary way of life of the largely pastoral communities, and years of both economic and developmental marginalisation. In Turkana County, the 2019 census indicated that 16% (or 140,791 persons) resided in urban areas. While this indicates a relatively low level of urbanization, the growth rate is high, particularly in urban areas – as is the case with other counties in the NOREB region.

Figure 2.6 NOREB Counties: Share of Urban Population to Total Population in 2019



Data Source: 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census: Volume II

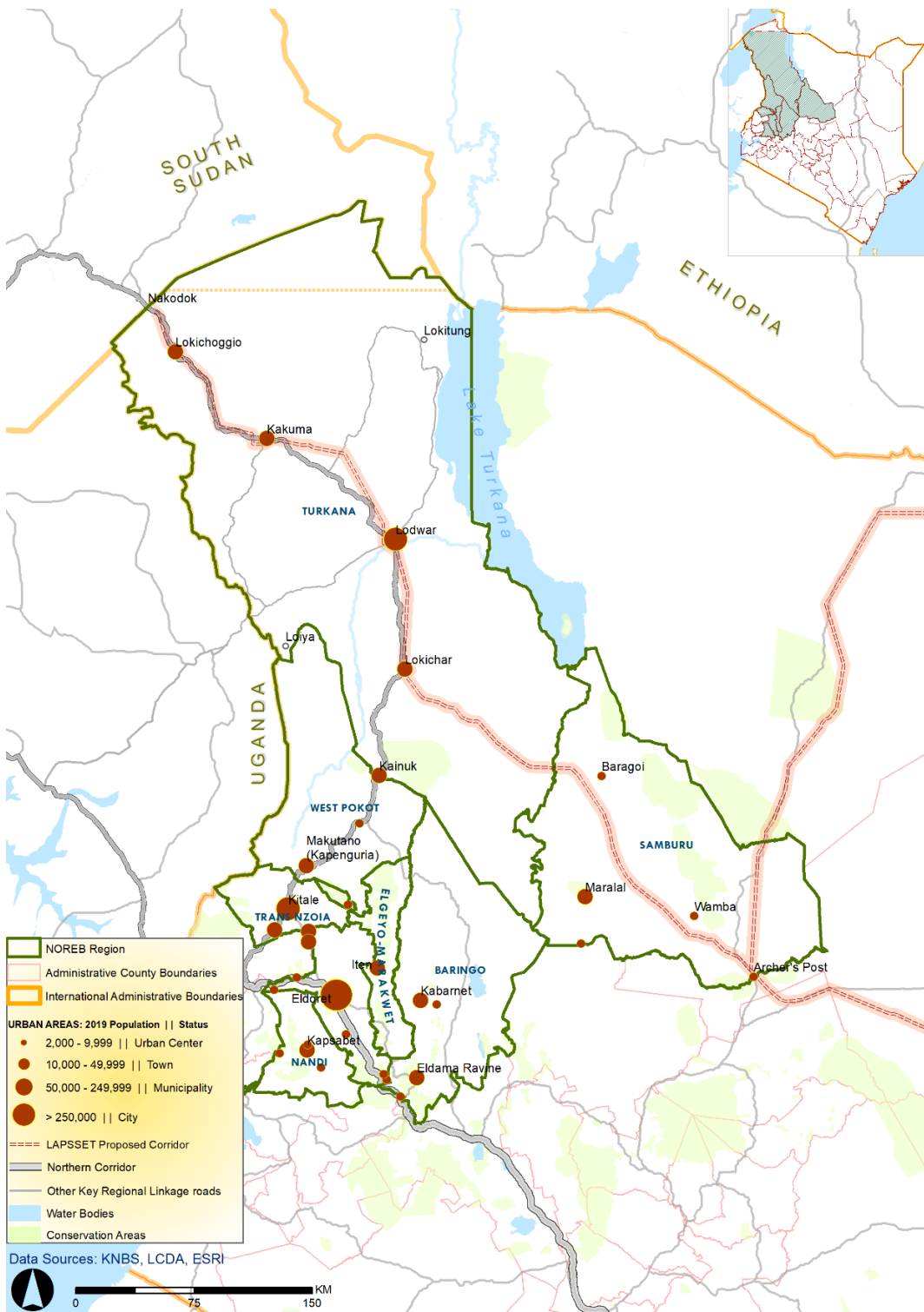
Overall, the NOREB region is dominated by small urban centres, which primarily serve as market centres for the livestock and agro-based economy of the region.

Table 2.4 Urbanization Patterns in North Rift ASAL Counties

County/Urban Centre Population Size	Less than 10,000	10-20,000	>20-50,000	>50-100,000	Total urban population in the county
Baringo	4	-	2	-	65,283
Samburu	4	-	1	-	47,132
Turkana	-	3	1	1	140,791
West Pokot	1	-	1	-	31,841
Total No. Urban Centres	9	3	5	1	18

Data source: KNBS, 2020

Figure 2.7 Major Urban Centres in NOREB Region



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Survey 2020

According to the County Government of Turkana (2018), increasing urbanization in the county is largely driven by rural-urban migration, associated with diminishing prospects of livelihood sustenance through traditional pastoralism (CGT, 2018).

Recurrent droughts have compelled many households to seek alternative livelihoods, including urban-based opportunities. The youth are increasingly opting to migrate to the county's major urban centres in search of alternative livelihoods and to seek access to education and training. Clustered settlements are also consolidating, with increasing numbers of households opting to undertake sedentary agriculture (e.g. along the Turkwel River), or a combination of pastoralism (either sedentary or nomadic) with some other alternative livelihood, such as craft industries (e.g. basketry), fishing (e.g. along the shores of Lake Turkana) or other business activities (International Livestock Research Institute-ILRI, 2008).¹⁶



“Population growth, the expansion of the youth population and **the impact of recurrent droughts** upon pastoralist communities have resulted in rapid levels of urbanization in Turkana County.”
 – **Turkana County CIDP 2018/22 p. 19**

Lodwar, the county's largest urban centre, is expanding at a very rapid rate. The town's population grew from 44,153 in 2009 to 82,970 in 2019 (KNBS, 2009; 2019). However, this rapid urbanization has not been matched by the provision of adequate infrastructure, housing or the availability of adequate income generation, resulting in increasing levels of urban poverty. Fundamentally, the arid and semi-arid conditions of Turkana County, combined with its historical context of marginalisation, compound the socio-economic challenges facing the county's growing urban centres and rural settlements.

Kakuma town, however, is the second largest urban centre in the county and has experienced a decline in population, according to the 2019 census (See KNBS, 2020). This is at odds with this trend of urbanization that has seen rural migrants moving to urban centres seeking the economic benefits associated with the presence of refugees in the area. The county government issued a statement in 2019 questioning Kenya's census agency (KNBS) over this recorded decline in population, citing inadequate coverage of the vast county, as well as nomadic movements during the census period. A quote from the statement reads as follows:

“According to KNBS 2014 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, **Turkana County fertility rate is 6.9%** and the **growth rate is 3.35%**, which is higher than the national average used by KNBS of **5.9% fertility rate** and **2.2% growth rate** respectively. This has contributed to the underreporting of the Turkana County population by 234,221 people according to our projection using the County's fertility and growth rates of 6.9% and 3.35%”
 – **County Government of Turkana, 2019.***

* *County Government of Turkana (2019). Statement on the 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census Wednesday 6th November 2019, Lodwar Kenya. Online Access (20/01/21): <https://www.turkana.go.ke/index.php/2019/11/06/statement-on-the-2019-kenya-population-and-housing-census-wednesday-6th-november-2019-lodwar-kenya/>*

Refugee settlements in Turkana West have driven urbanization in the county. Kenya's encampment policy has facilitated the establishment of settlements that are purposively designed to accommodate refugees. For example, a section of the Security Laws Amendment of 2014 reads as follows:

16 ILRI (2008). Livelihood diversification opportunities for pastoralists in Turkana, Kenya. International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), Nairobi, Kenya. Online Access (18/2/21): https://cgspage.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/233/RR5_LivelihoodDiversification.pdf?sequence=1

"In December 2014, Kenya made key amendments to the Refugees Act of 2006. A key provision in the 2014 amendment sought to make permanent the encampment policy, stating that "[e]very person who has applied for recognition of his status as a refugee and every member of his family shall remain in the designated refugee camp until the processing of their status is concluded" — **Republic of Kenya-Security Laws Amendment, 2014.**

Another provision from Security Laws Amendment, 2014 states that "[e]very refugee and asylum seeker shall... not leave the designated refugee camp without the permission of the Refugee Camp Officer." However, the most notable provision in the 2014 amendment sought to dramatically reduce the number of refugees and asylum seekers in the country, potentially through forced repatriation. It states as follows:

"The number of refugees and asylum seekers permitted to stay in Kenya shall not exceed **one hundred and fifty thousand persons**; the National Assembly may vary the number of refugees or asylum seekers permitted to be in Kenya; where the National Assembly varies the number of refugees or asylum seekers in Kenya, such a variation shall be applicable for a period not exceeding six months only; and the National Assembly may review the period of variation for a further six months." — **Republic of Kenya-Security Laws Amendment, 2014**

However, the impact of refugees on the county's urbanization has produced mixed outcomes. For instance, Lokichoggio town's economy and growth largely depended on refugee assistance programming, but since those activities ended in Lokichoggio, the town has been in decline. This signals an uncertain future for Kakuma town, where growth is also strongly linked to the refugee presence. Policy makers must develop strategies to build resilience and support sustainable socio-economic development in Kakuma-Ka-

lobeyei and Lokichoggio. Current interventions are largely focused on humanitarian assistance, but in the wake of GoK's announcement that it will close refugee camps, future programming will require strong humanitarian-development considerations and a focus on long-term local economic development.

It is crucial to develop possible scenarios for future programming in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei area that factor in individual preferences and aspirations for future resettlement and the establishment of long-lasting stability in refugees' countries of origin. These future programmes will need to invest in functional urban centres in Turkana West, with resilient economies that demonstrate a capability to grow beyond the current distortion linked to dependency on foreign aid. The functionality of an urban centre requires the availability of socio-economic opportunities (e.g. skills and jobs), social development (reliable livelihood means, adequate access to good health and education etc), as well as effective urban governance and management. This a major undertaking that will demand deliberate action, including the joint efforts of governments (county and national) with the multiple local and international organizations delivering humanitarian-development assistance in the area. Currently, such functionality is missing in Kakuma-Kalobeyei, leaving the future of the settlements uncertain.

Meanwhile, there is a need to advance interventions that aim to address the future of these populations and settlements in a way that aligns with socio-political realities. This must include examining and leveraging opportunities created by the recent regional infrastructure investments, i.e. the A1 road and proposed LAPSET, which could stimulate long-term urban development in Kakuma-Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio. These investments will enhance connectivity, especially in transportation, which could trigger increased flows of migration between South Sudan, Turkana West and the rest of Kenya. This will foreground migration induced by economic factors, rather than the forced migration that has dominated cross-border movement between the two countries.



- a) A community that, because of its relatively small population or for any other reason, has been unable to fully participate in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole;
- b) A traditional community that, out of a need or desire to preserve its unique culture and identity from assimilation, has remained outside the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole;
- c) An indigenous community that has retained and maintained a traditional lifestyle and livelihood based on hunter or gatherer economy; or
- d) Pastoral persons and communities, whether they are:
 - i) nomadic; or
 - ii) A settled community that, because of its relative geographic isolation, has experienced only marginal participation in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole.”

– *Republic of Kenya - Constitution of Kenya 2010, Section 260*

Whether the major urban centres in Turkana become a major destination for this likely migration is an important consideration for policy. Indeed, the significance of migration to socio-economic development should be an important issue for policy makers in Turkana County, and the national government.

Historical Context of Marginalisation and Inequalities

To understand the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Turkana West, it is important to consider its historical context of marginalisation. The Kenyan Constitution defines a marginalised community as:

Turkana has been characterised by its decades of marginalisation and underdevelopment as much as its desert-like conditions, as have Kenya’s pastoral communities in general. Indeed, around the world, pastoralists are historically ranked among the most socially, politically and economically marginalised communities (Derbyshire, 2021).

According to Kenya’s Commission for Revenue Allocation (CRA, 2012),¹⁷ Turkana County is listed among the most marginalised regions in the country. The CRA associates such regions with policy and governance issues, including “conflicts and insecurity, livestock marketing, land rights, inadequate provision of services and infrastructure, drought and dependence on food aid”. Marginalisation by both colonial and post-colonial era regimes has contributed to Turkana County recording some of the nation’s highest levels of poverty, coupled with chronic under-investment of public resources. This is also true of the regions formerly known as the Northern Frontier Districts (NFDs), where the population are predominantly pastoralists. A 2012/13 study by CRA indicated that “Turkana, Marsabit, Mandera, Lamu, Wajir, Isiolo, Samburu, Tana River, West Pokot and Garissa are the most marginalised counties in Kenya.”

17 CRA (2012). Survey Report on Marginalized Areas/Counties in Kenya. CRA Working Paper No. 2012/03. Accessed 02/06/2021 on: <https://cra.go.ke/downloads/#>

Figure 2.8 Kenya's Geography of Marginalisation



Source: Commission for Revenue Allocation, Kenya

Marginalisation results in persistent resource-related conflicts and low human development indicators. Yet Turkana has for years remained the home of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers, despite the being among the most marginalised and impoverished parts of Kenya. Studies are increasingly emphasising the importance of narratives of marginalisation and their implications for assistance programming, including the World Bank (2016b) in the context of Kakuma.

The Metanarrative of Marginalisation

Interventions that seek to address the humanitarian and development challenges in Turkana have minimal chance of success if they ignore the marginalisation context. Indeed, the World Bank (2016) noted that the economic significance of the Kakuma refugee camps “must

be developed with the understanding that the Turkana continue to retain their memories of exclusion and histories of marginalisation that, if not accounted for, will hamper any intervention through lack of support, overt discouragement, and even violence.” The history of development aid in Kenya cannot be ignored. Despite combined government and non-government efforts, households in Turkana County remain highly impoverished and disconnected from the rest of Kenya.

One way of addressing Turkana’s marginalisation problem could involve focussing on integrated refugee-host community policies and interventions that enhance its spatial-economic integration and connectivity in the region. This would require an in-depth appreciation of the prevailing socio-economic conditions as basis for well-informed policy and program interventions.

“The Turkana were systematically marginalized by the British and subsequently by the Kenyan government through:

- Punitive military action and confiscation of livestock by the British.
- The closed district administration and resulting isolation and policed supervision of the Turkana as individuals and as a society (1930–86);
- A lack of purposeful development in Turkana County; and
- Ongoing narratives among policy makers and political elites about the inability and/or unwillingness of the Turkana to participate in ongoing development efforts.

The Turkana are excluded from mainstream Kenyan society. “Down-Kenyans” discriminate against the Turkana by:

- Excluding them from jobs given to down-Kenyans even if they are qualified, unless they are low-paying, menial, or security-related; and
- Socially discriminating against the Turkana, even as individuals, treating them poorly through exclusion and marginalization in Kenya and elsewhere.

The Turkana see their primary problem as neglect by the government. Respondents report that:

- The government does not care about the Turkana and that even county government politicians are not concerned about their well-being. The political experience is an exercise in futility, where politicians come, ask for votes, make promises, and then disappear—only to reappear during the next election cycle.”

— *World Bank (2016b, p 37-38)*







CHAPTER 3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN TURKANA WEST

Overview

This chapter will present survey findings, discussions and their implications for socio-economic development in Turkana West. The issues covered include: household demographics; income and livelihoods; education; access to basic services (water, energy, waste, food, communication and mobility), as well as perceptions of the adequacy of these services; assets ownership; and refugee-host community relations. Differences in the findings between refugee and host communities are discussed, while overall results are compared to recent studies and statistics relating to Turkana West, particularly Kenya's 2019 population and housing census. The issues that emerge from this analysis are critical to an understanding of the basic socio-economic conditions in Turkana West, where refugees and host communities co-exist among ongoing humanitarian and development interventions.

Household Size and Composition

The survey established that the average household size in Turkana West, including both refugee and host communities, is 5.5 persons. Kenya's 2019 census data had reported Turkana County's household size was 5.3, while Turkana West's was 5.4 (KNBS, 2019a).¹⁸ However, the official census data does not include the refugee population. An earlier study that included the refugee population also reported an average household size of 5.5 (UN-Habitat, 2016).¹⁹

According to World Bank studies (2019,²⁰ 2021²¹), the average household size for the Kalobeyei settlement is 5.8 persons, while that of Kakuma camp is 6.3. This indicates that refugees in Turkana West tend to have larger household sizes than the host community. Household sizes in Turkana West are above the national average, which was reported as 3.9 persons (KNBS, 2019a).

These household mostly comprises of young members. The survey found that people aged 0-19 years old account for 68% of the overall population of Turkana West. This figure is significantly higher than the national census data, which indicated that this age group constitutes for 56.8% of Turkana West's population (KNBS 2019b),²² as well as that of the Turkana CIDP, which put the figure at 60%. But those statistics only refer to the host community. When considering only the refugee population, UNHCR (2019) data showed that the 0-19 age cohort constituted 58.3% of all refugees in Turkana West. Overall, the youthfulness of the sub-county's population is confirmed by the 2019 census data, which indicates that more than two thirds of the local population is under the age of 30 (KNBS, 2019b). This data strongly points to an increasing demand for education and health facilities, as well as other social amenities. It is also an indication that the working-age population is set to increase, leading to concerns about job opportunities and livelihood means, as well as housing and densities (i.e. spatial needs).

18 KNBS (2019a). 2019 Kenya Population & Housing Census Vol. I: Population by County and Sub-County. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Access 20/03/21 on: https://www.knbs.or.ke/?page_id=3142#

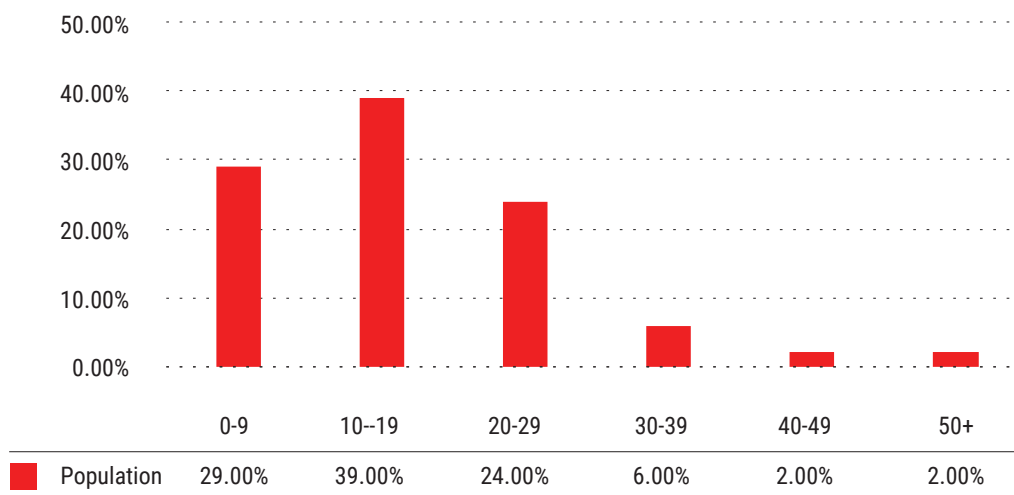
19 UN-Habitat (2016). Socio-Economic and Mapping Baseline survey Report. Access 20/03/21 on: https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/KISED%20Merged%20Report_Full%20-%20for%20Email_5-Sep-2018.pdf

20 World Bank (2019). Understanding the Socioeconomic Conditions of Refugees in Kenya. Volume A: Kalobeyei Settlement. Access 20/03/21 on: <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/982811613626800238/pdf/Understanding-the-Socioeconomic-Conditions-of-Refugees-in-Kenya-Volume-A-Kalobeyei-Settlement-Results-from-the-2018-Kalobeyei-Socioeconomic-Survey.pdf>

21 World Bank (2021). Understanding the Socioeconomic Conditions of Refugees in Kenya. Volume B: Kakuma Camp. <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/443431613628051180/pdf/Understanding-the-Socio-Economic-Conditions-of-Refugees-in-Kenya-Volume-B-Kakuma-Camp-Results-from-the-2019-Kakuma-Socioeconomic-Survey.pdf>

22 KNBS (2019b). 2019 Kenya Population & Housing Census Vol. III: Population by County and Sub-County. Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Online access (20/03/21): https://www.knbs.or.ke/?page_id=3142#

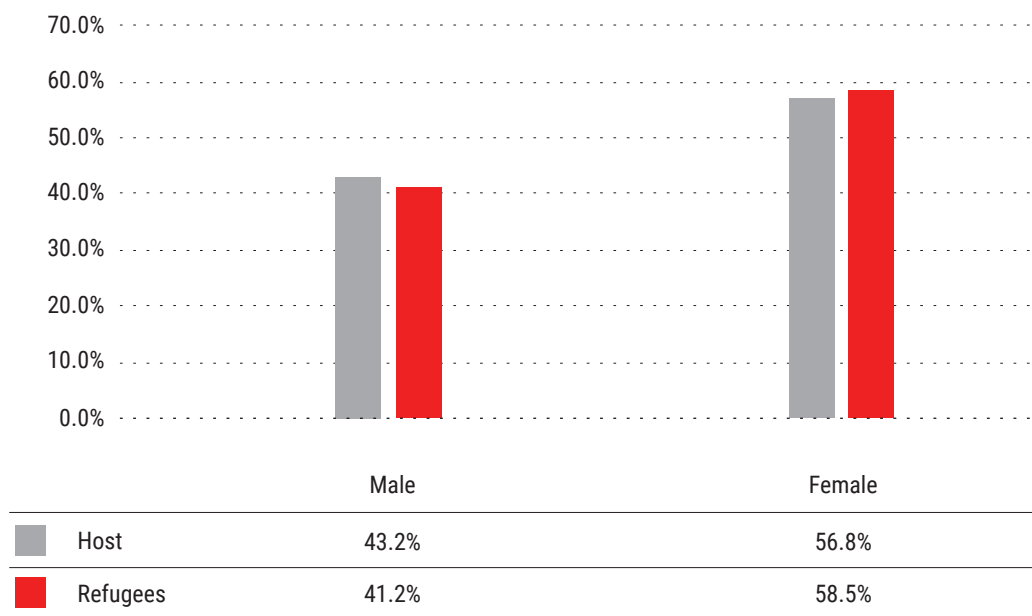
Figure 3.1 Age Cohorts of all Households Sampled by the Survey



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Regarding the gender breakdown of households, the survey showed that refugee households were 41.2% male and 56.5% female. Host community households were found to be 43.2% male and 56.8% female. According to KNBS (2019a),²³ the population of the sub-county of Turkana West is 239,627 persons, comprising of 123,867 males and 115,758 females, with a growth rate of 3.35%. As such, males account for 51.7% of the sub-county’s population, compared to 51.6% across Turkana County. When considering only Turkana’s urban areas, males account for 50.9% of the population.

Figure 3.2 Households Gender Breakdown



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

23 KNBS (2019a). 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census. Vol. II. Distribution of Population by Administrative Units.

High Percentage of Women-Headed Households

The survey indicated that households were predominantly headed by women, including 56.8% of host community households, and 58.5% of refugee households. In comparison, a recent World Bank study showed that women head 56% of Kakuma households, compared to 52% at county level (World Bank, 2019).²⁴ The 2015/16 national integrated household budget survey (KIHBS) indicated that 52.1% of Turkana county households are female-headed (KNBS, 2018).²⁵ The prevalence of female-headed households was also shown in previous studies by UN-Habitat (2016) and Betts et al (2019).²⁶ Among the host community, this may be attributed to the underreporting of male household membership due to migrations in search of pasture or other work-related trips during the survey period. However, further research is required to understand the factors contributing to the dominance of female-headed households in Turkana West, including considerations of how this information can be captured.

The Turkana CIDP II (2018) notes that Turkana is a patriarchal society, but the situation of women and men is not static. Environmental hardships, like drought, have led to a transformation of the socio-cultural and socio-economic organization. For instance, an FGD conducted by UN-Habitat in 2016 around Kalobeyei New Settlement revealed the existence of several female-headed households where male spouses regularly travel with cattle, leaving the women and some of the children behind.

This resulted in a hybrid lifestyle that combines sedentary and nomadic pastoralism. Due to livestock losses, women play an active role to ensure family survival through engagement in diversified income generating activities. The major type of household is a joint family scenario (40%) where both the husband and the wife execute family duties and responsibilities. It is worth noting that in Songot ward, 50% of families are steered by women, while 80% of families in Lokichoggio were headed jointly by both husband and wife. Child-headed households were recorded in Kakuma at 1%.

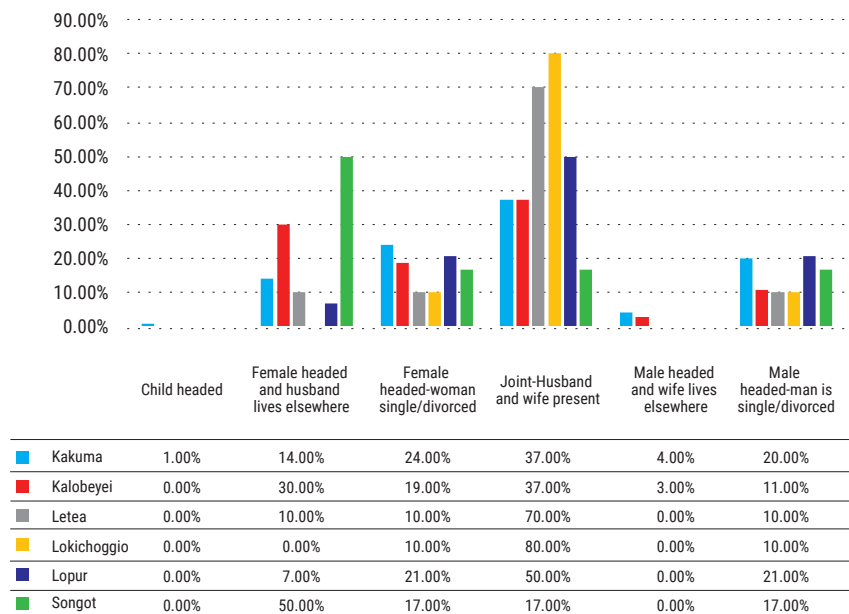
The current Turkana CIDP II (2018-22) notes that women in female-headed households are more vulnerable to poverty than married women in Turkana, as they cannot own livestock unless they have a son or employ a herder who are usually the boys and men. This discrimination makes female-headed households more vulnerable to food insecurity than male-headed households, which may lead to more severe poverty conditions. This was also noted in FGDs conducted with women and mixed groups from the host community for this study. One female participant emphasised that “a Turkana woman has no proper identity and recognition if unmarried” (FGD with Kalobeyei Women Groups).

24 World Bank (2019). Understanding the Socioeconomic Conditions of Refugees in Kenya. Volume A: Kalobeyei Settlement. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/982811613626800238/pdf/Understanding-the-Socioeconomic-Conditions-of-Refugees-in-Kenya-Volume-A-Kalobeyei-Settlement-Results-from-the-2018-Kalobeyei-Socioeconomic-Survey.pdf>

25 KNBS (2018). Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey: Basic Report. Online Access (20/02/21): <http://statistics.knbs.or.ke/nada/index.php/catalog/88/download/745>

26 Betts, Alexander, Omata, Naohiko, Rodgers, Cory, Sterck, Olivier, Stierna, Maria (2019), The Kalobeyei Model: Towards Self-Reliance for Refugees?

Figure 3.3 Household categorisation based on Head of Household

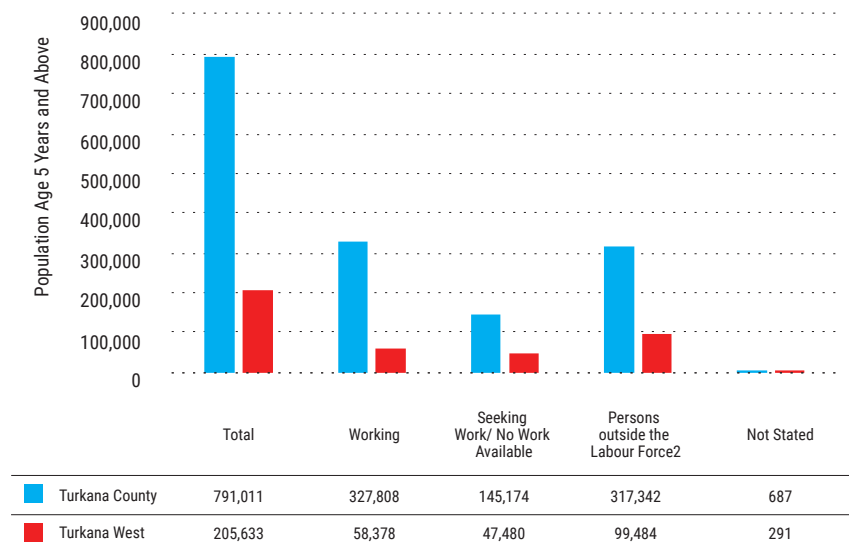


Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Low Incomes and Poverty Challenges

Low incomes of both refugee and host communities are associated with high poverty levels in Turkana West. According to UNHCR and World Bank (2021), “68 percent of refugees in Kakuma and 72 percent of Turkana hosts are poor, and both populations are highly food insecure”. According to the 2019 census, 58,378 members of the host community were actively looking for a job. Households in Turkana were also shown to be the most financially excluded in Kenya (i.e. by formal finance), at 29% (KNBS, 2019d).²⁷ A significant share of the county population comprise of school-going age, which is an indication that in the coming years, the labour age will keep increasing.

Figure 3.4 Distribution of school-going and labour ages by Type of Activity Status

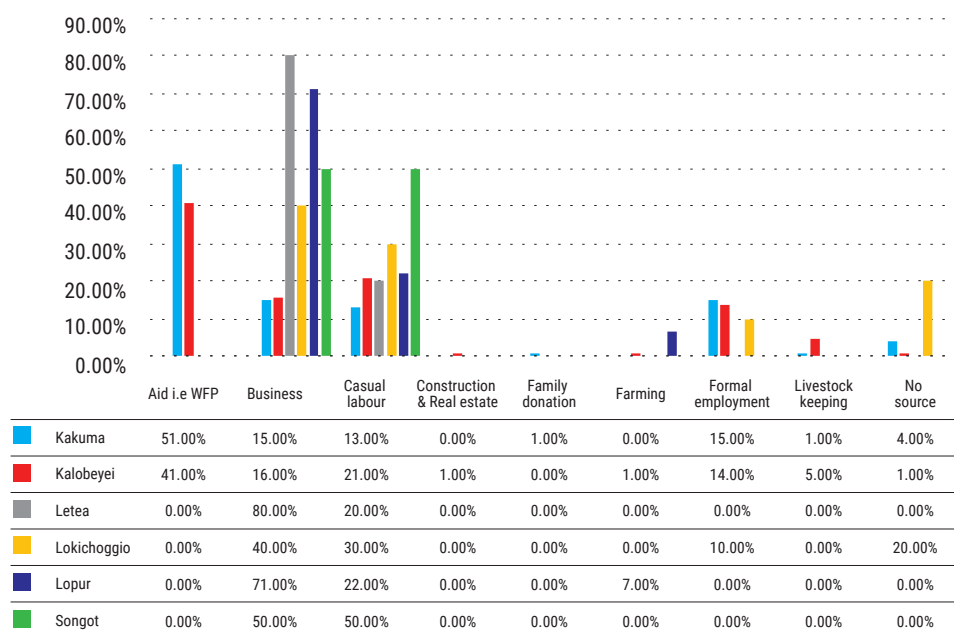


Source: KNBS (2019b).

²⁷ KNBS (2019d). FinAccess Household Survey. Online Access (21/03/21): https://www.knbs.or.ke/?page_id=3142#

The survey established that 45% of households in Turkana West, including both refugee and host community households, engage in some sort of business as a source of income. Some 26% of households engaged in casual labour, while 15% depended on donor aid to support their families, such as through the World Food Program (WFP), Bamba Chakula and Bamba Chapa (through Equity Bank). All refugee households indicated their reliance on humanitarian support, while 75.7% of hosts said that they rely on some form of businesses to generate income, including livestock sales. For refugees, other sources of household incomes included partial employment as incentive workers, construction casual work, family donations, remittances, farming, livestock keeping, and other formal employment. The participation of refugee households in business is supported both internally and externally. Betts et al (2018) explain that in the absence of access to formal banking, refugees' transnational connections and the resulting money transfers are one of the main sources of business finance for refugees in both the camp and urban settings. This is especially common among Somali refugees.

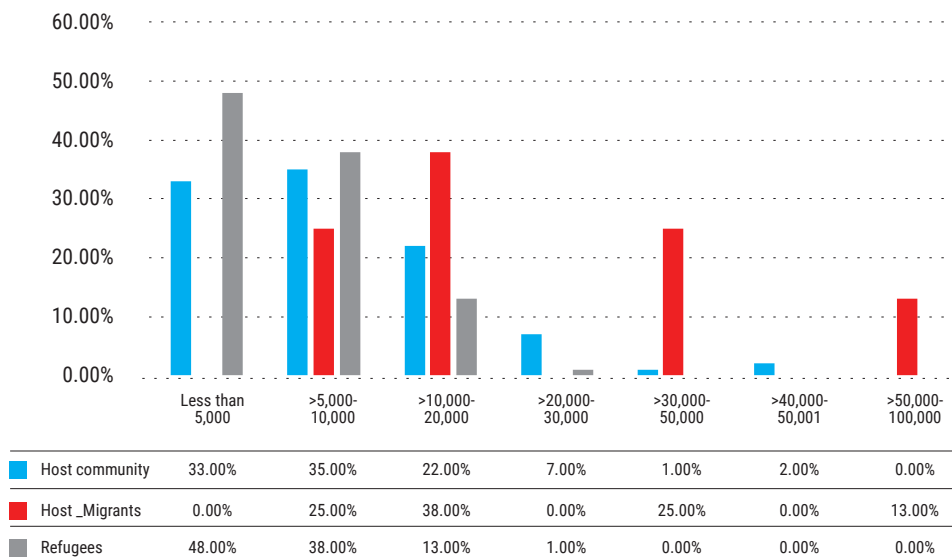
Figure 3.5 Primary Sources of Household Incomes by location



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

The dominant form of formal employment in the region is in the humanitarian-aid sector. This is because many NGOs run their operations from Kakuma-Kalobeyei, offering support primarily to the two refugee camps, while some also support the host community. The income levels in the region are affected by levels of education, the local economy, pastoralism and policy frameworks. Some 41% of households earned a monthly income of less than KES 5,000, with 90% of these households coming from Lopur ward. Only 5% of the households in Turkana West registered a monthly income greater than KES 20,000. The majority (86%) of refugees and host community members (68%) registered a monthly income of less than KES 10,000 whereas 75% of host migrants (who are mainly NGO workers) operated on a monthly income greater than KES 10,000, of which a significant share is spent elsewhere (i.e. outside Turkana West). Only 1% of refugee households and 10% of host community households reported earning a monthly income greater than KES 20,000. The business community highlighted that their businesses was affected by the low purchasing power of the households, as the majority are within the low-income spectrum.

Figure 3.6 Household Monthly Income



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

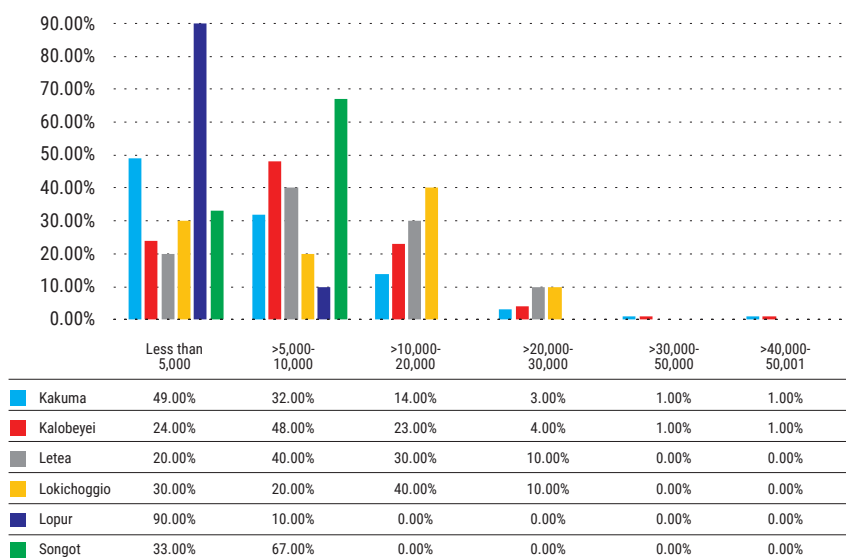
According to UNHCR (2018), 41% of the host community in Turkana West are pastoralists, operating at lower income levels corresponding to the subsistence nature of their activities. The business community has highlighted that livestock trade does not fully benefit households financially, since livestock is kept primarily for subsistence, cultural values such as dowry payment, and as a measure of wealth and social status. Nevertheless, households that attempt to produce commercial stock face production and market-related challenges, as well as other risks such as theft or raids (Oxfam, n.d). Consequently, while there is some potential to enhance financial and economic gains for households, commercial production of livestock remains low.

Low incomes result in low investments, because households are unable to access financial support. The survey shows that in Turkana West financial exclusion is a major problem for households. This means that whatever income households can attain is primarily spent on basic needs. Interventions are needed to promote diversification and enhancement of livelihood enterprises, including supporting value chain systems from which households can extract financial and economic gain. While livestock is an important value chain system for the rural host community, urban settlements and refugee camps would require the promotion of alternative and diversified income generation.

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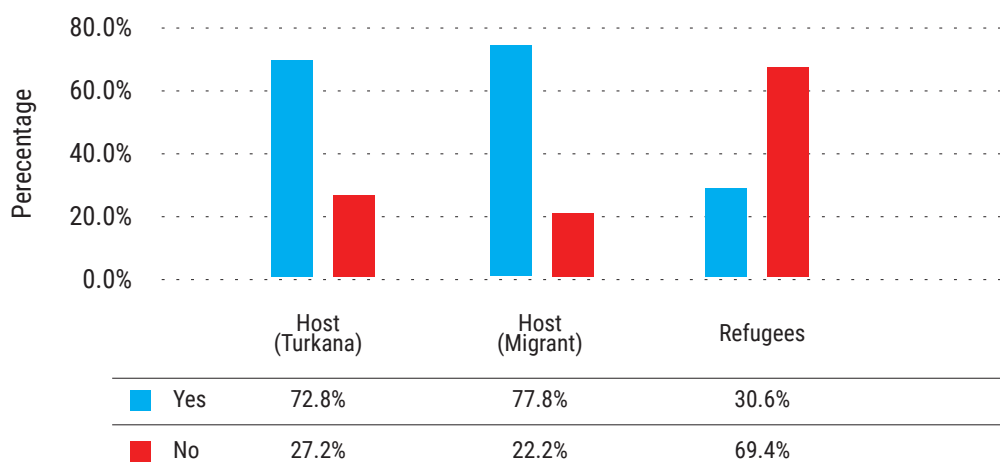
Figure 3.7 Levels of Household Income by location



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

The survey indicated that 46.7% of households' primary source of income was affected by COVID-19 pandemic, with members of the host community who have migrated to the area being the worst hit (77.8%). The Turkana host community were the next most affected (72.8%) followed by refugee households (30.6%).

Figure 3.8 Primary Sources of Income Affected by Covid-19



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

A significant proportion (47%) of households indicated that their financial status remained interrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Of the host community households, 50% reported that their financial status was better before the onset of the pandemic, whereas 55% of the refugee households reported that their financial status remained the same, despite the pandemic. Many refugees during FGDs noted that their primary source of income is humanitarian support, so they were not as negatively affected as the host community, who do not receive such support.

Enhancing Financial Access: The Need for Local Solutions

While formal financial exclusion is a major challenge, several financial service providers have begun operations in the county, including bank branches in Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio towns. The main financial service providers are Equity Bank of Kenya and Kenya Commercial Bank. Ownership of an active bank account in the refugee and host households was 35% and 45% respectively. Both the refugee and host communities enjoy equal access to financial services as various barriers that refugees used to face with regards to opening bank accounts continue to be addressed. However, it is important to note that, in this region, access to loans using land is difficult due to communal land ownership or general lack of collateral. There is a need for financial service providers to design alternative forms of collateral or security for loans to households and businesses. The director of Equity Bank of Kenya in Kakuma town stated that they have customised their loan packages to enable access for both refugees and members of the host community. The two main packages are co-guaranteeing venture and chattels. The co-guaranteeing venture package involves other business-owners or other people with employment co-guaranteeing the loan, while the chattels package involves the registration of household items, such as TVs, electronics, refrigerators and furniture to act as collateral.

Various microfinance service providers such as Faulu Kenya, Kenya Women Finance Trust and the government's Youth and Women Enterprises Fund support those engaging in businesses. IFC also runs the Kakuma Kalobeyei Challenge Fund, which enables enhanced access to finance (International Finance Corporation-IFC, 2021).²⁸

Some NGOs, SACCOs and table banking groups also operate in the sub-county and are important providers of informal financial services in the area. Unfortunately, the rate of defaults is high due to several factors, including inadequate financial management skills and low business capacity against high interest rates, making the servicing of these loans unsustainable. However, several interventions are underway, including offering financial training to potential borrowers, especially if they are a business (KII with Equity Bank Manager, Kakuma).

During KIIs, many traders in the informal sector highlighted that they have limited or no access to capital to expand their businesses. Instead, a credit system is used to obtain goods from suppliers and wholesalers: "Most of us traders get goods on credit. There are those who do partial payments on goods purchase and pay the remainder after selling the goods." (Shop owner in Kakuma camp).

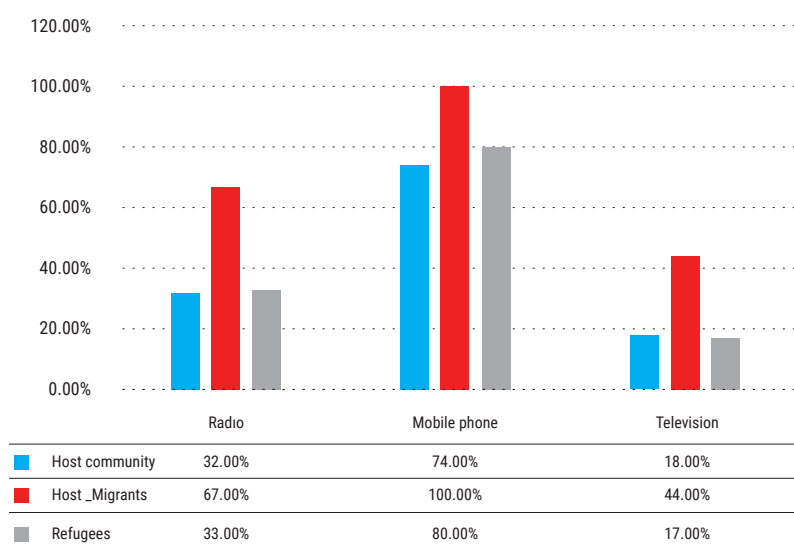
Incomes and Ownership of Household Items

The survey sought to establish how many households own certain items. These include a charcoal stove (63%), plastic cups and plates (77%), a mobile phone (79%), a mattress (80%) and a blanket (60%). Mobile phone ownership is critical in financial remittances. The 2019 census (KNBS, 2019c)²⁹ indicated that mobile phone ownership was still low in Turkana (16.6%) compared to the national rate of ownership (47.3%), and the national rate in urban areas (62.6%). Ownership varied according to gender, with men slightly more likely to own mobile phones at a national level (47.6%, compared to women 47%), in Turkana County (18.0%, compared to women 15.1%), and in Turkana West (15.9% compared to women 13.1%).

28 IFC (2021). The Kakuma Kalobeyei Challenge Fund. Online access (13/03/21): <https://kkcfke.org/>

29 KNBS (2019c). 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census. Vol. IV. Distribution of Population by Socio-economic Characteristics.

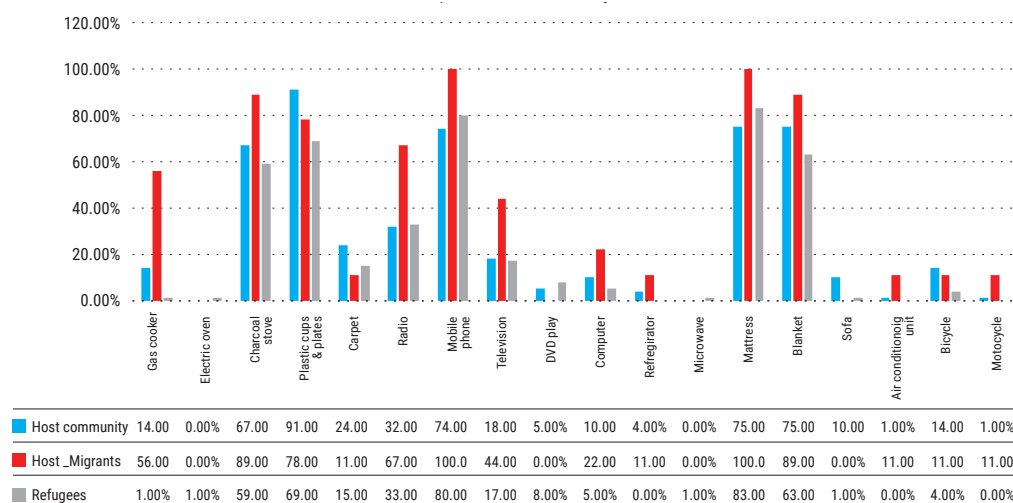
Figure 3.9 Ownership of Select Household Items-refugees and host community



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Overall, there was no significant difference in the rate of ownership of basic household items such as cups, plates and mattresses. However, there were noticeable differences for other items such as gas cookers and motorbikes.

Figure 3.10 Community ownership of Select Household Items



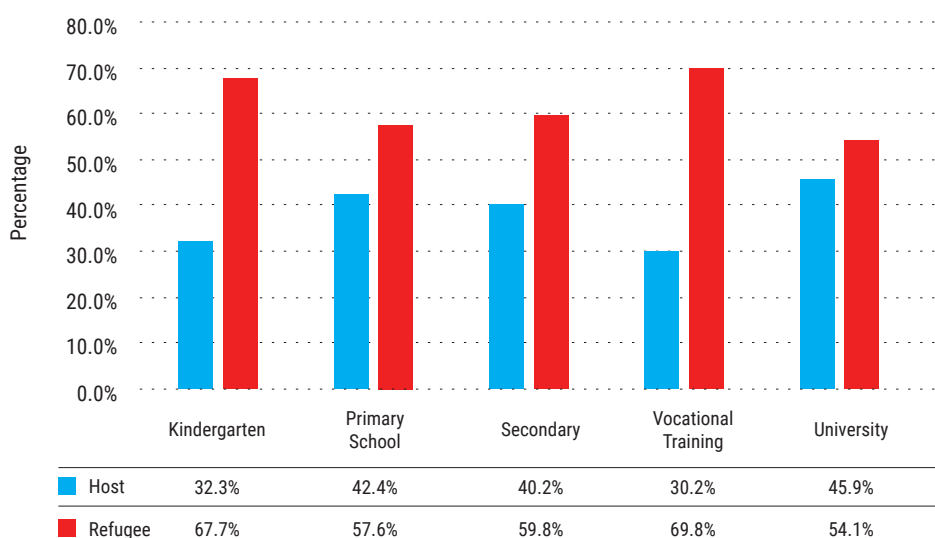
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Items commonly present in refugee households include: a charcoal stove (59%), a blanket (63%), plastic cups and plates (69%), a mobile phone (80%) and a mattress (83%). These figures differ somewhat from host community households: a charcoal stove (67%), a blanket (75%), plastic cups and plates (91%), a mobile phone (74%) and a mattress (75%). Host migrant households commonly included: a gas cooker (56%), a radio (67%), a mobile phone (74%), plastic cups and plates (78%), a charcoal stove (89%), a blanket (89%), and a mattress (100%). Overall, host migrants' living conditions were often better since they had mostly migrated to the region to provide skilled labour or pursue employment opportunities.

Transition Rates and Levels of Education

Turkana West Sub-County registers a relatively low literacy level for both refugees and host community. Overall, the survey found that a sizeable proportion (36%) of respondents lacked formal schooling, with only 15% having pursued a post-secondary education. This is attributed to the pastoralist culture of the host community and the refugee status of residents (i.e. coming from conflict areas). According to the Turkana CIDP II (2018-2022), school attendance rates in Turkana County are 39%, which is drastically lower than the national target of 70.9% (Government of Kenya, 2018). It also highlights the county's high deprivation rate of 50% in education. This indicates a shortage of technical skills and training, which can undermine active participation in certain economic and development activities in the county.

Figure 3.11 Comparative Education Access



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Generally, the study findings indicate good education access for the refugee community at all levels. Indeed, the World Bank (2021) noted that access to education is worse among the host community in Turkana West, compared to the refugee community. The findings also show that the teacher-student ratio in Turkana West is 1:70, compared to the recommended ratio of 1:45 by Kenya's Ministry of Education. This contributes to the sub-county's poor performance in education. Additionally, the survey findings indicate that transition rates among the host population were low, with ECDE to primary at 57%, primary to secondary at 98%, and secondary to college at 27%. Overall, the low transition rates were attributed to poverty, accessibility, insecurity, child labour and cultural practices that act as barrier to education. Some of the regions where access to education is strained include Lokipoto, Nawountos, Nadapal, Kangitesiro, Oropoi, Kaenyangaluk, Loritit, Lodakach and Nanaam. While access to schools in urbanized areas such as Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio were good compared with other areas, most schools in these areas faced the challenge of class congestion.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Schools in Turkana West Sub-County

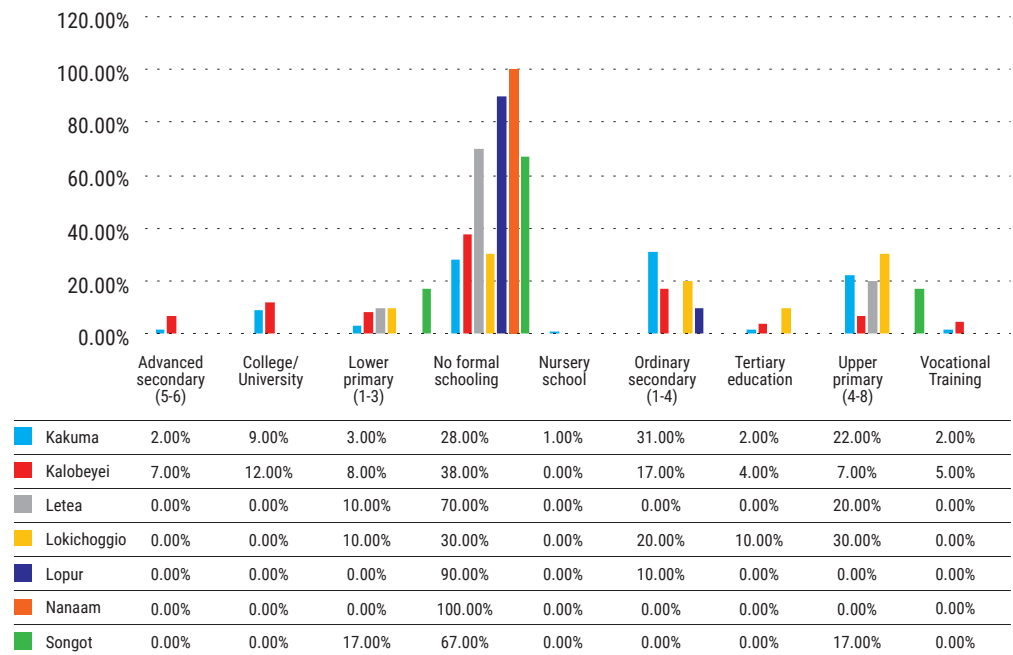
Number of Schools	Kakuma	Kalobeyei	Letea	Lopur	Nanaam	Lokichoggio	Songot
ECDE	31	13	10	13	8	10	15
Primary	23	7	5	10	6	4	8
Secondary	3	1	0	1	1	1	1
Tertiary (Specify Type)	2[vocational]	1[vocational]	0	0	0	0	0
TVET	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	59	22	15	24	15	15	24

Source: Education Officer, Turkana West Sub-county



© UN-Habitat, Dream Magical Studio

Figure 3.12 General Level of Education in Turkana West Sub-County



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

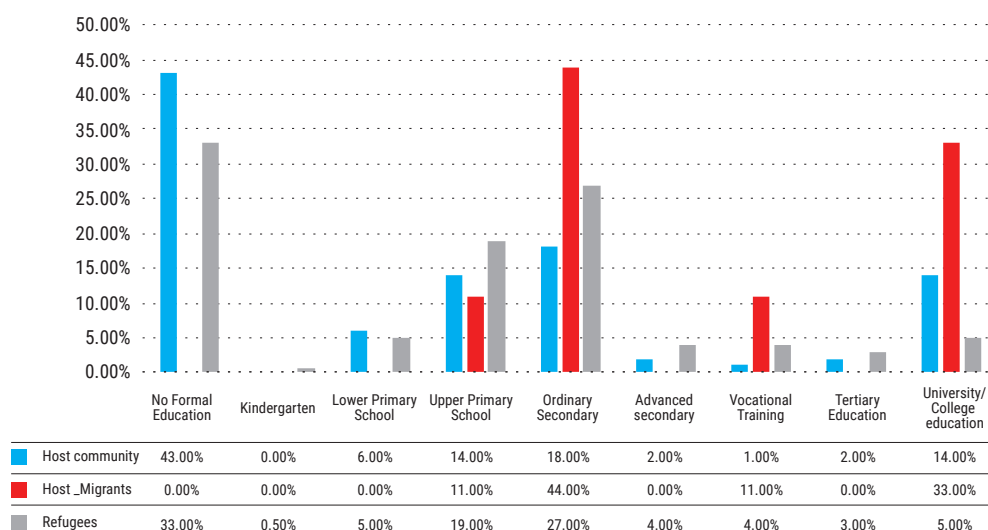
Low Transition Rates Linked to Inadequate Skills

While refugees have relatively better access to higher levels of education than the host community, overall education attainment remains low. In Kakuma, 9% of respondents reported attaining a college or university level education, while in Kalobeyei the figure was 12%. This was attributed refugees’ better access to education, as well as the presence in these locations of migrant host communities, who work with various organizations in the humanitarian and public sectors. During FGDs with refugees, several noted that some refugees were college or university graduates and were working with humanitarian organizations as incentive workers in Kakuma and Kalobeyei settlements.

The training opportunities for refugees and host community members are similar, including carpentry, masonry, electrician, mechanic, driving, hair and beauty therapy, entrepreneurship,

transport and *bodaboda* businesses, small scale gardening and kitchen gardening. In Turkana West there are tertiary institutions, including the Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST) Kakuma satellite campus in Kakuma-Kalobeyei. However, the low transition between primary and secondary levels limits the optimum use of these facilities. Other factors discourage enrolment, such as the affordability and range of programs offered vis-à-vis the diversity needed to attract more youth. During the ward administrators’ FGDs, participants highlighted that refugees enjoyed more access to training opportunities supported by various humanitarian organizations compared to the host community, leading to higher transition rates among refugees. It was also noted that some youth from more rural wards aspire to live and work in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei area due to perceived better services and opportunities for self-development.

Figure 3.13 Community Level of Education



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

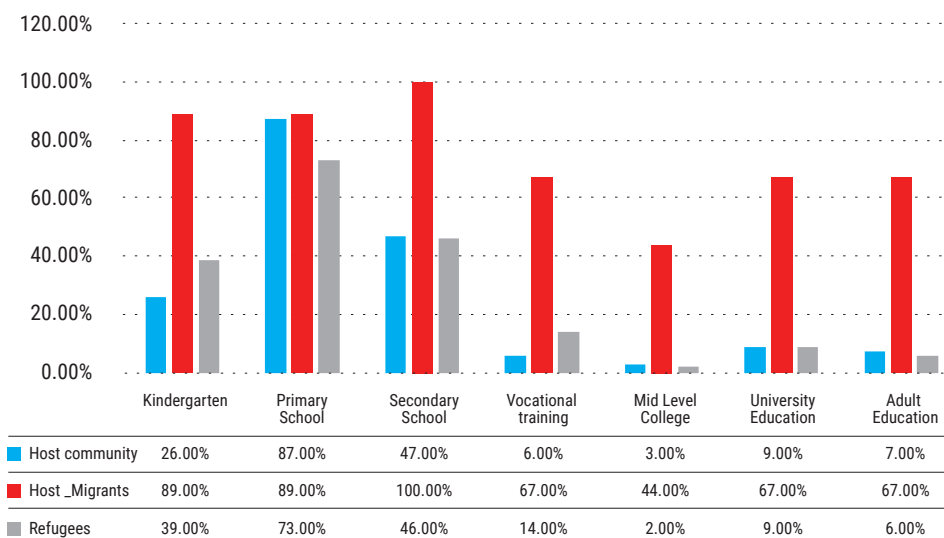
The study revealed that 33% of refugees and 43% of host community members had never attended any formal schooling. At county level this proportion is higher, with data indicating that 68.8% of county residents were illiterate (KNBS 2019a). Conversely, most of the host migrant community had achieved an ordinary secondary (44%) or university education (33%). This shortage of skills among the local labour force disadvantages their access to certain jobs generated by the humanitarian-aid-driven local economy. Recruitment for these jobs is primarily sourced elsewhere, which means a significant share of those incomes are spent outside Turkana West, compounding the low levels of investment in the area. At the same time, this indicates the possibility of in-migration linked to access to opportunities that require a higher level of education or technical capacity. Participants at the host community FGD revealed that they are increasingly embracing formal education with the hope that upcoming generations will be able to pursue alternative livelihood strategies. This has been prompted by dwindling returns from livestock, as well as climate change concerns about droughts and the resulting loss of herds. However, for

meaningful socio-economic transformation to occur, this shift by the host community to alternative livelihood enterprises, including improved livestock production, will only be realised if underpinned by sufficient investment. Currently, the informal economy is characterised by low-income generating Micro and Small-Scale Enterprises (MSMEs) as the main form of business, and continues to face significant challenges.

Uneven Spatial Distribution and Accessibility of Education Facilities

A majority of households (78%) reported adequate access to primary education services, while 48% said the same for secondary education. The majority of the residents of Letea, Lopur and Songot ward stated that they had adequate access to primary education services, despite the remote nature of the wards. Outside of Kakuma and Kalobeyei, there are no vocational training centres, mid-level colleges, university education or adult education institutions in Turkana West. This is because most service providers, especially NGOs, have focused on the Kakuma-Kalobeyei cluster.

Figure 3.14 Comparative Access to Educational Infrastructure by Community

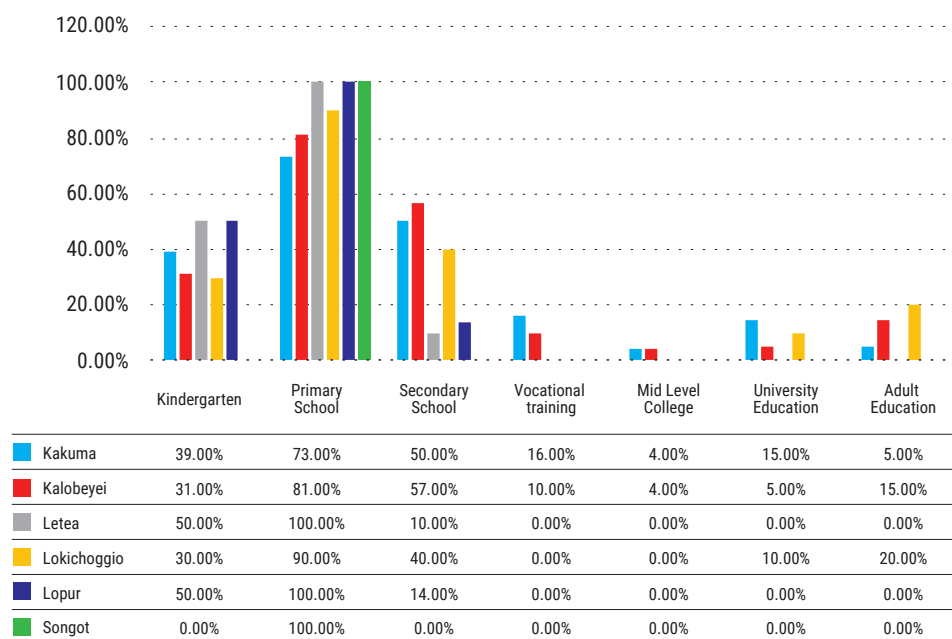


Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

A sizeable proportion (43%) of the households felt the education service provision in Turkana West had not changed in the last five years. The sub-county education officer stated that there have been positive impacts in the education sector with the establishment of the Kalobeyi New Settlement. He noted that the establishment of more schools in Kalobeyi (six primary schools and two secondary schools) has benefitted host community children residing near the Kalobeyi settlements, and the refugee community within the settlements. This is likely to accelerate the integration of the host-refugee community, as anticipated in the original settlement plan. However, certain barriers need to be addressed to enhance this greater integration of refugee-host community through schools. Such barriers include lack of inclusion in the provision of education incentives. For instance, children from the host community require support with school supplies (uniform, food, stationary etc) – just like

their counterparts from refugee communities. Many host community children are from poor backgrounds – families struggling with basic needs that cannot afford school supplies even when access to these facilities is free (i.e. without paying school fees). It was noted that 98% of students accessed school facilities by walking, although distances varied significantly for refugees and host community members. Refugee students had comparatively better access to education facilities because of their geographic concentration within settlements, adding to their better access overall. For education facilities located in the host community, several issues were raised by households, ward administrators and the sub-county’s education officer, included understaffing, overcrowding, inadequate schools in marginalised areas, declining interest in education in some parts of the sub-county and insecurity leading to underusage of some facilities.

Figure 3.15 Comparative Access to Educational Infrastructure



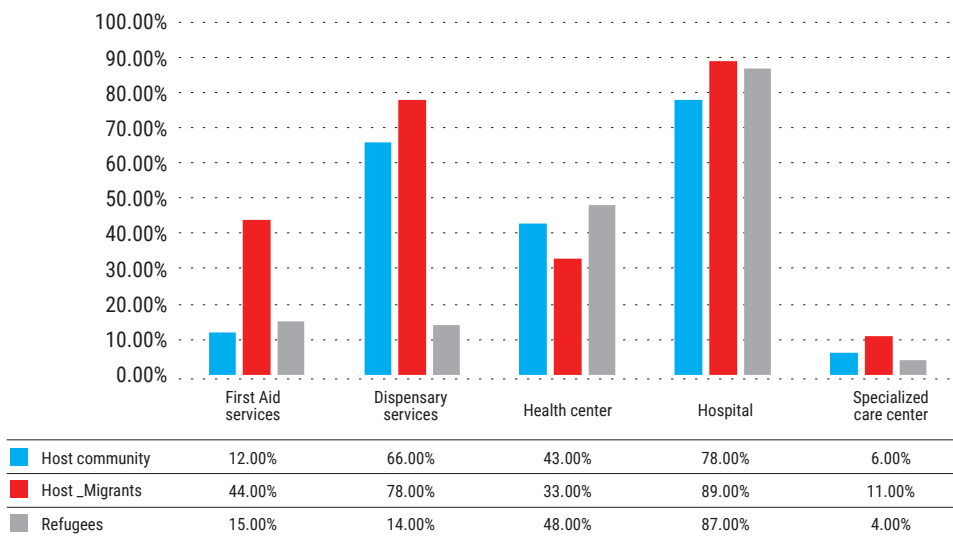
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Improving Access to Healthcare Services but Significant Challenges Exist

The survey noted the existence of continued investments in enhancing healthcare services, with health facilities in Turkana West providing a range of basic services including: maternity, health and reproduction (MHR); treatment for human immuno-deficiency virus (HIV) and tuberculosis (TB); nutritional services; and primary healthcare (PHC). Most facilities are located in refugee settlements, with 86% of the households indicating that they had good access to basic health services, though variations exist across refugee and host communities, as well as locations. However, specialised healthcare remains

a major challenge for both the refugee and host community populations, as such services are not available locally, requiring costly travel to major cities. While support organizations can arrange for air transport from Kakuma airstrip for refugees, travel to major towns is more problematic for the host community due to poor transportation services. However, the recent reconstruction of the A1 road will make travel easier, thereby improving access. The provision of health services is facilitated by the county government and NGOs including faith-based organizations.

Figure 3.16 Comparative Access to Health Services



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

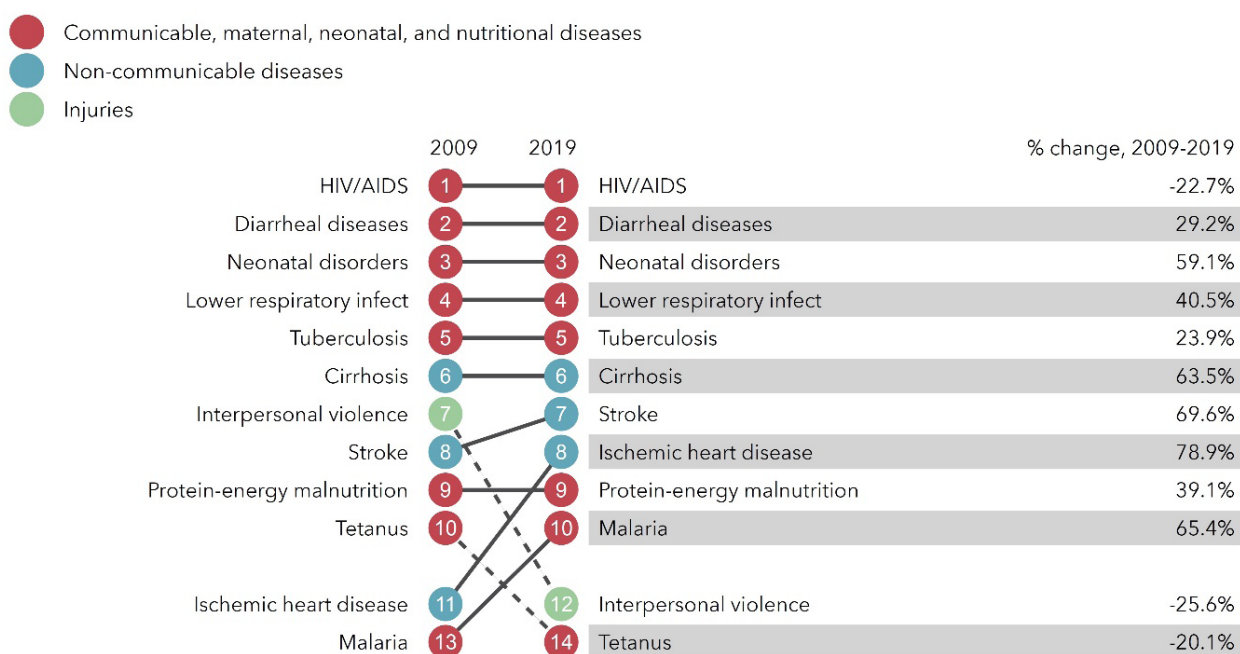
Of the households surveyed, 42% described health service provision as the same over the last five years. Most health services at various hierarchies were rendered free of charge to both host and refugee communities. Nevertheless, in wards hosting refugees, the refugees had better experience in terms of better healthcare and referrals compared to the host community. However, host community members from other parts of the country registered adequate local access to health facilities, though they complained that this often required travelling long distances.



Health Facilities in Kakuma-Kalobeyi. © UN-Habitat

Common diseases affecting the population include cholera, typhoid, malaria, and diarrhoea. Indeed, these diseases are associated with the most deaths in the county and are linked to poor hygiene (i.e. water and sanitation) and malnutrition issues (Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation, 2020).³⁰ Other sections of this report will discuss how access to improved water and sanitation services is a major challenge for Turkana West and the county. All households in Lopur and Songot wards highlighted that they had local access to dispensary services, however only 5% had reliable access to specialised healthcare such as eye clinics. Walking is the primary means of transport to access health facilities for both the refugee and host households, although the host community primarily use motorbikes to access higher level health centres that are further away. Less than 5% accessed health facilities using public transport. The poor road and mobility network in rural areas places an additional burden on the host community. It was also reported that vandalism and destruction of facilities has occurred during conflicts, which was a major set-back to sustaining facilities in some wards (FGD with Ward Admins).

Figure 3.17 Causes of Most Deaths in Turkana County



Source: Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (2020). <http://www.healthdata.org/kenya-turkana>

The overwhelming majority of respondents registered convenient access to hospital services, including 88.6% of refugees, 88.9% of migrant hosts (Kenians from other counties outside Turkana), and 79% of Turkana hosts, while access to specialised care centres was notably low. The major concerns raised in FGDs with health service providers and ward administrators were the distances to access health services, insecurity, and the limited capacity of facilities (i.e. the number of available personnel, functional or operational equipment etc). In an FGD with refugees, it was noted that, though medical services are free, there were emerging concerns about quality of those services.

30 Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (2020). Kenya-Turkana. Accessed 02/07/2021 on: <http://www.healthdata.org/kenya-turkana>

Following the COVID-19 pandemic, health conditions deteriorated because of patients' fear of visiting health facilities, according to the health officer at Kakuma Mission Hospital. This mostly affected refugees in crowded settlements, particularly women and the elderly. During interviews, health officers noted that women within the age cohort of 14-29 were especially at risk of exposure to COVID-19 because the nature of their typical daily tasks means that they interact with many people, including going to markets or fetching water.

Mental health issues were also found to be significant in the community. A significant mental stressor among the Turkana host population was getting a job (48.9%), whereas this number was 7.5% for migrant hosts. Among the refugees, the primary mental stressors are not knowing where family or friends are (90%), as well as the feeling of being trapped and the need to get out of camp (100%). The findings are similar to a previous study by Golden (2017) that still found refugees being worried more about their long-term stability. Indeed, these related findings, albeit their different times when the studies were conducted, have one thing in common, which is the fact long-term solutions for refugees in Turkana West remain uncertain. In fact, after this survey, in April 2021, Kenya government announced plans to close all refugee camps in the country (Aljazeera, 2021)³¹, a move that can be termed as an opportunity to provide long-lasting solution or a can become another factor contributing to the prevailing uncertainties if not tied to such solutions.

Table 3.2 Comparative Significant Mental Stressors in Turkana West Sub-County

Mental Stressors	Host (Turkana)	Host (Migrant)	Refugees	Total
Hopelessness/Uncertainty about the future	40.3%	2.0%	57.7%	100.0%
Grief from loss of loved ones	13.2%	2.6%	84.2%	100.0%
Not Knowing where family/friends are now	7.5%	2.5%	90.0%	100.0%
Worries about people back at home	7.1%	7.1%	85.8%	100.0%
Illness, health or disability	36.9%	4.9%	58.2%	100.0%
Getting food, shelter or clothes	43.1%	3.8%	53.1%	100.0%
Getting education	44.6%	2.4%	53.0%	100.0%
Getting job	48.9%	7.5%	43.6%	100.0%
Getting out of Camp	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

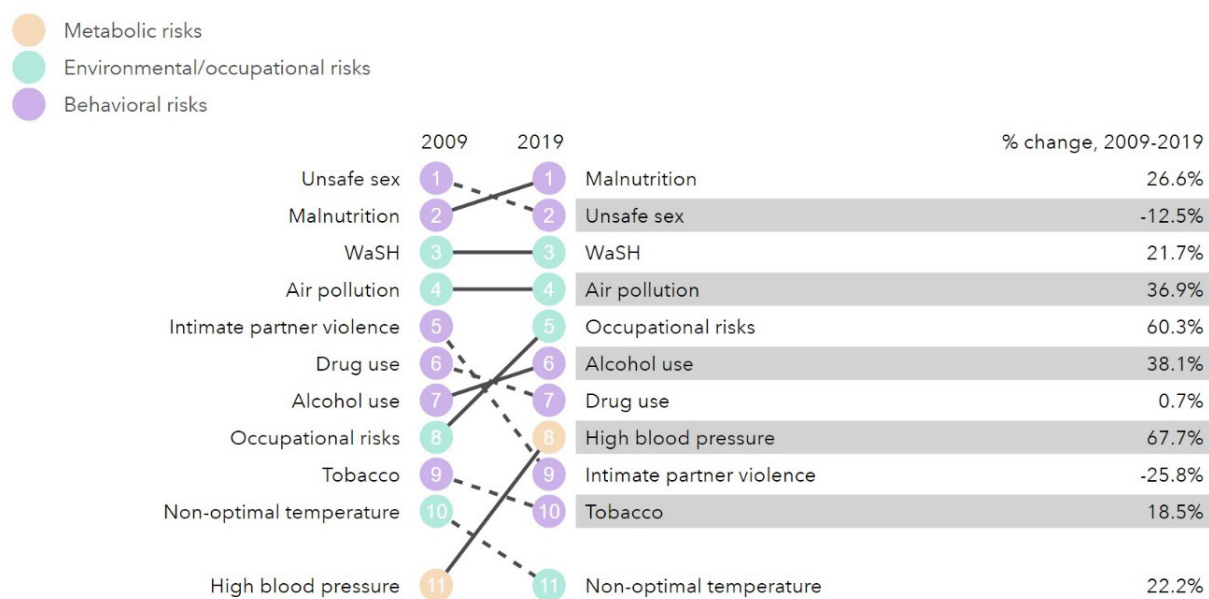
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020*

Health conditions for the Turkana West population can be fundamentally improved if interventions address the inadequacy of healthcare services, while also addressing the risk factors that contribute to illness and loss of life. The Kenya 2019 census data for the county indicates that poor hygiene, poor nutrition, poverty, and low education levels are among the leading risk factors.

Accessibility to healthcare facilities was also highlighted as a major challenge, especially for wards that are far from the main A1 road and main urban centres. When asked about the accessibility of health centres, the administrator for Nanaam ward commented, "There are only two healthcare centres which are around 25km apart – one is in Lopiding and [the other is] Nanaam health centre."

31 Aljazeera (29 April 2021). Kenya says Dadaab, Kakuma refugee camps to close next year. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/29/kenya-says-dadaab-kakuma-refugee-camps-to-close-next-year>

Figure 3.18 Risk factors cause the most death and disability



Source: Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (2020). <http://www.healthdata.org/kenya-turkana>

Reliance on Externally Sourced Food

Turkana West relies heavily on externally sourced or produced food, except for red meat. Findings indicate that some of the common foods include *ugali* (maize meal), rice and *githeri* (a mixture of maize and beans). The most preferred food among households is *ugali*. A majority (65%) of households purchase their food from the available public market and shopping areas near their residences. A sizeable portion (22%) of refugees' households indicated they source some of their food from WFP distribution centres. Additionally, 41% of households sourced most of their goods from Kakuma. Other sources also included Lokichoggio, Lodwar, Eldoret, Kitale and Maralal town. During FGDs with refugees, it was noted that the Bamba Chakula cash transfer programme, run by the WFP, was not adequate to support refugees' food needs, prompting them to seek other ways to supplement this.

Table 3.3 Markets and Areas of Goods Purchase

Location	Markets
Kakuma Town	Soko Mjinga, Panda Mti Market, Kakuma Town Modern Market
Kakuma Camp	Somali Market, Street Market, Bantu Market, Lizauwa Market, Nabek Market and WFP food distribution centres
Kalobeyei Town	Kalobeyei Market
Kalobeyei Camp	Natukobenyo Fresh Produce Market, Tumaini Fresh Produce Market
Lokichoggio	Lokichoggio Fresh Produce and Livestock Market and town centre
Letea	Letea Market Centre
Lopur	Lopur Market Centre
Nanaam	Burundian Market
Songot	Lokudule, Nakurum and Naposta Market

Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

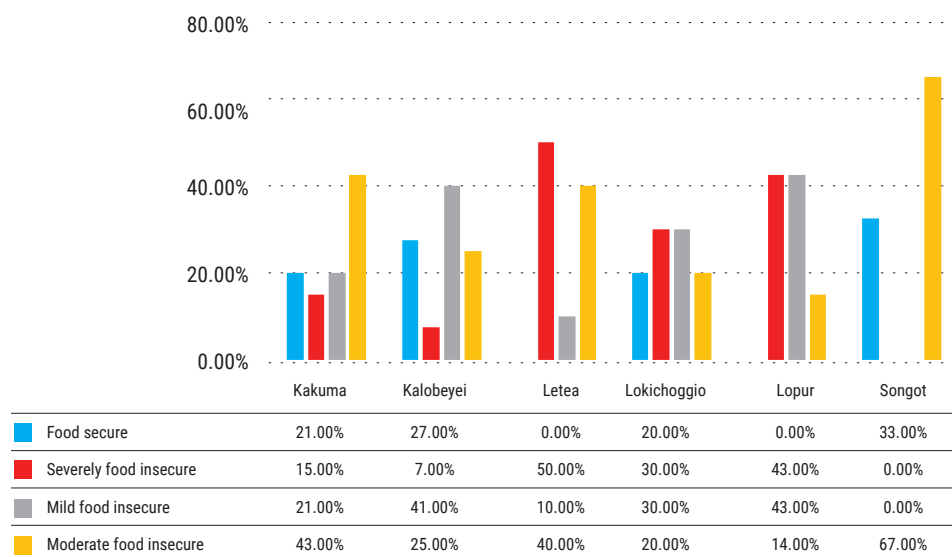
The average monthly household expenditure on food across Turkana West Sub-County is KES 4,082. A refugee spends an average of KES 4,015 on food per month, while a migrant host would spend KES 6,044, and a Turkana host would spend KES 2,187. Expenditure on food by refugee households is almost twice that of the host community households. This is partly because the host community can undertake subsistence farming and livestock keeping, unlike refugees who are limited by restrictions and space challenges, among other factors. Additionally, 35% of the households admitted having missed or skipped a meal or two in the past two weeks due to lack of food in the household. Lunch was the

meal most frequently missed for both refugees (69%) and the host community (67%). At a community level, 18% of refugees and 26% of the host community were food insecure, however 41% of the refugees and 21% of the host community were severely food insecure. Moderate food insecurity was reported by 36% of households surveyed (i.e. refugees and host community combined). More rural wards seemed to have higher risks of food insecurity. For example, in Letea, 50% of the households reported having severe food insecurity. Nevertheless, Kakuma and Kalobeyei wards also recorded high levels of food insecurity despite the support from the WFP and other agencies.



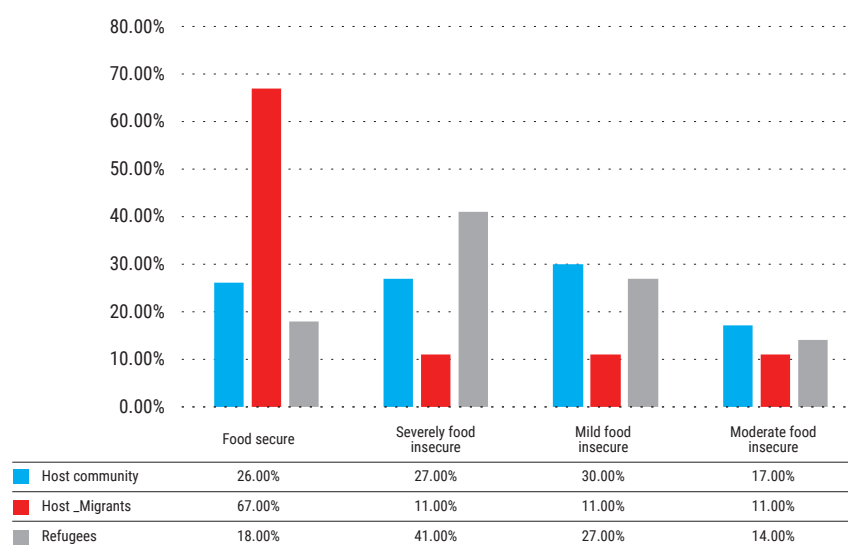
Aerial View of Kakuma Refugee Camp 4, Kakuma, Kenya. © UN-Habitat, Dream Magical Studio

Figure 3.19 Household Own Assessment of Food Security by Location-refugees and host community



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Figure 3.20 Household Own Assessment of Food Security by Location



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Survey findings indicate that 43% of overall households had their preferred foods readily accessible from nearby market centres and trading points. Of these households, 40% were refugees and 56% were from the host community. Challenges relating to food are attributed to several factors including the scarcity or unavailability of food in the markets, high food prices compared to low incomes, lack of relief services in some locations, and poor road networks constraining food supply chains to parts of the sub-county. When asked about how the COVID-19 pandemic had most affected them economically, 60% of households pointed to the deterioration of the food situation. The survey indicated that 46% of the households are reducing their daily food consumption in response to food insecurity, while many others are engaging in additional economic activities to increase their household income.

Approximately 35% of households were dependent on humanitarian assistance. The report showed that female-headed households are most severely affected by food insecurity due to cultural barriers, limited income opportunities for women, and the fact that many women have little to no formal education.

Food prices were recorded to be highest in Kalobeyei town compared to other major urban areas in Turkana West. During the FGD with the host community, participants did not know why food was comparatively expensive there, but some attributed this to booming business at the new settlement, leading to speculative pricing

linked to improved cash flow in the area. This requires further investigation. Although most of the food that comes into Turkana West is from Kitale (Trans Nzoia County), it was also noted that some refugees from Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were engaging in small-scale food gardening. Within the host community, there are also some households practicing small-scale crop farming, though they are limited by water scarcity, among other challenges. While this suggests the potential for agriculture in the area, it would need to be supported by an irrigation programme to facilitate higher production and reliability.



Abattoir in Kakuma, Kenya. © UN-Habitat, Dream Magical Studio

Other processed food items, such as bread, salt and sugar, were sourced from suppliers in Eldoret or Kitale. These items may be imported then transported from the port in Mombasa, or produced by factories in the Nakuru or Nairobi areas. During FGDs, it was noted that some food items came through the porous border with Uganda, and that these items were cheaper than the those produced in Kenya. Fish were sourced from Kalokol Fish Market (Turkana County), as well as from farms in Kitale and Kisumu on Lake Victoria. According to WFP (2020),³² availability and supply of regular food commodities and fresh produce remained relatively stable in Lodwar, with potatoes and tomatoes recording an increase in supply in the markets. Local farmers continue to supply Lodwar markets with indigenous vegetables, watermelons and pawpaw.

Table 3.4 Food Prices in Different Locations

Item	Unit	Price and Location				
		Lokichoggio Town	Kalobeyei Town	Kalobeyei Camp	Kakuma Town	Kakuma Camp
Cabbage	per piece	KES 40	KES 200	KES 100	KES100	KES70
Tomatoes	per piece	KES 10	KES 10	KES 150	KES150	KES15
Kales	Bunch	KES 10	KES 20	KES 30	KES80	KES10
Goat Meat	Kg	KES 500	KES 560	KES 500	KES500	KES500
Beef	Kg	KES 400	KES 480	KES 450	KES450	KES400
Camel Meat	Kg	-	-	-	KES500	-
Maize	Kg	KES 30	KES 130	KES 100	KES100	KES60
Beans	Kg	KES 50	KES 80	KES 120	KES120	KES70
Sorghum	Kg	KES 40	-	-	-	-
Sugar	Kg	KES 60	KES 120	KES 50	KES120	KES130
Maize floor	Kg	KES 50	KES 90	KES 60	KES50	KES100
Wheat floor	Kg	KES 60	KES 80	KES 70	KES80	KES100
Milk	Litre	KES 40	KES 100	-	KES50	KES50
Cooking Oil	Litre	KES 60	KES 180	KES 50	KES150	KES150

Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

According to UNHCR and World Bank (2021), food insecurity is a major threat in Turkana for both refugees and the host community, especially during drought or reduced rainfall. Given that much of Kakuma-Kalobeyei's food supply is purchased from Kitale and other areas and resold locally, the risk of food insecurity is compounded by the prevailing conditions of low income and poverty. An agricultural sector expert commented that food insecurity in the sub-county has led to malnutrition, but value chain promotions and programmes would improve the situation in the region. Some potential major enterprises to redress food insecurity include agro-based value chains such as sorghum, cowpeas, green grammes, as well as livestock value chains such as meat, hides and skins. It is important to consider how these agricultural activities can be promoted through policy and fiscal support to address food security and enhance income levels in the area.

32 WFP (2020). COVID-19 SUPPLY CHAIN AND MARKETS UPDATE <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WFP%20Kenya%20COVID-19%20Supply%20Chain%20and%20Markets%20Report%208%20November%202020.pdf>

The head of the agricultural department in Turkana West stated: "Agriculture has the potential to enhance food security and the local economy. In Turkana West there are several seasonal rivers with farms on their banks. There is potential to exceed this and commercialize agriculture. We could even export agricultural produce to other counties. But we need to finance and skills on water harvesting and irrigated agriculture."

Communication and Mobility

Compared to other parts of the region, Turkana West has relatively poor communication infrastructure. The main urban centres of Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio have the most improved network coverage, mainly provided by Safaricom. Network connectivity strength fluctuates depending on the location, but mobile network coverage is stable in most towns along the Turkana West corridor, including Kakuma town, Kalobeyei centre and Lokichoggio. The majority (79%) of households possess a mobile phone, but low ownership was reported in Lopur and Songot. Ownership of mobile phones among

the refugee and host communities was fairly high (80% and 74% respectively). Mobile phone services are crucial in Kenya, as they have significantly facilitated financial inclusion through mobile banking and money transfer services, e.g. Mpesa and Airtel Money.

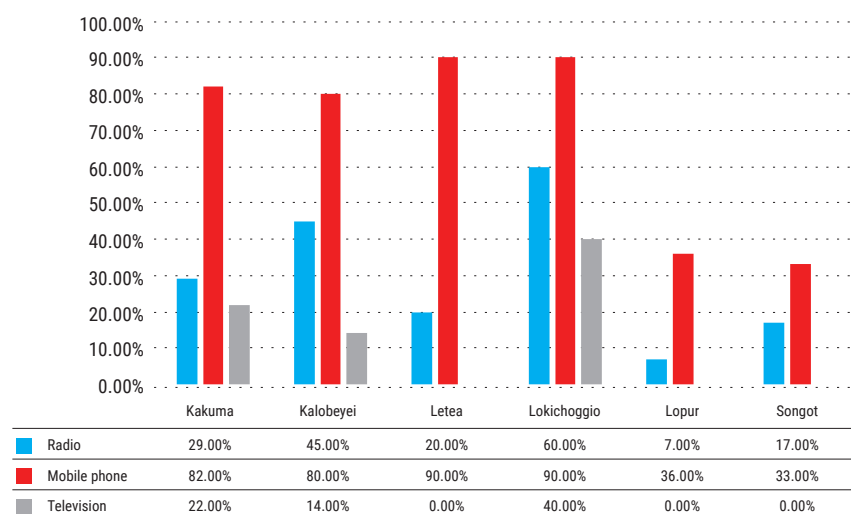
Only 17% of refugees and 18% of the host community own a television, while 34% of overall households own a radio. These low numbers are attributed to low-income levels and poor electricity distribution in the area. However, it was also noted that mobile phones are not only used for communication, but also as a radio to listen and to access news and entertainment.

Communication is also regarded as a key to promoting security, especially among pastoral communities. During an FGD, the ward administrator for Kakuma mentioned that, "one big challenge we have is communication, especially the mobile operator infrastructure. This infrastructure is rarely constructed in the rural-pastoral areas. This poor communication connectivity has also contributed to challenges in managing security of the area."



Communication Infrastructure in Kakuma-Kalobeyei. © Baraka Mwau

Figure 3.21 Ownership of Mobile Phones by location-refugees and host community



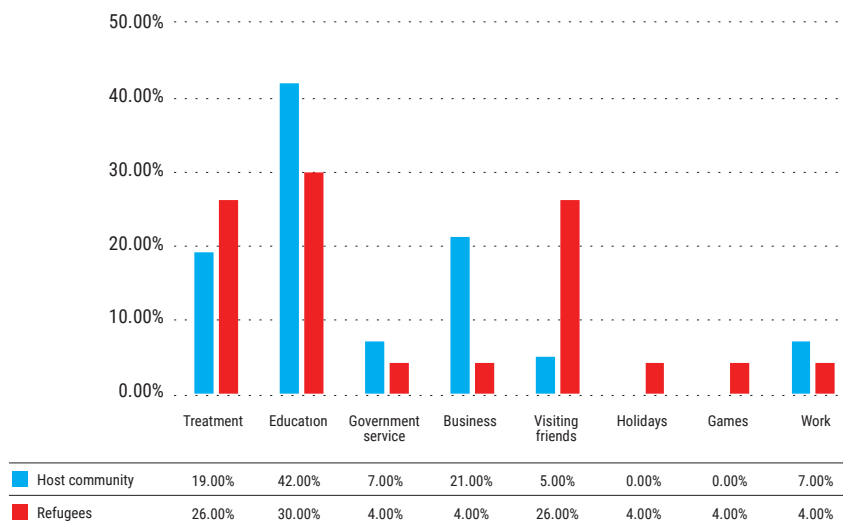
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

In terms of mobility, 56% of all trips undertaken by household members were for work, income, or education purposes, while trips for healthcare constituted 20% of journeys. Therefore, commercial centres, employment areas, health facilities and education centres were the major destinations in the region. Other common trips include to government offices (13%), business trips and trade (10%), visiting friends and relatives (10%), holidays (1%) and games (1%). The major purpose for trips made in the sub-county was education-related commitments, registered at 30% for refugees and 42% for the host community.

Walking is the major mode of transport for people accessing employment areas, market areas, and health and education facilities, while cycling is also common. In terms of transporting goods,

the business community noted that lorries and pickups were used, particularly when moving goods from outside the county. In areas where vehicular access is impossible due to bad roads, motorbikes (*boda boda*) are essential. Taking animals for grazing and watering is common among the host community, but this is classified as a work trip. Urban and market centres, such as Lokichoggio, Kalobeyei and Kakuma, were found to be the major destinations for work and shopping-related trips. Trips outside the sub-county, e.g. to Lodwar or Kitale, were mostly work or business related, and were rarely undertaken by most households due to prohibitive costs. A return trip to Lodwar using public transport costs KES 1,000.

Figure 3.22 Purpose of Trips



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Refugee-Host Community Relations

The presence of refugee settlements in the sub-county has significantly impacted the area’s socio-economic character, with various positive and negative narratives emerging (UNHCR and World Bank, 2018). Similar findings were apparent in this study. Among the host community 71% of households attributed their socio-economic connections and networks to the physical presence of the refugee settlements. Conflicts between refugees and the host community have been reported in relation to resource competition, underlying tensions caused by certain narratives of ‘us versus them’ as well as perceptions of unfair treatment and lack of inclusivity in the delivery of humanitarian assistance. While conflicts between refugees and the host community seem to be improving, 47% of households in Kakuma, and 45% in Kalobeyei, attributed incidents of conflict to decreasing resources. One participant in a ward administrators’ FGD argued that some host community members feel that refugees are better-off, given the numerous organizations that support them.

Opiyo et al (2014)³³ notes that hazards, particularly climate-related environmental stresses, result in a range of negative impacts including food insecurity, loss of access to water and pasture resources, disrupted land-use patterns, and conflicts between and within households, regardless whether they are refugees or host community.

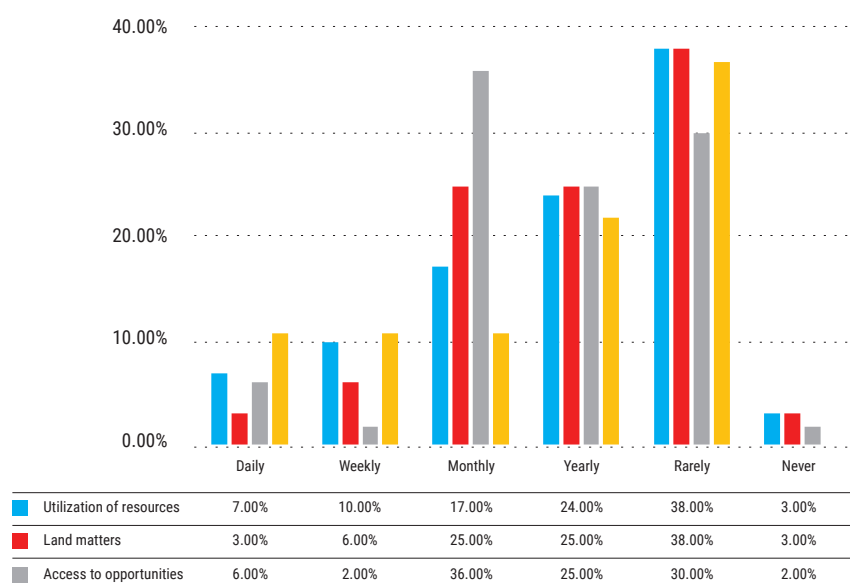
The integration of settlements is thought to lead to a reduction in conflicts, as noted with the plan for the Kalobeyei New Settlement (UNHCR, 2018³⁴; UN-Habitat, 2018³⁵). A sizeable proportion of households (44%) believe that conflicts have reduced between hosts and refugees in the integrated settlement of Kalobeyei, while 38.4% think the rate has remained the same, and 17.6% believe that conflict is worse. Of those who believe the conflict is worse, 54.8% are from the host community and 45.2% are refugees. Of those who think that the rate of conflict has remained unchanged, 27.9% are from the host community and 72.1% are refugees.

33 Opiyo, F. O., Wasonga, V.O, and Nyangito, M. M. (2014). "Measuring Household Vulnerability to Climate-Induced Stresses in Pastoral Rangelands of Kenya: Implications for Resilience Programming." Pastoralism Journal 4: 10.
 34 UNHCR (2018). Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Plan in Turkana West. Strategic Overview. <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/12/KISED-Strategic-Overview.pdf>
 35 UN Habitat (2018). Kalobeyei Settlement Advisory Development Plan, Turkana County, Kenya (Final Draft). https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/08/kalobeyei_advisory_development_plan.pdf

Of those who believe that rates of conflict have improved, 40.2% are from the host community and 59.8% are refugees. Some of the major factors contributing to positive narratives include increased trade between refugees and the host community, frequent interactions, cultural similarity, the growing bonds of friendship, collaboration, working opportunities and initiatives involving all communities. One of the notable and well-established interactions between hosts and refugees involves firewood/cooking energy, where hosts sell firewood to refugees in ex-

change for cash or food rations. However, during the FGDs with refugee women it was noted that firewood was also a source of conflict between hosts and refugees, with accusations that the host community use violence to punish refugees found collecting firewood in areas outside of refugee settlements. From the findings of this study, the causes of conflict tend to be the utilisation of resources, access to opportunities and general disagreements, confirming earlier findings by UN-Habitat (2016).

Figure 3.23 Frequency of Conflicts between Refugees and Host Community



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

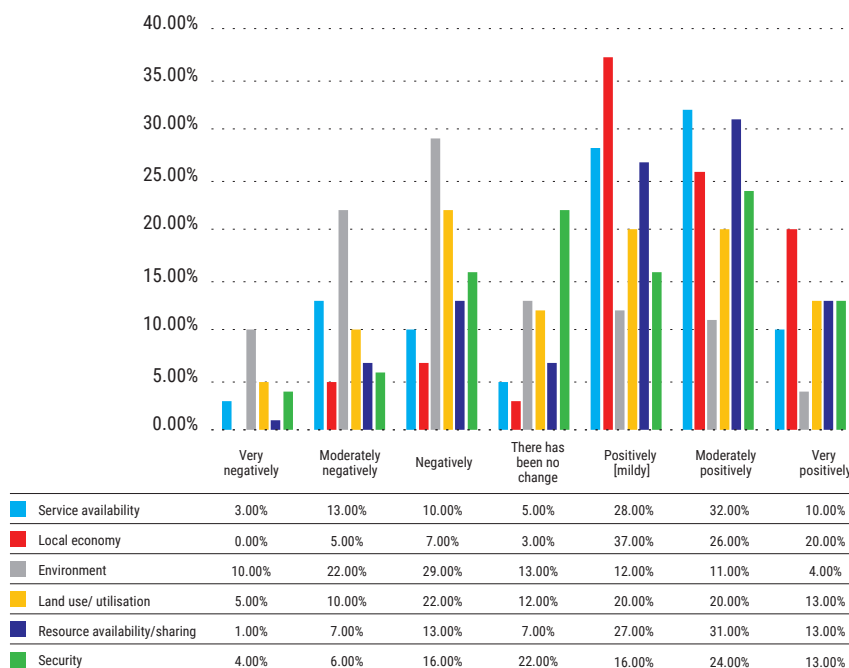
Half of all households described the relationship between migrants and the host community as good, with 67% of both Turkana hosts and refugees reported having not had any conflict at all with migrant hosts. Though some forms of suspicion exist between migrants and the Turkana host community, this is mostly associated with cultural and religious barriers, as well as scarce economic opportunities in the area.

The influx of refugees has undoubtedly generated mixed narratives and experiences of socio-economic development in the region. According to the World Bank (2016), these narratives are critically important and cannot be ignored when designing policies and inter-

ventions for the local area. This survey shows that the host community believes that the presence of refugees has had positive effects on service availability (70%), the local economy (83%), land utilization (53%), resource availability (71%) and security (53%). However, 73% host community households also highlighted that the presence of refugees had adversely affected the environment. This is attributed to the growing charcoal and firewood businesses that cut down trees, diminishing tree cover. It is hoped that KISEDIP will significantly shift programming towards a local area approach, where refugee and host community inclusivity is prioritised, and local development issues can be addressed at the same time as humanitarian needs.

Currently, KISDEP’s approach can leverage improved refugee-host community relations. According to the survey, 76% of host community households in Kakuma ward and 83% in Kalobeyei ward have experienced good relationships with refugees. Additionally, 85% of the host community in Kakuma and 90% in Kalobeyei were optimistic that their good collaborations will grow even stronger. The FGDs and KIIs also highlighted a positive trend in relationships between the host community and refugees over the last ten years, particularly in the Kalobeyei area where the shared education and health facilities in the new settlement have benefited the host community and improved relations with refugees.

Figure 3.24 Effects of refugee influx in the sub-county



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Refugees, Migration and Future Plans for Residency

Migrants and refugees in the sub-county have travelled from within Kenya, as well as beyond its borders. The migrants hosted in the camps as refugees are from South Sudan (56%), DRC (14%), Burundi (12%), Somalia (12%), Uganda (3%), Ethiopia (2%) and Sudan (1%). Overall, only 11% of from the combined households indicated their interest in migrating to other regions. Some of the prevailing migration factors were insecurity, health related issues, job search, educational pursuits and family obligations. An overwhelming proportion of refugee households (81.1%) wished to relocate, with 92.3% preferring to migrate abroad. Only 7.7% of host households desired to migrate internationally. Respondents from both the refugee and host communities indicated that their reasons for this were better education and employment opportunities for young people.

Emerging Issues

The findings in this chapter have revealed important policy issues, especially:

- Turkana West population is largely youthful, with young children, school-age children, and working-age adults comprising the largest share of the population. This presents both opportunities and challenges regarding development planning.
- There is a high prevalence of women-headed households among both the refugee and host community populations. Studies have demonstrated that in such contexts, women-headed households face disproportionate challenges.
- The refugee population is concentrated in Kakuma-Kalobeyi area, where there is the highest demand for social amenities and services, especially education and healthcare. These services remain inadequate.
- Education attainment and transition rates are low, compared to the national statistics. The refugee community has a relatively higher transition rate, which is linked to the support provided by various organizations. For both the refugee and host communities, access to specialised training and skills development is a major challenge for the youth.
- Low levels of training and education attainment has disadvantaged many of the local youth from actively participating in the formal job market created by NGOs and INGOs operating in Kakuma-Kalobeyi. Training and skills development should be a crucial focus for investments seeking to benefit the local youth with jobs and income generating opportunities.
- Incomes are low and there is high prevalence of poverty in both the refugee and host communities. While the main income for refugees is financial aid, the main income for the host community is derived from livestock sales. Both communities are involved in small businesses, however incomes are inadequate for most households, resulting in challenges to meet basic needs.
- Most of the income generation and employment in Turkana West is in the informal sector, as the formal employment sector is skewed towards benefitting migrant workers, i.e. those formally employed by NGOs and INGOs operating in Kakuma. Government employment is minimal and limited to the few officers representing the national and county government in the area.
- The Turkana host community are mainly pastoralists. There are those who practice nomadic pastoralism, and others, like those living in the main centres and Kakuma-Kalobeyi, who practice a mix of nomadism and sedentary livestock keeping. There are households where some members reside regularly in one area, while other household members move around with their herds. This has contributed to the continued growth of clustered settlements. Most households keep livestock for food and cultural reasons, with a limited focus on commercial production.
- While a growing number of the youth population wish to shift to alternative livelihood means other than livestock keeping, they find limited options to pursue their aspirations. The limited options are associated with factors such as limited education and training, and limited employment opportunities in the region.
- The relationship between refugees and the host community has been improving over the years, and it was noted that Kalobeyi New Settlement has contributed to better relations between the refugees and host community. However, full integration is yet to be achieved and will require more interventions in aspects of policy, programming and implementation of support programs, social programs that target enhancing the cohesion between refugees and host community, and local economic development.



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- Young people from both the refugee and host communities are uncertain where they will be living in the future. Parents are concerned about the future aspirations of their children. The youth interviewed expressed less preference to live in the area due to prevailing hardships and limited opportunities. They desire alternative pathways. The main urban area (Kakuma-Kalobeyei) is considered a last resort, because they see the area as unattractive in terms of education, training, and employment opportunities. To make Turkana West attractive – especially the main settlement area of Kakuma-Kalobeyei – local economic development must be built up to a level where it offers opportunities for meaningful employment for the local youth.
- The local governance is structured in a way that local/community leaders are the main actors involved in decision making. Direct participation of residents in project planning and implementation is limited. Even where some people had a desire to participate actively and directly, certain barriers related to the local power relations were a major constraint, thereby excluding wider participation. The participation of women was low, which is linked to the social-cultural structure of the communities, where men are more readily recognised as leaders.





CHAPTER 4. HOUSING CONDITIONS AND BASIC SERVICES

Overview

Access to adequate housing and basic services such as water, sanitation and the natural environment are fundamental human rights. In Kenya's urban centres and refugee settlements, the availability of adequate housing for all and related amenities has been a major challenge. These inadequacies have significant implications for socio-economic development. This chapter will focus on housing and access to basic services in Turkana West settlements, especially urban and refugee settlements. It will examine housing conditions for refugees and host communities, housing typologies and their adequacy, recreational facilities and public spaces, water and sanitation services, energy for households, and the settlement's mobility and connectivity issues.

Housing Conditions for Refugees and Host Communities

A variety of housing typologies are available for refugees and host communities, with most households able to own some form of shelter. However, the adequacy of these housing types varies. The study found that 74% of households own the shelter they live in, as a combined figure from refugees and host communities. Of these households, 61% owned the land the shelter was built on through traditional tenure systems (i.e. Turkana customs). Refugees' households are usually provided with land by UNHCR and RAS. Migrant host communities usually rent or live-in quarters provided by agencies, with periodic payment arrangements. Indeed, most support organizations operating in Kakuma-Kalobeyei provide housing for their staff. Because of this, Kakuma town, the area's largest urban centre, has a relatively small and mostly informal housing market.

Of the households surveyed, 26% rented their houses, incurring an average rental cost of KES 2,318 per month. Most of these were located in urban/market centres such as Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio towns. The common rental properties in the area are single-room units with shared sanitation facilities (detached pit latrine and bathrooms), and mostly lacking indoor utilities such as piped water and sanitary installations. While some humanitarian agencies provide better housing, they are designated as non-family living facilities. Indeed, Kakuma-Kalobeyei is designated as a non-family duty station by most humanitarian organizations operating in Turkana West.

Refugee settlements have a relatively standardised form of shelter, beginning predominantly with Temporary Shelters (T-Shelters) provided by UNHCR and its implementing partners. Over time households have been able to consolidate their shelters by gradually investing in more durable options. This consolidation is most evident in Kakuma Refugee Camp, whereas in Kalobeyei New Settlement the transition to durable shelter options is programmed as part of the ongoing cash-based interventions.

Land is available for housing in towns and urban areas through a combination of formal and informal processes, given that traditional ownership is communal. Urban development in these areas has lacked adequate planning and design, resulting in informal and unplanned developments that lack defined neighbourhood qualities. The study found that de facto tenure provides relative security for households and the risk of eviction is low.

Traditional Turkana manyatta-style housing can also be found in towns, including Kakuma. However, the survey found that, in the context of a town, these forms of shelter can represent socio-economic deprivation and become a 'symbol of urban poverty'. Data from the KIIs and FGDs indicated these households often would prefer a more durable shelter but cannot afford one. Nevertheless, the 'urban manyattas' are considered to be low-cost, affordable housing in the context of Turkana West towns. Indeed, some households combine urban and rural lifestyles, including keeping a small herd of livestock and relying on the nearby areas for grazing, construc-

tion materials and firewood for energy. Some host community households living in towns were once nomadic pastoralists, but loss of livestock through drought or cattle rustling compelled them to change lifestyle and move to towns. However, a combination of factors, such as a lack of education and capital, has locked many of these households into a poverty trap, with limited participation in local urban economies.

Because of these modes of housing production, shelter-aid in refugee settlements, and the housing provided for INGO and NGO workers, there is no tangible 'housing market' in Turkana West.

Figure 4.1 Shelter Typologies



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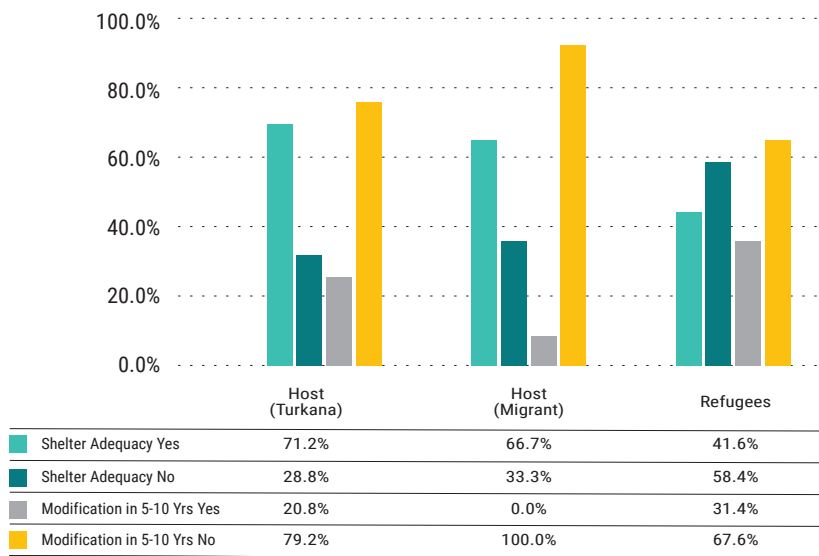
Housing Typologies and their Adequacy

The major shelter for the host community are low-cost traditional manyattas, while refugees predominantly use T-Shelters provided by UNHCR, which they often modify with walls constructed with locally available materials such as mud and soil bricks. Another common typology is row-housing constructed of stone and mortar, or with walls made of iron sheet. These are mainly found in the major towns where some rental housing is available, however the survey

found that most of these rental shelters are not adequately designed for the local climate. The shelters used by INGOs and NGOs have modern designs, with in-house utilities such as piped water, sanitary fittings, and air conditioning.

Each household registered an average of two rooms in the main house. The main raw materials used for construction were iron sheets for the roof, earth for the floor, and mud for the walls.

Figure 4.2 Shelter Adequacy and Modification in the last 5-10 Years



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Of the households surveyed, 71% of the Turkana host community found their shelters to be adequate for their households, compared to 66.7% of the migrant host community and 42% of refugee households. This is an indication that the refugee shelter program needs further interventions focussing on adequacy of shelter, including a gradual shift from basic humanitarian shelters to more adequate housing. About 21% of Turkana host community households and 31.4% of refugee households have physically modified their shelters in the last 10 years to accommodate their growing needs. An earlier study by UN-Habitat (2016) showed similar findings. None of the town-dwelling migrant hosts had modified their shelters, which is most likely explained by their limited tenancy agreements and occupancy arrangements

Overall, the main reason for shelter modifications was the need for more space and to improve the functionality of the shelter (71%). Among refugees, the primary reasons were to improve the functionality of the shelter (70.2%) and to modify the shelter for commercial use (85.7%). This was corroborated by participants in the joint FGDs with refugee and host community. Functionality was defined as the organization of space to suit usage needs (e.g. creating separate rooms, kitchen and living space etc), cultural adaptation,

thermal comfort, environmental adaptability and to enhance safety. The prevalence of modification for refugee shelters is an indication that the standard design has numerous inadequacies. These including cultural and space challenges, which require engagement with local communities to solve. There were also isolated cases where modifications have been made to create space for illicit activities, including brewing illicit alcoholic beverages, sex work etc.

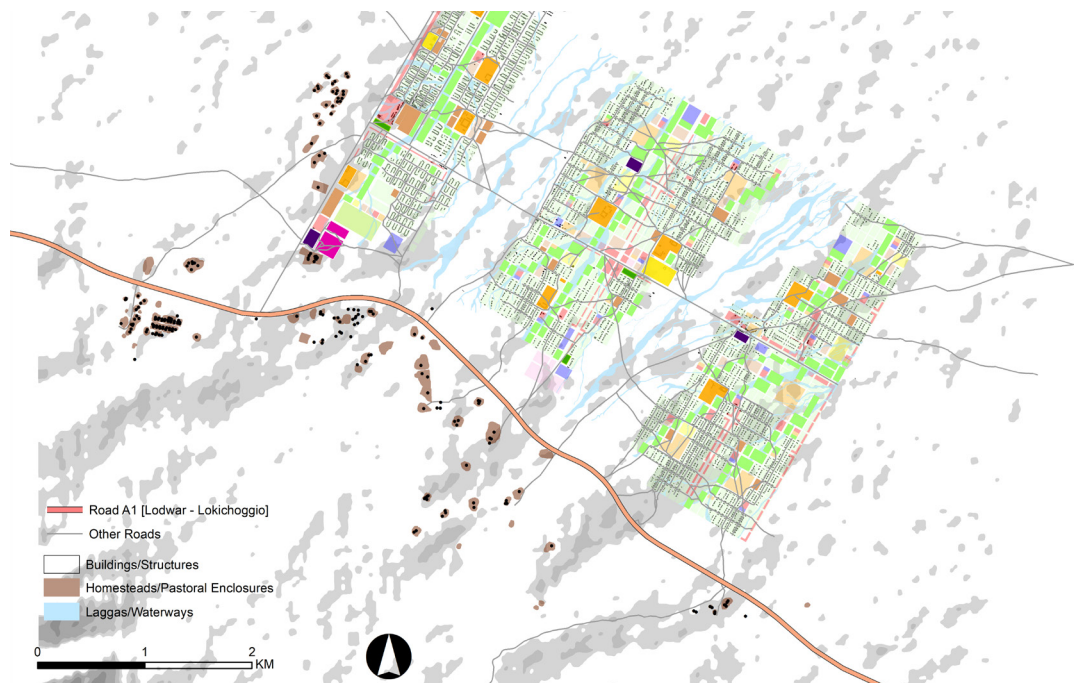
Often, households modified their shelters to create detached or semi-detached single rooms, creating additional bedrooms (e.g. for parents or teenage children) and cooking spaces, particularly among the refugee community. A detached kitchen is considered important, with some communities attaching a gender-dimension to this, believing it to be a space where mothers, girls and other women can interact freely- for example, this was observed with Ethiopian, Burundian households. Living rooms are considered to be the main space of a shelter, where the entire household can interact. The survey showed that host communities build their houses and manyatta compounds with this functionality in mind. Modifications to compounds are required when certain household members decide to build their own houses, especially newly married couples who are starting their own family. 12

These new structures are mostly low-cost and built from locally available materials, given the realities of local incomes. Generally, there is an effort to adapt new structures to climatic conditions, including enhanced ventilation and thermal comfort. While some attempts have been made to demonstrate adaptive shelter design, such as the demonstration site constructed by UN-Habitat in Kalobeyei New Settlement, this survey did not find that this approach has been scaled-up. While the architecture of public facilities (e.g. schools and hospitals, organizational offices) or INGO and NGO housing could offer a good

opportunity to test designs and building technologies appropriate for Turkana West, this has not yet formed the basis of any focused design project, though aspects have been incorporated in a piecemeal way.

Aside from cultural imperatives, a separate cooking space is essential from a health perspective, due to the polluting nature of the fuels used for cooking (i.e. charcoal and firewood). Even in makeshift modifications to shelters, kitchen spaces were designed to enhance ventilation.

Figure 4.3 Illustration of Shelter and Space Adaptation in Kalobeyei New Settlement



The survey revealed that most households self-financed their shelter modifications, and therefore undertook the modifications incrementally. However, for some households the cost of modification is prohibitive. Households usually undertake construction efforts themselves, particularly among the host community. In the refugee community, some assistance is available through UNHCR and other organizations. Currently, there is a newly established cash-based intervention for shelters in refugee settlements, with initial projects underway in Kalobeyei New Settlement. A few private developers operate in the main towns, providing rental housing. In

Turkana West, women play a significant role in the provision of shelter for the host community, traditionally being the ones responsible for shelter construction (National Museums of Kenya, n.d.). However, Turkana women now generally lack the skills to construct modern shelter typologies or to improve the durability and adequacy of existing shelters, particularly in the context of urban settlements. Therefore, working with women is critical during housing interventions in the sub-county, especially in towns where the population is settled and requires shelters suited to urban living, that still consider their cultural, climatic and environmental context.

Figure 4.4 Traditional Turkana House in Kalobeyei



Figure 4.5 Modern Housing in Kakuma area

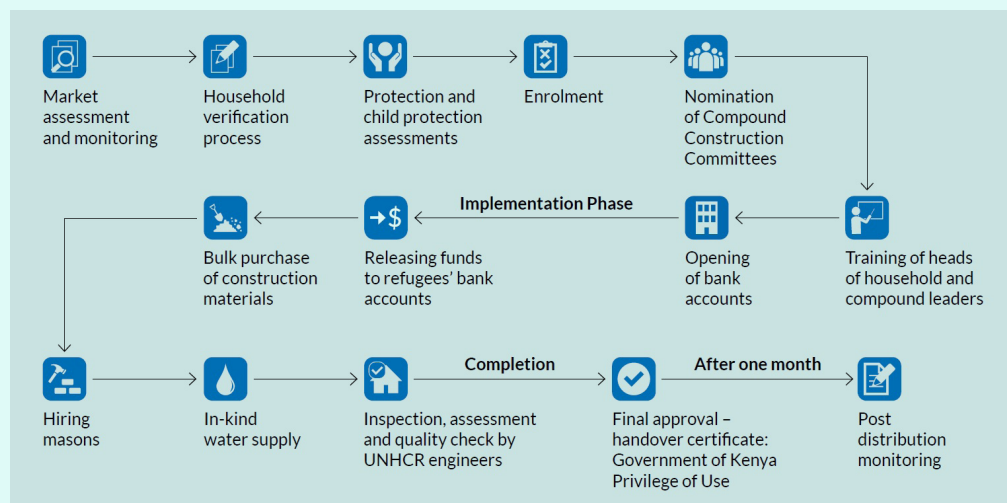


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Box 4.1 Cash-for-Shelter Programme

UNHCR has introduced cash-based interventions for shelter provision in Kakuma-Kalobeyei. Under this program, beneficiaries receive cash through a bank account, from which construction is financed. This way, the beneficiary can manage the construction, including hiring contractors and sourcing materials, and has room to include personal preferences for the house being build. UNHCR and support organizations provide technical supervision and monitoring of the implementation. The savings from the construction funds can be used to address other household needs, and the process also enhances financial inclusion. This has stimulated growth of the local construction sector, creating new opportunities for labour and supplies.

Process of implementing cash-based shelter provision



Source: <https://www.unhcr.org/5c487dde4.pdf>

Regarding construction materials, earth flooring was most common among refugees (83.6%) and quite prevalent among the Turkana host population (49.6%). Earth floors help to maintain cooler temperatures indoors, which is important given the hot weather conditions of the area. For roofing, iron sheets were the most popular material used across all communities, though in the towns thatch roofing is popular for the Turkana host community's traditional manyatta houses. Manyatta are entirely built from locally available materials found in the natural environment, without any need for industrial processes. The doum palm (*hyphaene compressa*) is used for thatching, as well as for other household products, such as baskets, tablemats, brooms, carpets, ropes, floor mats, lampshades, hammocks and hats (Ejore et al, 2020).³⁶ Indeed, basketry is one of the main alternative livelihood enterprises undertaken by Turkana women, making the doum palm value chain crucial. While earth mud walls were frequently used by all communities, migrant host community members tend to live in houses built with durable building materials (e.g. quarry stone and mortar), which may also explain their low rates of shelter modification.

36 Ejore, E; Ongugo, R; Kemboi, J; Ojunga, S; Mwenja, P; Owino, J (2020). Plant species and their importance to housing in the Turkana community, Kenya. *Journal of Horticulture and Forestry*. Vol. 12(3), pp. 101-108

Table 4.1 Main Construction Materials

Part	Construction Materials	Host (Turkana)	Host (Migrant)	Refugees
Floor	Earth	49.6%	22.2%	83.6%
	Cement	48.8%	77.8%	11.8%
	Tiled	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
	Carpet	0.0%	0.0%	4.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Roofing	Iron Sheets	75.2%	100.0%	94.6%
	Thatch	8.8%	0.0%	2.8%
	Canvas	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%
	Polythene Paper & Recycled Materials	13.6%	0.0%	1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Wall	Quarry Stone	11.2%	44.5%	14.8%
	Iron Sheet	32.0%	33.3%	19.9%
	Wood	2.4%	0.0%	0.5%
	Soil Bricks	0.8%	0.0%	32.9%
	Polythene Paper & Recycled Materials	13.6%	0.0%	1.9%
	Earth Mud	38.4%	22.2%	20.7%
	Canvas (Tent)	0.8%	0.0%	9.3%
	Thatch	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Recreational Facilities and Public Spaces

To help understand residential conditions, this study examined what recreation spaces are available in housing areas. The survey showed that recreational facilities and public spaces take various forms in Turkana West settlements, combining traditional approaches to space utilisation with modern settlement planning approaches. It was noted that both refugee and host community households tend to have a private recreational space within their compounds, with fences demarcating the boundaries between public and private. For large public recreational spaces, climatic conditions and land governance play a crucial role. Indigenous trees and specific sites along rivers and streams (*laggas*) form the main recreational infrastructure for the host community and are governed as a communal resource.

Within towns and clustered rural settlements, efforts have been made to preserve such locations. In refugee settlements, public recreational areas such as playgrounds and meeting spaces are available as designated (i.e. planned) spaces or informally generated. In Kalobeyei New Settlement, development is guided by a spatial plan that explicitly designates areas for conservation and use as green open spaces (UN-Habitat, 2018). Poor spatial planning in the Kakuma refugee camps, as well as in Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio towns, have created barriers to adequate access to recreational facilities and public open spaces. This is compounded by the absence of a structured land administration system.

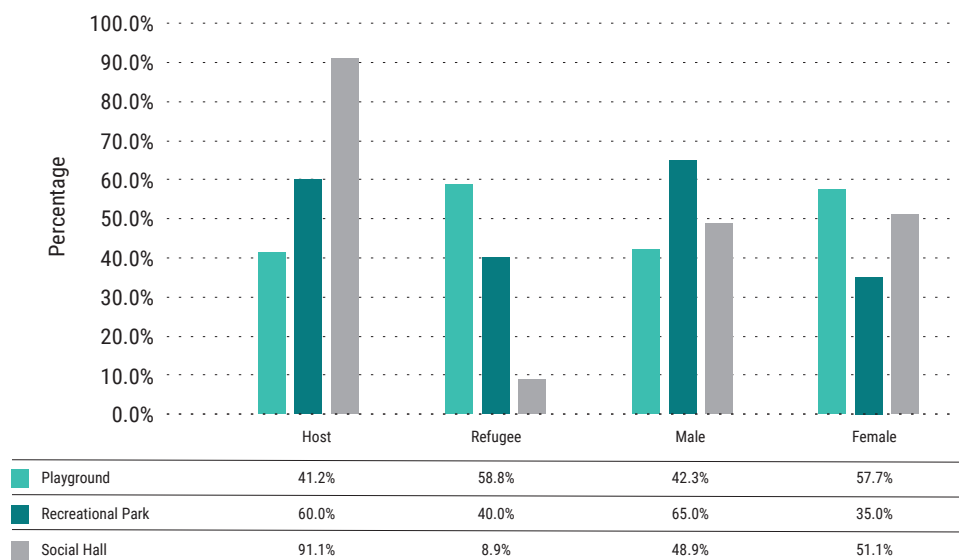
Figure 4.6 A Recreational Space



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Data for the comparative access to playgrounds, recreational parks and social halls is displayed in figure 4.5, showing that host communities have better access to recreational parks and social halls. This is because respondents mainly resided in the main settlement clusters of Kakuma-Kalobeyi. In rural settlement areas, such as Letea, Lokichoggio and Songot wards, traditional recreational spaces were more available. Access to playgrounds was registered at 58.8% for refugees and 41.2% for host communities. Recreational parks were not attractive to females, as compared to their access by males.

Figure 4.7 Access to Recreational Facilities



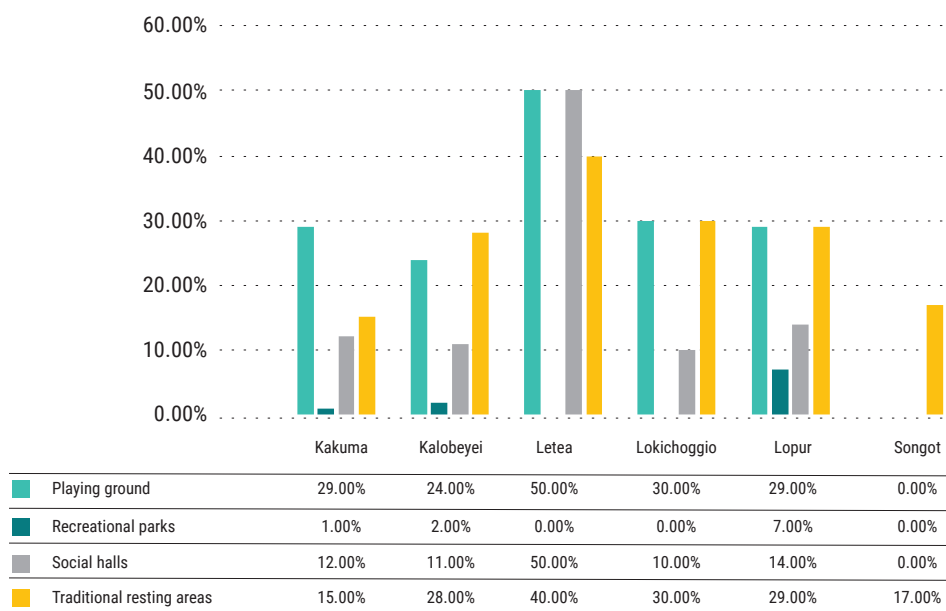
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Figure 4.8 Open Space



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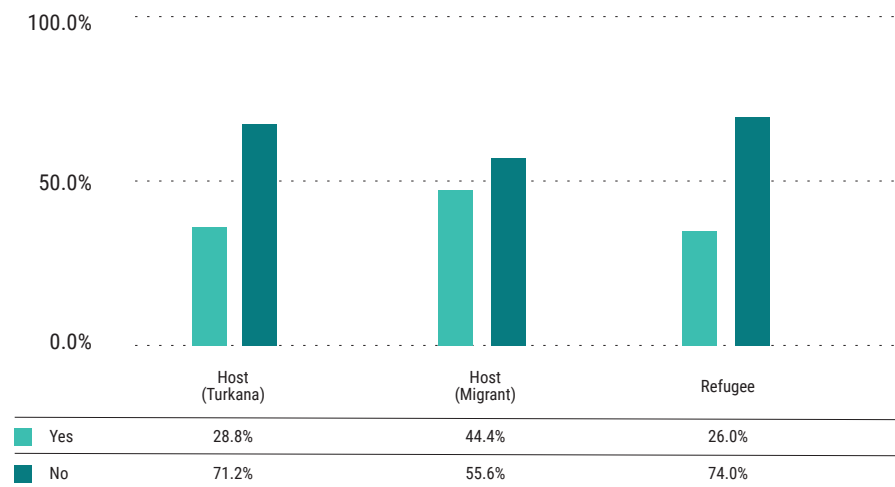
Figure 4.9 Regional Access to Recreational Facilities



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Accessibility needs to open spaces need more attention, for the role such spaces play in health and general well-being of humans. For instance, playgrounds which are vital to the young population needs to be accessible at minimum walking distances from the households. Yet most of the households recorded poor access to these vital facilities. These are mostly the households in the concentrated settlements such as Kakuma Town and Kakuma refugee settlement, which are poorly planned or have grown spontaneously, largely without deliberate coordinated planning interventions.

Figure 4.10 Households Access to Playgrounds



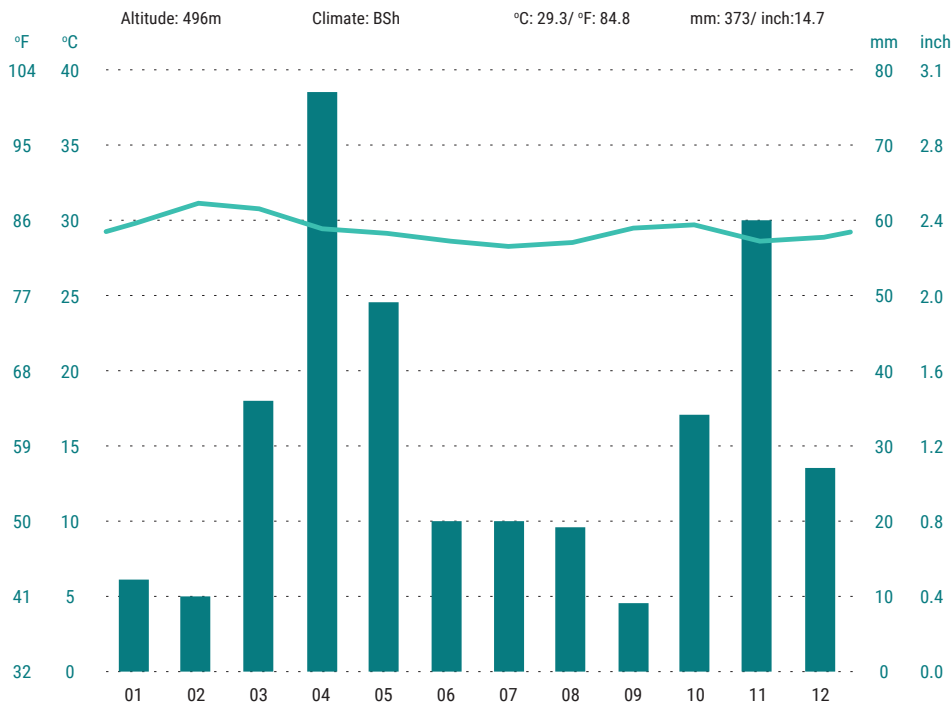
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Access to Water and Sanitation Services

Water and sanitation services are one of the major challenges for households and businesses in Turkana West. The arid and desert-like conditions of the region create a tough environment for the population. Scarcity of water resources is one of the factors necessitating the nomadic pastoralism practiced by the Turkana people, but also contributes to increasing rural-urban migration, as live-stock losses continue to affect many households (CIDP, 2018). From this research, fetching water is predominantly considered a task for women in both the host and refugee communities. Most of the refugees (72.5%) accessed drinking water through a shared tap, while only 27.5% of the host community members accessed water through taps. Refugees reported that they did not pay for water, while all host community members who used tap water reported paying for the service.

The influx of refugees to Turkana West has put further strain on the region's already scarce water resources. In refugee settlements, water is trucked in from nearby boreholes and rationed for use, while sanitation services are mainly dry systems, owing in part to water scarcity. The host community also rely on such systems, as well as open defecation. At present, the current modes of sanitation are inadequate for the high densities of the main settlement area of Kakuma-Kalobeyei.

Figure 4.11 Turkana Climate Graph

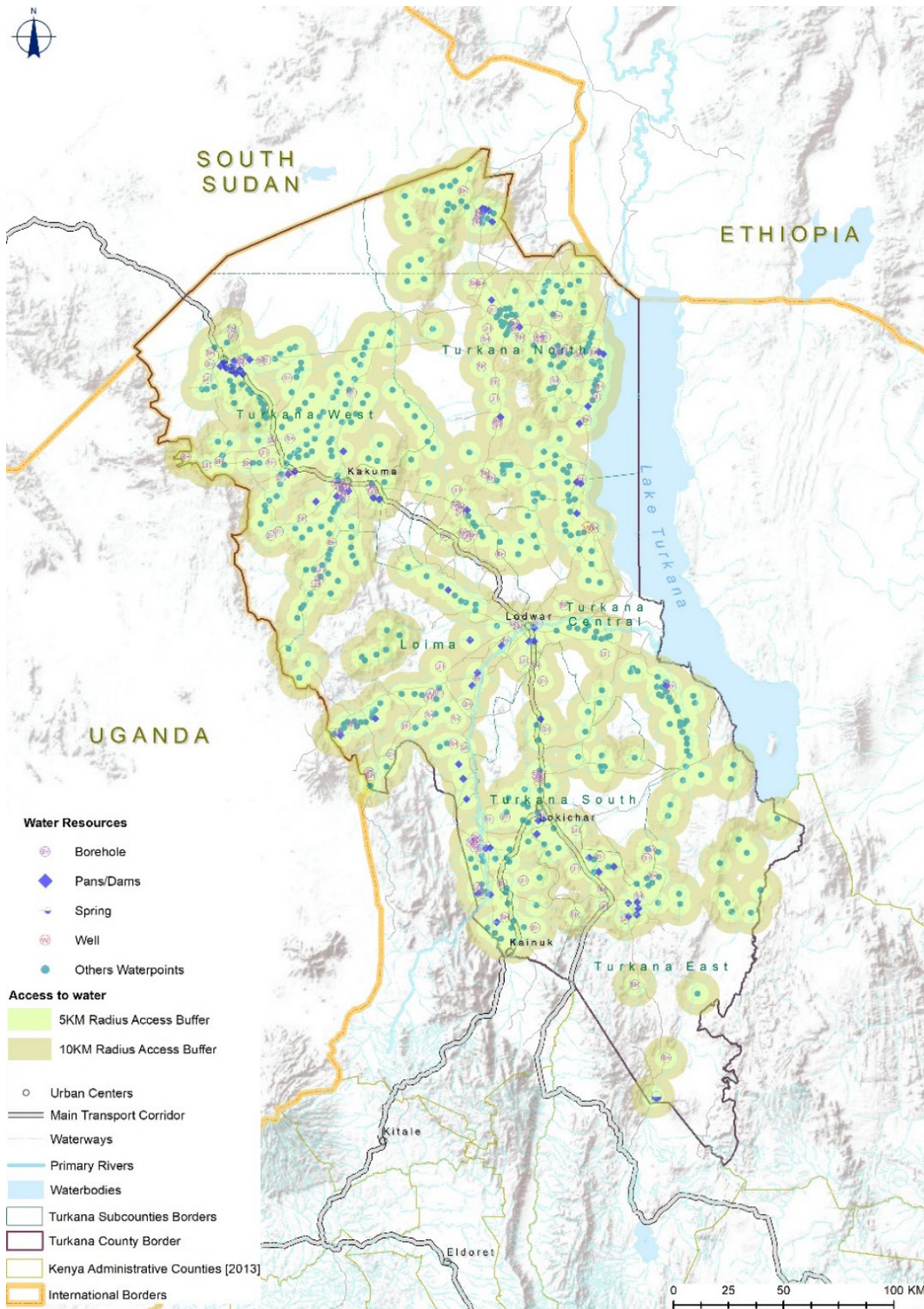


Source: <https://en.climate-data.org/africa/kenya/turkana/lodwar-11143/>

Scarce Water Resources and Unstable Water Services

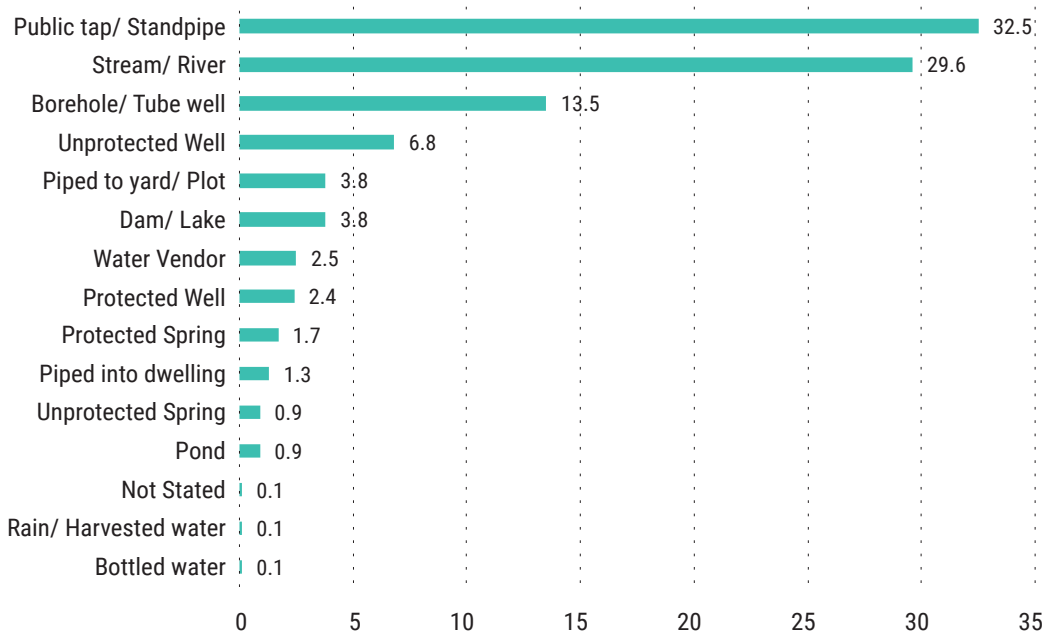
Despite the decades of humanitarian-development assistance, human settlements in Turkana West, including the refugee settlements, lack a reliable water supply system. Regular droughts mean that human settlements in the region cannot be sustainable without deliverable investments in a strategic water supply. Indeed, KIIs with host community leaders revealed that, in the past, some settlements were abandoned for lack of water. Boreholes, mainly along the Tarach River, are the main source of clean water. Kenya's 2019 census data indicated that public taps/standpipes and rivers/streams are the main source of drinking water for the Turkana West host community. In Kakuma-Kalobeyei, the current supply is limited to basic domestic use, with no water supply to support reliable food production or agri-business. Although water pans have recently been constructed to support agriculture in Kalobeyei New Settlement, more investments in strategic water reservoirs are required if agricultural production is to be supported throughout the year. Indeed, water scarcity is a major barrier to enhancing food security for both the refugee and host communities in Turkana West.

Figure 4.12 Water Supply Sources and Resources in Kakuma-Kalobeyei



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

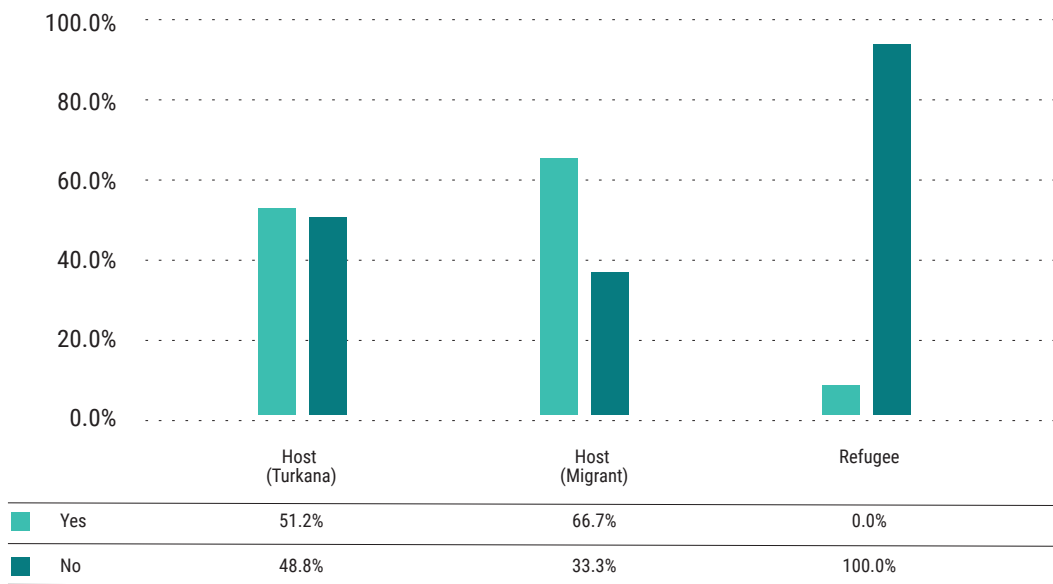
Figure 4.13 Sources of Drinking Water in Turkana West



Source: KNBS (2020c)

The average amount of domestic water used by households ranges from 40 to 100 litres per day. Domestic water service provision is free for refugees, while 66.7% of migrant hosts reported paying for domestic water, compared to 51.2% of the Turkana host community.

Figure 4.14 Payment for Domestic Water

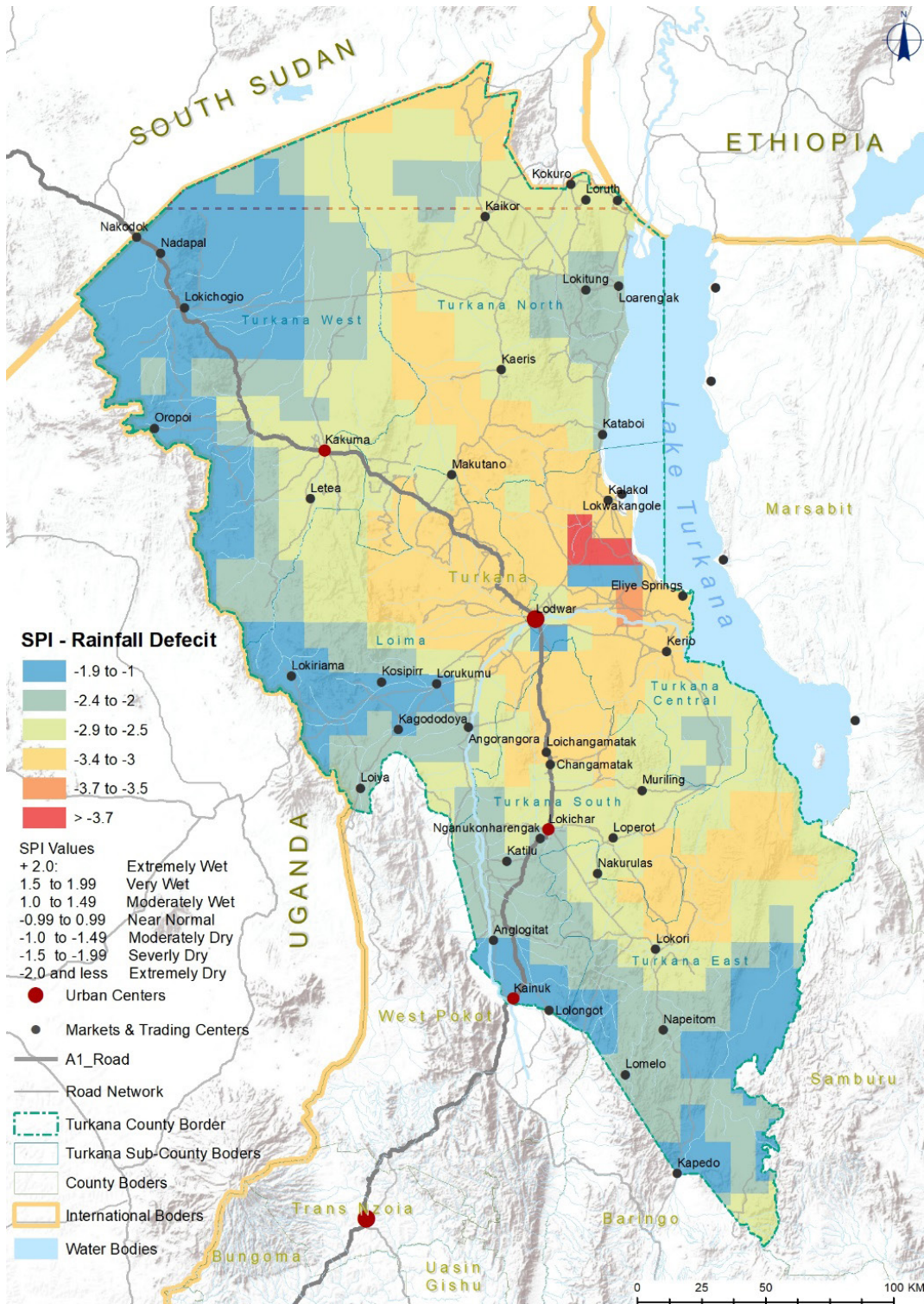


Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Though all refugee households and a proportion of host community households reported free access to domestic water, they all recorded incidences of seasonal water scarcity or unavailability, including 88.9% of migrant hosts, 66.2% of refugees and 52.8% of the Turkana hosts. Most of the main water facilities are managed by NGOs (55%), with some of the main water providers including Kenya Red Cross, RAS and UNHCR. Of those purchasing water, 20% reported paying KES 2.5 per 20 litre jerrycan, which puts the average expenditure for drinking and domestic water for both refugee and host communities at KES 35 per day. During FGDs with host community members, respondents noted that the cost of water could rise to KES 50 per 20 litre jerrycan if it must be transported from the communal water points to residences. During periods of water scarcity, the Turkana travel long distances to access water, with livestock keepers forced to temporarily migrate in search for water and pasture for their livestock.



Figure 4.15 Water Scarcity and Drought in Turkana County



Source: Redrawn Map (Original Source: National Drought Management Authority)

Most of the domestic clean water supply is sourced from public taps or standpipes (64%), where the water is sourced from boreholes, then trucked or piped in. The survey found that women and children were the household members who regularly fetched water from these supply points. The settlements lack a reticulated water supply, except for the hybrid networks of trucking, storage and piping to standpipes/taps in refugee settlements. Of the migrant host community, 66.7% considered the water to be of good quality, compared to 46.4% of the Turkana host community and only 35.4% of refugees.

Figure 4.16 A Communal Waterpoint in Kalobeyei New Settlement



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Figure 4.17 Quality of Primary Domestic Water Sources

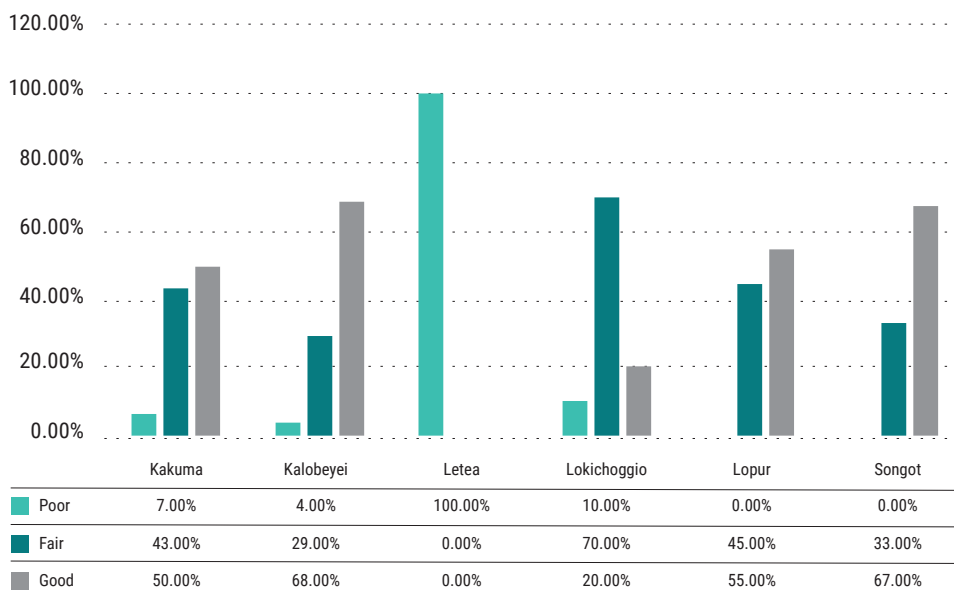


Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

While efforts have been made to ensure that only clean water is dispensed at the standpipes/public taps, contamination can occur during collection and storage at a household level. Despite some gradual improvement, water-borne diseases remain a major public health and socio-economic problem in Turkana West due to continuing WASH challenges. Health officers noted cholera is prevalent among both the host and refugee communities. Turkana West has seen several deadly cholera outbreaks in the past, especially in Kakuma (Kisera et al, 2020).³⁷

The availability of clean and safe water is critical to maintaining recommended hygiene standards, and as a crucial measure in containing the spread of infection, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Access to sufficient amounts of clean and safe water is a fundamental human right and is emphasised by Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6 – to achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all. During FGDs with both ward administrators and women, participants reported that the sharing of some water points with livestock occasionally lead to conflicts between urban residents and livestock keepers (mainly members of the Turkana host community). Studies have detailed the risks of humans and animals sharing a water-source (Narkkul et al, 2021),³⁸ particularly the increased risks of zoonotic diseases (WHO, 2020).³⁹

Figure 4.18 Perceptions about quality of domestic water supply



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

37 Kisera,N; Luxemburger,C; Tornieporth, N; Otieno, G & Inda, J (2020). A descriptive cross-sectional study of cholera at Kakuma and Kalobeyei refugee camps, Kenya in 2018. Pan African Medical Journal. 2020;37:197. [doi: 10.11604/pamj.2020.37.197.24798]

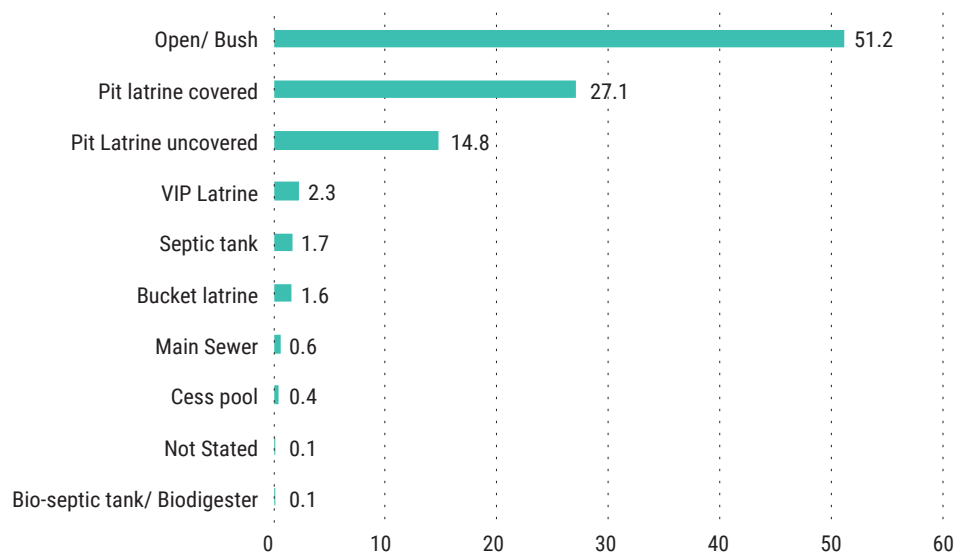
38 Narkkul et al (2021). Human, animal, water source interactions and leptospirosis in Thailand. Nature 11-32

39 WHO (2020). Zoonoses: key facts. Online access (21/03/21): <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/zoonoses>

Liquid Waste Disposal Challenges and Sanitation Services

Inadequate sanitation is another human settlement challenge in Turkana West. As noted, a combination of inadequate water and sanitation services have led to cases of water-borne diseases. The scarcity of water supply in the major settlements, including Kakuma-Kalobeyei, hinder the deployment of conventional wet sanitation systems such as sewerage. Where sewerage is used, it is on a very small scale, primarily with micro-systems limited to the residential and office facilities of a support organization. In the towns, systems such as septic tanks, biodigesters and cess pools can be found, but their use is not widespread. Many households, businesses and facilities in the clustered settlement areas (Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Lokichoggio) rely on dry sanitation systems, particularly pit latrines. open defecation or 'bush method' is the most prevalent mode of human waste disposal in the sub-county because it is widespread in the host community settlements, according to the 2019 Kenya census data.

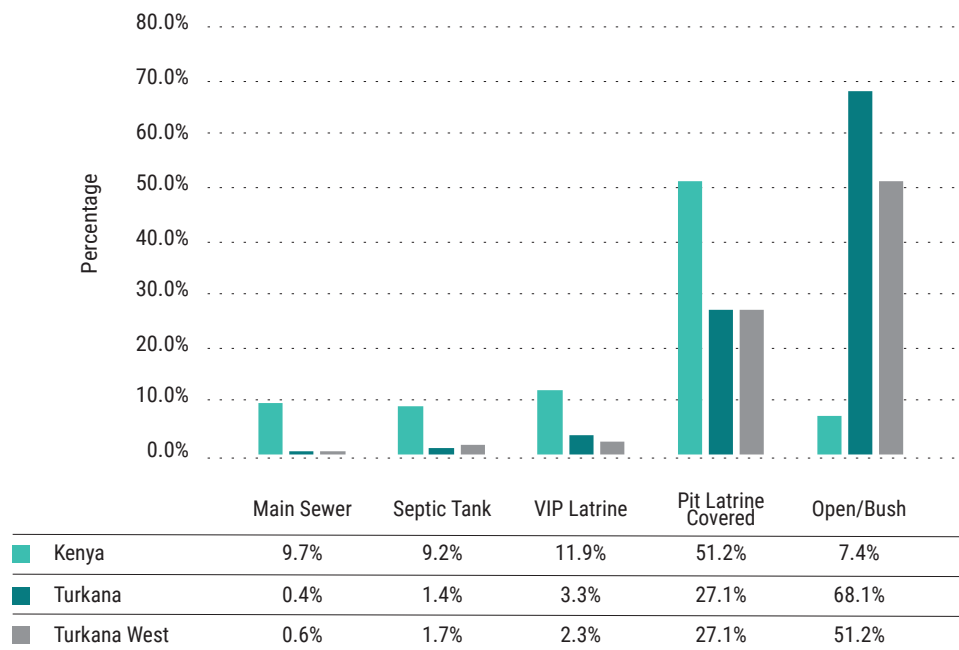
Figure 4.19 Main Mode of Human Waste Disposal in Turkana West Sub-County



Source: KNBS (2020c)

The study findings indicate that the majority (76%) of the households in the refugee settlements and towns disposed of their human waste in either covered or uncovered pit latrines within their plot. Some of the other methods of disposal included 'bush method' (11%), on-site sewer system (8%), and VIP pit latrine within plot (5%). However, when rural settlements and smaller centres are considered, the open/bush methods remain dominant, as earlier indicated from the census data. The prevalence of open defecation can be linked to high poverty levels and culture of nomadism where migrating households may find little incentives to invest in improved faecal waste management in the temporary stays they have in a particular place. But this comes at a significant public health cost, as open defecation is linked to water-borne diseases, such as diarrhoea which is fatal to children under the age of 5 years.

Figure 4.20 Human Waste Disposal



Source: KNBS (2020c)

On solid waste disposal, despite the high concentration of population in Kakuma-Kalobeyei (over 200,000 residents), there is no designated solid waste management facility to serve the population. This is a significant public health challenge, which compounds the environmental burden associated with settlements in the area. The absence of this critical utility undermines economic growth, as businesses and investors are compelled to finance their own waste management solutions. This discourages potential investors, particularly when combined with other infrastructure challenges related to water supply, sewerage, energy and connectivity.

While many basic services are limited in Turkana West, solid waste management in particular is not given proper consideration. The survey established that the main method of waste disposal in Kakuma-Kalobeyei is the open burning of waste in pits provided by UNHCR, with 52.7% of refugee households, 44.3% of Turkana host community households and 3% of migrant host households choosing this method.

Open burning of waste releases harmful air pollutants such as fine particulates, polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs), heavy metals, and dioxins. Due to incomplete combustion, significant amounts of greenhouse gases are released, which can result in various diseases and environmental pollution (Cogut, 2016). A community leader in Kakuma town mentioned during an FGD that open burning of waste and other unconventional methods of disposal occur because of the lack of appropriate options for most households. Nearly all households do not incur any cost for solid waste disposal (96%), because of these unconventional methods.

Only one community-based organization (CBO) called Usafi offers waste collection services, but this is limited to Kakuma town, and only a few households are currently paying for the service. Usafi suffers from financial constraints, lack of waste transportation vehicles, lack of personal protection equipment and inadequate human capacity.

Furthermore, Usafi operates an illegal dumpsite in Kakuma town, claiming they cannot use the legal dumpsite provided by the county government because it is too far away (10 kms away) and the CBO lacks the fuel and vehicles to transport the waste all the way. In urban areas where households did receive some sort of waste collection service, 83% of respondents said this was done by private individuals. Collection occurs daily (39%), twice per week (23%) or weekly (26%). The safe disposal of face masks has emerged as another solid waste management concern. The survey noted that household usage of face masks was highest among the migrant host community (88.9%), followed by refugee households (73.5%) and the Turkana host community (63.2%). Most households use ordinary solid waste disposal methods when disposing of face masks – see table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Disposal of Face Masks

Respondent Category	Burying/ Composting	Collected from the House	Re-use Through Washing with Clean Water & Soap	Throw-Away	Cutting into Pieces & Throw into Pit Latrines
Host (Turkana)	50.0%	0.0%	42.9%	7.1%	0.0%
Host (Migrant)	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Refugees	61.1%	16.7%	18.5%	1.9%	1.9%

Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

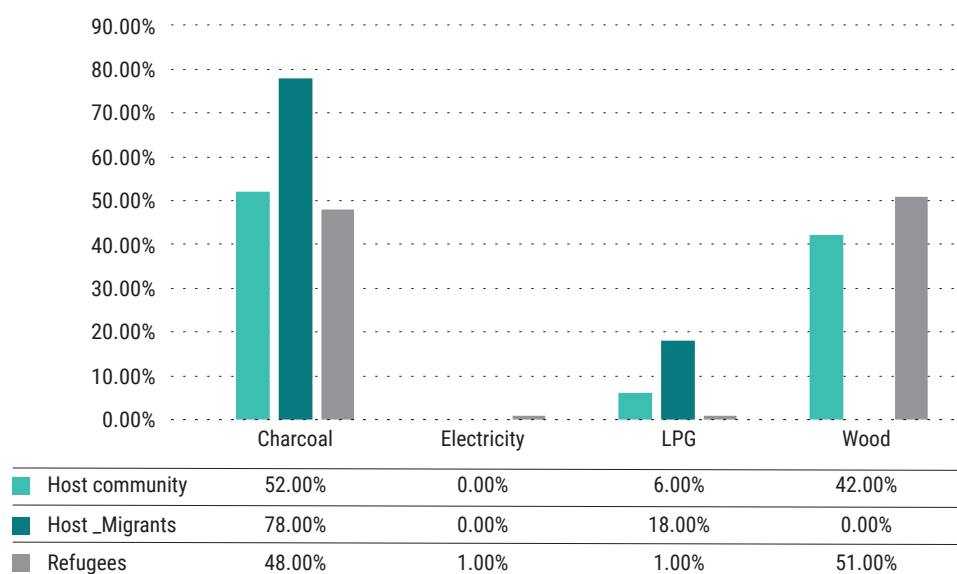
Multiple Energy Sources but Unreliable

The absence of reliable energy infrastructure and services in Turkana West is a major factor in slowing down socio-economic development in the area. Electricity is available in limited supply in various forms including a mini-grid operated by national utility agency Kenya Power, solar mini-grids and small kits, as well as portable diesel/petrol generators. Due to high tariffs, electricity usage is limited to lighting and electrical equipment, and generally does not extend to cooking. The historical marginalisation of Turkana county has resulted in the delay or failure of the national electricity grid to extend to the area. Grid solutions have only recently been introduced to major towns, despite Turkana County's proximity to the Turkwel Hydro Power Generation Plant in West Pokot county, and the Lake Turkana Wind Power Station (LTWP) on the shores of Lake Turkana.

Firewood and Charcoal are the Main Types of Cooking Energy

According to the Turkana CIDP II (2018), firewood and charcoal are the leading sources of cooking energy in Turkana West, with 80.6% of the population using firewood and 16.3% using charcoal. While this survey also found firewood and charcoal to be the main sources of cooking energy, it showed that 50% of overall households use charcoal and 47% use firewood, with charcoal more likely to be used in urban areas. A slight majority of the Turkana host community (52%) use charcoal energy for cooking, and a slight majority of refugees (51%) use wood energy, whereas charcoal is the fuel of choice for migrant host community households at 78%. Only 0.3% of households using electricity for cooking. This reliance on firewood and charcoal has significant environmental impact, including a reduction of local vegetation cover and indoor pollution that affects the health of the household members. Indoor pollution is compounded by inadequate shelter design, where spaces used for cooking are poorly ventilated. In Turkana West, women are culturally responsible for cooking and kitchens are considered a social space for women, girls and their accompanying children, meaning that they are more vulnerable to indoor pollution. The average monthly expenditure on cooking energy amounts to KES 931 with some variation across communities.

Figure 4.21 Usage Levels of Select Types of Cooking Energy



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Table 4.3 Average Monthly Expenditure on Cooking Energy

Community	Average Monthly Expenditure on Cooking Energy
Refugees	KES 805
Migrant Host Community	KES 1,089
Turkana Host Community	KES 899

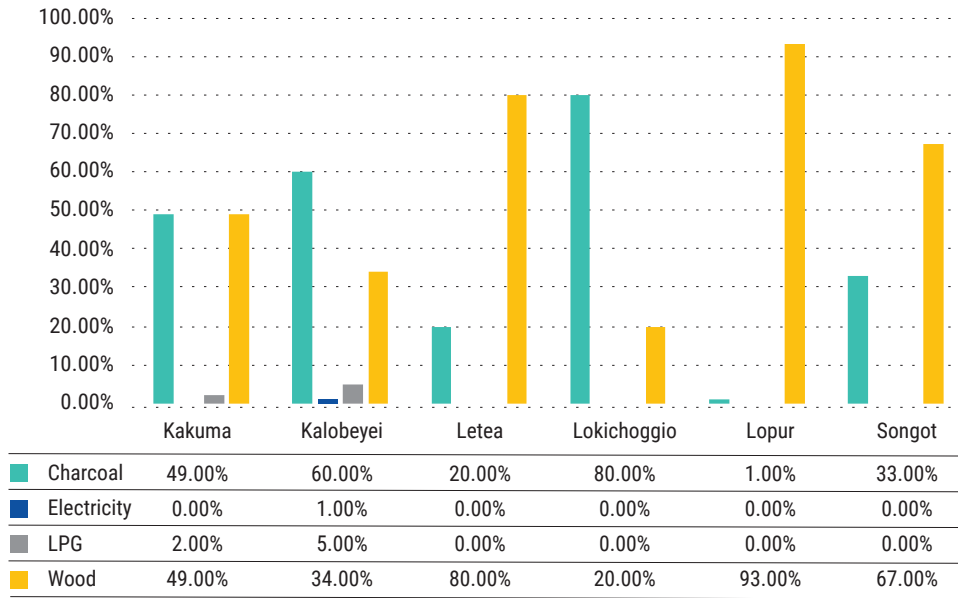
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Table 4.4 Major Source of Cooking Energy for Different Income Groups

Income level	Major source of energy
Less than 5000	Wood
5-10,000	Charcoal
>10-20,000	Charcoal
>20-30,000	Charcoal
>30-40,000	Charcoal
>40-50,000	Charcoal/LPG
>50-100,000	LPG

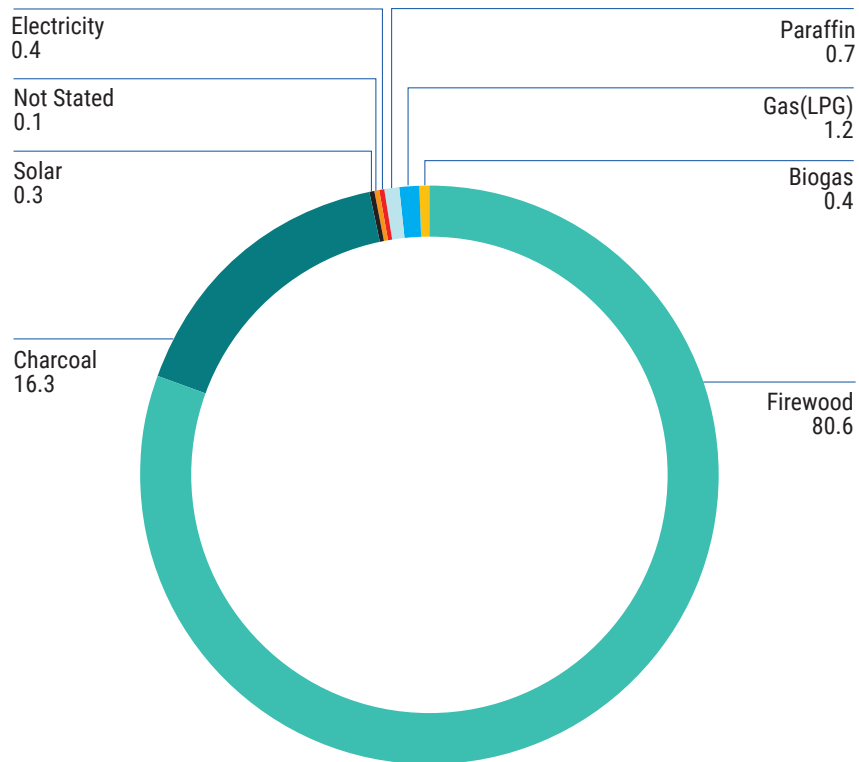
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Figure 4.22 Main Type of Energy Used for Cooking



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Figure 4.23 Main Type of Cooking Energy in Turkana West Host Community



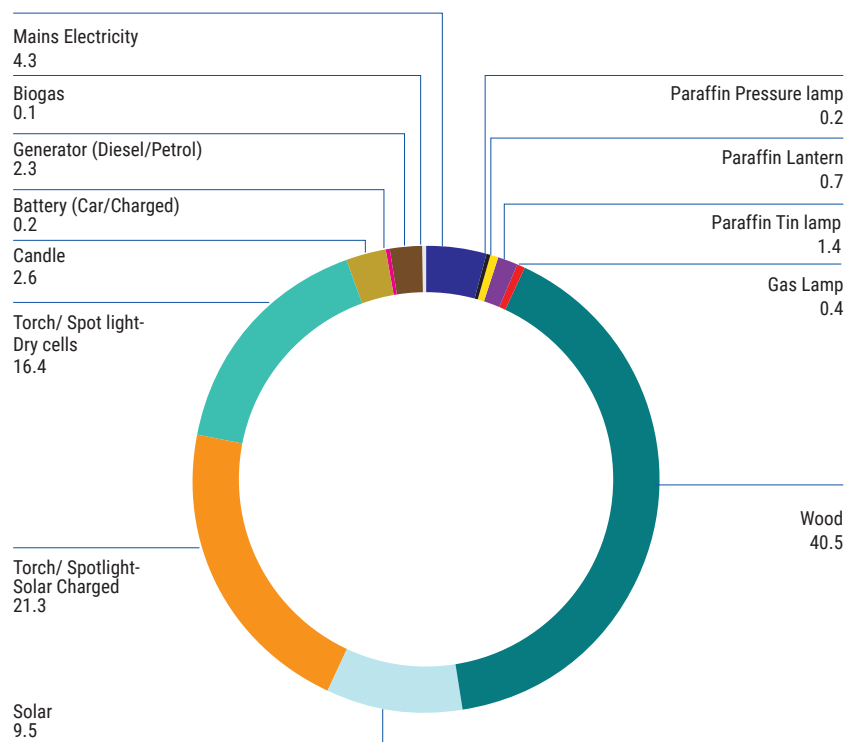
Data Source: 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census: Volume IV

The survey noted that several small-scale interventions are addressing the problems associated with firewood and charcoal by promoting alternative cooking energy such as LPG, ethanol stoves and briquettes (Patel & Gross, 2019).⁴⁰ However, several factors undermine the scaling-up of these interventions including costs, personal preferences, as well as perception and cultural issues regarding briquettes made from human waste.

Increasing Diversification of Lighting Energy

The 2019 Kenya Census reported that wood fuel was the most common kind of lighting in host community households in Turkana West (26%), primarily in rural villages (KNBS, 2019c). It found that the use of electricity for lighting was low, accounting for just 8.6% in Turkana County and 4.3% in Turkana West, due to poor coverage and limited access to portable systems. This survey found the primary source of light energy to be tin lamps (20%), followed by solar powered lamps (16%), pressure lamps (12%), kerosene lanterns (10%), wood fuel (10%), torches (10%), phone torches (7%), electricity from portable generators (4%), and gas lamps (3%). Some households in Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kakuma town were found to rely on an informal electricity service provided by portable generators. Renewable energy sources such as wind and solar were rarely used due to lack of availability or affordability, though a solar mini-grid has been installed in Kalobeyei New Settlement providing electricity to several households and businesses.

Figure 4.24 Main Type of Lighting Energy in Turkana West Host Community



Data Source: 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census: Volume IV

40 Patel, L & Gross, K (2019). Cooking in Displacement Settings. Online access (21/03/21): <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/2019-01-22-PatelGross2.pdf>

Households earning a monthly income of less than KES 5000 mainly used tin lamps as their major source of light (52%) and wood as their cooking fuel (64%). This indicates that low income and poverty are a major barrier to alternative and clean energy services. Among refugees, the major sources of light energy were pressure lamps (17%), tin lamps (16%), solar powered gadgets (12%), kerosene lanterns (10%) and phone torches (8%). Among the host community (excluding migrant host community) the most common sources of light were tin lamps (37%), solar powered gadgets (27%) and wood fuel (22%). Only 14% of the households live in shelters that are connected to Kenya Power's electricity grid. Of those households, 70% indicated that their electricity services were reliable, while 26% complained of unreliable connectivity with blackouts registered daily or more twice a week. The average monthly expenditure for lighting energy is KES 1,476, though the cost for the host community is double that of the refugee community.

Table 4.5 Average Monthly Expenditure on Light Energy

Community	Average Monthly Expenditure on Light Energy
Refugees	KES 1,220
Migrant Host Community	KES 775
Turkana Host Community	KES 2,434

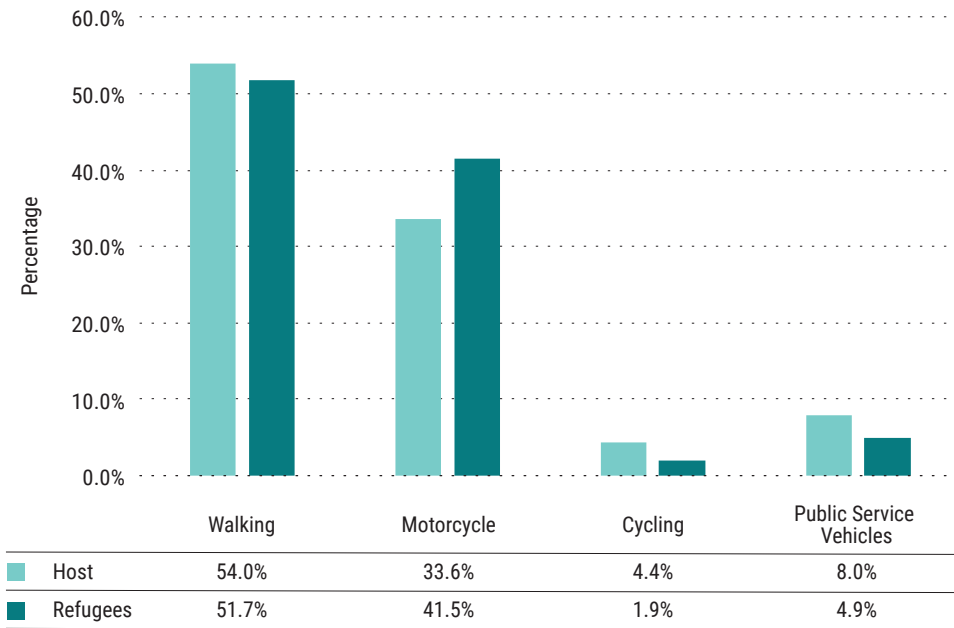
Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Mobility and Settlements Connectivity

Households in Turkana West have a varied experience in terms of mobility. Rural villages far from the A1 road are practically 'cut-off' and incur an extra mobility burden to access services and amenities etc. Walking and use of motorcycles (*bodaboda*) are the main mode of transport in the area. In an FGD with a mixed group of women from Kakuma, one woman said "We prefer using motorcycles because they take us from door to door regardless of the status of the road." Residents in refugee camps and main towns have a relatively better mobility experience due to their proximity to the services and amenities in these areas.



Figure 4.25 Modes of Transport in Turkana West



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

As the A1 Road continues to be upgraded, Turkana West households will benefit from improved connectivity to parts of the sub-county, county and the rest of the country. The proposed LAPSSSET corridor will complement this enhanced connectivity. Already, ribbon settlements and economic activities are developing along this corridor.

Figure 4.26 Various Modes of Transportation in Turkana West

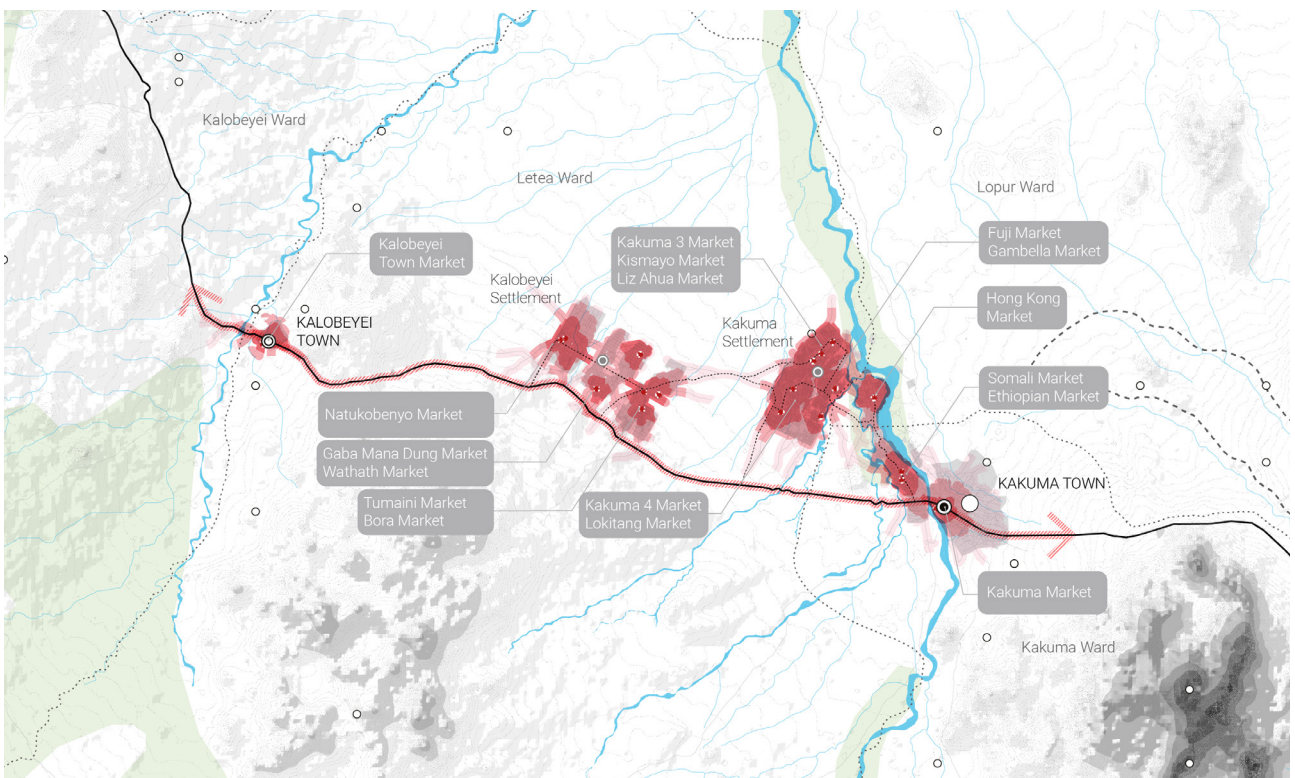
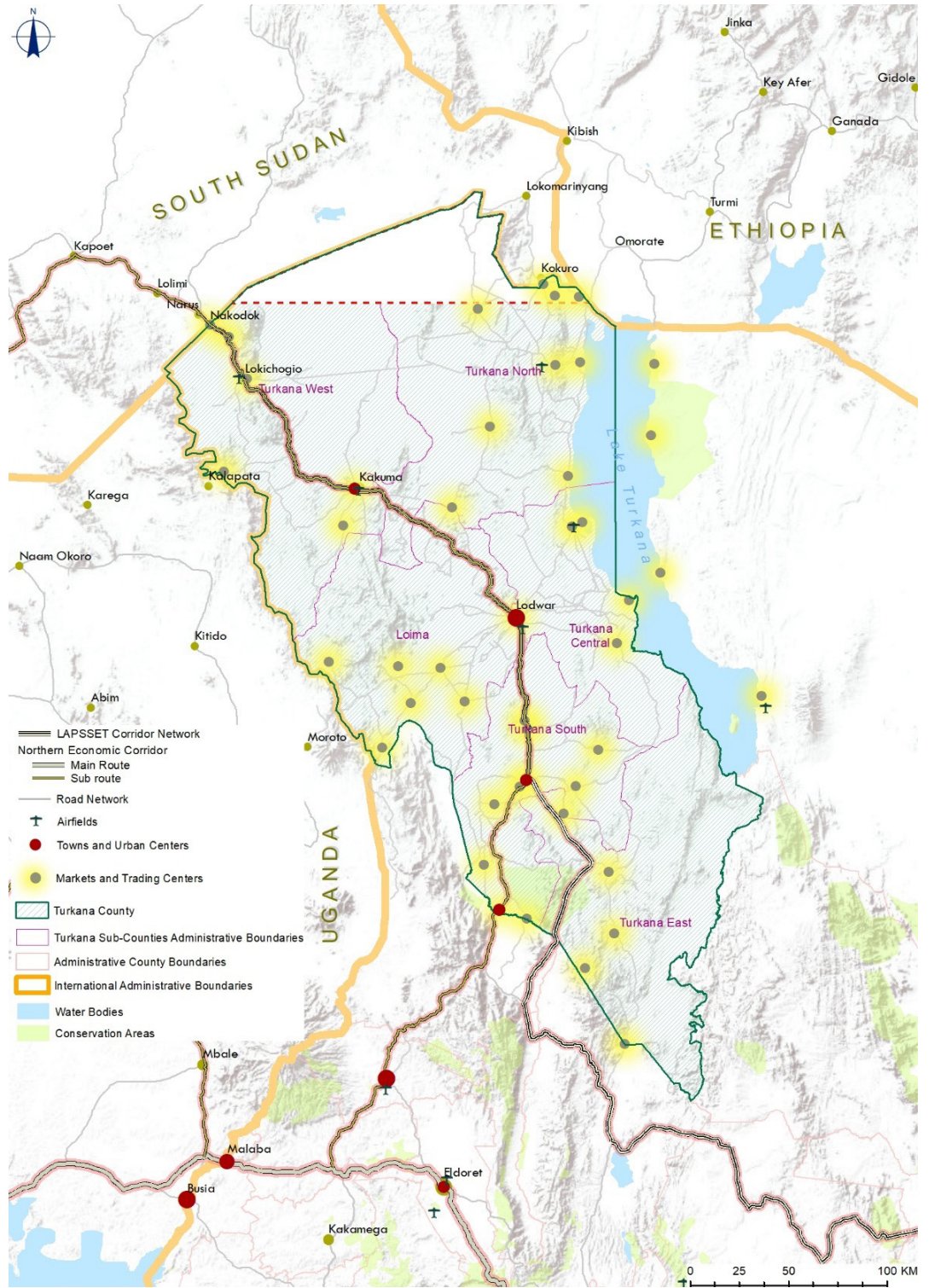


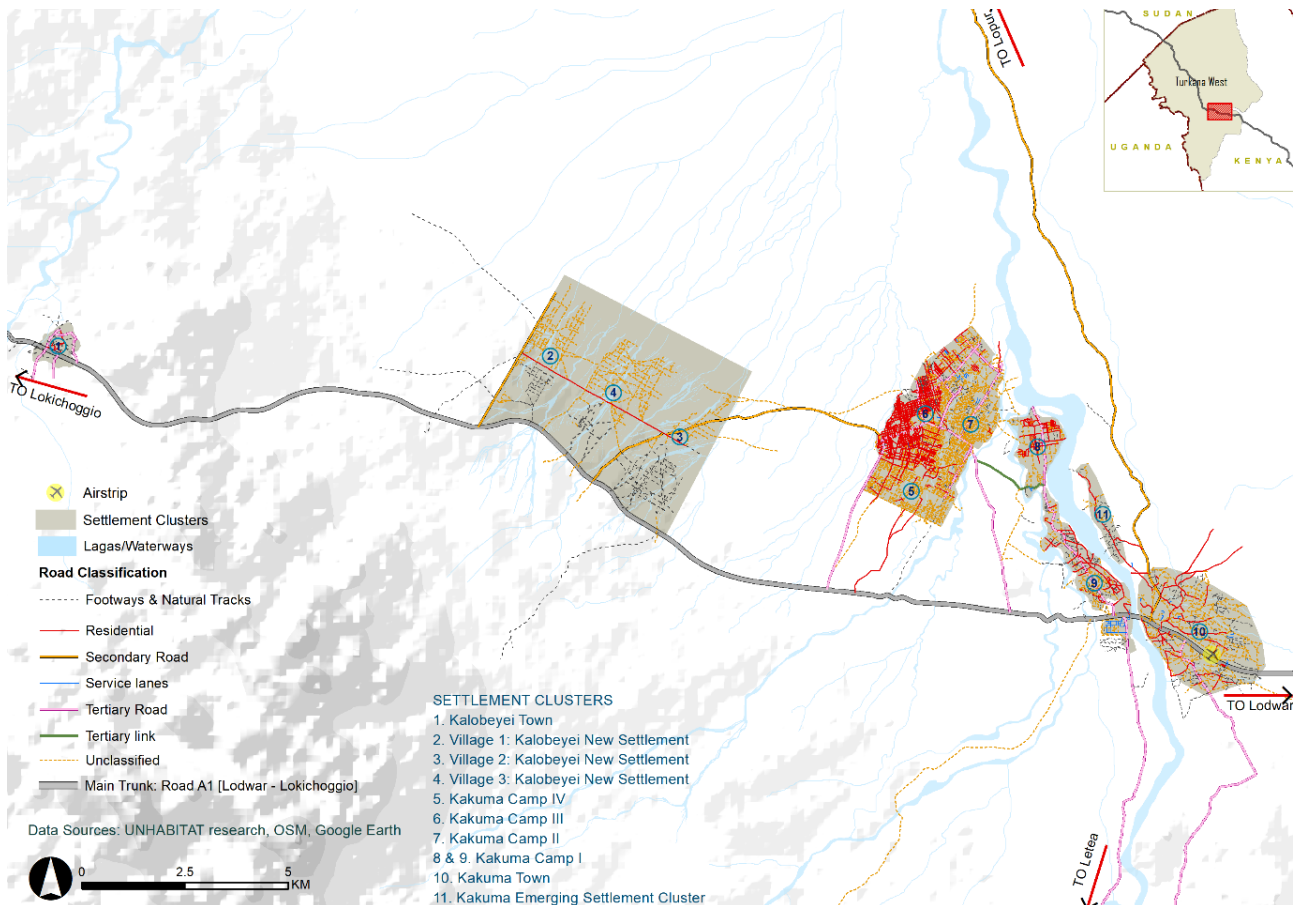
Figure 4.27 The Kenya-South Sudan A1 Road and the Proposed LAPSSET Corridor



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

However, the secondary and tertiary roads feeding traffic to and from the hinterlands are dilapidated, with members of the business community saying that poor roads were a barrier to the upscaling and expansion of their enterprises. Wards such as Songot, Letea and Nanaam lack essential business amenities and infrastructure because of poor road infrastructure connecting them to other emerging towns such as Kakuma, Lokichoggio and Kalobeyei. As such, the business community highlighted the security risks of transporting goods to these regions.

Figure 4.28 Road Network in Kakuma-Kalobeyei Area



Source: UN-Habitat / Turkana West Field Survey 2020

Given most of the roads and foot tracks are in poor condition, often lacking any drainage infrastructure (e.g. bridges, drifts, channels etc), mobility is frequently disrupted during rainy seasons or flash floods. These disruptions occur equally in rural villages and urban areas, presenting an obstacle to economic growth and development by increasing transport costs, which causes investors to turn to areas with more reliable infrastructure. Mobility challenges are compounded by the spontaneous spatial growth and lack of planning that characterises settlements in Turkana West. For example, the lack of planned street layout in Kakuma has created an urban form characterised by inadequate street space and closed street networks, resulting in many 'dead ends' that prevent permeability.

Figure 4.29 Road Conditions in Kakuma Town



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Summary of Emerging Issues

Housing Conditions and Adequacy of Shelter Typologies

- There are multiple shelters available for communities, but host communities have more opportunities to access different types of shelter, compared to refugees whose shelter options are more limited. High costs are the most prohibitive factor in accessing improved shelter for both refugee and host communities.
- Although a majority of households own the shelter they live in, the adequacy of that shelter remains a key concern. The shelter inadequacy is linked to cultural adaptability, affordability, space limitations, flexibility in design, and the mode of shelter delivery.
- The inadequacy of refugee shelters is made evident by the frequency of shelter modifications in the refugee settlements.
- There is essentially no housing market in Turkana West, even in Kakuma town – the largest town in the sub-county. This is because the supply of formal housing is controlled by INGOs and NGOs who provide shelter directly to their staff, and communal land tenure that acts as a barrier to investors who might otherwise invest in housing.
- Cash-based interventions for delivering shelter have boosted the local construction market and contributed to the provision of better housing for refugees. To enhance the impact of this program, appropriate technical support is needed to assist refugee households in choosing better designs that can adapt to future shelter needs.
- The local climate demands locally adapted designs and building materials. The survey found that traditional Turkana housing is designed with local environmental conditions in mind. Similarly, modifications to shelter units were often informed by the desire to adapt units to local climatic conditions such as hot weather. 'Modern housing' in Turkana West, by contrast, is often inadequate, failing to incorporate adaptive architecture, design and building technologies.

Recreational Facilities and Public Spaces

- The main towns and settlements in Turkana West have grown spontaneously or with inadequate urban planning, with Kalobeyi New Settlement being a notable exception. This has resulted in spatial challenges, including inadequate provision of green open spaces and recreational facilities.
- For the host community, large trees along laggas are important as culturally adapted, recreational public spaces that provide a cooling environment. Within built-up areas, playgrounds are the primary open public spaces, and their distribution is uneven.

Access to Water and Sanitation Services

- Turkana West settlements lack a strategic water supply system, including Kakuma-Kalobeyi. Water and sanitation services are one of the major challenges for households and businesses in Turkana West.
- Refugee households have relatively better access to water services compared to the host community, who often need water for both domestic use and livestock.

- Boreholes, streams, and water pans are the main sources of drinking water in Turkana West. However, the quality of drinking water remains a challenge, as several cholera outbreaks have been reported and waterborne diseases are common.
- Water scarcity in the area is the greatest barrier to agricultural production for both subsistence food production and agri-businesses.
- Due to water scarcity, dry systems are the main form of faecal waste disposal. Pit latrines are the most common type of sanitary facilities, though small scale sewerage units using septic tanks and biodigesters can be found in the compounds accommodating NGO and INGO staff, as well as some public facilities. Among the Turkana host community, open defecation is still prevalent. Solid waste management is a challenge because there is no organized waste management system at town or settlement levels. Burning is the most common method of disposal.
- A combination of water scarcity and inadequate waste management creates conditions that foster infections and disease outbreaks.



Household Energy

- Although multiple energy sources are available to households, firewood and charcoal remain the most common for both the refugee and host communities.
- Cleaner forms of energy such as LPG and electricity are rarely used in cooking, though LPG usage is increasing. The comparatively high cost of LPG can be a barrier to more uptake, especially when compared to wood and charcoal. This is important given the data from the research has shown that low incomes and high poverty levels are prevalent in Turkana West.
- Reliance on firewood and charcoal places an environmental burden on the region, which already arid and lacking tree cover.
- Solar uptake is especially high with regards to lighting. In Kalobeyei New Settlement, a mini-grid has demonstrated the potential for upscaling solar energy.
- While the national main electricity utility is expanding distribution in Kakuma-Kalobeyei, high tariffs mean that use is limited to lighting and electrical appliances.

Mobility and Settlements Connectivity

- Households face mobility challenges at local and regional level. At a regional level, decades of marginalisation had resulted in Turkana West's disconnection from the national road and transportation network. This has disadvantaged households in Turkana West in accessing higher education, specialised healthcare and other essential services that can only be found in the major cities. The national government's recent construction of the A1 road, connecting South Sudan and Kenya through Turkana County, will significantly improve connectivity for the people of Turkana West.
- Local mobility and connectivity is constrained by the poor condition of secondary and tertiary roads connecting rural settlements. The sub-county's main settlements also lack improved roads that are vulnerable to flooding during the rainy seasons.



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CHAPTER 5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Overview

The findings from this survey reveal that considerable efforts are required to enhance the social-economic conditions of households in Turkana West. Both refugee and host communities record lower socio-economic indicators than both the national average and target policy indicators such as SDGs. As a result, sections of the population, particularly the youth, have little desire to stay in the area long-term because of a lack of opportunities and basic services. Future programming in Turkana West requires long-term vision and an awareness of the current refugee-oriented structure of services in the area. Programming must be evaluated against the prevailing policy context and the opportunities and challenges it presents, including the Kenyan Government's intention to close refugee camps, the County Integrated Development Plan, and national strategic infrastructure projects such as the A1 road and the LAPSSET corridor. This chapter will offer recommendations for policy makers and support organizations working in Turkana West.

Leveraging Ongoing Interventions to Enhance Turkana West Socio-Development

Ongoing interventions can be leveraged by recasting approaches to humanitarian and development programming. An area-based approach, as opposed to traditional 'biased' approaches that target only refugees or host communities, can be embedded into ongoing comprehensive programming.

County Integrated Development Plan and Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-economic Development Program

The survey found that the Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Program (KISEDIP) is one of the more recognisable programs in the area, with many respondents being aware of Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement (49%), community integration programs for host and refugee communities (46%), agricultural empowerment and farming programs (3%) and social services development (3%). Levels of awareness for the County Annual Development Plan (CADP) and the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) were low at only 2%. Activities associated with CADP and CIDP include education, security, road and infrastructure development within the county. To effectively synchronize the work of CADP, CIDP and KISEDIP, it is critical for the county government, national government, and humanitarian and development aid agencies to work together more closely in both planning and implementing projects. Programming through CIDP offers the opportunity to address long-term needs of the local area, which is especially important given the national government's announcement to close all refugee camps in the country.

A1 Road and LAPSSET Infrastructure Corridor

The completion of the A1 Road will significantly improve connectivity in Turkana West. Households will have better access to transportation between the area and the rest of the county, as well as other regions of Kenya. For communities to leverage benefits from this, it is important to invest in the improvement of local transportation networks and enhance of livelihood strategies such as livestock keeping.

For example, while the A1 road will improve access to external meat markets, households must be actively involved in the value chain to optimize this opportunity. If pastoralists were organized into cooperatives, this would promote better marketing of livestock. Likewise, if access improves to higher education opportunities offered in major cities, local investment in education would support increased enrolment and transition rates.

Recommendations Policy and Humanitarian-Development Programming in Turkana West

Humanitarian-Development Planning and Decision Making

- Establish a local municipality where Integrated and sectoral planning of KISEDIP can be institutionalized. A similar governance structure is needed for Lodwar, as well as an overall strengthening of the sub-county's administration.
- Strengthen public participation, with regular and consultative stakeholder engagements in humanitarian-development programming. Both host and the refugee communities need to be effectively included in public participation, especially in development planning, budgetary processes, project implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation of CIDP projects. This will allow for the prioritisation of development projects that have the highest impact on the most pressing challenges in the sub-county.
- Design policy and governance frameworks and provide necessary infrastructure that attract potential investors and support agencies to access land and invest in sub-county. This will enhance the local economic development and improve opportunities available to the youth.

Infrastructure and Access to basic services and amenities

- Increase investments in road infrastructure with attention to Non-Motorist Transportation and the increased local connectivity.
- Develop a sustainable water supply system for the sub-county, including considerations to attaining reliable municipal water systems for Lokichoggio and Kakuma-Kalobeyei areas.
- In the main clustered settlements, design and invest in a reliable storm water management infrastructure.
- Improve waste management and sanitation conditions by increased investments in infrastructure, low-cost sustainable technologies and social programs to support uptake of solutions.
- Increase investments in reliable energy sources, including green energies such as solar electricity.
- Shift to reliable and environmentally friendly alternatives to firewood and charcoal for energy production, combined with strategies that promote their suitable use. This will reduce unsustainable practices that lead to environmental degradation.
- Establish more recreational facilities to increase opportunities for integration between the refugee and host communities.
- Install more health infrastructure in strategic locations in the wards for ease of access, e.g. along the A1 road.
- Establish a 'one-stop-centre' for government services in the sub-county, e.g. a Huduma Centre. Services would include the acquisition of IDs, passports and other relevant government documents.

- Enhanced investments in communication infrastructure to provide households with better and reliable mobile phone services.
- Provide more education and training facilities and social programs that target increasing enrolment.

Addressing poverty and inequalities

- Support the diversification of livelihood strategies for pastoralists by supporting the establishment of alternative livelihood means, and for refugees by shifting from the over-reliance on financial aid. This will require a combination of policy reforms and significant investment in the development of the area.
- Strengthen the economic benefits derived from pastoralism. Design and promote sustainable livestock and crop farming value chains. Provide support services, such as infrastructure and financial support, to promote small stock livestock farming, e.g. poultry. This involves considerations of value-addition and improvement to the livestock market system, providing support infrastructure, such as a modern abattoir, and organizing pastoralists to strengthen their niche in the value chain system.
- Improve financial inclusion for both refugees and host community.
- Support households engaged in business-incubation and entrepreneurial training with seed capital and economic empowerment. Though many people are interested in starting a business or upscaling an existing business, most face challenges in accessing formal capital. To address this, better financial opportunities are needed for local businesses and industries.

- Work with both refugee and host communities to develop housing solutions. This will ensure adequate and affordable housing is accessible to the diverse needs of the populace, with attention to the local adaptiveness of shelters. Housing interventions are particularly needed in the main towns and settlement areas.

Safety and Peace Building

- Enhanced safety in the area is imperative for achieving improved social-economic conditions. It will ensure children are able to access education facilities in places where learning is often interrupted by conflicts or attacks, and prevent loss of life arising from such conflicts. This requires the sources of conflicts to be addressed, e.g. tensions and conflicts between communities regarding access to scarce water and pasture resources. Development interventions will be required to ensure equitable sharing of these resources, as well as programmes to diversify livelihood strategies and address the challenges created by the area's historical marginalisation.
- Equitable allocation of resources to refugees and host communities is crucial to reducing tensions and strengthening cohesion. This promotes peaceful coexistence.
- The national governments in the Turkana West border region must strengthen regional interventions for cross-border peace building. Enhanced peace in the region will facilitate a good economic environment where cross-border economic activities can flourish.

Conclusion

The research has demonstrated multiple socio-economic challenges as prevalent in Turkana West, with indicators that are largely below the national average in most of the indicators analysed. It is also evident that while these challenges are prevalent among the refugees and host community, the degree of their severity vary between the groups. Fundamentally, to comprehensively address these issues, it is important to adopt and strengthen existing integrated and local area approaches such as KISEDIP. This demands interventions at strategic level such as addressing the prevalent water scarcity, poorly developed local infrastructure and inadequate basic services, low education and literacy levels, low incomes, poverty and marginalization, and addressing a local economy that is over-reliant

on humanitarian financial streams. Without addressing these core issues, attaining self-reliance in Turkana West can be far-fetched. Furthermore, with the pending closure of the refugee camps, following Kenya's directive on the same, it is critical to re-imagine Turkana West, notably Kakuma-Kalobeyei, beyond the status of hosting refugees. This requires learning from the case of Lokichoggio, where the town has since declined following withdrawal of refugee-based programming in the area. It means undertaking a deliberate effort to plan and strategize the future of Kakuma-Kalobeyei, including shifting the current programming from humanitarian assistance to humanitarian-development focus (short-term and mid-term) and a development focus for the long-term.



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SOCIO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN TURKANA WEST, KENYA

VOLUME I:
**REPORT ON
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CONDITIONS**