SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND MAPPING BASELINE SURVEY REPORT

KALOBEYEI INTEGRATED SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
SUPPORTING PLANNING FOR AN INTEGRATED SETTLEMENT IN KALOBEYEI NEW SITE, TURKANA COUNTY, KENYA

2016
Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

The primary objective of this socio-economic baseline survey was to generate planning-relevant social, economic and spatial data outlining development dynamics, as well as the interests and concerns of host community and refugee populations in Kalobeyei and Kakuma. This was to inform the Local Advisory Spatial Plan for Kalobeyei New Settlement, submitted in 2017 to the Turkana County Government.

The survey findings are based on a sample of 331 households and 215 businesses in four areas: Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kakuma host community area, Kalobeyei host community area and the Kalobeyei New Settlement. These were complemented by key informant interviews with the following organizations and individuals: DRC, GIZ, LWF, IRC, NRC, NCCK, UNHCR, WFP and Windle Trust, Kalobeyei Ward Administrator, Kakuma Livestock Market Manager, Kalobeyei Assistant Chief, a new site Bamba Chakula operator and a new site refugee farmer. The team also conducted FGDs with various groups from Kalobeyei host community (elders, women and youth), the Kalobeyei New Site (business operators and youth), Kakuma Refugee Camp (youth group) and Kakuma host community (youth groups). The primary data was collected over a period of 11 days (22nd August to 2nd September, 2016).

The survey established that the refugees were largely better off in most developmental aspects than the host community members. This was mainly attributed to better access to basic services such as education, health, shelter, sanitation and water, courtesy of various humanitarian organizations. For example, in Kalobeyei Town 70.2% of host community members lacked formal education, compared to 13.1% of the refugee community. This may also explain family sizes - the average household size in the host community was found to be 5.5, compared to 3.5 for refugees. It was also found that 28.6% of the host community practiced polygamous marriage. In terms of monthly income, 73.6% of host and 60.9% of refugees earn less than 5,000 KES per month (around $50 US). It was noted that the likelihood of residents from the refugee and host communities to modify residential buildings often relate to livelihood strategies - most were transforming their living and open spaces to engage in commercial activities, or because of the need to accommodate an expanding family.

In terms of access to basic and infrastructural services there was no major discrepancy, as those in the new settlement are yet to receive all the services they need. Water was accessible to refugees in the settlement whereas members of the host community needed to travel long distances in search of water. The issue of water featured much during Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with elders and women. Improving access to water was one of the conditions the host community requested of the government, in exchange for land for the new settlement. In terms of livelihoods, the host mainly relied on their livestock and small businesses. Refugees in the new settlement were engaged in small businesses.

The local community also enjoyed some of the basic services in the refugee camp. Analysis showed that women from the host community were involved in constructing family homes, and fetching water and firewood. Men tended to keep livestock, and were more often employed in the formal sector, as their level of education was higher than that of women. The variety and size of businesses in Kakuma Refugee Camp was superior to the existing businesses located outside the camp. Many businesses were established in Kalobeyei New Site in a short timeframe.

Among the refugees, men tended to dominate ownership and operations of medium and large scale businesses, whereas women tended to be more visible in small scale business and food-oriented enterprises, which normally operate in or near an operator's home. This is common practice in cottage industries. It was also noted that more host community members came for casual work in the camp. Cases of refugees working for the host community were extremely rare. Schools and religious facilities were found to play a significant role as interactive spaces for both host and refugee communities.

The local community struggled to meet their basic needs, resorting to survival tactics such as exchanging of firewood for food or cash. The use of firewood as an interactive commodity must be interrogated further, as it has a negative impact on natural assets in the long term, since the rapidly growing population is increasing demand for this resource. The host community engaged in pastoralism, while the refugee community was found to dominate in business, with some engaged in crop farming. The major asset base for the host community was livestock and grazing land. Refugees had several assets including business networks that linked up to other countries. However, the nature of activities carried out by refugees was related to their country of origin. Most Somalis and Ethiopians engaged in business, Burundians and Congolese were farmers or had food related businesses, and South Sudanese tended to be consumers and not dominant in any specific income generating activities (IGAs).

The National and County Government of Kenya play a significant role in provision of services and infrastructure for the host communities. International and local organizations such as WFP, IRC, DRC, LWF, Windle Trust, GIZ, NCCK and LOKADO, among others coordinated by UNHCR, engage in provision of services to refugees in a complementary manner.

Findings indicate that the involvement of host community is vital in the sustainable growth and integration of the host and refugee communities, since they have permanent interest in
the area as citizens and the local community. Their involvement will help to address possible fluctuations of refugee numbers, which would be the result of refugees returning to their home countries or relocating to another country (returning or relocating are the stated aspirations and desires of many refugees). It is expected that the host community will be required to form the foundation of the proposed integrated settlement. It was also noted that the development needs of the host community and humanitarian needs of the refugee community had some similarities. Identified in both areas were basic needs (water, education and, in some cases, food) and livelihoods (employment and income generating activities). The only concern was that members of the host community favoured livestock as a source of livelihoods, while the refugees tended to prefer businesses since stock could be sold quickly if they were required to return to their country.

The survey recommends that any effort to integrate the host and refugee communities should focus on both communities:

- Important focus areas for the host community are: improving livelihoods, employment and scholarship linkages and networks, and access to basic services.
- Important focus areas for the refugee community are: addressing security concerns and supporting refugees to engage in commercial enterprises including farming.

Achievement of the desired integration between the host and refugees is critical. This will require renewed goodwill and collaborative efforts by the Kenya Government and County Government of Turkana, and the collaboration of international and local organizations.
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIDP</td>
<td>County Integrated Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRA</td>
<td>Department of Refugees Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Danish Refugee Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPAU</td>
<td>Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organization</td>
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<td>FBOs</td>
<td>Faith Based Organizations</td>
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<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>International Rescue Committee</td>
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<td>Income Generating Activities</td>
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<td>KIIs</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
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<td>LWF</td>
<td>Lutheran World Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOKADO</td>
<td>Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>National Council of Churches in Kenya</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>NRC</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council</td>
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<td>PWJ</td>
<td>Peace Winds Japan</td>
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<td>RA</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The global refugee situation has been worsening over the last decade, with conflict re-emerging and appearing in new forms in all major world regions. Over this period, Sub-Saharan Africa has both generated and hosted the world’s largest refugee population. By the end of 2015, the region was home to 4.4 million refugees (about a quarter of the total refugee population under UNHCR mandate), of which more than half (2.7 million) were hosted in the East and Horn of Africa region. By the end of 2015, Kenya was ranked seventh in the world in numbers of refugees it hosted (553,900), and was the African country with the second highest refugee population (after Ethiopia which hosted 736,100 refugees)1.

The Kakuma Refugee Camp opened in 1992 to host 12,000 unaccompanied minors who had fled the war in Sudan and arrived on foot from camps in Ethiopia2. It was designed to host a maximum population of 100,000, but was home to 161,725 people by the end of 20153. With an unrelenting conflict in the region, particularly in South Sudan, more refugees have continued to trickle into Kakuma Camp, demanding alternative methods of hosting them, especially since allocated camp land has been filled.

In June 2015, the Turkana County Government allocated 1500 hectares of land, located approximately 15 km to the west of Kakuma, in Kalobeyei ward, to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA)4. One of the conditions given by the County Government and the people of Turkana was that the land would be developed as a settlement as opposed to a camp; that deliberate efforts would be made to facilitate local integration; and that humanitarian and development organizations would not only be on refugees but also on the host community. The new settlement also had to consider development of the larger region, and ensure that all activities were in line with the county and national development frameworks. All these would be implemented within the framework of the “Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme” (KISEDP). UN-Habitat’s role in the programme was to plan a sustainably integrated settlement.

UN-Habitat commissioned this Baseline Socio-Economic and Mapping Survey to understand the larger planning context, and in turn to inform the integrated planning process. The report is organised into six chapters,

1. Introduction;
2. Global refugee trends and local operating framework;
3. Study area background and methodology;
4. Baseline socio-economic survey findings
5. Baseline mapping survey findings
6. Conclusion and recommendations

1.2 Objectives of the Baseline Survey and Mapping:

The goal of the baseline survey was to generate planning specific and relevant information which will be used by UN-Habitat (and partners) in the development of the Kalobeyei New Settlement Local Advisory Spatial Plan. The survey included two components – socio-economic and mapping studies.

The specific objectives of the socio-economic study sub-component included to:

(i) Analyse the existing situation in the wider area of the host communities and the new site area, with regards to: agricultural lands, main natural features and productive natural features, protected or heritage areas, roads, infrastructure and basic services, access to the area and connections with other settlements;
(ii) Document and analyse current and historical settlement patterns around Kakuma and Kalobeyei area;
(iii) Conduct a participatory settlement household survey to establish a detailed analysis of the identified settlement systems and humanitarian and development needs of both the refugees and host communities;
(iv) Conduct a survey and a community workshop with the refugee communities in order to gain an understanding of their conditions, capacities, needs, problems and desires;
(v) Conduct a socio-economic and spatial survey of livelihood means in the area, targeting both host and refugee communities;
(vi) Conduct a participatory business survey; and
(vii) Organise a stakeholder validation and training workshop in which the findings of the study would be disseminated.

The objectives of the mapping sub-component included to:

1. Collect all available data on land use and map the current tenure situation in the area by:
2. Identifying all existing information, as well as missing crucial data that needs to be acquired with the survey in wider Kakuma area;
3. Identifying sources of data and facilitating the access to, and collection and collation of all spatial land information from these sources;
4. Collecting and collating other relevant GIS datasets (e.g. topography, roads infrastructure, health, education, water facilities etc.);
5. Processing the data into a common GIS database (scanning and digitizing hard copy maps, cleaning and amalgamating existing GIS files);
6. Conducting a participatory GIS mapping of established ‘commons’ land, and informal or semi-formal systems of land and resource management;
7. Conducting mapping from secondary sources (satellite imagery, aerial photos) and field surveys to fill gaps in existing data from sources listed in (ii);
9. Develop an integrated WEB-GIS system to store, manage and support the manipulation of the collected datasets.
10. Provide technical capacity development to selected Government of Turkana staff on mapping and WebGIS system management.
11. Organise a stakeholder validation and training workshop.
12. Provide 6-months system support.

1.3 Overview of the Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme

The Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Program (KISEDIP) is a Turkana-based initiative that aims to facilitate collaboration and coordination between the Kenyan Government, UN agencies, development actors, NGOs, the private sector and civil society to build sustainable services and economic opportunities. The programme revolves around a new refugee site in the Kalobeyei area (ward) of Turkana County, Northern Kenya, which is expected to accommodate more than 60,000 refugees and host communities. It focuses on both short-term (humanitarian) and long-term (sustainable development) interventions, and will be implemented in four thematic areas:

1. Sustainable Integrated Service Delivery and Skills Development;
2. Spatial Planning and Infrastructure Development;
3. Agriculture and Livestock Development; and
4. Private Sector and Entrepreneurship.

The Kalobeyei New Settlement is designed as a hybrid system which empowers refugee and host communities through livelihood opportunities and gives them access to mainstreamed services. UNHCR will ensure that refugees and host community members in Kalobeyei and Kakuma produce and run as many of the goods, services and businesses in the area as possible. For example, activities will support crop production and prepare youth to benefit from the emerging industry in Turkana where large reserves of oil, gas and under-ground water have been discovered.

UN-Habitat’s intervention in KISEDIP will be one that promotes public participation and stakeholder involvement and is expected to lead to the establishment of a support function for the County Government of Turkana, sustainable livelihoods development for refugee and host communities, and the formulation of a detailed resettlement plan for the new settlement (that will include the Local Advisory Spatial Plan and other investment plans).

1.4 Scope of the Baseline Survey

The scope of the baseline survey was the two wards of Kalobeyei (with a host population of 16,378) and Kakuma (with a host population of 33,539 people) (Figure 1). The Kakuma Camp and Kalobeyei New Settlement, though not included in the above statistics, were important areas for data collection and analysis. Since they are not territorially demarcated within Kenya’s geographical units, the two settlements were treated as falling within the two administrative wards. To appreciate regional development dynamics and how these were influenced by refugee settlements, part of the survey also focused on the surrounding Lopur and Nakalale wards.

The influence of Kakuma Refugee Camp on Kakuma Town, other surrounding major towns (e.g. Lokichogio, Lodwar, Kitale), as well as smaller market centres were also evaluated (Figure 1). At the lower level, the study sought to attain information on households, businesses and key informants such as local and international organizations working in the area. A regional level analysis spanning over the larger Turkana area was also undertaken on grazing and migration patterns among the Turkana people.

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5 UN-Habitat News, UN-Habitat to lead in planning Kenya’s first Integrated Settlement in Kalobeyei, Turkana County, 2016.
Figure 1: Study Area Scope
Participatory meeting with Kalobeyei town community for introducing the project in Turkana, Kenya 2016 © UN-Habitat/Julius Mwelwa
Chapter 2

Literature Review: Global Refugee Trends and Local Operating Framework

2.1 Overview of Refugee Settlements

The past few decades have seen a rising global refugee crisis. This has not only challenged local development, but also strained resources from humanitarian organizations and resulted in growing conflicts between refugees and host communities. The number of forcibly displaced people globally increased by 5.8 million, from 59.5 million in 2014 to 65.3 million in 2015. Of this number, 21.3 million were refugees, 16.1 million of whom were under UNHCR’s mandate. By the end of 2015, 86% of the refugees under UNCHR mandate were hosted in developing countries. Sub-Saharan Africa was home to about a quarter of this population (4.4 million people), more than half (2.7 million) of whom were hosted in the East and Horn of Africa region where Kenya lies. In 2015 alone, the East and Horn of Africa region experienced a 5% increase in refugee numbers, an equivalent of 138,000 individuals from the start to end of the year.

Kenya, which is centrally located in the East and Horn of Africa high conflict zone has enjoyed relatively stable political and economic environment over the decades. The country borders two of the top 10 major sources of refugees globally, Somalia (ranked number 3) and South Sudan (number 4), and is close to three other major refugee sources (Sudan – number 5, Democratic Republic of Congo – number 6 and Central African republic – number 7). As a result, by the end of 2015, Kenya was among the 10 countries hosting the largest number of refugees globally, ranked 7th with a total of 553,900 refugees; and the second in Africa after Ethiopia (hosting 736,100 refugees). While the net increase in number of refugees (and people in refugee like situations) in the country through 2015 was marginal (recorded at only 2,560 persons), the number of spontaneous arrivals was recorded at 21,624 people through the year. On the other hand, there was a major decrease in the ‘refugee’ and ‘people in refugee like situation’ population, recorded at 10,848 persons, of whom 5,847 were voluntarily repatriated and 5001 were resettled.

2.2 Refugee Settlements: Emerging relationships, conflicts, and integration alternatives

Around the world, incidences of forced displacement—which often result in refugees—are increasing. This has not only necessitated a heightened need for resources to take care of them, but has also led to the realization that sustainable solutions to the refugee crisis are required. While this largely applies at the management context, there are emerging dynamics at the local level, which are mostly related to how refugees interact among themselves in refugee camps/settlements, and also how they interact with the local communities in the areas they resettle.

Whereas existing literature on the overall (short and long-term) relationships between refugees and host communities is limited, there is a growing interest in this subject, which is broadly being influenced by the growing refugee populations and increasing conflicts in refugee camps. Several existing studies focus on refugee settlements as encamped human settlements; often with individual refugee camp studies as opposed to comparative analysis of different settlements (see Martin, 2005; Berry, 2010, Tollebrandt & Wrede, 2013; Martin et al., 2016).

Table 1: Kenya Refugee Population 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of location</th>
<th>Share of age group in total</th>
<th>Percentage female per age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Refugees at location, end-2015</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>5-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi : Province</td>
<td>47,249</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagahaley : Point</td>
<td>86,634</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hagadera : Point</td>
<td>105,367</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifo : Point</td>
<td>82,678</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifo 2 : Point</td>
<td>50,471</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma : Point</td>
<td>161,725</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kambioos : Point</td>
<td>19,788</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Malik et al, 2011, Aukot, 2003). In the recent past, new studies are focusing on local integration of refugees and host communities (as promoted by UNHCR, World Vision - Guay, J, 2015, Jacobsen, 2003). The level of data comparability and data generation is however at the micro level, and is often inconclusive. Refugees should not be considered as burdens in the areas where they settle, as they bring potential to generate economic, legal and social opportunities in impoverished regions. However, the humanitarian approach to addressing refugee situations that is broadly guided and influenced by international law and other national policies has created high levels of inequality between refugees and host community members; one which views refugees as more important than their hosts, often resulting in their being given greater access to economic and social opportunities. This has contributed to growing tensions between the two communities, which is hindering efforts by organizations such as UNHCR to develop integrated settlements.

This section discusses the most common causes of conflict between the two groups, as well as the emerging opportunities from refugee settlements.

2.2.1 Causes of conflicts between refugees and host communities

Conflicts between refugees and host communities are varied, often depending on the local contexts where resettlement happens. While assessing 15 studies discussing the drivers of social tensions in Lebanon and Jordan (as influenced by the Syria refugee crisis), Guay (2015) identifies three broad causes of conflict: structural, socio-economic and proximate. Each has multiple elements, as follows:

Structural causes:
- Structural vulnerabilities that pre-date the specific crisis, such as high levels of poverty, resource scarcity, and lack of effective governing institutions (or support for institutions).

Socio-economic causes:
- Differences in religious, cultural and social norms between refugee and host communities and lack of social networks.

Proximate causes:
- Access (poor quality living conditions and the perception of exploitation).
- Economic competition over jobs (formal and informal employment) and livelihood opportunities.
- Access to and quality of basic education (e.g. concerns of overcrowded classrooms and lack of quality or access) and basic public goods and services (e.g. water and electricity, solid waste collection, healthcare).
- The role of international aid (in terms of perceptions on fairness of distribution, availability and perceptions of inequity, unfairness and corruption).
- The role of social, local and international media and the framing of issues.

This categorization is not universal and some sub-causes may easily belong to different clusters. It however gives a fair summary of findings by other researchers from across the world.

a. Structural causes of conflict

Outside the fact that most refugees around the world are hosted in the developing and least developed countries, refugee camps are themselves located in the most remote areas of such countries. These are the resource-scarce areas where poverty stricken and marginalised communities live without access to basic needs. The influx and settlement of refugees in these areas is often an immediate cause for tension, not only on the aspects of utilization of land, but also on access to services in high demand.

According to international law, to receive international aid a person must live outside their country of origin and without state protection, implying that one group of vulnerable people (refugees) receives aid and support in all aspects of their life, while the other vulnerable group (the host community) does not. The mix of traditional vulnerabilities and inequitable access to emerging services and opportunities often leads to hostility between the refugees and hosts. This is the case in Kenya, where the two largest camps, Dadaab and Kakuma are located in the least (agriculturally) productive semi-arid areas10. Here, humanitarian-organization supported refugees live among the Turkana nomadic pastoralists, many of whom live in severe poverty11 and who receive very minimal, if any assistance from the international community. This has resulted in the host communities feeling hostile and blaming their problems on refugees and support institutions12. A similar situation was reported in Jordan where external “uneven access to” support and “targeting” was identified as a major source of heightened tension from host communities that were estimated to be at relatively high risk of tension13.

The long term achievement of integrated communities, where social cohesion is a driving force for local growth, should therefore consider local perceptions on “selective” aid/assistance. Aid agencies should consider how their response is linked to community dynamics, and how it may inadvertently catalyse frictions, escalate tensions and increase negative perceptions of assistance14.

b. Conflicts emanating from “value” of resources, culture and changing security patterns

There is increasing concern about cultural diffusion, environmental degradation and cultural conflict and tension in many refugee settled areas. Demand for construction and cooking material (timber, firewood) strains natural resources such as forests. In Turkana, there have been incidences of increased elopement; increased cases of prostitution; increased insecurity; destruction of forests and other events,

10 Country’s economy still largely relies on agriculture (60-70%)
12 ibid
14 ibid
which have been a major causes of conflict in Kakuma. There are also reported fights between the local population and refugees, related to destruction of forest resources including indigenous trees. Hosts feel that falling trees are endangering the survival of their livestock. Over the years, there has been a growing shift towards use of bricks and iron sheets in construction, rather than timber, although use of firewood is a major cause for concern for the local community.

Variations in culture, beliefs and political affiliations between refugees and hosts (and among the refugee communities), is another issue of concern. Around the world, refugees are considered a security threat to their host communities. In Kakuma, the Turkana have previously accused the Dinka ethnic group of Sudan of raping local women and creating gangs. There have also been reports of the Dinkas fighting with the Nuers (another Sudanese ethnic group), often drawing the local population into conflict.

The security situation is influenced by events, public opinion, leadership and governance, and is a major barrier to developing integrated settlements. In Kenya, the presence of Somali refugees in the country (and especially the Dadaab camps) has been associated with high levels of insecurity and increased terrorist activities, and has contributed to ongoing deliberations by the government on whether the camp should be closed.

c. Conflicts emanating from access to goods, services and facilities

Basic services such as water and food are often disproportionately accessible to refugees rather than host communities. Most settlements are in arid areas, straining food supplies and increasing competition for scarce water resources. In Chad and Darfur, friction between refugees and host communities is reportedly due to increased demand for water resources. Similarly in Kakuma, the host community complain that their water supply has been severely compromised since the arrival of refugees. Local women must walk long distances to fetch water, while refugees have piped water in their compounds. There are also growing concerns over the sustainability of underground water resources in the river reserve, along which most boreholes supply water to the camps have been drilled. Displacement of host communities in refugee settlement areas, soil erosion and deforestation have greatly affected food security for locals, who depend on pasture and water for survival and to sustain their pastoral lifestyle.

d. Conflicts emanating from discrepancy in access to social opportunities

Access to services forms a key basis and premise for sustainable integration of communities. There are mixed reports on the impact of refugee presence on access to education and health, but there is consensus that refugees have better access to food, education and utilities. Refugees can choose to go to local or camp schools, but locals may not attend schools in refugee camps, such as in Kakuma.

An example to be emulated is the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana, which has far fewer restrictions. Construction of schools for the refugee camp has increased education access among locals, thus enhancing opportunities in the villages around the camp as compared to other areas. Inequitable access to these services is a major cause of conflict between refugees and host communities.

e. Conflicts over access to economic opportunities

A key measure of the impact of a refugee settlement on a local community is economic growth. When refugee settlement occurs in a marginalised and previously economically inactive area, it may receive substantial foreign capital. Refugees influence the local economy in various ways:

1. Increased demand for goods, which increases the variety of income generating opportunities possible for the host community.
2. Increased purchasing power of refugees, who often receive aid from humanitarian organizations. This leads to higher prices and increased profits for traders, but may negatively impact the rest of the local population if income generating opportunities are not made widely accessible.
3. New job opportunities with the construction of the camp, though mostly for the refugee population with regular spill-over to the host community. In properly governed settlements, negotiations for community participation in the emerging jobs would lead to equal job opportunities and capacity-development for locals.

The change in economic fortunes and creation of opportunities is important for local communities, but also a major area of conflict between refugees and host communities. Increased demand for goods and products is associated with higher prices. In the long term, the exchange of goods and services leads to further development and improves the standard of living for people living around the refugee camps.

The improved standard of living, however, also causes increased inequality, with more strategically placed locals at an advantage over the rest of the community. As refugees begin to settle, the camps grow into self-sustaining “towns”.

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16 Ibid
17 Ibid
18 Cronin, A. et al., “A review of water and sanitation provision in refugee camps in association with selected health and nutrition indicators – the need for integrated service provision.”
21 Ibid
which usually offer higher quality goods and services than the surrounding areas. A good example of this is in Kakuma, where over the years the development of the Kakuma Refugee Camp has promoted the growth of Kakuma Town. However, several commercial streets and markets have also developed within the camp, with camp-based businesses far outperforming the town in terms of returns and variety of goods available. This is due to higher purchasing power in the camps, which creates demand for full time access to goods and services, while restrictions such as curfew hours reduce amount of trading time between hosts and refugees in the host community town.

A high-conflict scenario for refugees and host communities often involves land and labour distribution. In many areas, the influx of refugees creates job opportunities, but it also creates job competition which often gives refugees an advantage over the hosts. The disadvantage of host communities is based on two key aspects: the level of expertise among these mostly marginalised communities who must compete with skilled refugees; and the cost of labour, as hiring refugees is much cheaper than hiring hosts. This situation is clear in Kakuma, where, as noted by Montclos and Kagwanja (2000):

“Job competition is “intense because NGOs tend to hire refugees, who work for less than the Kenyans.” Clinics in Kakuma, for instance, employ ten refugees to assist one Kenyan. The hospital alone employs 78 refugees and only 21 Kenyans. Similar disparities exist in Kenyan schools. A primary teacher’s salary is KS 1875 for a refugee and KS 11,790 for Kenyans.”

The disparity in access to employment opportunities, for two populations who have a similar demand for income generating opportunities, is a major cause of tension between refugees and host communities.

2.2.2 Determinants of Sustainable Refugee Settlements

Based on the sources of conflict between refugees and hosts, the following are key requirements for a sustainably integrated settlement:

- Equality of opportunities;
- Equitable distribution of resources;
- Enhanced local community growth;
- Cultural integration, while also respecting varying cultures and their diversity;
- Participatory formulation of policies and development frameworks in line with community norms, local, semi-national, national and regional interests;
- Local community empowerment in all social and economic fronts; and
- Promotion of regional economic opportunities, policies and guidelines.

The achievement of sustainably integrated settlements can be achieved in several ways:

- Development of integrated humanitarian and development programmes which seek to balance assistance to both refugee and host communities, or integrate services provided to both communities.
- Development of conflict resolution programmes which encourage peace-building workshops, discussions or regular meetings between both communities.
- Environmental management programmes which seek to improve the management of environmental resources in order to promote co-operation and reduce tensions.

The literature on good practice in this area is very limited, and there are only a few general studies that address these issues directly. One main barrier to effective programming is donors’ tendency to separate humanitarian assistance for refugees from broader development assistance.

2.2.2.1 Alternatives to attaining Sustainable Refugee Settlements – is Local Integration the Ultimate Solution?

Globally, the development of sustainable solutions for the growing refugee crisis is guided by 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, which encourages signatory States to cooperate in finding long-lasting solutions for refugees. However, the attainment of durable solutions has legal, economic, cultural, political and civil dimensions that need to be addressed outright, so that refugees and other displaced persons can enjoy the same rights as the nationals of the country they are settled in. According to UNHCR, “without safe environments, administrative and legal pathways to formal solutions, access to economic opportunities, and inclusion of displaced people in all aspects of social and cultural life, solutions cannot be achieved.”

There are several options for the attainment of comprehensive refugee settlements, including voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and different forms of local integration. A combination of pathways can be pursued simultaneously to attain the best outcome for displaced populations.

Voluntary Repatriation was the preferred solution towards

27 Ibid
28 UNHCR, 2016, Global Trends: Forced Displacements 2015. UNHCR
29 Ibid
30 Ibid
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attainment of a sustainable refugee solution, since it was based on the belief that returning home would offer refugees the right level of security and dignity, and the full state protection required for each citizen. This solution has, however, been challenged by growing conflicts, and recurrence of conflicts in different world regions, making it difficult to repatriate citizens. This was in addition to challenges such as a lack of access to livelihoods, health care, education, and difficulties in land and property reclamation by marginalised refugees. Because of these challenges, the number of refugees who have been voluntarily repatriated is uneven, with recorded returns of 201,400 refugees in 2015 and 414,600 in 2013. While 12.9 million refugees could return to their homes between 1996 and 2005, only 4.2 million returned between 2006 and 2015, with the period 2011-2015 accounting for only 10% of the returns over the last 20 years31. The declining numbers of returns, together with new and recurring conflicts, has greatly limited this option, resulting in the need to promote two alternatives:

Resettlement occurs when refugees are unable to go back to their countries for various reasons (continued conflict, persecution etc.), and are resettled in a third country for asylum, which has agreed to admit them as refugees and ultimately grant them permanent residence. This option is beneficial for refugees, and an increasing number of countries are taking part in UNHCR’s resettlement programme. However, very few people are resettled through this program compared to the number of refugees being generated each year. In 2015, for example, out of the total of 21.3 million refugees, only 134,000 refugees were referred for resettlement. This was a 29% increase from 2014 and the highest number in two decades32.

Local Integration is perhaps the most promising means for large scale refugee settlement, which offers not only adequate protection for refugees, but also generates growth opportunities for the settlement area. Local integration involves a refugee finding a permanent home in the country of asylum and integrating into the local community. This is a complex and gradual process comprising distinct legal, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. Over time the process should lead to permanent residence rights, and, in some cases, the acquisition of citizenship in the country of asylum.

Until recently, local integration was a mostly neglected alternative, as humanitarian organizations such as UNHCR tended to prefer encampment as a solution to the growing refugee crisis. Continuing and re-emerging conflicts have, however, resulted in protracted refugee situations. The concept is attracting attention for its potential to promote economic development, protect refugee rights and provide long-term solutions to persistent crises33. Local integration in the broadest sense, means permanently settling refugees in host communities located in the country where they first sought asylum34. Some of the most popular approaches to boosting local community integration are either policy driven, or due to (pro-)active community and agency involvement in the development of integrated communities, mostly with an intention to tap into the benefits that refugee settlements bring. Both approaches seek to boost short and long-term links, and promote local resilience in the marginalised areas where most refugee settlements develop.

In the past, many host governments, particularly in Africa, have allowed “self-settlement” of refugees without official assistance in local host communities. But local integration has rarely been pursued systematically or formalized in a way that gives refugees a secure legal status. Only a small number of governments, including Uganda, Mexico, and Belize, have offered local integration opportunities to refugees who cannot or do not wish to repatriate. In both developed and developing host countries, the preference is for temporary protection and restrictions on refugees, including channelling them into camps pending their repatriation.

There are many options for local integration of refugees, with some of the most common scenarios including35,36:

• **Full integration** – in which refugees are granted asylum, residency, and full and permanent membership status and protection by the host government, with access and enjoy the full range of economic, social, and civil rights accorded to permanent legal residents, including access to citizenship under the same terms as others.

• **Local integration** – which may take place when it is not safe for refugees to return home after a prolonged period in exile. In such cases, a host government may decide to allow refugees to integrate locally, in the first-asylum country. Local integration may or may not lead to permanent residence and eventual citizenship.

• **Self-settlement** – when refugees share local households, or set up temporary accommodation with the assistance of local families or community organizations. Such refugees do not have legal refugee status in the host country, and though UNHCR recognises them it is unable to provide any formal protection. These refugees are often active in the local economy despite legal restrictions on such activities.

• **Encampment** – means that refugee camps are purpose-built and administered by UNHCR and/or host governments. Food, water, and services such as schooling and health care are provided by relief agencies. Refugees in camps are not expected to be self-sufficient, and camps are seldom planned for long-term use or population growth. Host governments and many relief agencies tend to prefer camps not only because they make managing assistance easier,

31 ibid
32 ibid
36 ibid
ReHoPE is a self-reliance and resilience strategic framework targeting refugees and host communities in Uganda’s nine refugee hosting districts. It is a five-year commitment which recognises the need for creative durable solutions. It is in line with humanitarian principles and has a special focus on self-reliance and resilience of refugees and host communities alike. Through a holistic approach, ReHoPE addresses the sustainable development of the host country on a district level and enhances refugee protection.

The ReHoPE strategy provides the basis for proposed joint programming of up to $350 million over five years, involving UN agencies, the World Bank, the Government of Uganda, development partners and the private sector. Through a multi-sectoral partnership, new development programming focused on improving social services and enhanced livelihoods will enable refugees and host communities to meet their immediate needs and prepare them for future shocks. It is also envisaged that support for self-reliance and resilience will serve refugees equally in the event of a prolonged stay in Uganda, as well as upon their eventual return to their countries of origin.

**ReHoPE is expected to deliver:**

1. Sustainable livelihoods, based on:
   a) Modernized agricultural practices and improved market linkages
   b) Market-driven technical skills and small-scale enterprise.
2. Integrated and Sustainable Social Service Delivery with District Local Government systems focused particularly on the health and education sectors.
3. Community and system resilience based on dialogue and peaceful co-existence.
4. Protection including emergency response.
5. Preserve equal and unhindered access to territory and protection space and promote the full enjoyment of rights, while maintaining the civilian character of asylum.
6. Preparing refugees for solutions, such as building knowledge, skills, and capacities for refugees when they return home.

**Several initiatives and activities have been launched in support of ReHoPE, including:**

a) OPM-WFP-UNHCR Joint Project for Self-Reliance – a partnership targeting 3,500 refugee and host community households in agriculture and non-farm income generating activities.

b) Koboko Partnership – a public-private partnership targeting 7,500 refugee and host community households in modern, commercial-scale agriculture.

c) Yunus Social Business – a social entrepreneurship initiative designed to empower and capacitate youth in refugee and host communities.

d) The Enhanced Japan-UNHCR Uganda Partnership – a comprehensive partnership with JICA, the Embassy of Japan, and private sector actors that supports rice value chain upgrading, vocational training, and rehabilitation and construction of vital infrastructure.

REHoPE’s expected outcomes include both enhancing social cohesion and coexistence, and building knowledge, skills and capacities for both refugees and host communities, to be applied in the long term.

Local integration requires thinking beyond refugee-host community dynamics, particularly because the long-term sustainability of integrated neighbourhoods is multi-tiered. There are horizontal tensions (between hosts and refugees) and vertical tensions (between the communities and those who govern and administer them). Micro-level opportunities (e.g. economic competition, employment) generate horizontal tensions, while macro level issues such as distribution of services among various parties and leadership disjuncture contribute to vertical tensions. There is evidence of this phenomenon in Kakuma

**2.3 Other Initiatives which may Impact on KISED**

2.3.1 The Lamu Port-Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSET) Corridor

The LAPSET Corridor Program is a flagship regional project intended to provide transport and logistics infrastructure which will lead to seamless connectivity between the Eastern African

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countries of Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. The project connects a population of 160 million people in the three countries. Additionally, the LAPSSET Corridor is part of the larger land bridge that will connect the East African coast from Lamu Port to the West coast of Africa at Douala Port.

The LAPSSET Corridor is intended to operate as an Economic Corridor with the objective of providing multiple Eastern African nations access to a large scale economic trade system thereby promoting socio-economic development in the region. It consists of two elements; the 500-metre-wide Infrastructure Corridor where the road, railway, pipelines, power transmission and other projects will be carried and the Economic Corridor of 50 km on either side of the infrastructure corridor, where industrial investments will be situated. The phase connecting Kenya to Southern Sudan will pass near Kalobeyei and it is envisaged to have a great impact on KISEDP and the entire Turkana County.

2.3.2 Other Initiatives by the Turkana County Government

Various initiatives by the County Government, including preparation of the County Spatial Plans, various land-use plans for urban areas such as Kakuma and others, will lead to generation of more activities or intensify existing activities. This will impact the proposed Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement.

2.4 Legal and Policy Framework guiding planning & development of refugee settlements


2.4.1 The Refugees Convention of 1951

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is the foundation of international refugee law. The Convention has a legal, political and ethical significance that goes well beyond its specific terms:

- Legal – provides the basic standards on which principled action can be based;
- Political – provides a universal framework within which States can cooperate and share the responsibility resulting from forced displacement; and
- Ethical – it is a unique declaration by its 141 Party States, of their commitment to uphold and protect the rights of some of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged people.

Protecting refugees is primarily the responsibility of States. Throughout its history, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has worked closely with governments as partners in refugee protection. In every region of the world, governments have generously granted asylum to refugees and allowed them to remain until conditions were conducive their safe and dignified return to their home countries.

2.4.2 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees

The 1967 Refugee Protocol is independent of the 1951 Convention, though the two are related. The Protocol lifts the time and geographic limits found in the Convention’s refugee definition. Together, the Refugee Convention and Protocol cover three main subjects:

- The basic refugee definition, along with terms for cessation of, and exclusion from, refugee status.
- The legal status of refugees in their country of asylum, their rights and obligations, including the right to be protected against forcible return, or repatriation to a territory where their lives or freedom would be threatened.
• States’ obligations, including cooperating with UNHCR in the exercise of its functions and facilitating its duty of supervising the application of the Convention.

By acceding to the Protocol, States agree to apply most of the articles of the Refugee Convention (Articles 2 through 34) to all persons covered by the Protocol’s refugee definition. Yet the vast majority of States have preferred to accede to both the Convention and the Protocol. In doing so, States reaffirm that both treaties are central to the international refugee protection system.

2.4.3 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa

The conflicts that accompanied the end of the colonial era in Africa led to a succession of large-scale refugee movements. These population displacements prompted the drafting and adoption of not only the 1967 Refugee Protocol but also the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. Asserting that the 1951 Refugee Convention is “the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of refugees”, the OAU Convention is, to date, the only legally binding regional refugee treaty.

Perhaps the most important portion of the OAU Convention is its definition of a refugee. The OAU Convention follows the refugee definition found in the 1951 Convention, but includes a more objectively based consideration: any person compelled to leave his/her country because of “external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality”. This means that persons fleeing civil disturbances, widespread violence and war are entitled to claim the status of refugee in States that are parties to this Convention, regardless of whether they have a well-founded fear of persecution (UNHCR & IPU, Undated).

2.4.4 Government of Kenya Refugees Act 2006

Until 2006, Kenya had no law exclusively addressing the status and rights of refugees. The development of the refugee law was more informed by security concerns than protection considerations. The Refugees Act of 2006, which became operational in 2007, defined refugee status replete with exclusion and cessation clauses. It also outlined the rights and duties of refugees and asylum-seekers. The act defines a refugee as a person;

• owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or

• not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for any of the aforesaid reasons is unwilling, to return to it.

The Act further established institutions that would manage refugee affairs in the country. These include the Department of Refugee Affairs, the Refugee Affairs Committee, and the Refugee Affairs Board. It incorporated the provisions of relevant international conventions into the domestic legislative framework. Refugees have the right to access work permits, seek and gain employment, or start a business.

While the law provided the right to work and access work permits, it restricted the movement of refugees. Refugees were required to reside in refugee camps unless they had authorization to live elsewhere. Work permits were only granted in Nairobi, so refugees had limited access to these documents, which also did not enable refugees to apply for authorization. Those who decided to live and work in urban areas without authorization often did so under a constant threat of harassment and intimidation.

Another limitation of the Refugee Act is that it does not define how refugees should live in harmony with other Kenyans, nor does it clearly articulate the legal framework upon which local integration can be achieved. The Act also does not clearly define dispute resolution mechanisms, where disputes occur between hosts and refugees, and does not define how to resolve tensions within refugee communities, which often spill over to the local community. Aspects such as allocation of land for refugees fall under different laws such as the Communal Land Act. This governs community land such as the land on which the Kalobeyei New Site is situated. It is hoped that on-going revisions of the Act will address issues impeding attainment of sustainable solutions to the refugee crisis, while conforming to international law.
3.1 Introduction

The Horn of Africa region has experienced a rapid refugee surge in recent years, and the situation is likely to intensify. This will not only expose millions of people to forced displacement, but also complicate already strained hosting situations. Based on global trends, local integration is the most promising option for hosting the new refugees, a solution that will help nations tap into the potential of the refugees, and assuage growing tensions between refugees and host communities.

In Kenya, and specifically Kakuma and Kalobeyei New Settlement, the proposed integration approach by UNCHR needs to be thoroughly deliberated in collaboration with the host community, to promote a greater cohesive approach to implementing suggested improvements. In the subsequent parts of this report, we borrow from some of the experiences highlighted in this section to compare and contrast findings from the Socio-Economic Survey, in a bid to inform the planning for the Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme.

This chapter presents the study area and the methodology used for data collection. Part one presents the two study sites, Kalobeyei and Kakuma, within the larger Turkana County context, discusses various boundary delimitation alternatives available in the area, and the adopted data collection unit - together with the justification for the same. Part two discusses the methodology used in the collection of both socio-economic and spatial data, in particular the type and nature of indicators used for data collection, the data collection tools, respondent categories, sampling techniques, the sampling frame and analytical techniques used.

3.2 The Study Area

3.2.1 Sub-National Context - Turkana County Overview

The name Turkana is widely believed to be a corruption of Turkwen which means ‘cave people’ in Kiturkana, the language of the Turkana people. Turkana County, located to the North West of Kenya measures 77,000 sq. km, which is about 13% of the country’s land area. The county shares its borders with four others; Marsabit to the East, Samburu to the south-east, and Baringo and West Pokot to the south-west. Internationally, Turkana County borders South Sudan to the north, Uganda to the west and Ethiopia to the north-east.

The weather in Turkana County is warm and hot, with unreliable rainfall pattern ranging between 300mm and 400mm per annum. Most residents of Turkana County depend on nomadic pastoralism and fishing as a major source of their livelihoods. Fishing is practised in the waters of Lake Turkana. Small-scale farming is also practised in different parts of the county. Oil reserves and huge underground water reservoirs have been discovered in the county in the recent past. Key attractions to Turkana include Sibiloi National Park, Lake Turkana, and two islands on the lake that migratory birds use as a stopping ground.

The headquarters for Turkana County is Lodwar town, which is also the biggest town in North-Western Kenya. The town is a commercial centre whose principal activities are fish trade and basket weaving.

3.2.2 Local Context – Kakuma and Kalobeyei

Kakuma

The history of Kakuma as an administrative area dates back to 1992 when it was demarcated as part of Turkana District within Rift Valley Province, through the Districts and Provinces Act of 1992. Today, the area largely known as Kakuma falls within two wards, Kakuma and Lopur wards, which are both within Turkana West sub-county, Turkana County. The area is home to Kakuma Refugee Camp. Most of the land in the larger Kakuma area is unsettled, and is largely used for herding by the pastoral Turkana community, who often move from one place to another with their animals in search of pasture and water.

The development of Kakuma is largely associated with the settlement of refugees in the area today known as Kakuma Refugee Camp. The camp was established in 1992 owing to the plight of about 30,000 to 40,000 Sudanese “walking boys” or “lost boys” who were forcefully returned to Sudan when the Ethiopian regime of Mengistu was toppled in 1991. The “boys” walked through the wilderness and wandered into Kenya. Through the 1990s, Kakuma Camp experienced a large influx of population coming from Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and other conflict areas in the Horn of Africa region. The closure of the Kenya coastal camps in 1997 also meant resettlement of some of the refugees to Kakuma, necessitating the creation of Kakuma II and III. Increased conflict in the horn of Africa region through the 1990s and early 2000s further increased the number of refugees arriving at Kakuma, leading to the expansion into Kakuma III in the early 2000s, and construction of Kakuma IV starting in 2012. In just about two and half decades, the population of Kakuma has grown to 163,192 (as of September 2016).
Today, Kakuma Refugee Camp is organised into four clusters, namely Kakuma I, Kakuma II, Kakuma III and Kakuma IV. Within each cluster there are blocks, which contain plots on which houses are built.

The growth of Kakuma Camp over time has brought about various social, economic and spatial changes to the larger Kakuma area. The increase in refugee population for example introduced various cultures in the area, often causing cultural conflicts between the refugees and the local Turkana residents. Provision of services by various humanitarian organizations over the years has also increased the number of facilities available in the area, albeit mostly for the refugees, further adding to the conflicts between the local hosts and refugees. The camp has however also brought forth numerous economic opportunities to the larger Kakuma area, particularly those aimed at fuelling the appetite for goods and services for the increased population.

The changing social and economic landscape related to the refugee settlement has also been translated spatially, with the development of the refugee camp largely associated with growth of Kakuma Town, and other villages surrounding the camp. The camp has created a threshold population for goods and services and also various employment opportunities, which the nearby town and surrounding villages rely on for survival. Kakuma is also spatially and socio-economically linked with other neighbouring urban centres such as Lokichoggio, Lokitaung and Lodwar.

Kakuma, in this study refers to the area where the Kakuma refugee and Kakuma Town are located and their surrounding areas, particularly the area officially bounded by Kakuma and Lopur wards. In some instances, the discussions include outlying areas for which services are shared from Kakuma, particularly Nakalale, Songot and Kalobeyei wards (Figure 2). Kakuma Camp refers to the area officially defined as the Kakuma Refugee Camp, and where refugees supported by UNHCR live and run their businesses. Kakuma Town on the other hand refers to the area officially known as Kakuma Town, which is largely inhabited by the local community and other communities and nationalities, who are not refugees. Kakuma host community refers to the large collective of non-refugees living in the areas outside the Kakuma Refugee Camp, but who live within Kakuma and Lopur wards and sometimes in Nakalale, Songot and Kalobeyei wards when applicable. This geographic scope was found to be important in appreciating the scope of interaction patterns between the host and the refugee communities on the one hand, and pointing out the sphere of influence of the refugee camp on the other.

Figure 2: Kakuma Analytical Scope
Kalobeyei

Kalobeyei is located deep within Turkana County, approximately 150km to the west of Lodwar town, and about 30km from Kakuma Town and camp, along the Lodwar-Lokichogio road. The area today known as Kalobeyei was originally called Lopetereka, and was inhabited by the Lukumongo clan, who are still the official owners of the land to date. The name was changed during the surveying of the Lodwar-Lokichogio A1 road. The name Kalobeyei derives from “Abeyei”, a Turkana word meaning eggs. According to elders, there is a small mountain near Kalobeyei Town where egg shells of various small birds used to be found. When the word “abeyei” was combined with the small nature of the mountain where the egg shells used to be found, to form the name Kalobeyei. The area has high cultural significance since it was home to the paramount chief of the Turkana people.

46 Focus Group Discussion with Elders

The larger Kalobeyei area, including the location of the Kalobeyei New Site has historically been an important grazing area and migratory route for the people of Turkana North, particularly because it has several riparian zones along which good grass grows. Wild animals including elephants, baboons, buffalos and gazelles used to roam the area. Only baboons can still be seen.

The nature of human settlements in this area has significantly changed over the last two decades, particularly since the establishment of the nearby Kakuma Camp. More sedentary human settlement patterns can be seen along the A1 road. The small settlements have slowly been expanding in recent years into minor towns serving the local populations, and which act as trading zones for various goods including livestock. Kalobeyei Town, located along the A1 road from Kakuma to Lokichogio, is one of these towns (Figure 3)

Figure 3: Kakuma and Kalobeyei Regional location
3.3 Study Methodology and Approach

The survey adopted a participatory approach which ensured that stakeholders were engaged at all stages. While different steps were followed for the socio-economic and mapping sub-components, operationalization of the study was divided into five main stages, namely;

(i) Preparation - reviewing project documents and briefs, preparation of maps and the inception report detailing the methodological steps to be followed in addressing the client’s concerns;
(ii) Data collection and fieldwork – interviews, observations, FGDs, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and mapping work of the survey area;
(iii) Situational analysis – to determine current and future human settlement scenarios, informed by growth and development determinants, livelihood patterns and strategies; identify potential areas of conflict especially between hosts and refugee communities; and map areas suitable for different land uses in the Kalobeyei New Site;
(iv) Report compilation and development of a Web-GIS platform; and
(v) Validation of survey findings – which included presenting study findings to the host and refugee communities and key stakeholders, and incorporating emerging issues into the final report.

3.3.1 Baseline Socio-Economic Survey Design

The baseline survey began with review of various relevant documents that helped the consulting team familiarise themselves with the site and map various stakeholders. This required review of various documents and conducting rapid interviews with various stakeholders including “community gate keepers”: local leaders and administration. Maps and spatial data were also collected from sources such as Google Earth and UNHCR.

3.3.1.1 Hiring and Training of Research Assistants

The baseline survey and mapping team was composed of two principal researchers, two principal Assistants, three Research Assistants (RAs) from Nairobi, and 42 Research Assistants from Kalobeyei and Kakuma wards. UN-Habitat Kakuma field office staff supported the consultants throughout the study period, particularly in organising appointments with key informants and organising FGDs. Representatives from Peace Winds Japan helped with translating questions into the local Turkana dialect during FGDs.

The 42 RAs were trained before the exercise, and the team conducted a pilot survey to ensure that there was a clear and common understanding of the data collection tools and limit the margin of error during data collection.

3.3.1.2 Sampling

Sampling was used for the socio-economic survey sub-component since it was impractical to interview the entire population. For the mapping sub-component, a census was undertaken on all facilities in the study area.

Sampling for Kakuma Camp and Kalobeyei New Settlement was to be based on a register of persons provided by UNHCR. However, unforeseen challenges made it impossible to access such a register, so the team instead used on-site sampling, relying on key local informants and administrators to map diversity in the two areas (of country of origin, language, nature of livelihood activities, etc.). Using this information, spatial and social sampling techniques were used to define the sample frame within the household and business categories. Within the host community areas, the team relied on the local leaders, administrators and Government officers in getting the details of households and businesses, which was later used to determine the sample.

Kakuma Camp has four clusters, and the sample was stratified based on these. Further stratification was based on socio-economic attributes such as nationality, gender of household head or business owner, type of business, etc. The final sampling was done proportionately for both the households and businesses. For Kalobeyei, the team used socio-economic attributes such as livelihoods (pastoralism or agriculture, employment), gender of household head and business types to determine the sample. In the absence of the UNHCR household data, the consulting team relied on the houses placement maps for the sample distribution. The team also undertook a rapid census of businesses by type and sizes per cluster to develop a sampling framework, from which they created a business enterprise sample size.

For KIIs, non-random sampling techniques were used. Identification of respondents was determined through consultation with the client, focusing on organizations which are, or will play a role in determining the rhythm of life and activities in Kakuma and Kalobeyei area.

3.3.1.3 Achieved Sample Size and distribution

Using previous studies in Kakuma and Dadaab Refugee Camps as a benchmark, the range of sample size tends to range between 200 to 600 respondents. Based on this, a sample size of 650 respondents was proposed, which would cover 415 households and 215 businesses. Field complexities and identification of high levels of homogeneity on the ground however resulted in a revision of the sample size to 331 households and 215 businesses, for a total sample size of 546 respondents. This sample was based on the multi-stage stratified-proportionate sampling technique. The main purpose of using this technique was to achieve maximum homogeneity within strata and maximum heterogeneity between strata, and thus the highest level of data diversity. Stratification was done based on:

(i) Type of community – which identified two strata, hosts and refugees;
(ii) Type of respondent – which distinguished between household and business respondents; and
(iii) Settlement level stratification – which sub-stratified the type of community based on location of settlement (e.g. Kalobeyei, Kakuma, Lopur, Nakalale host communities, Kakuma or Kalobeyei refugee settlements), nature of settlement (urban vs non-urban), as well as based on ethnicity of settlement particularly for the refugee communities.

The resultant sample distribution is presented in Table 2.
Other data collection tools such as KIIs and FGDs were used to triangulate the household and business interviews, providing a good overall understanding of the survey issues. The interviewed key informants included; UNHCR, NCCK, PWJ, DRC, GIZ, LWF, IRC, NRC, WFP, LOKADO, and Windle Trust, Kalobeyei Ward Administrator, Kalobeyei Assistant Chief, Kalobeyei New Site Bamba Chakula operator and a refugee farmer in the new site. Seven FGDs were held in both the host and refugee communities. These included:

(i) Kalobeyei host community FGDs - elders, women’s group, youth group;
(ii) Kalobeyei New Site FGDs - business community and youth group;
(iii) Kakuma Refugee Camp FGD- youth group; and
(iv) Kakuma host community FGD - youth group.

### 3.3.2 Baseline Mapping Survey Design

#### 3.3.2.1 Data Collection and Analysis Scope

The scope of the mapping and socio-spatial analysis was defined at two levels; geographical and analytical scope.

Geographically, Kakuma and Kalobeyei wards formed the micro-level analysis scope, with regular reference to parts of the surrounding Lopur and Nakalale wards. At the macro-level, data collection was limited to existing information from secondary sources (e.g. Turkana First County Integrated Development Plan), with primary data collection and analysis on a needs basis. The purpose of this level of analysis included to:

a) Understand the regional context which both influences and is influenced by the presence of refugees in Kakuma and Kalobeyei;

b) Profile the access to high order goods and services (e.g referral hospitals);

c) Understand connectivity of the refugee settlements to the rest of the country (e.g through transport networks);

d) Map the major migratory/movement patterns among the largely pastoralist local community members; and

e) Pin-point the location of major activity nodes (urban centres, areas of cultural/social importance); all of which have influence on, and/or are influenced by the activities at the micro level.

The analytical scope followed the socio-economic data format, highlighting local and sub-regional activity patterns, and availability, accessibility and usability of various social services. Data collection and analysis aimed to determine households’ access to basic services such as water, health, education and recreational facilities, and the presence of commercial services and opportunities at the different geographical scales.

#### 3.3.2.2 Spatial Data Collection Methods and Analysis Framework

Socio-spatial data collection at the macro and meso-levels was largely based on secondary sources, which were complemented by primary data if required. For example, while most background information on historical settlement setups in the larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area was obtained from official documents and previous studies, satellite imagery was used to extract information on the current settlement patterns, and participatory mapping was used to plot migration and grazing patterns traversing the survey area.

At the micro-level, data was attained through primary sources such as administration of household and business questionnaires, and direct mapping of facilities. Household and business questionnaires used for the socio-economic survey included information such as where households access basic services. The spatial location of interviewed households/businesses was also picked through GPS technology. At the same time, a list of all facilities (e.g. health centres, schools, recreation areas) was generated from KIIs, secondary sources and the household and business interviews. These facilities were mapped and their physical conditions profiled using a dedicated map-data collection tool (Annex 4). These levels of data collection made it possible to relate household data with mapped information. For example, it was possible to determine how far householders had to travel to access various facilities by comparing data on where they indicated to access such facilities with their spatial location as mapped.

All education, health, water and public space facilities were mapped in Kakuma and Kalobeyei wards (including the two refugee settlements), as well as in the parts of Lopur and Nakalale wards close to the two refugee settlements. This was implemented through the KoBo toolbox platform, which was installed on GPS enabled android phones. The task was accomplished by five specially trained research assistants who were recruited locally from the refugee and host communities.

### Table 2: Sample Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Household Sample size</th>
<th>Business Sample size</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Cluster 1 (Refugees)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Cluster 2 (Refugees)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Cluster 3 (Refugees)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Cluster 4 (Refugees)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma host community</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalobeyei host community</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalobeyei (Refugees)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>331</strong></td>
<td><strong>215</strong></td>
<td><strong>546</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beyond the mapping of facilities, the survey also aimed to map changes in settlements over time. While some information on housing transformations was captured during the questionnaire administration and through observation-based profiling, most of the human settlement transformation data was captured by extracting information from multi-temporal satellite imagery acquired from various sources (Google Earth, GeoEye, and Landsat 8).

All collected data was stored in a cloud platform, whence it was downloaded, cleaned and fed into a Geographic Information System (GIS) platform for analysis. Spatial analysis was undertaken, and the data compared and co-related to the socio-economic findings.

3.3.2.3 Approach used in Mapping Land use and migration patterns

The delineation of land uses in an area is a complex process that is often difficult to achieve using traditional mapping techniques. Remote sensing, an approach of acquiring information about an area remotely is the preferred method for delineating land uses. In this survey, an integrated approach was used where land-use classes were delineated from Landsat imagery in five key steps:

a) Satellite imagery acquisition (from Landsat 8);
b) Image processing and generation of signatures;
c) Image classification;
d) Ground-truthing and accuracy assessment; and
e) Production of land use/land cover maps.

To assess the grazing routes and migration patterns for the largely pastoralist settlements of West Turkana where Kakuma and Kalobeyei lie, a participatory route mapping-approach was adopted. This approach is summarized in the following key steps:

1. A hard copy map size A1 was produced by the survey team;
2. A KII was held with one of the senior herders who gave names of the grazing and watering areas spread from Kakuma/Kalobeyei to Southern Sudan/Ethiopia; and where possible pointed the locations in the map;
3. The identified locations were plotted on the map and connections sketched with a pen. Information on the times of the year the herders are in the specific locations was also documented as notes;
4. The information was presented to elders during a focus group discussion, validated and updated as necessary;
5. The plotted points and connections were then synthesised in GIS and a draft map produced, which was presented to a larger community for validation; and
6. The map was updated based on new information from the validation into a final migration and grazing map.

3.3.2.4 Data presentation

All the mapping and socio-economic data was compiled into spatial linked indicators and collated into a Web-GIS platform which is freely available for public viewing and use. The platform provides the following features:

1. Visualization of the existing Kakuma Camp showing:
   a) The camp layout – Clusters, Zones and Blocks;
   b) Public amenities – schools, hospitals, open spaces and other basic amenities. It also shows the catchment, service profile, staffing and other information;
   c) Cluster/Zone/Block/Profiles- The system provides information on the socio-economic profile of the agreed level, with indicators such as household characteristics and access to services; and
   d) Popular mapping base maps such as Google, Open Street Map (OSM) and satellite imagery.
2. Visualization of the planned Kalobeyei New Site – layout, public amenities as in (1) above
3. Visualization of the wider Kakuma and Kalobeyei locations as in (1) above
4. Functionality to download data or map – in excel, PDF and GIS formats.
5. Basic, easy to use navigation tools for non-technical users, including a powerful search tool that can find features based on key words.
A Burundian refugee tending to his farm in Kakuma 4 in Turkana, Kenya 2016

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Chapter 4

Baseline Socio-Economic Survey Findings

4.1 Overview

This section discusses the findings from the Socio-Economic Baseline Survey. It is divided into four parts:

a) Findings from Kakuma (refugee camp and host community areas);
b) Findings from Kalobeyei (host community and new settlement);
c) Emerging challenges and opportunities in Kakuma and Kalobeyei; and
d) Business survey findings.

The findings are based on data from household and business questionnaires as well as from KII and FGDs. Critical lessons which are key for the planning of an integrated settlement in Kalobeyei are identified throughout the section.

4.2 Socio-Economic Baseline Survey Findings from Kakuma

4.2.1 Basic Demographic profile

Table 3 (below) gives a summary of the basic demographic background of the host community and refugees in Kakuma. The sample size of host community was 134 and of the refugees was 117. Most respondents were female in both survey sites. This may be because data collection was done during day time, meaning that most men were either grazing livestock or engaged in other economic activities outside their homes. Most respondents were married, with 26.5% and 11.9% of those who are married in the host and refugee community in polygamous marriage. The average household size for the host community is 4.6, and 5.9 for refugees. In terms of education, (29.9%) of the host community report to have no formal education as compared to refugees (37.1%). The age of the host respondents ranged from 18 to 64 years, with mean age of 31.7 as compared to refugees age range of 18 to 63 years and mean age of 32.5 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Comparative Demographic Data</th>
<th>Host Community</th>
<th>Refugees Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>75.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>No Formal Education</td>
<td>Completed Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Level</td>
<td>Less than 5,000 Kshs</td>
<td>5-10,000 Kshs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10,000 Kshs</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More than 10,000 Kshs</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kalobeyei Socio-Economic Baseline Survey, August 2016

4.2.2 Access to Basic Services

a. Health services

Access to health services is a fundamental human right, and one which greatly contributes to the enhancement of human capital and living standards. Health services are hierarchical services, with higher order facilities providing more specialised services than lower level ones. In Kenya, the health care system is structured into various levels: Dispensaries and private clinics, health centres, Sub-District hospitals and nursing homes, District hospitals and private hospitals, County hospitals and National hospitals47.

- Dispensaries are the lowest level of health care provision and are usually run and managed by enrolled and registered nurses supervised by a nursing officer at a (nearby) higher-level health centre. They provide outpatient services for simple ailments, and refer more serious cases to the health centres.
- Private Clinics are mostly located within settled areas (communities) and are run by nurses, clinical officers or doctors (depending on their location). They are a major health provider in the country, particularly in areas where no such provisions are made by the National and County Governments.
- Health Centres are the second-tier, government-operated health facilities, and are run by a clinical officer. They cater for a population of 80,000. They focus on minor health issues and preventive care services. The typical centre comprises of outpatient and inpatient services, laboratory services, a minor theatre, a pharmacy and a maternity and maternal and child health section.
- Sub-District Hospitals are similar to Health Centres, but have a surgery unit for performing caesarean sections and other procedures. A medical officer and clinical officers are also present.

• **Nursing Homes** are privately owned services.
• **District Hospitals** are the coordinating and referral centres for the smaller units. They provide comprehensive medical and surgical services and are managed by medical superintendents.
• **County Hospitals** are the referral points for the district hospitals, and are located in each of the 47 counties in Kenya. The centres provide specialised care including intensive care, life support and specialised consultations.
• **National Hospitals** are the highest order in the health services chain, and double as teaching and referral hospitals from where all major health care services are offered. There are several private hospitals throughout the country.

Until 2015, the role of running health facilities was the responsibility of the central government, after which the County Governments took over the management of the facilities as provided for in the Kenyan 2010 Constitution on devolution. This practice has created both challenges and opportunities in the health sector. While challenges of unpaid salaries, lack of proper working equipment and medicines are common in the health services system, devolution of these services has also created opportunities for expansion of health care to previously marginalised counties like Turkana. Proper leadership structures and planning are prerequisites for attaining the benefits of devolution in the health sector.

In Turkana County, the hierarchy of health care follows the national structure, with the county hospital being the highest service level and dispensaries and private clinics being the lowest level.

Refugees in Kakuma Camp had access to a multiplicity of healthcare options, which ranged from clinics offering basic services to hospitals providing specialised treatment. Their access was not limited to facilities in the camp, as they were also able to use those located in Kakuma Town. At the time of data collection, there were 11 health facilities within the larger Kakuma area, including six (54.5%) in the refugee camp – two hospitals and four clinics. In addition, the camp also had a nutrition centre, an orthopaedic workshop, and a community rehabilitation centre. Most refugee households accessed basic healthcare from the facility closest to them. This usually meant those within walking distance from their houses - clinics located within their cluster. For example, all respondents in Kakuma IV accessed medical care from Clinic 7, located within the cluster. Likewise, 82.4% of respondents in Kakuma III accessed lower-order healthcare from Clinic 6 located (within the cluster), and 11.8% from Clinic 5 which borders Kakuma II. This was also true statistically, as there was a positive correlation between the location of households and where they accessed lower order medical services from (r=0.236).

Most refugee respondents (58%) accessed specialised healthcare from Kakuma General Hospital (in the camp), and another 20% visited the Kakuma Mission Hospital in Kakuma Town. The remaining 22% received the services from various clinics spread through the camp. Some of the clinics offer specialised medical care, and were thus be largely adequate for the common medical conditions reported in the camp. Kakuma I had the highest number of facilities compared to the rest of the clusters, pointing to a higher access to healthcare among its residents. This included five facilities comprising a hospital, clinics and alternative healthcare services.

![Figure 4: Distribution of health facilities in Kakuma Refugee Camp (excluding alternative healthcare)](image-url)
Walking was the most common means of access to health facilities. Of respondents, 92.9% accessed lower-order services (dispensaries) on foot, compared to 5.7% who used motorbikes (boda-boda) and a further 1.4% who used bicycles. When accessing hospitals for more specialized care, 80.2% of respondents travelled on foot, 17.8% used motorcycles, and 1% each used bicycles and private cars.

This indicates the importance of walking in enhancing access to health services, which should act as a land use planning consideration in Kalobeyei New Site. The location of such services in the integrated settlement should be based on existing settlement patterns and future patterns, especially those in the host community area. This will greatly boost the integration process, and promote living standards in the community.

Access to health facilities was perhaps the most diversified basic service among Kakuma host community members, as they could easily use medical facilities available within the refugee camp. While most respondents accessed low and high-level healthcare from the facilities available within the host community area, a few had access to the facilities in the refugee camp, particularly JRS, Clinic 5, Clinic 6, Clinic 4 and the Kakuma General Hospital. Access to these services was mostly for specialised treatment. For example, only 9% of respondents accessed hospital services (specialised healthcare) from one of the facilities within the refugee camp as opposed to 69.2% who visited Kakuma Mission Hospital, in Kakuma Town. A further 9% accessed them from Kakuma Sub-County Hospital and 7.7% used the Guardian Medical Clinic, a private facility located in Kakuma Town. Figure 6 shows the distribution of health facilities which are accessible to Kakuma host community members.
Secondary School Education Initiative (2008) and continuing plans to make secondary education free in 2019. In addition, there are numerous education empowerment programmes (e.g. through the education fund) and continuous efforts to create enabling policies and guidelines. Most of these national efforts have been transferred to the county level, where they are complemented by existing local efforts. The constituency development fund has been employed in various counties separately to promote education, with most efforts focusing on infrastructure and services expansion (e.g. construction of classrooms, promoting schools access to water).

Turkana County has among the lowest literacy levels in Kenya. According to a 2010 report by the Commission on Revenue Allocation, Turkana County falls within the lowest percentile in education and literature, as presented through the education sub-index of the County Development Index (CDI).

b. Education

Availability and access to education services plays a major role in the development of human capital, a key prerequisite to the development of an area. This is particularly very important for earlier stages of education. Past studies have established that for each year of school completed, a person’s potential income and employability will increase by nearly 10%. In Kenya, achievement of the national goal of “attaining universal education by the year 2030” as promulgated by the education policy and Kenya Vision 2030 strategy, is based on access to primary and secondary education for the entire school-going population. The strategy involves promotion of free education, and expansion of the school infrastructure – construction of new schools, enhancing available services within schools etc. Some national government supported initiatives towards this goal have included the Free Primary School Education Initiative (2003), the Free Day Secondary and Subsidized Secondary School Education Initiative (2008) and continuing plans to make secondary education free in 2019. In addition, there are numerous education empowerment programmes (e.g. through the education fund) and continuous efforts to create enabling policies and guidelines. Most of these national efforts have been transferred to the county level, where they are complemented by existing local efforts. The constituency development fund has been employed in various counties separately to promote education, with most efforts focusing on infrastructure and services expansion (e.g. construction of classrooms, promoting schools access to water).

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This can easily be related to the limited number of education facilities in the county, as well as the pastoral lifestyle of the Turkana people, which reduces the net enrolment rate. In 2009 for instance, the school-aged population (5-19 years) in Turkana North sub-region of Turkana County was 174,951, representing about 47% of the total population of the sub-region (374,414). In the same year, the number of people aged over three years attending any form of school in the region was only 42,75551.

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Though the latter figure accounts for people in all ages above three years, it depicts a very low school enrolment rate in the region, a reflection of low performance in the education indicator. According to the first Turkana County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) covering the period 2013 to 2017, the County has a total of 682 Early Childhood Development (ECD) centres, 338 primary schools, 33 secondary schools, two youth polytechnics, two colleges, and two university campuses. Masinde Muliro University Campus, near Kakuma Town and camp, is a new addition to this list. Most of these facilities, especially institutions of higher learning, are concentrated around Lodwar town.

At the time of data collection, Kakuma Refugee Camp had among the highest concentration of primary and secondary schools per square kilometre in Turkana County, with a total of 48 primary schools and three secondary schools. An additional primary and one secondary school were located just outside the camp. The camp also had 14 early childhood development centres, three of which were based within primary schools in Kakuma II and III. The three secondary schools represented 33% of the total number of secondary schools located within the larger Kakuma area (where a total of nine schools were identified and mapped). The camp also had a total of 11 tertiary and vocational training institutions - four vocational training centres and four tertiary education institutions. The population which the schools serve was equally high compared the rest of Turkana County, often leading to congestion. Despite this, high levels of inequality were observed in both enrolment and access to education facilities between host and refugees, in which more refugees were enrolled in schools which were closer to their houses than in the host community area; where the nomadic way of life and long distances between living and learning facilities hindered access to education.

The high provision of education facilities in the camp has in the previously been associated with “education refugees”, often migrants from Sudan (South & North), who come to attend the “relatively better” schools in the camp, then go back to their country to take up various positions as technocrats52. Several institutions in the camp offered online learning programmes through linkages with colleges and universities abroad.

As with health facility distribution and usage, households in Kakuma Refugee Camp preferred schools within walking distance. School enrolment rates were closely related with the population of the various clusters, as well as the nationality of the refugees living within the locality. For example, areas with high South Sudanese populations had higher enrolment rates compared to those with other nationalities.

52 Based on interviews with National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) Field Officers

Adapted from Ndugwa, Opiyo, Mwaniki & Odhiambo, 201650

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Figure 7: Comparative CDI for Marginalised and Wealthy Regions in Kenya

Adapted from Ndugwa, Opiyo, Mwaniki & Odhiambo, 201650
Kakuma I had 22 primary schools and one secondary school. Kakuma IV, the newest cluster, had the least number of schools: four primary and one secondary school (Figure 8). The size of land on which education facilities were built varied greatly. Schools in older clusters occupied much less land than those in newer ones. This could be associated with the organic growth of Kakuma I and II for example, as compared to planned development in Kakuma III and IV.

The area surrounding Kakuma Town had several lower level learning facilities, providing multiple options for the host community population. Despite the nearby Kakuma Camp offering even more options, none of the host community respondents indicated that they had access to primary and secondary schools there. The most popular primary schools among host community respondents included Luma 2000 Academy, Natiira Primary, Kakuma Mixed Primary School, Kakuma Aridzone Primary School, Komdei Primary, Pokotom Primary, Lopwarin Primary, Kakuma Girls Primary, Cornerstone Academy, Echami Academy, Lopur Primary, Muslim School, and Palotaka Primary. All these schools were concentrated near the town centre, and were thus easily accessible from several roads (Figure 9). The most popular secondary schools included Lishi, Kalobeyei, AIC Songot, Our Ladies of Peace, St Leo Secondary, Tarach High School, Lodwar High School, Mogita High School, Kakuma Boys, Kakuma Secondary School, Kawaitit Girls and Turkana Girls. Some of these schools are in areas outside the larger Kakuma area, including as far as Lodwar.

Unlike the primary and secondary schools located in Kakuma Camp which are not accessible to the host community, most tertiary learning institutions are open to both refugee and host communities. Don Bosco Training Centre is perhaps the most accessible vocational training institute for host community members, according to 50% of respondents. The Masinde Muliro University campus located in Kakuma Town also offers tertiary education to both host and refugee populations. Kakuma host community households also access higher levels of learning from areas such as Lodwar, Eldoret, Nairobi, and Kisii among others.
c. Water

The amount of water used by households in Kakuma Refugee Camp varied widely, depending on size of household, and location of the water point. Since refugees accessed water free of charge, household incomes did not influence rates of consumption. Among the interviewed households, daily water usage varied from 10 to 360 litres, with a mode usage of 60 litres. The average family size\(^{53}\) for the respondent households was 6 (mean 5.95), with actual number of members ranging from one to 15 (mode of 5 people per household). In general, daily water consumption increased along with family sizes, indicating a positive correlation between the two variables (r = 0.335). All respondents in Kakuma Refugee Camp acquired their water from a tap located within the camp. There were, however, major variations in the location of the taps. For example, while 79.2\% of respondents had access to a tap outside their house or within the compound, 19.2\% used a water point far from their houses (more than 500 metres), and another 1.6\% used a relative’s tap within their neighbourhood. Residents of Kakuma III and IV faced the greatest water challenges. While all respondents in Kakuma I accessed water from a tap outside their house or within the compound, 45.2\% of respondents in Kakuma IV and 31\% of those in Kakuma III accessed it from water points located far from their compounds. A further 6.5\% of Kakuma IV respondents accessed water from a relative’s tap. Despite this, 48.4\% of respondents within the cluster could access water from a tap located either outside their house, or within the compound.

Whereas this indicates the limitations or lack of flowing water in the taps in Kakuma IV compared to Kakuma I (Figure 8), there was no correlation between water usage and the location of refugee households. There was however a negative correlation between the amount of water consumption and where it was accessed from (r= -0.219). The implication of this is that households which accessed water from longer distances generally consumed less.

All the water facilities accessed by the refugees in Kakuma had been constructed by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), an international organization focusing on water and sanitation in Kakuma and Kalobeyei. The daily and local management of water is left to the refugees.

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\(^{53}\) Defined as the number of people regularly eating and sleeping in the household.
The amount of water consumed by Kakuma host community households ranged from 10 to over 500 litres per day, with a mode consumption of 60 litres. These high variations were associated with both the household size and its average monthly income. There was a positive correlation between household water consumption and both household size ($r=0.330$) and average household monthly income, with household size having more weight than income. While the correlation with household size is obvious due to increased demand, the positive correlation with household monthly income is related to the fact that 64.3% of host community respondents paid for their water. The average cost for a 20-litre jerry-can was Kshs. 5, although the actual costs varied from Kshs. 5 to Kshs. 20 depending on the water source, and whether it was delivered to the house. However, there was no statistically significant relationship between the amount of water consumed and its associated cost.

The main sources of water in the host community area included water kiosks (38.4%), piped water in taps (27.7%), river banks (11.6%), boreholes (8%) and shallow wells (3.6%). The highest users were those who acquired water from a piped source (tap), largely owing to ease of access. While there was no statistically significant relationship between the water source and its average daily consumption, there was a significant negative relationship between daily consumption and the water facility operator ($r = -0.234$). More consumption was recorded for individual-operated sources than for NGO and local community operated ones (e.g. boreholes, shallow wells and river banks). This is less because of cost and more due to ease of access, since the latter sources were often free, yet they recorded lower levels of consumption.
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Figure 11: Household Sources of Water

- Shallow Well
- Borehole
- River bank
- Hand Pump
- Within the compound
- At the Mosque
- Kakuma Water Service
- Relative tap
- Multipurpose resource centre
- Neighbours compound
- Water Kiosk
- Tap (piped water)

Figure 12: Distribution of Water Facilities in Kakuma Host Community Area
d. Sanitation

Burning and burying or composting were the two main types of solid waste disposal in both Kakuma Refugee Camp and the host community area. Most refugees (58.6%) and an overwhelming 83.8% of host community respondents burned their waste. A further 40.8% of refugees and 10.3% host community respondents buried their waste. The presence of many heaps of burning waste and garbage pits throughout the two settlements was a good indicator of the prevalence of these disposal methods. Other means of disposal adopted by the host community households included burying (10.3%), dumping (0.9%) and organised collection from the houses (5.1%). The latter was particularly used by people living within Kakuma Town, who paid between Kshs. 100 and Kshs. 300 per month for the service.

Pit latrines were the main means of human waste disposal in both the refugee and host community settlements. The location and usage dynamics of the latrines varied widely however. In the refugee camp, 75% of respondents used pit latrines within their plot, and 19.8% used a shared latrine. In this context, ‘shared’ meant used by several households within a neighbourhood, or among several families living within the plot. Of the refuges, 2.9% practised open defecation, 1.5% had a septic tank and 0.7% used a flush toilet. There were no major differences in the type of human waste disposal among clusters, other than in Kakuma IV where respondents practised open defecation more often. This could be because Kakuma IV was sparsely populated and had many bushes around. It could also have been because the Cluster was inhabited by new arrivals, who had not yet constructed latrines.

In Kakuma host community area, 51.7% of respondents disposed of their human waste in pit latrines within their plots, unlike in Kalobeyei host community area where open defecation was the most popular disposal method. However, open defecation was also popular here, used by 15.3% of respondents. A further 15.3% used a shared pit latrine, 14.4% used a ventilation improved pit latrine within their plot, and 1.7% used septic tanks. There were generally no costs associated with the human waste disposal for either community.

e. Energy

At the time of data collection, there was no main grid electricity supply in the Kakuma area. Within Kakuma Camp however, there were small scale independent power distributors who produced power from large diesel or petrol powered generators, and sold it to households and businesses. According to one distributor, power costs ranged from Kshs. 500 to Kshs. 5000 depending on the number of appliances used in the house or business.

Of the respondent households, 13.4% were connected to electricity, though more than half indicated the power was either very unreliable (16.2%) or not reliable (37.8%). Power supply was very reliable for 24.3% and moderately reliable for 21.6% of respondents.

In the absence of electricity for most respondent households in the refugee camp, the major sources of lighting included solar energy (29.8%), kerosene tin lamps (27.9%) and wood fuel (19.2%) (Figure 13). Approximately 2% of households used small petrol generators for their lighting energy, which were switched on for only a few hours at night (usually not past mid-night). Most of these energy sources cause serious internal pollution and have adverse effects on health.

As in the refugee camp, Kakuma Town had several informal power connections, which were similar in nature to those observed in the camp. 12.8% of the interviewed respondents in the Kakuma host community areas indicated that their houses were connected to electricity. The power available to this population was relatively more reliable than that available to the refugees: 16.1% had very reliable supply, and 48.4% had moderately reliable connections. However, the connection was unreliable for 22.6% and very unreliable for 12.9% of respondents. For households without access to electricity, tin lamps were the main source of lighting (36%), followed by solar lamps (32%) and kerosene lanterns (16%). Other sources of lighting included candles, torches, wood fuel among others.

The high uptake of solar energy in both refugee and host communities in Kakuma could be due to its low long term costs (a result of renewable energy source), and to efforts by organizations such as GIZ and LOKADO to promote its adoption as a sustainable alternative to lighting.

Wood fuel and charcoal were the main sources of cooking fuel in both Kakuma Refugee Camp and host community area. However, while 62.7% of refugees used wood, 83.8% of Kakuma host community respondents used charcoal, presenting a major shift from the norm in the larger survey area. This variation could have been informed by the more “urban” layout of Kakuma Town where the use of firewood may not have been ideal. 37.3% of refugee respondents also used charcoal as their main cooking energy source. The high usage of wood in Kakuma Camp could be attributed to its being the preferred method of cooking as promoted by UNHCR and its partner agencies. As a result, families are supplied with firewood three times per year from wood distribution centres spread throughout the camp. However, most households complained that they were only provided with a few pieces of firewood on these occasions, which could barely make three meals.

This led to a major firewood trade in the area, evidenced by many people either ferrying wood on bicycles and motorbikes, Wick.
or selling it on the roadsides (Figure 14). This trade was a major form of interaction between the refugees and host communities in Kakuma, whereby the host community supplied refugees with firewood, and either received cash or food in exchange. Large trucks ferrying firewood to the camp were also spotted, implying far-reaching connectivity beyond the Kakuma area. Equally, many charcoal dealers were seen either ferrying the commodity or lining them up in the streets in the camp and in Kakuma Town.

The large-scale consumption of firewood and charcoal will without doubt have serious implications on the local and regional environment, and was mentioned as a source of conflict between the refugees and local community in several FGDs and KIs. While the hosts felt that the presence of the camp had led to massive degradation in their environment, they also felt solely entitled to sell firewood or charcoal to the refugees, as their way of earning an income from their local resources.

The main reasons for reliance on wood and charcoal among the refugees included their low cost (37.1%), lack of alternatives (32.1%), ready availability (19.3%) and their being non-polluting to the environment (11.4%) (particularly for charcoal). On the other hand, host community members preferred charcoal because it was readily available (47.2%), affordable (45.7%), lacked alternatives (4.7%), and was less polluting to the internal environment (1.6%) as well as its being a faster way to cook (0.8%)

Figure 15: Charcoal is a Major Trade Commodity in Kakuma Town

Photos: ©Dennis Mwaniki, 2016
f. Other Public Facilities

Kakuma Refugee Camp has facilities such as recreation areas and playgrounds, cemeteries, religious centres, markets, police stations and posts, street lights, cultural resource centres, libraries and others. (Figure 16).

The playgrounds which households had access to included dedicated fields located in various sections of the camp, as well as open grounds in the available learning institutions, including Peace Primary School, Newlight Primary School, Hope Primary School, Youth Centre, Town Field, Equatorial, Kakuma Basketball Pitch, Kakuma Field In Block 6, Furaha Centre, and fields in Lokitaung and Lonuer. However, some of these spaces were in a deplorable state and not child-friendly.

At the time of data collection, there were three cemeteries in Kakuma, in Kakuma I, Kakuma II and Kakuma III. The graveyard in Kakuma I had been full since the 1990s, while the one in Kakuma III was still in use. The existing cemetery in Kakuma III was almost full and had a rocky sub-surface, leading to shallow graves. It was reported that in some instances, bodies were buried so shallow that vultures would excavate and feed on them. This was a sign of poor graveyard selection, and something that needs to be avoided in the planning for Kalobeyei. The fact that the cemetery was not fenced further pointed towards poor planning and land use incompatibility, particularly given that the surrounding areas were residential and spaces where children played. (Figure 17)

There were six police facilities in the Kakuma Refugee Camp: four police posts (one in each cluster) and two patrol bases.

While the distribution of police facilities in the camp was good, staffing was a challenge due to the large population and the cultural diversity of the refugees. This in itself is a source of conflict and in turn a threat to law and order.

There was only one slaughterhouse in Kakuma, in a high population density area of Kakuma I. The location of this facility was a public health risk to nearby residents; slaughterhouses are classified as industrial zones, and should be located in secluded areas. In the planning for Kalobeyei, this needs to be considered, to avoid land-use conflict and incompatibility.
4.2.3 Income Generating Activities and Opportunities

The quality of life in a household depends on socio-economic status, assets, available resources, and availability of social, economic opportunities which enhance livelihoods. It also depends on a household’s (in)securities, and particularly those which are directly related to access to basic needs and food security. A major way of determining available opportunities for societal growth is identifying societal interests and aspirations, and particularly those which relate to economic and social progress. The attainment of a sustainably integrated settlement in Kalobeyei relies heavily on whether the short and long term economic, social and cultural goals of both the host community members and refugees are properly addressed, and how they are prioritized in the planning and development phase of the proposed settlement.

In order to understand the available opportunities and possible alternatives for promoting integration of the two communities from the planning stage, the baseline survey sought to understand various aspirations of both host and refugee communities, particularly in relation to the proposed activities for the new settlement. A key component of the new settlement is integration of agriculture and businesses with the residential facilities. In line with this, respondents were asked a series of questions related to these two components, how they perceive them, and whether they had any aspirations to advance specific personal, household and communal development goals. The main questions which sought to address this issue included:

- Whether respondents were engaging in commercial farming activities, and if they were interested in starting and/or expanding such ventures;
- Whether respondents who were not practising agriculture would consider it as an alternative lifeline, and reasons for the same;
- Whether respondents were engaging businesses, and/or whether they would consider similar alternative livelihoods;
- Identifying other socio-economic activities which respondents were interested in engaging in;
- Identifying opportunities in the area which would foster rapid economic growth and social integration;
- Identifying the challenges facing the area, and how these were likely to slow the integration process;
- Identifying households’ asset base, particularly those that play a direct role in day to day comfort; and
- Identifying households’ food security situations and their coping mechanisms.

This sub-section presents findings from these questions and highlights how the emerging trends are likely to affect the growth of Kalobeyei as an integrated settlement.

a. Farming as a Source of Income

Commercial farming was not a prevalent income generating activity in both Kakuma Refugee Camp and host community area. Only 19.4% and 18.8% of respondents were practising commercial farming as a source of income in Kakuma Refugee Camp and host community area respectively. In the camp, 70.8% of this population practised crop husbandry, 16.7% were keeping livestock, 8.3% were keeping poultry and 4.2% were doing agricultural produce value addition and processing. In the host community area, 90.5% were practising livestock keeping, against only 9.5% who were doing crop husbandry. Among the host community, the low number of people practising commercial agriculture could be because the study on Kakuma focused on people mostly living around the town area, and most people were keeping livestock but did not exclusively view it as a commercial activity, but rather as a source of wealth and pride. The high prevalence of livestock keeping among this population was largely attributed to the pastoral way of life of the Turkana people. Most people practising farming activities were interested in expanding their ventures, especially ongoing activities: 82.1% of refugees and 84.2% of host community respondents. Refugees favoured expansion activities including crop husbandry (50%), produce value addition (22.7%), livestock keeping (18.2%) and poultry keeping (9.1%). The host community preferred livestock keeping (84.4%), crop husbandry (11.8%) and produce value addition (5.9%). The major reasons for lack of will to expand farming activities included limited capital (40%), harsh weather conditions that make it difficult to sustain farming practices (40%) and lack of skills to support large scale farming (20%).
Of respondents who were not already practising commercial farming, 49.6% of refugees and 48.5% of hosts indicated they would be interested in farming. Preferred activities for the refugees included crop husbandry (38.2%), produce value addition (29.1%), livestock keeping (25.5%), and poultry farming (7.3%). Host community respondents favoured livestock keeping (60.5%), crop husbandry (23.3%), produce value addition and processing (9.2%) and trade in agricultural products, e.g. purchase and sale of groceries (7%). The reasons for lack of interest in farming among this group included lack of skills and commitment in other business activities (Figure 18).

The attachment to livestock keeping among Kakuma host community respondents was a key lesson for the proposed planning for Kalobeyei New Site. Proposed farming activities throughout the integration process must support livestock keeping through training, introduction of exotic breeds or creation of a value-addition system in which locals would trade their livestock for use locally or exportation to other parts of the county or country. This also highlighted a need for capacity building and best practice transfer on how to diversify agricultural activities from livestock keeping to other forms of farming.

### b. Businesses as a Source of Income

Businesses were a major source of income in Kakuma, as evidenced by the many shops and informal trading areas in all parts of the refugee camp as well as Kakuma Town and other small trading centres spread throughout the ward. Respondents in all survey locations perceived businesses as an easy means to earn a living, with operation of general shops and kiosks being the preferred type of business. For example, 76.1% of refugee and 85% of the host community respondents were interested in engaging in various forms of businesses, with 49.5% and 18.5% preference for a shop or kiosk ownership respectively (Figure 19).

The major reasons for the high interest in various businesses included easy profits, a need for improved standards of living, the desire to be self-employed, abundance of skills in specific aspects (e.g. quarrying, hair dressing, livestock trade, handicraft), lack of competition on specific businesses (e.g. salon, groceries trade) and availability of ready market for various products from both the host and refugee populations in Kakuma.

### 4.2.4 Household Asset Base and Quality of Life

Most households in Kakuma owned basic items like a charcoal stove, plastic and porcelain cups and plates, and extended assets such as mobile phones, mattresses and blankets, broadly indicating decent standards of living. There were however variations in the actual asset ownership among the host and refugee communities as shown in Figure 20.

Ownership of mobile phones was particularly interesting, particularly given that the average for both host and refugee communities in Kakuma was relative to the Kenya national average, recorded at 88.1% in 2016. Another interesting observation was the number of mobile phones owned by households, which was higher among the hosts than the refugees (mode of two pieces against one piece per household). The high number of mobile money transfer points (Mpesa agents) in Kakuma Town was an indicator of a vibrant mobile based economy among the host community members. An interview with one of the Mpesa dealers in Kakuma Town revealed that most people operating businesses in the area used the Mpesa service to keep their savings. With only one bank in Kakuma (Equity Bank) which mainly served the local and expatriate community working within the larger area, mobile banking was no doubt a major platform for local trade and savings.

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**Figure 19: Businesses of Interest Among Households**

*Shop/kiosk was used to refer to a general goods trade in a mostly enclosed area

** others included, mobile money transfer shops, tailoring, running boda-boda, operating a computer and phone charging business, video shops, beads making, rental houses, cyber cafés, hardware shops etc.*
Household food security and a household’s perception of food security in the short and long term, significantly contributes to household comfort, and thus productivity. Varying levels of food security among different groups (refugees and hosts) also reveals individuals’ aspirations, and whether their short and long term goals are oriented towards food security or wealth creation. In the case of Kalobeyi, differing levels of food security would have significant influence on a household’s goals, and greatly influence the nature and level of its integration. The differing needs of a food insecure community (where the sole aim is to feed its residents) and a food secure community (where the focus is on accumulating wealth) would hinder integration of the two if they existed side-by-side.

4.2.5 Household Food Security and Coping Mechanisms

Household food security and a household’s perception of food security in the short and long term, significantly contributes to household comfort, and thus productivity. Varying levels of food security among different groups (refugees and hosts) also reveals individuals’ aspirations, and whether their short and long term goals are oriented towards food security or wealth creation. In the case of Kalobeyi, differing levels of food security would have significant influence on a household’s goals, and greatly influence the nature and level of its integration. The differing needs of a food insecure community (where the sole aim is to feed its residents) and a food secure community (where the focus is on accumulating wealth) would hinder integration of the two if they existed side-by-side.

To understand the level of food security in the survey area, the baseline study sought to measure various indicators, including number of skipped meals, reasons for skipped meals, household perceptions on the short and long term and food situation, and coping mechanisms during various food security situations.

Households in Kakuma are faced with varying levels of food security, with refugees being more food-insecure than the host community respondents. When asked to describe their long-term food security situation, most respondents in Kakuma Refugee Camp felt that they faced moderate food insecurity (53.1%). Eighteen percent were severely food insecure, 18%
were mildly food insecure, and only 11% indicated that they were food secure. On the other hand, only 14% of host community respondents indicated that they were severely food insecure compared to 22% who indicated that they were food secure. A further 23% had mild food insecurity, while 41% had moderate food insecurity. Whereas the individual sub-classes of food insecurity may be in favour of the hosts, the actual number of people facing one or more manifestation of food insecurity among this group was much higher than those who were food secure (78% against only 22%).

The long-term perception on food security among the refugee community was supported by short term indicators of family food situations. When asked to describe their food situation over the past four weeks, 13% of respondents indicated that they always ate enough of what they wanted, 28.7% ate enough but not always what they wanted, 35.2% did not eat enough sometimes and 23.1% did not eat enough frequently. These numbers were largely relative to those from the host community, where 39.1% indicated that they sometimes did not eat enough, and a further 12.2% did not eat enough frequently.

In terms of immediate short term food security, 67.7% of refugee respondents indicated that they had gone without a meal in the past two weeks, and 31.3% had skipped all meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner). Among the host community respondents, 58.8% had skipped a meal over the same period,

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58 Food secure - Able to meet essential food and non-food needs without engaging in atypical coping strategies; Mild food insecurity - Has minimal adequate food consumption without engaging in irreversible coping strategies; Moderate food insecurity - Has significant food consumption gaps or are marginally able to meet minimum food needs; Severely food insecure - Has extreme food consumption gaps or extreme loss of livelihood assets.

59 ibid
with only 4.8% skipping all meals. The key reasons for skipped meals included lack of money to purchase food, lack of food in the household and lack of cooking fuel (Figure 22).

Coping strategies for food insecurity varied broadly among the refugee and host community households, with the major options being borrowing, seeking aid, and changing eating habits (Figure 23).

Among refugees there was a high level of reliance on neighbours, as they could borrow from and return food to their neighbours once their shares were issued by WFP. On the contrary, the lack of such arrangements among the host community translated into greater reliance on other family members for support, indicating stronger family ties in the host community area.

The Kakuma host community food situation was generally better than in the camp and the Kalobeyei area. This could be due to the growth of alternative sources of income – a positive impact of the refugee camp. Although host community members may not have benefited from direct food donations, various opportunities for businesses as well as social support programmes had emerged over the years, which offered families more options for meeting their food and basic needs. This associated benefit of the refugee camp growth should be studied, and best practices applied to advance food security in the Kalobeyei host community area within the first decade of the new site’s development.

### 4.2.6 Housing Characteristics and Space Utilization

Space utilization and appropriation for any community or household depends on their socio-economic status and availability of land in an area. The nature and quality of housing are influenced by housing material, size of housing unit and space standards, and depend on social and economic status, culture and the local availability of construction materials. The larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area presents two scenarios for space appropriation and housing:

1. Local, open space appropriation and construction using locally available material, conforming with culture and applying emerging technologies, and
2. Controlled development within the refugee settlements, where construction materials are limited to what is provided by various humanitarian organizations. The actual use of internal and external space also varies depends on the type of settlement. The number of rooms, and location of kitchen and bathrooms define and separate functional spaces within the house. These are key indicators of household comfort, and the level of internal congestion and pollution.

For refugees a house is a sign of security for the family, and often a solace from the many challenges they face. Provision of housing a fundamental human right, and one that is key in a humanitarian situation. It is a basic planning unit which is used to guide camp planning as provided by UNHCR’s Emergency Handbook. Two key indicators of a refugee family’s comfort are the space standards inside and outside the house, and construction materials, especially since most refugee resettlements are in highly marginalised areas.

The planning standards applied in Kakuma Refugee Camp follow the housing and plot standards suggested in the Emergency Handbook, but have been changing over time. For example, the size of plots issued to refugees in Kakuma I was 10 by 15 metres for a family size of six to eight people. This space allocation was supposed to accommodate a house, and leave some compound for the family to engage in other recreational activities. Plot sizes were reduced to 10 by 10 metres in Kakuma IV for the same family size, due to dwindling space and a growing refugee population.

Despite this, the housing unit standard remained the same, at 3 by 4.5 metres. Larger families receive larger or multiple houses to meet the minimum UNHCR space standard per person. These units are usually provided as a single room, which over the years has been associated with major social and cultural challenges. In most African cultures, it is considered wrong for parents to share the same room with their children, and therefore this is a predicament that most families find themselves in upon arrival at Kakuma Refugee Camp. This often calls for rapid modification to ensure privacy within the houses, translating to internal space sub-divisions in the short term. In the long term, as refugees settle in, they devise more permanent solutions, including creating extra rooms (extensions) next to their existing houses. While this ideally happens within the allocated plot, there are instances where the extensions have jumped into neighbouring plots, or into the spaces provided for other land uses, such as circulation or recreation. Both internal modifications and extensions are evident in most parts of Kakuma, with greater number of modifications in Kakuma I.

The survey established that in Kakuma Refugee Camp, the average house had two rooms (mean number of rooms = 2.2, mode = 2), which hosted an average of six people (mean family size = 5.95, mode = 5). The actual numbers however varied widely, with those of family size ranging from one person to 15 people and the number of rooms ranging from one to five. Of respondents, 38.1% lived in a two room house, and 36.5% had only one room. A higher number of rooms did not necessarily reflect a bigger family size, as there was no statistically significant correlation between the size of family and the number of rooms. Often, more rooms meant various single roomed units within the house as opposed to many partitions within one house. Despite this, 24.8% of respondents indicated that they had demarcated a living room or sitting space within their houses, 42.4% had demarcated a bedroom area, 20.8% had a kitchen space and 12% had a separate latrine or bathroom space. When respondents were asked where their kitchens were located, 77.8% were outside their houses while 22.2% had their cooking areas in the main living space. This implies that almost a quarter of respondents were at a high risk of internal pollution.

Allocation of space for sitting within the houses could largely be due to a need for privacy within the camp, which was also portrayed by high rates of fencing off plots using various materials. This could also be explained by the notion of “family space”, which was the space where families ate their meals and held family discussions. Sixty-nine percent of respondents indicated that they ate their meals inside their houses, while 29.4% ate outside their houses. In addition, 62.2% of
respondents held meetings inside their houses, 32.3% held them outside, and 5.5% used communal spaces. Notions of family space depended on the nationality of the refugee, with South Sudanese often holding family activities outside their houses.

In the Kakuma host community area, the 81.8% of respondents lived in a house60 with one to three rooms (or had one to three separate rooms in their compound). A quarter of these lived in single rooms, and 28.4% lived in two and three-room houses each. The remaining 18.2% lived in houses (compounds) with between four and six rooms. There was no significant relationship between the number of rooms and the household size among host community respondents.

Space demarcation among Kakuma host community respondents was largely based on function, with 89.9% of respondents having demarcated spaces for various uses. Only 10.1% had only one room. The most important rooms in households were the living room, bed room, kitchen and latrine or bathrooms. The sitting room was particularly important, and was demarcated as a separate space by 54.7% of respondents. This could have been because of its role in hosting various family activities, as represented by 89.9% and 60.3% of the respondents was largely based on function, with 89.9% of respondents having demarcated spaces for various uses. Only 10.1% had only one room. The most important rooms in households were the living room, bed room, kitchen and latrine or bathrooms. The sitting room was particularly important, and was demarcated as a separate space by 54.7% of respondents. This could have been because of its role in hosting various family activities, as represented by 89.9% and 60.3% of respondents who ate their meals and held family meetings inside the house respectively. Only 19.1% of the interviewed households took their meals from outside the houses. In addition, 30.6% of the households held family meetings outside the house but within the compound, and a further 9.1% held such meetings outside the house in a communal space.

The kitchen was also a very important space among the host community households. Its location was significant: in 82.5% of households the kitchen was a separate unit located outside the living spaces, against only 17.1% who did their cooking inside the main houses. This indicated that the host community members were doing better in indoor pollution than the refugees.

4.2.6.1 Housing Material

The material used for housing in Kakuma Camp varied between the host and refugee communities, within and between the camp clusters, and between residential and business premises. In Kakuma Camp, most interviewed households (55.6%) had used bricks or blocks as the main walling material, followed by mud or wood (13.4%) and corrugated iron sheets (12.7%). In the host community area, most respondents (69.7%) used mud and wood, followed by mud and cement (10.9%), and brick or block (2.5%). Other materials included corrugated iron sheets, twigs, grass/reeds and canvas.

A key observation within Kakuma Camp was that pit latrines were almost exclusively constructed of corrugated iron sheets. In the host community areas on the other hand, a key observation was that the type of building material changed from more permanent options (stone, brick, mud or cement) in Kakuma Town and immediate surroundings to more temporary alternatives (twigs, grass and reeds, canvas) in the villages. Where canvas was used, it was mostly old UNHCR tents, which might have been previously used in the refugee camp.

Corrugated iron sheets were the most common roofing materials in Kakuma as identified by 91% and 74.1% of the refugee and host community respondents. Other options included makuti (some form of locally available reeds), grass, cartons, sisal and twigs (Figure 25).

Earthen floors were most common floor type, for 93.8% of the refugee and 56.1% of host community respondents. There were more households with cement floors in the Kakuma host community area (43.9%) than in Kakuma Refugee Camp (1.6%). Other types of floor material used by the refugees included wood (3.9%) and tiles (0.8%).

Within Kakuma Camp, the construction typology depicted uniqueness of varied cultures. Even with the same building material, the architecture in the clusters varied widely as shown in Figure 27.

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60 Note on the interchangeability of house and compound as based on Turkana culture.
4.2.7 Impact of Kakuma Camp on the Larger Area and Nature of Interactions Between Refugees and Hosts

Attainment of integration of the host and refugee communities in an area is highly reliant on historical relationships between the two communities, and how the emerging opportunities from the refugee camp development have been shared among them. Understanding the nature of these relationships in Kakuma was viewed as being a good benchmark for projecting likely interaction trajectories in Kalobeyei.

4.2.7.1 Changes Brought by Settlement of Refugees in Kakuma

Over the years, the Kakuma Refugee Camp has caused several changes to the larger Kakuma area, both positive and negative. These have affected the relationship between refugees and hosts differently. According to the interviewed respondents, areas where the host community in Kakuma had experienced greater benefits than the refugees included growth of business opportunities, increase in population favouring local development, increased employment opportunities, increased
local capacity development and increased scholarships for their children. On the other hand, refugees had benefited more from improved infrastructure development and social services, enhanced social integration, improved security and emerging opportunities for education advancement (Figure 29).

The main negative changes brought about by the refugee camp included increased instances of insecurity, competition for resources (often resulting in shortages), deforestation and increased school dropouts. The host community generally felt the negative changes more than the refugees, particularly those on deforestation and environmental degradation, and increased insecurity (Figure 30).

Collectively however, settlement of refugees in Kakuma had brought more positive than negative impacts to the larger area, with the magnitude of the changes varying across each sub-sector. Respondents were asked to rank the perceived changes on five indicators: service availability, local economy, environment, land use, and resource availability and sharing. The results are presented in Figure 31.

Figure 31 shows that the host community experienced more benefits from the refugee settlement in Kakuma than the refugees. While refugees identified that there were generally more positive benefits on the environment, land use, and resource availability than negative effects, the net positive changes were relatively small compared to perceived changes by the host community. On the other hand, respondents from the host community identified higher variations in the perceived changes, with all measured indicators except for the environment having significantly higher positive changes. The host community respondents indicated that the local environment had been negatively impacted by the refugee settlement. This relates to earlier observations that the Kakuma Refugee Camp had significantly contributed to deforestation and environmental pollution in the larger area. The cause for this was cutting down trees to construct houses and provide cooking energy for the refugees, as well as haphazard waste disposal methods. These are immediate issues of concern for the Kalobeyei New Site, where deforestation was already being witnessed.

According to the refugee respondents, service availability and the local economy had been affected more negatively than positively. This could have been because of increased competition for the available resources.

Figure 29: Positive Changes from Refugee Settlement

Figure 30: Negative Changes from Refugee Settlement
4.2.7.2 Nature of Interactions and Relationships Between Refugees and Hosts in Kakuma

There were strong interactions between refugees and host community members in Kakuma, the nature and frequency of which varied largely based on the purpose of interaction. Most refugee respondents (50.9%) indicated that they interacted with members of the host community many times in a day, 17.2% interacted with them once in a day, 10.3% once in a week, 14.7% monthly, 5.2 twice a week, 0.9% yearly and only 0.9% had never interacted with the host community. A similar trend was reported by the host community respondents, 36.6% of whom interacted with refugees multiple times in a day, 10.9% once in a day, 18.8% weekly and only 3% had never interacted with them. The refugees who had not interacted with the hosts were mostly respondents who had lived in the camp for less than a year, while hosts in the same category were those living far from the Kakuma Town centre.

Trade and meetings in social places accounted for the highest daily interactions, followed by interactions based on casual labour and when accessing to social services (Figure 32). However, interactions based on casual labour and access to social or communal services also accounted for the greatest activities during which the two communities had never interacted. However, this statistic was only specific to casual labour, implying that the respondents had collaborated on other aspects.

When respondents in the two communities were asked to describe the type of economic relationship between them, 53.9% of refugees identified it as being an employer – employee one, against 46.1% who viewed it as being mutual. On the contrary, most host community respondents identified the relationship as being mutual and equal (88.7%), as opposed to that of an employer and employee. Refugee respondents tended to view themselves as employers, supported by KIIs which established that host community members seek casual labour in the camp, and are paid either in cash or food. The observation by the host community members could have been based on the fact that exchange of goods was common between the two groups. For example, host community members supplied firewood to refugees and received food in exchange.

Most refugees described the relationship between the two groups as being good (45%) and fair (39.4%), as opposed to 37.5% of the host community respondents who identified it as good, and 43.3% who described it as being fair. More refugees (8.3%) than host community respondents (5.8%) felt that the relationship was tense. Only 7.3% and 10.6% of the refugee and host communities respectively viewed the relationship as a communal and properly integrated one, implying a huge challenge of integration in Kakuma.
The low level of integration could have been attributed to the fact that at least half of the refugee (50.8%) and 80.9% of host respondents had experienced some form of conflict. The major conflict areas included use of resources, land matters, access to opportunities and general disagreements, as presented in Table 4.

General disagreements were a daily occurrence among the two communities, while the frequency of the other conflict areas varied widely, as shown in Figure 33.

There were also many instances of good collaboration between the refugees and the host community members. When respondents were asked about the frequency of good collaboration, 92.5% of the refugees and 90.6% of the hosts identified that these were very common among them. Collaborative activities included trade, use of resources and infrastructure, and joint community activities.

Despite these challenges, and based on the many instances of good collaboration between the refugees and hosts, 65.2% of the refugees and 79.4% of the host respondents indicated that they had confidence that the relationship between the two communities would grow strong, against 15.2% and 11.3% respectively who felt it would totally collapse. A further 11.4% (refugees) and 6.2% (hosts) felt that the prevailing situation would remain the same, while 8.3% of the refugees and 3.1% of the hosts felt that the relationship would weaken. This shows simultaneous optimism and serious skepticism on the sustainability of the relationship between the two communities, with the latter being stronger among the refugees.

When asked whether they would be willing to live in an integrated settlement, only 53.1% of the refugees and 44.3% of the hosts responded positively, indicating that there is a high level of mistrust between the two communities which needs to be addressed with urgency for the future sustainability of the Kakuma settlement. The main deterrents to sustainable co-existence as identified by both groups included mistrust, recurrent conflicts, insecurity, language barrier, and the opinion that the refugees will ultimately go back to their countries, beating the sense for long term integration. Integration of the two communities was however viewed as one that would promote development of the local area, and something that needed to be explored keenly.

### 4.3 Findings from Kalobeyei Area

#### 4.3.1 Basic Demographic Profile

The total number of respondents in the larger Kalobeyei area was 77, of which 57 were from the host community and 22 were refugees already living in the new site. Table 5 summarises the basic demographic background of respondents in the Kalobeyei area. Most respondents in both sites were female. Given that most respondents were married, the high number of female respondents could be attributed to men being engaging in livestock grazing or other economic activities outside their homes during the day, when data was collected. Of the married respondents in the host community, 28.6% were in a polygamous marriage. The average household size for the host community was 5.5, compared to an average of 3.5 for refugees. In terms of education, 70.2% of host community respondents did not have formal education, compared to only 13.1% of refugee respondents. The age of host respondents ranged from 19 to 89 years, with mean age of 42. Refugees ranged in age 18 to 56 years, with a mean age of 29.1 years.

![Figure 33: Frequency of Disagreements Between Hosts and Refugees](image-url)
4.3.2 Access to Basic Services

Access to basic services such as water, sanitation, health and education are fundamental rights for every human being, as outlined in various international and national strategies and policies (including the Habitat Agenda, SDGs, MDGs, and Charter on Human Rights). Access to adequate basic services not only creates a friendly and liveable environment, but also advances a population’s quality of life, in turn influencing socio-economic productivity.

Access to basic services in the Kalobeyei area was limited, with sparsely distributed services available in the larger ward. Within the new site, the construction of various services like schools and hospitals is ongoing, making it difficult to use the same standards and guidelines in comparing service provision in the host settlement and new site. Provisions for services such as health, education and recreational facilities is highly varied throughout the Kalobeyei ward, with better access noted around the Kalobeyei Town area, compared to outlying rural areas.

During the socio-economic baseline survey, household heads or senior family members were asked to indicate where they received health care, ranging from first aid services to specialised care. In Kalobeyei ward, local-level health services are accessed from six dispensaries spread out across the six sub-locations (Kalobeyei, Natiira, Oropoi, Songot, Lonyuduk, and Nalapatui), and also from two other clinics - one in the Kalobeyei refugee new settlement (the Red Cross clinic) and another in the Kakuma Refugee Camp (Somali Clinic in Kakuma II). The six local dispensaries in the host community area include:

- Lokwanya Dispensary located in Songot sub-location
- Lomunyanakironok dispensary located in Songot sub-location
- Oropoi Dispensary located in Oropoi sub-location
- Kalobeyei dispensary located in Kalobeyei sub-location
- Nalapatui dispensary located in Kalobeyei sub-location and
- Natiira dispensary located in Natiira sub-location

The general usage and accessibility analysis indicated that, for basic healthcare, residents used the dispensaries within their sub-location almost exclusively. People living in Kalobeyei sub-location (particularly those living within Kalobeyei Town) however

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Table 5: Comparative Demographic Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Host Community</th>
<th>Refugee Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
<td>Male Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Married Single</td>
<td>Others (Separated/Divorced)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>No Formal Education Completed Primary University/College</td>
<td>No Formal Education Completed Primary University/College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate monthly Income</td>
<td>&lt; Kshs. 5,000 Kshs 5,000-10,000 &gt;Ksh 10,000</td>
<td>&lt;Ksh 5,000 Kshs 5,000-10,000 &gt;Ksh 10,000 ksh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kalobeyei Socio-Economic Baseline Survey, August 2016
accessed dispensary services from multiple locations, including Oropoi, Nalapatui and Kakuma. This could be associated with the town’s central location within the ward. First aid services were generally accessed from home or the nearest health facility.

Respondents in the four sub-locations of Natiira, Oropoi, Songot and Lonyuduk relied on the dispensaries for all their healthcare needs. On the other hand, respondents in Kalobeyei and Nalapatui sub-locations had access to multiple higher-order healthcare alternatives, with those living in Kalobeyei Town having an even larger pool of services. For example, beyond accessing higher order health services from Kalobeyei dispensary, respondents from Nalapatui also had access to Clinic 6 in Kakuma Camp. Respondents in Kalobeyei Town had access to the services in areas outside their sub-location, particularly in Kakuma Mission Hospital. A small number occasionally also received such services from the Kakuma health centre.

The movement of people between Kalobeyei and Kakuma Towns along the Lodwar-Lokichogio road observed during the two weeks of data collection illustrates a strong links between them. In addition, some respondents from Kalobeyei Town area accessed specialised treatment from Lodwar Referral Hospital, approximately 150 km away. This movement in search of health services is likely to reduce once the new Red Cross health facility in Kalobeyei settlement is fully operational. People living within the Kalobeyei New Site accessed lower-order healthcare services from the Red Cross clinic located within the settlement, and higher order medical services from IRC facilities, Kakuma Mission Hospital and Kakuma General Hospital, all located in Kakuma ward (both refugee camp and within the town).

An interesting observation was that while refugees in Kalobeyei accessed some healthcare services from the Kakuma Mission Hospital located in Kakuma Town (host community area), none of the host community respondents from Kalobeyei accessed similar services from Kakuma General Hospital, which is located within the Kakuma Refugee Camp.

b. Education

At the time of data collection, Kalobeyei ward had five primary schools, one secondary school62, and did not have any tertiary institution for mid-level or higher learning. One more primary school was under construction at the Kalobeyei New Site. In general, each primary school in Kalobeyei ward is designed to serve a sub-location, particularly in Kakuma Mission Hospital. A small number occasionally also received such services from the Kakuma health centre. The movement of people between Kalobeyei and Kakuma Towns along the Lodwar-Lokichogio road observed during the two weeks of data collection illustrates a strong links between them. In addition, some respondents from Kalobeyei Town area accessed specialised treatment from Lodwar Referral Hospital, approximately 150 km away. This movement in search of health services is likely to reduce once the new Red Cross health facility in Kalobeyei settlement is fully operational. People living within the Kalobeyei New Site accessed lower-order healthcare services from the Red Cross clinic located within the settlement, and higher order medical services from IRC facilities, Kakuma Mission Hospital and Kakuma General Hospital, all located in Kakuma ward (both refugee camp and within the town).

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b. Education

At the time of data collection, Kalobeyei ward had five primary schools, one secondary school62, and did not have any tertiary institution for mid-level or higher learning. One more primary school was under construction at the Kalobeyei New Site. In general, each primary school in Kalobeyei ward is designed to serve a sub-location measuring more than 200 square kilometres (Songot alone measures 1025.7 sq km), and the average distance between one school and the next is approximately 15 kilometres.

The most accessible primary schools by respondent households included Kalobeyei Primary, Lokwanya Primary, Oropoi Primary School and Natiira Primary (all in Kalobeyei ward), and St. Mark and Kakuma Mixed in Kakuma ward. Households tended to associate with schools within their sub-locations, despite the distances involved. For example, all respondents from Songot accessed primary education from Lokwanya Primary School, located in the sub-location. Schools in Kalobeyei sub-location were accessed by people from various sub-locations, implying either centrality or specific aspects such as performance that made them attractive to students. Kalobeyei Primary School, for example, was identified as the most accessible by 20% of respondents in Oropoi, all the respondents in Nalapatui, 50% of respondents in Kalobeyei village63 and 71.4% of respondents

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62 As per primary data collection through mapping
63 In the survey context, Kalobeyei village was used to refer to all parts of Kalobeyei sub-location outlying Kalobeyei Town and its immediate surroundings.
in Kalobeyei Town. Equally, respondents from Kalobeyei Town identified that they have access to schools outside their sub-location, 28.6% of whom had access to Oropoi Primary School. All households from the refugee community identified that they accessed primary school education from the “under construction” Kalobeyei New Site Primary School. At the time of data collection, although the school was within walking distance to all settled parts of the settlement it only offered learning up to class seven, largely excluding refugees who required higher levels of learning from the education system. This challenge is likely to be compounded by the attainment of the settlement’s 60,000 population target, regardless of the completion status of the new school.

Kalobeyei Secondary School, located in Kalobeyei Town, was the major post-primary education facility serving the ward. While easily accessible by households residing in Kalobeyei Town and surroundings, the facility is about 70 kilometres from the farthest corner of the larger ward, an area it is supposed to serve. Other schools accessed by households included Green-Light (in Songot ward), AIC Songot, Katilu Boys, Our Lady of Peace and Kakuma Secondary (both in Kakuma ward). Only households living around Kalobeyei Town had access to secondary schools in Kakuma ward. None of respondents interviewed from the new refugee settlement had access to a secondary school, a point that was greatly emphasised in an FGD with the refugee youths. They identified lack of institutions of higher learning as a major challenge.

The Don Bosco Learning Centre located in Kakuma Refugee Camp and the Masinde Muliro University in Kakuma Town are the only tertiary learning institutions within the larger Kalobeyei – Kakuma area. They both offer training to host and refugee community members. It was, however, identified from FGDs with youth in Kalobeyei host community that several youth are studying in universities and colleges outside Turkana County, mostly in Eldoret and Nairobi. Some of those students have been offered study scholarships by various humanitarian organizations operating in the area, as well as by the County Government through the Constituency Development Fund.

c. Water

Availability of water is key to the survival of both the people and various agricultural practises in Turkana County. In Kalobeyei, as in many other arid places in Kenya, availability of water, and the distance to various water facilities determines how much water a family can acquire and use each day. Kalobeyei sub-location has the highest number of water points among all sub-locations in the ward.

Water in Kalobeyei is accessed from boreholes and wells, water pans or dams, river banks, as piped water and from water kiosks and other dedicated water points. While some sources of water are free for households, others have associated costs which are often determined by the type of source.

The mean water usage per household in the host community area was 81 litres, although the range of consumption varied widely from 20 to over 200 litres per day; depending on the household size and income. Forty-seven percent of all interviewed households consumed between 40 and 60 litres per day (23.5% consumed 40 and 60 litres each), while 27.5% used between 80-100 litres per day (13.7% each). Seventeen percent of respondents consumed more than 100 litres of water per day and 7.8% used less than 40 litres per day.
Although there is no conclusive data to identify a correlation between the amount of water consumed per day and the source in the host community, most respondents accessed water from boreholes. Interestingly, respondents who accessed water from river banks used between 20-80 litres per day. This could be associated with the amount of time required to collect water from river banks, as wells must be dug along the dry river beds which then take time to fill with water. Another reason could be that some water-demanding activities (e.g. washing clothes, showering) are undertaken at the source, thus creating less demand at home. The cost of water in Kalobeyei ward ranged from Kshs. 5 to Kshs. 20, with a mean cost of Kshs. 8.33 per 20 litre jerry can, and a mode of Kshs. 5. While Kalobeyei sub-location had the highest number of water points out of the sub-locations in the ward, respondents interviewed here paid more for the resource. In particular, Kalobeyei Town residents paid Kshs. 10 per 20 litre jerry can for water sourced from the nearby Nakwamunyen water point. Coincidentally, respondents living within the town area also used more water than those living in the villages, possibly due to a lack of alternatives for water usage (e.g. bathing in the rivers etc.).

Other than eight boreholes and wells which were operated by a Non-Governmental Organization, most other sources of water were either open access (e.g. rivers), or their use was regulated and managed by locals. Water accessed from piped sources and water kiosks (operated privately by members of the community) was mostly paid for. Some respondents paid for water from the various boreholes in the area, while others accessed it free of charge. NGO operated sources were mostly free of charge.

Water points were however unevenly spread throughout the ward, and were only concentrated within a radius of one kilometre from the Kalobeyei Market (Figure 36). These facilities were also located within a radius of about 12km from the Kalobeyei New Site. This service distribution pattern could be influenced by the nature of settlements in the area, in which areas around Kalobeyei Town depicted more permanent forms of settlement as opposed to other outlying parts of the ward. This was largely influenced by the pastoral nature of the people living there.

Among the refugee community in the new settlement, the mean water usage is 60 litres per household per day, with a concentration of usage between 40 and 80 litres. For this community, the only source of water was taps located within their compounds, from which water was available twice per day. At the time of data collection, there was no active borehole in the new site. Water was instead supplied by UNHCR bowsers which filled up 5,000 litres tanks located in various neighbourhoods of the settlement (Figure 37). There were no charges associated with access to water among this community.

d. Sanitation

Burning is the main solid waste disposal method for Kalobeyei host and refugee households. Of the host community households, 96.2% burned their waste, and less than 2% either buried waste or had it collected from their houses. Similarly, 65.2% of households in the new site burned their solid waste, 8.7% buried it, while 21.7% dumped it in random locations. The random solid waste dumping culture was evidenced by litter spread in most parts of the already inhabited section of the new settlement. Interestingly, UNHCR has provided solid waste bins throughout the site, which seem to be seldom used. This signifies a need for sensitization of refugees on proper waste management, to protect the environment in the long term. No costs are associated with the solid waste disposal methods adopted by both communities.
All interviewed households in the new settlement disposed their human waste in shared pit latrines, which are lined up behind their tented houses (Figure 39). Among Kalobeyei host community households, the bush is the main area for human waste disposal, as identified by 59.6% of respondents, followed by pit latrines within plots (34.6%). These statistics are consistent with findings from the 2009 Kenya population census, in which 79.6% of households in Turkana North (95.3% in rural areas and 31.6% in urban areas) used bushes as their main mode of human waste disposal, followed by pit latrines. No costs are associated with the adopted human waste disposal methods. There were no major differences in the human waste disposal methods between the sub-locations, since even the respondents from Kalobeyei Town adopted open defecation in the nearby bushes.

The high number of people practising open defecation is a cause for concern in the area, as it has long-term implications on health and the environment as the population grows. While it will be important to advocate for appropriate means of human waste disposal such as the use of pit latrines, the pastoral nature of the residents of Kalobeyei is a huge challenge. As the population is projected to start adopting a more settled lifestyle with the full development of the integrated refugee settlement in Kalobeyei (and if the happenings of Kakuma are anything to go by), there is need
for a lot of sensitization and support on this aspect from the various organizations dealing with sanitation in the larger Kalobeyei area.

e. Energy

The larger Kalobeyei area is not connected to the main national electricity grid, and thus residents rely on alternative energy sources. Most interviewed households in the Kalobeyei host community used wood fuel as their main source of both lighting and cooking fuel as identified by 64% and 84% of respondents, respectively. Almost all (95.7%) refugees used wood as their main cooking fuel. This finding was not surprising, especially given that wood was among the most traded commodities in the area. The nomadic culture of the host community makes collecting firewood and using its energy as they move with their cattle. Unlike other parts of Kenya where households in urbanized areas adopt alternative sources of lighting (solar, kerosene lamps etc.), use of wood as the main source of lighting was not limited to the villages, but was also prevalent in the Kalobeyei Town area, as identified by 61.5% of respondents. Other sources of lighting included kerosene lanterns (6%), tin lamps (8%) solar (14%) and torches (8%).

The relatively high adoption of solar energy among host community households could be due to efforts by organizations such as GIZ and LOKADO to promote use of renewable energy sources, particularly solar energy. GIZ has, for example, assisted the County Government in installation of several solar powered lighting masts in Kalobeyei Town. This has led to increased businesses operating hours, and in turn enhanced incomes (Figure 41).

Most refugees used torches as their main source of lighting (40%), followed by tin lamps (30%), wood fuel (10%) and natural light (10%). A smaller proportion used candles, and mobile phone lighting. The adoption of the non-conventional sources of lighting such as natural lighting (even at night) in the new site could be because solar panels line the built-up sections of the settlement, providing adequate lighting to the houses. The high usage of kerosene tin lamps is, however, a major contributor to indoor pollution.

Charcoal was the second most common type of cooking energy used by host community households, as identified by 14% of respondents, with only 2% were using liquefied petroleum gas (LPG). Only 4.3% of the refugees used charcoal as their main cooking energy. The respondents in the host community using LPG were only those living within Kalobeyei Town. These findings were largely consistent with those from the 2009 Kenya Population and housing census which identified that in Turkana North District (where Kalobeyei lies), wood fuel accounted for 73.9% of lighting energy sources (89.6% in rural areas and 25.9% in urban areas).

When asked to give reasons for their preference of certain types of cooking energy, most respondents preferred wood because it was readily available and affordable, and they did not have other cooking alternatives. The implications of the high reliance on wood fuel are dire, particularly on both internal and external air pollution, as well as on the destruction of forest resources in the area. At the time of data collection, harvesting firewood from the shrubs within and near the new
settlement was becoming a source of conflict between refugees and host communities. During FGDs with elders, it emerged that the host community viewed the trees and shrubs within the settlement as theirs, which the refugees did not have any rights to harvest. To prevent future conflict, there is need to support initiatives by GIZ and LOKADO in promoting adoption of alternative energy sources, which are both environmentally friendly and healthier for households.

### 4.3.3 Livelihoods and Growth Opportunities

#### 4.3.3.1 Income generating opportunities

**a. Farming as a source of income**

Only 17.3% of interviewed respondents in the Kalobeyei host community area were practicing some form of commercial farming, 70% of whom specialised in livestock keeping. This was largely in line with the pastoral nature of the local Turkana community. The small percentage of households in commercial farming however did not mean that most households were not practicing agriculture, but rather that the activities of most respondents were either too small for them to identify it as commercial farming, and the respondents did not consider livestock keeping as commercial farming but rather as a cultural obligation and source of pride. Most (88.9%) of those practicing commercial farming were interested in expanding their ventures. Interestingly, 60% were interested in diversifying into crop farming, against 40% who were interested in expanding their livestock-keeping activities. This desire among local residents to diversify into crop husbandry presents a great opportunity for the promotion of agricultural activities as proposed in the KISEDIP.

Of the respondents who were not already practicing commercial farming, 59% were interested in such activities. Sixty-nine percent of these were interested in livestock keeping, 27.6% in crop husbandry and only 3.4% in agricultural produce value addition or processing. This pointed towards a strong cultural attachment to livestock keeping among the local community, where livestock ownership is viewed as an indicator of wealth and status in society. Lack of skills in agricultural activities, inadequate water and engagement in other businesses were some of the reasons households were not interested in commercial farming (Figure 42).
Among respondents in the Kalobeyei Refugee Settlement, several households were already practicing small scale commercial farming, particularly with the planting of vegetables. Of those already farming, 72.7% were willing to expand, with exclusive interest in expansion of crop husbandry ventures. Among those who were not already engaging in commercial farming, 78.9% were interested in such activities. The nature of interest activities varied from crop husbandry (64.3%) and livestock keeping (21.4%) to produce value addition and processing (14.3%). The interest in livestock keeping was attributed to the cultural attachment of some refugees to livestock, particularly those from South Sudan and Uganda. Of the five nationalities of refugees sampled in the new site (South Sudanese, Rwandese, Burundian, DRC, Ugandans) only respondents from Burundi identified that they would be interested in agricultural produce value addition.

b. Businesses as a Source of Income

There was a very high interest in business activities in Kalobeyei, which were considered a faster way of earning an income. The high interest in businesses could also have been due to the differences in social status between those who were already running businesses and those who were not, where the former appeared to be more financially stable. 87.2% of respondents in the host community and 95.7% of the refugees were interested in engaging in various forms of business. This collective interest was in itself a good opportunity to promote integration in the new site.

Ownership of a shop or kiosk was the dream business for most respondents in the host (31.7%) and refugee (52.2%) communities (Figure 44). Other than ownership of kiosks, preference for other kinds of businesses varied widely between hosts and refugees. Host community respondents had higher interest in livestock related businesses such as buying and selling of livestock (29.3%) and livestock-keeping for future sale (17.1%), while the refugees were interested in keeping hotels (21.7%) and boutiques or clothes shops (8.7%).

The main reasons for interest in business activities was sustenance and enhancement of standards of living, according to 57.8% and 39.3% of host and refugee respondents respectively. Other reasons included making profits, ready market for products, lack of competition in the business, the urge for self-employment and ready availability of products.

The most interesting finding here was that, shops were identified as being affordable and the goods were also identified as being readily available, perhaps because most shops in the areas often started with few products and grew as profits trickled in. Preference for bars and other businesses such as boutiques was largely because of lack of competition in the businesses. Respondents who preferred livestock trade were those who were skilled in the business.

Other economic activities of interest among the respondents included businesses such as welding, bodabodas, formal employment, charcoal burning and selling, currency trade and poultry keeping (the last two specifically being identified by the refugees).

4.3.3.2 Household Asset Base and Quality of Life

Ownership of household assets is often a good measure of a family's socio-economic status, and reflects their level of comfort and attachment to cultural and socio-economic practices. In Kalobeyei, household asset ownership reflects a simple lifestyle common to village life in Turkana, and in Kenya in general. Ownership of assets in the surveyed households was limited to the most basic of items, particularly those directly related to access to basic needs such as food, and now the very important communication through mobile phones. While only 34% of respondents indicated that they had access to a charcoal stove, 84% had access to plastic cups and plates and 48% had access to a mobile phone. The low ownership of charcoal stoves could be due to reliance on wood fuel as a main source of cooking fuel by many families, as opposed to charcoal. The high ownership of plastic cups and plates could be due to their relatively low costs, compared to porcelain cups and plates. The number of cups and plates owned per household (mode of six for porcelain and four for plastic) was directly proportional to the number of members in the family, with larger families having a higher number of the items.

Table 6: Reasons for Interest in Various Businesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Host</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limited competition</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For self-employment</td>
<td>4.40%</td>
<td>28.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ready availability of products</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
<td>7.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession of skills in that area</td>
<td>4.40%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustenance, improved standard of living &amp; quality of life for family</td>
<td>57.8%</td>
<td>39.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making profit</td>
<td>11.10%</td>
<td>10.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ready market for products</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordability of activities</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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4.3.4 Household Food Security and Coping Mechanisms

The general finding from the survey was that, the host community in Kalobeyei faced a higher risk of food insecurity than the refugee community, something that was closely associated with the strong support network for the refugees through UNHCR. A higher percentage of respondents in the host community (80%) had gone without one or more meals over the past two weeks than those in the refugee camp (47.8%). The skipped meals varied between the two groups, with more respondents from the host community skipping lunch than refugees, who tended to skip dinner and breakfast. There were major variations in the reasons for skipped meals, with most respondents in the host community skipping meals due to lack of money to purchase food (61.5%) as opposed to the refugees, most of whom skipped meals due to lack of food in the household (92.9%). While these reasons may sound similar, there are major differences. A family may have money in their pockets which they intend to use to buy food, and yet there may not be a place to buy it. On the other hand, a family may have multiple places where they could buy food, yet lack the funds. The former is highly associated with limitations in accessibility to food distribution points, and the

Communication today plays a crucial role in local development throughout Kenya, particularly in terms of local and regional connectivity and financial inclusion through mobile money services. The mobile phone ownership rate of 48% in Kalobeyei was slightly less than a half the national level (98%). Despite low phone ownership, the number of phones owned per household was two, indicating the importance attributed to these assets. This multiple ownership of phones held regardless of the number of family members and the average household income, illustrating a high value and need for the service regardless of socio-economic status. The presence of a mobile money transfer (Mpesa) shop within Kalobeyei Town was an indication of the role the service is playing in promoting financial inclusion. Phone ownership was noted to be higher among youth than the elderly, which could be attributed to literacy and exposure to modernity through formal education. None of the households interviewed owned a computer, indicating very low penetration of non-mobile technologies. The low ownership of foam mattresses in the area was no surprise, especially considering nomadic lifestyles in the broader Turkana West sub-region.

Among the refugee community, a similar mobile phone ownership trend was reported. While 50% of respondents owned a mobile phone, the mode number of phones per household was one, regardless of family size. This could have been because respondents were new arrivals from their home countries, or because they were living in a closed setting and thus did not yet require long distance connectivity among household members.

Figure 45: Household Asset Ownership in Kalobeyei

Figure 46: Mpesa Shop Set Up on the Roadside in Kalobeyei Shopping Centre

Photo: ©Dennis Mwaniki, 2016
These findings were related to both the short and long term food situation experiences and perceptions by the respondents in the two categories of data collection. Respondents were asked to describe their food situation in the last four weeks based on a set of pre-defined food security indicators. While 65.2% of respondents in the refugee community indicated that they usually ate enough (even if not always what they would like), only 17.3% of the host community respondents had that privilege. Indeed, most host community respondents (46.2%) identified that they sometimes did not eat enough, against only 4.3% of the refugees who faced the same food situation. The other measures of short term household food situations however favoured the host community as shown in Figure 48.

The fact that more host community respondents than refugees ate enough of what they wanted could be attributed to the fact that refugees lived on a regular budget, which was allocated monthly by WFP (at the time of data collection, the allocation was Kshs. 1300 per person per month). This limited their flexibility to eat meals they would prefer else they exhaust their allocations and starve. This could also be related to the fact that the available options in the new camp for food diversity were limited, unlike in the host community area where a greater variety foods could be sourced from different areas.

In terms of long-term food security, both hosts and refugees identified that they had various forms of food insecurity, with only 7.8% of the host and 4.8% of refugee respondents identifying that they were food secure. While a most refugees (61.9%) identify that they had mild food insecurity, there were more respondents in the host community who felt that they had severe food insecurity (33.3%) than refugees (9.5%) (Figure 49). A high level of mild food insecurity among the refugees could be associated with their budgetary limitations which, despite providing a consistent source of food, did not enable them either get enough, or what they would have liked to eat. Among the host community, a high level of food insecurity could have stemmed from the harsh climate of the area, which often made it difficult to have steady food supply.

The alternatives for dealing with various forms of food insecurity varied between and among the two groups. While most respondents from the host community coped by finding casual labour to feed their families (29.6%), refugees borrowed...
from their neighbours (35%). This could be associated with the fact that the refugees were not yet allowed to seek for work outside the settlement, and because borrowed food could be returned during the next allocation from WFP. Other means of coping among the two groups included reducing household expenditure on food, seeking aid from organizations and prioritizing children when such insecurities arose.

These household food security situations require efforts from various organizations to promote a variety of livelihood options, which will boost food security in both the host community and refugee settlements. The incorporation of agricultural activities in the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement is a step in the right direction, although the nature of proposed activities needs to be based on adequate sensitization of the community on the need to adopt settled farming (crop husbandry, zero grazing etc.) at both small and large scales. There will also be a need to get the local leaders to set the pace on such initiatives, to assist in changing the mentality of the larger community on the value of settled agriculture.

### 4.3.5 Housing Characteristics and Space Utilization

In Kalobeyei host community area, 50% of respondents lived in a single room, 10.9% had two rooms and 21.7% had three rooms. A smaller percentage had more than three rooms, with some respondents indicating that they had as many as six to eight rooms. The mean number of rooms among the interviewed households was 2.5, with a mode of one room per household. It was however noted that the nature of housing construction in the host community area was not based on the conventional housing unit standards, in which a single house can have multiple rooms. Instead, a household often had many separate rooms, each playing a role or hosting various ages. In the Turkana culture, children do not share houses with their parents, and hence always have separate rooms or sleep outside, meaning that there were various single rooms within the compound (Figure 50).

![Figure 50: Typical Homestead Layout in Kalobeyei Host Community Area](image)

![Figure 51: Refugee Room with One Side Acting as Cooking Area](image)
Cooking activities were rarely undertaken within the main rooms, as 92.2% of respondents indicated that they had stand-alone kitchen units within the compound, reducing indoor air pollution. Only 5.9% of respondents had their kitchens within the living spaces, while 2% shared kitchens with their neighbours. Those sharing kitchens were mostly in the town area of Kalobeyei, where a communal urban lifestyle was observed.

In the new settlement on the other hand, a household of between four and eight people was allocated a single room by UNHCR. Within a short time of the allocation, some households had already devised means of partitioning the single unit into various sections or rooms, particularly sitting and sleeping spaces. As a result, while 59.1% of refugees lived in single room dwellings, 40.9% had two rooms. Unlike in the host community area, where respondents almost exclusively had their cooking areas outside the houses, 50% of the refugees cooked inside the living areas, greatly contributing to internal air pollution.

The culture of the Turkana people had played a key role in internal and external space use among the residents of Kalobeyei host community. While 33.3% of respondents had demarcated a living room or sitting space inside their houses (against 12.1% of respondents who had not demarcated any spaces, 24.2% who had demarcated a bedroom and kitchen each and 6.1% who had a kitchen), most family activities were conducted outside the house. 68.6% and 76% of respondents respectively ate their meals and held family meetings and functions outside their houses. In addition, 13.7% ate their meals communally, and 8% held family meetings in communal places, while only 17.6% and 16% participated in these activities within the house respectively. This was highly contrasted in the refugee camp, where 73.9% of respondents took their meals inside the house, 17.4% took them communally (together with other often related families) and only 8.7% ate from outside the houses. Likewise, family meetings among the refugee families were held inside the houses (77.8%), and only 22.2% held them outside. These trends present serious integration implications, and the appropriation of space should be a key consideration when designing communal spaces in the new site, as some cultures may promote sharing of space, while it may be restrictive to others (and hence requiring promotion of private spaces).
4.3.5.1 Housing Materials

The type of housing material in Kalobeyei area is based on either traditional architecture or modern construction technology, with the former more popular among the host community, and the latter more popular among the refugees and around the town areas. Among the host community, locally available materials are preferred. For example, 43.1% of the interviewed households had used mud or wood as their main construction material, 13.8% had used twigs and a further 13.8% used grass or reeds. The use of twigs and grass or reeds was based on traditional Turkana architecture of the migratory herders, who constructed shades using these materials to protect them from harsh weather conditions. As more people adopt a settled lifestyle, this architecture has widely been used throughout the host community settlements. Use of mud was also popular, including which mud bricks and mud smeared on a wooden frame to form the main wall structure. The use of corrugated iron sheets as a walling material was also gaining popularity, particularly within the Kalobeyei Town area. Most households used locally available roofing materials such as grass (26.8%), makuti (19.6%) sisal (16.1%) and twigs (10.7). Use of corrugated iron sheets was also gaining popularity among the locals, used as a roofing material for 19.6% of respondents. Several houses used a combination of materials, and old canvas inscribed with “UNHCR”, (Figure 52). Earthen floors were the most common among the host community households (87% of respondents), followed by cement (11.1%).

The diversity noted on housing material in the host community area was not available within the Kalobeyei New Settlement, which was still under construction. Other than for the under-construction public facilities like the Red Cross hospital and the school, almost all the refugee housing had a canvas walls (with a light metal door and no window), an iron sheet roof and earthen floor. These were constructed as uniform structures by both NCCK and Peace Winds Japan as contracted by UNHCR. Some of the refugees had already started constructing extensions to their allocated structures using canvas for both walling and roofing. A temporary kitchen extension made of wood and twigs was also observed.

4.4 Emerging Challenges and Opportunities in Kakuma and Kalobeyei

The creation of a sustainably integrated neighbourhood, should be done with an understanding of social, economic and cultural values, should identify development opportunities and challenges within the host and refugee communities. This ensures opportunities are built upon and challenges are minimised, reducing the likelihood of conflict in the integrated community. Varied challenges require a participatory process to be overcome, where various programmes are offered which solve problems for the two groups.
4.4.1 Challenges

The major challenges facing both refugees and host community members in Kakuma and Kalobeyei range from access to services and socio-economic restrictions to physical limitations as shown in Figure 54. Lack of access to basic services of particular concern to both communities, as was the prevalence of diseases, which could be attributed to both the limited diet options and large populations concentrated in areas without adequate basic services and facilities.

A major challenge for the Kalobeyei host community members, which was broadly stressed during FGDs and KIIIs was lack of employment and income. This was a particularly fraught subject because of the MoU between the community and UNHCR/DRA on land allocation for the new site. The MoU outlined creation of employment among the local community as a key priority. At the time of data collection, and based on the tone of the FGDs, this was a possible cause for conflict between the host community and both refugees and development agencies. Therefore, objectivity is vital during planning and subsequent development phases to ensure that community expectations and promises made in the MoU are clearly balanced and managed.

On the other hand, weather challenges were a major concern for the refugees in the Kalobeyei New Site. This challenge was associated with the nature of housing material used in the settlement, which both made the rooms too hot, and weak enough to be blown away by the strong winds which often occur in the area (Figure 55).

An integrated settlement in Kalobeyei must address the main challenges experienced by the two groups. The location of basic services must be negotiated, through a participatory process, to benefit both locals and refugees. If they are provided only within the new site, this will be a source of continued conflict. Employment opportunities also need to be created for host community members, through capacity building and training programmes particularly on locally needed skills such as construction, which will enhance their sense of entitlement with the developments within the new settlement. Collective healthcare programmes should also be promoted in all the areas, and security mechanisms put in place to promote confidence among the locals. The systems for addressing these issues should include public consultation at all stages to achieve sustainable solutions.

4.4.2 Opportunities

The major opportunities identified by respondents in both Kakuma and Kalobeyei included increased purchasing power in the region, due to increased refugee populations; improved infrastructure services; social support from the many NGOs operating in the area; easy cash flow; and availability of land for development (Figure 56).
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Figure 57: Pictorial View of Businesses Activities in Kalobeyei and Kakuma


Photos: ©Dennis Mwaniki, 2016
These opportunities are likely to lead to increasingly more settled lifestyles among the host community, and subsequent willingness to inject capital and invest in the local development, something that will further boost growth of the local economy.

The presence of a strong social support from NGOs in Kalobeyei is very positive. If properly used, it can enhance integration between the host and refugee communities. One major benefit for the new settlement is support for skill development and enhanced capacity among both communities. Ultimately, this could lead to the identification of income generation options, creation of new ventures, and reduced conflict, all of which would enhance integration efforts.

Additionally, the anticipated improvements in infrastructure services in the Kalobeyei area will make the area more accessible, increase the efficiency and flow of goods and services, and attract new forms of investment. Equally, support from the County Government (particularly among the host community area) is likely to attract and steer development to the area, helping to develop community growth programmes which will enhance the benefits the new refugee settlement’s location. All these will increase the purchasing power, improve cash flow, and promote growth of businesses and other income generating opportunities.

The availability of the land in the area offers significant opportunities for adequate planning, development of much-needed facilities and commercial activities, and expansion of housing. This is an opportunity for both refugees and the host community, and will contribute to urbanization of the broader Kalobeyei area.

### 4.5 Businesses Survey Findings

This section presents findings from the business survey in the refugee communities of Kakuma and Kalobeyei. The analysis is mainly informed by a total of 231 business enterprise questionnaires administered in Kakuma Refugee Camp (73), Kakuma host community area (96), Kalobeyei New Site (13) and Kalobeyei Host community area (49). The analysis is also supported by six KIIs with the businesses operating in the study sites.

#### 4.5.1 Business Typologies

There was a greater variety of businesses in Kakuma than Kalobeyei. The businesses were noted to be more vibrant in Kakuma Refugee Camp than in Kakuma Town and its immediate surroundings. About 80% of business activities in the survey sites were trade or service-oriented, including shops, phone charging, hair salons and hotels. Only a few businesses focused on technical and manufacturing trades such as welding, medical services, carpentry and dressmaking. Table 7 summarizes the types of businesses prevalent in each of the study sites.

#### 4.5.2 Basic Demographic Profile of Business Respondents

There was a high number of female business operators in the Kalobeyei host community area, compared to other survey areas. This could have been related to the high number of women-friendly businesses in the area, such as shop-keeping, traditional bead-making and grocery shops. Likewise, Kalobeyei

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**Table 7: Types of Businesses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Business Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Host</td>
<td>Shops, butcheries, bookshops, computer repair, cyber cafés, bars, traditional bead-making, groceries, hardware, carpentry, welding, phone charging, livestock selling, charcoal selling, hotels, motorcycle transport (boda boda), commercial generator operators, small scale brewers, water vending, selling animals hides, Agrovet (selling animal feed, farm chemicals etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma Camp</td>
<td>Shops, butcheries, bookshop, computer repair, cyber cafés, bars, groceries, hardware, carpentry, farming, welding, phone charging, supermarkets, boutiques, hotels, tailors, shoe-repairs, motorcycle (boda boda), commercial generator operators, Foreign Exchange bureaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalobeyei Host</td>
<td>Shops, butcheries, bars, traditional bead-making, groceries, phone charging, charcoal selling, motorcycle (boda boda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalobeyei New Site</td>
<td>Retail shops, farming, food vending, bar, groceries, phone charging, charcoal selling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 58: Reasons for Venturing into Current Business
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host community area had the highest number of operators without formal education. The education level of those owning or engaging in business in Kakuma Town was generally higher than in any other area, with 11.7% reported to have college or university degree. This could be explained by the cosmopolitan nature of Kakuma Town, which has attracted people from different parts of the country.

4.5.3 Experience in Business Activities

The success of any business venture is directly related to the business operator’s level of experience. Among the interviewed respondents, only 26.3% had previous experience prior to venturing into the current business. This was consistent with findings from the household surveys, where starting of various businesses was a major dream for most respondents. Among this population, retail shops and selling livestock were the most common areas of previous experience. The main reasons for venturing into the current businesses included high demand for goods and services offered by such businesses; need to gain profit; a desire to shift from loss making activities; and limited capital to operate other preferred businesses (Figure 58).

4.5.4 Business Permits

Only 41% of all interviewed businesses in the four survey areas had business permits, and most licenses were concentrated within the host community areas. 59.8% of businesses in Kakuma and 46.9% in Kalobeyei host community areas had licenses to operate businesses, while only 38.6% in Kakuma Refugee Camp and 20% in Kalobeyei New Settlement had licences. Single business permits issued by the Turkana County Government were the most common type of business permit. Other permits were issued by the Ministry of Health and DRA. Most of the licenses (76.2%) were paid annually. The cost of such permits ranged from Kshs. 1800 to Kshs. 25,000, depending on the type of business and number of permits acquired per business.

The low rate of business permit acquisition presents a major revenue collection set-back for the County Government, and should be seen as an opportunity for enhanced resource mobilization as the Kalobeyei New Settlement grows.

4.5.5 Operating Other Businesses

About 26% of the interviewed respondents were operating multiple businesses within the same or different areas. There were more respondents in the Kalobeyei New Site who owned multiple enterprises than in any other survey location, as presented in Figure 59. The type of businesses operated in the different locations were of a similar kind, and the average distance between the businesses ranged from 15 to 20km.
4.5.6 Business Employments

Businesses in the survey areas had created employment opportunities for the residents. The average number of paid employees per business was 2.6 people, with an average daily wage of Kshs. 431.70. Kakuma area reported the highest number of employees (with up to seven employees per business), while most businesses in Kalobeyei were owner-operated. Equally, businesses in Kakuma paid higher wages, with daily wages of up to Kshs. 2000 recorded. On the other hand, most businesses in Kalobeyei relied on relatives for assistance, most of whom were not paid for their services, as indicated in Table 9.

4.5.7 Business Premises Modifications

Businesses in the four survey areas had undergone some form of transformation, with Kakuma Camp recording the highest rates of modification. The nature of modification ranged from changing the premises material and adjusting the size to changing the nature and scope of business activities and hours of operation. According to the KIIIs with business operators, the modifications were necessitated by the expanding business opportunities, high demand for goods and services, security concerns, and unpopularity of some products.

Most businesses seemed to follow a gradual upward transition, both in terms of size and kinds of goods traded. For example, most businesses in all the four survey areas either started in an open space or a rack outside the house, then gradually grew into mid-sized enterprises, constructed from corrugated iron sheets or bricks (Table 10). Very few businesses were started in dedicated premises. These findings were consistent with the general practice reported elsewhere in Kenya on the growth path taken by small and medium sized enterprises.

Table 9: Daily Wage Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employees Daily Average Wage in Kshs.</th>
<th>Kakuma</th>
<th>Kalobeyei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Host</td>
<td>Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 100</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-499</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-999</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1499</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1999</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2499</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500 and Above</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Nature of Business Modifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Business Space</th>
<th>Kakuma</th>
<th>Kalobeyei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Host</td>
<td>Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small rack outside house</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified room within the house</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Dedicated Business Premises</td>
<td>11.80%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of modification</th>
<th>Kakuma</th>
<th>Kalobeyei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Host</td>
<td>Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construct proper business premise</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expand space Vertically on Open Space</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expand space horizontally</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converted space from other users</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 61: Conversion of Space from Residential to Commercial Uses is Popular in Kakuma Camp
The chronology of business growth, in which businesses started in the respondent’s living space and transitioned into fully-fledged enterprises, greatly contributed to conversion of land use in the survey area. This trend, which was more common in Kakuma Camp, contributed to significant modifications of living spaces to incorporate commercial activities, particularly shops. In Kakuma I, most refugees with a road frontage had either constructed a commercial extension within their plots, or converted a section of their living space which faced the street into some sort of business space (shop, posho-mill area etc.) as shown in Figure 61.

Kakuma I has grown organically over the past two decades without any provisions for market spaces. Owing to a continued interest in operating businesses, Kakuma I developed its own highly vibrant commercial streets, with goods traded there said to be imported from as far as Somalia. Two major markets, the Somali and Ethiopian markets, were in this cluster. These markets often offered goods and services which could not be found in the area commercial areas within the sub-region.

Refugee Influx and Perceptions on Income Generating Activities, Employment and Security

The presence of refugees in Kakuma and Kalobeyei plays a critical role in developing businesses and enhancing investments in the area. Perceptions on how their presence contributes to the business milieu are therefore useful in supporting integration of host and refugee community.

The influx of refugees in Kakuma and Kalobeyei was generally perceived by the business questionnaire respondents as having positively impacted income generating activities, employment opportunities, the business environment, and security of the local area.

The highest negative perceptions from the refugee influx were recorded amongst Kalobeyei host community respondents, particularly on the aspects of income generating opportunities and security as summarized in Table 11. The negative or neutral perceptions recorded by Kalobeyei host community respondents could be due to feelings of neglect. The respondents felt that the terms of the MoU signed prior to issue of the new settlement land on equal distribution of development between the host and refugee communities were not being honoured, and that development was only concentrated in the section of the settlements inhabited by refugees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of Refugee Influx on Income Generating Activities</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Negative</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Negative</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive (Mildly)</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Positive</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Positive</td>
<td>3.10%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of Refugee Influx on Employment Opportunities</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Negative</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Negative</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive (Mildly)</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Positive</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Positive</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of Refugee Influx on Security</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Negatively</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Negatively</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Change</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive (Mildly)</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Positive</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Positively</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refugee Influx on business environment condition</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has improved</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>85.9%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has deteriorated</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has both improved and deteriorated</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing has changed</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.8 Challenges Facing Businesses and Opportunities

a. Challenges

About half of business respondents in the four sites noted lack of capital as their major challenge, especially for the expansion of their businesses. Other challenges included lack of goods, insecurity, an inefficient transport system and setbacks associated with acquisition of operating licenses (Table 12).

During FGDs with the business community, refugee business operators expressed their desire to return to their home country as soon as peace is re-established, something that could challenge the flourishing business landscape. The issue of customer debt was also noted in the FGDs, as business operators normally sympathised with their customers, often opting to give them goods on credit. At times, customers took advantage of business operators’ goodwill and refused to clear their debts. This was particularly a major challenge where refugee business operators gave credit to host community customers, especially in the new site.

Several initiatives aiming to address the lack of capital included group loaning schemes for business start-ups by organizations such as AAH, Africa Action Help, NCCK and LWF.

b. Opportunities

The greatest opportunity identified by respondents in the four areas was a growing population, followed by growing purchasing power and the presence of financial support from various organizations (especially on start-up capital) (Table 13).

4.5.9 Inter-Linkage of Business Activities

In the larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area, the most commercially successful area, measured by vigour of activities, sales and diversity of businesses, is Kakuma Refugee Camp, followed by Kakuma Town and Kalobeyei Town. While the Kalobeyei New Site was only a few months old at the time of data collection, several businesses had already been established. These businesses offered basic goods and services such as food and phone charging. People residing in the new site relied on Kakuma for higher-order goods, which were accessed on foot, by bodaboda, or via local public transport (converted private cars). Kalobeyei shopping centre was mostly by-passed, due to lack of choice in the available stores, and lack of good connectivity between the settlement and the town. Equally, most people residing in Kalobeyei rely on Kakuma for both low and high-order goods and stock for their businesses. Both Kakuma Camp and Kakuma Town rely on each other for various goods, but are linked to other towns such as Lodwar, Kitale and Nairobi for supplies and access to higher-order goods and services.

This chain of interdependence has created a web of commercial networks which link Kakuma Town to Kakuma Camp, and both Kakuma Town and camp to Kalobeyei Town, the new site, and other towns including Lodwar, Kitale and Nairobi. Kalobeyei Town, on the other end, supplies goods and services to smaller market centres such as those in Songot.

Table 12: Challenges Facing Businesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Challenges</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Goods</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huge debts by customers</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long working hours</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration of Local Communities in search of pasture</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inefficient Transport System</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Capital</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>62.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex permit issuance system</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive License for Business</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customer Fluctuations’</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flooding during rainy season</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Shortage</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Fluctuations (Failing generators)</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Business Opportunities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Business Opportunities</th>
<th>Kakuma Host</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Kalobeyei Host</th>
<th>New Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Growing Population</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of Financial Assistance</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Purchasing Power</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of Acquiring License</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing Stock at Fair Price</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pupils queuing for food outside of the local school in Kalobeyei, Turkana, Kenya.

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Chapter 5: Baseline Mapping Findings

5.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the land use, land tenure, migration patterns, settlement patterns, and transformations and modifications experienced over the years in the larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area. The analysis in this section derives from spatial analysis based on satellite imagery for the period 2003-2013, household and KIIs on indicators including housing modifications and grazing patterns and routes, and field based topographic survey work on the new settlement.

5.1 Land Use, Settlement Patterns and Transformations in Kakuma-Kalobeyei Area

5.1.1 Settlement Patterns in Kakuma-Kalobeyei

The larger Kakuma–Kalobeyei area had two unique settlement patterns: dispersed and dynamic settlements characteristic of a nomadic lifestyle; and nucleated settlement in the form of small towns, largely representative of settled lifestyles. However, these patterns were not mutually exclusive, and were mostly noted within the same settlement. This observation, attained through analysis of satellite imagery based on settlement-characteristics proxy indicators65, portrayed a settlement pattern largely related to the prevailing socio-economic activities, nomadic way of life, and basic service provision status in the larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area.

The larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area did not have a specific settlement pattern guided by the most common determinants of growth (rivers, lakes, road networks or proximity to major natural features). In fact, the urban settlements in the area, other than Kakuma Town which is close to the refugee camp, were largely influenced by local traditions and way of life, and the location of various administrative functions or basic services. Oropoi, a small town to the west of Kakuma was located around an airstrip. The rural settlements, which were semi-permanent and dynamic, largely followed grazing routes and associated feeding zones. Other rural-like settlements were also located near the small urban centres in the survey area.

a. Macro-Level Settlement Patterns

At the macro level, the larger Kakuma-Kalobeyei area had a dispersed settlement pattern, with a higher degree of scatter visible to the west of the Kalobeyei New Site. The degree of scatter decreased in all directions towards Kakuma Town and refugee camp, broadly indicating shifting patterns towards nucleated human settlements (Figure 63). Equally, there was a general indication of nucleated settlements in and around the other small towns throughout the study area (Kalobeyei, Oropoi, Lopur), which were also identified as the hubs for basic services and facilities within the largely unsettled areas.

Figure 63: Macro-Level Settlement Patterns in The Kakuma Kalobeyei Area

Map is only representative of settled areas in Kalobeyei and Kakuma wards. Mapping of settlements in Lopur and Nakalale wards is limited to areas bordering Kakuma Town and refugee camp.
b. Micro-Level Settlement Patterns

Settlements at the micro level in Kakuma-Kalobeyei followed the pattern observed at the macro level. Within the small towns, nucleated settlements were the most evident pattern, with some urban areas portraying linear developments along the main transport corridors. Kalobeyei Town was perhaps the best manifestation of linear settlement patterns in the larger area, while Oropoi town portrayed a nucleated pattern around the Oropoi airstrip as shown in Figure 64. Kakuma Town depicted characteristics of a nucleated and linear settlement, with the intensity of developments following a linear pattern along the Lokichoggio-Lodwar A1 road (Figure 65). The level of settlement density marginally declined over a radius of about three kilometres from the main commercial area (near Tarach river, along the A1 road and where most commercial activities are concentrated), beyond which scattered settlements were evident. All the urban settlements were indicative of organic forms of development, with marginal levels of order recorded during the field survey.

The permanency of the settlements increased towards Kakuma Town and Camp, and was also evident in other small towns such as Kalobeyei and Oropoi. Nucleated settlements depicting permanent characteristics were evident in all the major town centres within the study area. Except for in Kakuma Town, the

Figure 64: Settlement Patterns in Kalobeyei and Oropoi Towns

Figure 65: Nucleated and Linear Settlement in Kakuma Town
extent of such permanent structures was limited to a radius of about 500 metres (Figure 66). Settlements of a permanent nature extended over a radius of about 3km from Kakuma Town, with most settlements found in a convex pattern to the Kakuma Refugee Camp, and adopting linear patterns along the Lokichoggio-Lodwar A1 road and other small roads within the town (Figure 67).

Figure 66: Nature and Extent of Settlements in and Around Kalobeyei and Oropoi Towns
The Kakuma Refugee Camp is a large nucleated settlement, in which both planned and organic settlements were evident. While Kakuma I was a purely organic settlement in which spaces and developments followed the cultural and social practices of the nationalities living there, Kakuma III followed urban planning principles, as provided in the layout plans by UNHCR and its implementing partner NCCK (Figure 68). The level of service provision in the two areas varied widely, with Kakuma III having wide streets and some form of development control, unlike Kakuma I. On the other hand, Kakuma I was largely hailed by the residents as being the more functional settlement, with vibrant economic activities than in Kakuma III. Regular movement of people from Kakuma III and IV to Kakuma I was an indication of the strong role of cultural and social ties in the camp planning process.

Outside the small towns and Kakuma Camp and Town, the pattern of human settlements followed the Turkana culture, in which pastoralism and communal development is the way of life. While the settlements were largely dispersed at the macro level, there was some form of order, which was itself varied and generally in line with the grazing and migration patterns. The areas that were mapped as important grazing areas (and migration stops) were also the places where human settlements were found as shown in Figure 69. While this was particularly true for areas within Kalobeyei ward, there were variations in other grazing areas. A possible explanation for this could have been that, at the time of imagery acquisition, the herdsmen might have already to a different place.

At the local level both nucleated and scattered patterns were also observed. In the former, a series of temporary structures could be identified, which spanned over a large area to form a communal settlement, as portrayed in Figure 6.8. In the latter, individual structures (which could have been individual household or temporary resting places for herdsmen) were identified, as shown Figure 70. These two patterns were broadly indicative of the communal settlement and the nomadic lifestyle of the Turkana people.

Based on the above analysis, the major drivers of the observed settlement patterns are:

- **Socio-economic activities** – These activities, which were associated with the Kakuma Refugee Camp, had contributed to high levels of settlement in Kakuma Town. The settlement of people here had attracted other services, further promoting growth of the area.

- **Basic services and administrative functions** – which comprised functional roles of space associated with access to such things as health and education facilities; or those related with proximity to administrative services such as chief’s office and other levels of central administration. These functions had informed development of settlements in the small urban areas such as Kalobeyei and Oropoi.

- **Grazing and migration patterns** – which had largely influenced settlement patterns in areas outside the small towns. Undertaking a time series analysis of the settlement pattern in the grazing areas would yield different results for specific periods of the grazing calendar.
Figure 68: Nucleated, Planned and Organic Developments in Kakuma Camp

Figure 69: Settlement Patterns in Kakuma-Kalobeyei Non-Urban Areas
5.1.2 Spatial Analysis of Settlement Transformations

5.1.2.1 Refugee Driven Settlement Transformation and Changing Human Settlement Patterns in Kakuma

Over the past two and half decades, the Kakuma Refugee Camp and the larger Kakuma area has experienced wide and varied transformation in its settlement structure and patterns, often affecting and shaping the traditional Turkana culture. The influence of Kakuma Camp on the larger area can broadly be discussed under three headings:

a) Spatial extension of the camp and surroundings (macro-level impacts of refugee settlement) – representing the outward expansion of the camp and surrounding areas, particularly Kakuma Town.

b) Densification and intensification of settlements – representing an increase in number of developments per plot, as well as growth of vertical developments. This kind of development manifested through increased housing units to accommodate growing populations, and the addition of new uses to residential or commercial plots. Additions including rental housing, trading spaces, and informal activity zones within the town area. Within the camp, Kakuma I and II had experienced the highest densification, with a key driving force being the urge to create more room for growing families66, and also a desire to include commercial spaces within residential plots.

c) Change in spatial organization and development orientation – representing a shift, mainly in the host community area, from traditional architecture and space organization to more modern forms of development and space appropriation. The influence of the camp on the pastoral community in the larger Kakuma area was evidenced by a change in architecture, which signified a shift from nomadic and pastoral to more settled lifestyles.

a. Spatial Extension of the Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kakuma Town

Kakuma is a rapidly growing area, and the fastest transitioning settlement in the larger sub-region. The refugee camp is a highly dynamic system, where settlement is determined by the presence, or lack, of peace in the surrounding countries, particularly North and South Sudan. The mass migration of people to and from Sudan has had varied impacts on both the camp and the surrounding Kakuma Town. In the decade spanning 2003 to 201367, Sudan experienced a period of peace and tranquility (from 2006 to 2010). The peace period was a break from the second Sudanese war (1983-2005) creating a relatively stable situation from 2006 to 2010, although the settlement environment remained highly volatile throughout. In 2010, South Sudan seceded from the North and became an independent state. Less than three years later (in 2013), civil war began in the newly formed country. Since then, there was mass migration of refugees to and from Kakuma, hugely impacting both the refugee settlement setup and the growth

---

66 Kakuma I was the first cluster, established in the early 1990s when Kakuma Camp started, and has been home to various families for over two decades. Some survey respondents were born and raised in the cluster, and now have their own families, implying that the cluster is home to two to three generations of refugees.

67 Analysis of the transformations is impacted by limited availability of high resolution satellite imagery for the years preceding 2003, and lack of more recent imagery.
dynamics of the larger Kakuma area. Figure 71 depicts the changing settlement density and expansion between 2003 and 2013 in Kakuma Camp.

Between 2003 and 2007, Kakuma III experienced mass outward migration, with a net loss of more than 50% of its population. It was then rapidly resettled in 2013. Settlement in Kakuma I and II, however, experienced a net increase in development over the same period, albeit at low rates. The slow growth in the two clusters continued until 2011, when rapid settlement was experienced, largely attributed to growing tensions in Sudan at the time. Sudden expansion of settlements in Kakuma III was also evident from 2011. Continued conflict in Sudan and the larger Great Lakes region generated more refugees than could be accommodated in the existing clusters (Kakuma I, II and III), leading to the opening of Kakuma IV in 2012.

These changing migration patterns affected the rate of growth of Kakuma Town. While the town experienced a net growth from 2003 to 2013, the rate of development varied over the period. For example, rapid growth was experienced in the two periods of 2003 – 2006 and 2011 - 2013, while only slow growth was experience between 2006-2011. In areas away from the main commercial street, the population declined between 2003 and 2007, then increased in 2010. This fluctuation could be explained by outward migration of the pastoral communities residing in these areas, evidenced by the structures shown in satellite imagery for the respective years. As of 2016, Kakuma Town was a fast-growing urban area with two unique growth axes: One that followed the Lokichoggio - Lodwar A1 road, and another that spread north to south in a convex manner alongside the camp and Tarach River, as presented in Figure 72. Only minor growth was observed east of the Tarach River, towards the refugee camp. This could be related to the presence of humanitarian organizations and institutional developments in the area, and the fact that the area was identified as a flood zone.

This implies a correlation between the settlement of refugees in Kakuma and the vibrancy of activities both in the refugee camp and in Kakuma Town, an observation that needs to be properly interrogated to inform decision making and planning for a sustainable settlement at the Kalobeyei New Site. There is need to foresee outward migration, such as was experienced in Kakuma, particularly since peace talks in South Sudan are ongoing. Measures should be put in place to ensure the existence of alternative economic avenues, which can compensate for large population losses, and to reduce the risk of an unstable urban settlement.

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68 Developments in Kakuma IV are not captured in the analysis since the last image used for the analysis was acquired on 22 July 2013 when the construction of shelter for the new refugee arrivals was ongoing.
Changing growth patterns in Kakuma Camp and Kakuma Town were not limited to the spatial extension of the settlement bounds, but also included plot densification and intensification. Kakuma I and II, owing to their long-term, continuous settlement, experienced the most densification of all the camp clusters. Equally, the main commercial area of Kakuma Town\textsuperscript{69} had experienced the greatest rate of densification within the host community area. This could have been due to:

1. The need to accommodate a growing population - from natural increase, migration of people from other parts of Turkana County and rest of Kenya or arrival of new refugees; and  
2. The need to include new land uses within the plot - particularly integration of commercial activities in residential plots.

In Kakuma Refugee Camp, there was a drive for creation of shops within residential plots, which necessitated extensions as depicted in figures 73, 74.

The main observation from the field data collection was that while extensions to houses were usually done using the same material as was used for the original house (brick wall and iron sheet roofing), commercial extensions were mostly constructed from different materials, mainly corrugated iron sheets\textsuperscript{70}. Other materials used for commercial extensions included brick and iron sheets, tin and canvas (Figure 75).

In the Kakuma host community area, a similar trend was also observed, where families created extensions to accommodate more members, or to incorporate commercial activities such as shops and posho (grain) mills. One of the interviewed households had made extensions within their plot to accommodate rental houses, which were rented to people migrating from other parts of the country in search of work. Within Kakuma Town, new commercial activities were being established on previously unused land. Informal activities such as street vending were also being set up, with roadside racks constructed in front of existing shops to take advantage of a growing business environment. Figure 76 portrays the modifications that were prevalent among the host community households in Kakuma.

\textsuperscript{69} The main commercial area in Kakuma Town lies to the west of the Tarach river and follows the Lokichoggio-Lodwar A1 road.  
\textsuperscript{70} Some households in Kakuma Camp have converted a section of their living space to commercial spaces, in which they create a window facing the roads from where goods are displayed and sold.
Figure 73: Densification within Plots and Extensions In Kakuma

Note: Fencing materials vary widely with the cluster, with most iron sheet and live fencing being evidenced in Kakuma I and II and twigs more evident in Kakuma III and IV

Figure 74: Typical Extensions in Kakuma Camp
c. Change in Spatial Organization and Development Orientation of Turkana Architecture

The development of Kakuma Camp, and the resulting assortment of technologies and cultures, brought forth a mix of architecture in the area, causing a shift from the traditional Turkana approach to space organization and development. The growth of the camp created various income generating opportunities, and necessitated the development of Kakuma Town, a multi-sector employer in itself. People had migrated from places such as Lokichogio, Songot, Kalobeyei, Kitale, and Nairobi to settle in Kakuma Town in search of opportunities. This had the impact of attracting the traditionally nomadic Turkana people to a more settled lifestyle with alternative income sources, and introducing new forms of architecture to the built environment. This was localized to areas near Kakuma Town, and was replicated in the areas around Kalobeyei Town.

Traditional Turkana architecture uses livestock as the major organizational feature for human settlements, as shown in Figure 78. However, this style of architecture is rapidly changing, especially in areas around Kakuma Town and camp, as shown in satellite imagery and data from the household survey. Traditional reed structures were either being replaced, or built alongside with modern mud and wood walls and corrugated iron roofing. This building style was semi-permanent, and had emerged with the growth of the camp.

During household data collection, most respondents around Kakuma Town were extending their houses using conventional materials, and even incorporating cement in the walls and floors of their houses. Interestingly, some of these households kept their traditional huts intact within the plot where semi-permanent structures were erected. Other households took a gradual extension and modernization approach, transitioning their homes from reed structures to mud and timber buildings, or brick walling and iron sheet roofing (Figure 79). This demonstrated the undeniable influence of “refugee camp driven urbanization” on culture. This adjustment was also evident in Kalobeyei Town, owing to its proximity to Kakuma Camp.
Chapter 5: Baseline Mapping Findings

Figure 77: Roadside Informal Economic Activities are the New Order in Kakuma Town Main Commercial Area

Photos: © Dennis Mwaniki, 2016

Figure 78: Typical Turkana Architecture for a Monogamous and Polygamous Family

NB: The actual shape of the compound varied widely, with various oval forms popular in homestead compounds
Figure 79: Emerging Architecture Mix in Kakuma Host Community Area

Figure 80: Emerging Architecture Mix in Kakuma Host Community Area
The main lesson from this analysis was the merging of cultural and modern practices in housing, which are likely to shape development dynamics in Kalobeyei and influence space appropriation. Most Kalobeyei host community respondents were already aware of the economic and commercial benefits that Kakuma Camp brought to Kakuma Town, and were positioning themselves strategically to make the most of emerging opportunities. In doing so, it is likely that traditional space appropriation (which often demands large areas of land and communal organization of developments) and architecture will be transferred, which could have varied outcomes on the visual and operational elements of the Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement71. This should be addressed through suggestions on the most suitable land uses, while also considering suitability and ownership of projects around the new settlement by the host community for long term sustainability.

71 It was noted that land was already being allocated to individuals all around the new site, which posed the challenge of development control in the long term.

5.1.3 Household Analysis on Settlement Modifications

a. Kakuma

The majority (71.2%) of respondents in Kakuma Camp and 47% of Kakuma host community respondents had made at least one modification to their house. The major types of modifications included extensions, partitioning, fencing of plots, and total re-design and reconstruction. For example, the nature of modifications in Kakuma Camp included extensions within the plot (45.1%), partitioning of the house into different rooms (7.3%), total reconstruction (6.8%) and replacement of the roof (3.8%). Among the host community members on the other hand, key modifications included extensions to the house (71.2%), partitioning (18.2%), fencing of plots (9.1%) and total reconstruction (1.5%). In both communities, most of these modifications were made by the households themselves as identified by 58.1% of respondents, against only 34.3% who hired professionals or casual labourers.

The major reasons for the modifications included a need to accommodate a bigger family, improved privacy and enhanced security as presented in Figure 81.

The modifications increased the available space as well as the thermal comfort for the families. On average, the before and after values for two indicators (space and thermal comfort) rose by 30%.
b. Kalobeyei

Both respondents in the host community and refugees in the new site had made some form of modification to their houses – 73.1% and 65.6% respectively. The nature of modifications varied significantly among the two groups, with the host community focusing more on external modifications (such as new structures and fencing their plots), and refugees focusing on internal space modifications (partitioning rooms). While 36.6% of respondents in the host community had made extensions to their houses (created new units), most refugees had internally partitioned their houses (66.7%). Several respondents in the host community had also partitioned their houses while some refugees had made extensions to their houses (Figure 82).

Extensions made by the host community included constructing additional houses for growing families, while those by refugees were done either to incorporate commercial activities such as shops, or to create external cooking spaces. Perhaps the most interesting observation was the rate at which residents in the new settlement were making extensions to create trading spaces such as hotels, shops and posho-mills, in the absence of provision for such facilities in their settlement.

These extensions were mostly demand-driven, and are likely to become commonplace in the settlement in the long term. This pointed to a need for allocating space for corner shops in each neighbourhood, in addition to any major commercial centres that would be provided.

The reasons for modification of living areas among respondents in Kalobeyei varied widely, with 37.5% of host community respondents reporting that they modified their houses to accommodate a bigger family (extensions), while 35% made modifications to boost security (fencing plots). Of the refugee respondents, 53.3% were motivated to modify by a need for privacy (partitioning) and/or a desire to re-design the space to be more functional (33.3%). Both host and refugee communities generally felt that these modifications had made their houses more liveable, although more changes were still needed to accommodate their ever-growing families. Among this group, the modifications had not contributed much to improved thermal comfort in the houses, particularly since construction materials, building standards and weather patterns had remained relatively unchanged. According to respondents, enhancement of thermal comfort would entail a total redesign of the buildings and adoption of more weather friendly materials, which may take time.
5.1.4 Lessons for Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement from Analysis of Settlement Patterns in Kakuma

Generally, if what has happened in Kakuma Camp is anything to go by, massive extensions are likely to be experienced in the Kalobeyei New Site in the next decade, as families become bigger and more population is resettled in the area, creating need for more services (e.g. shops, repair centres) which can easily be squeezed in the existing spaces. The following lessons can be deduced from the various levels of analysis as key emerging issues which should be considered by the planning team while forecasting growth of Kalobeyei. These aspects also emerged during the various FGDs held during the data collection phase.

a) Mass outward migration is a highly possible scenario which can grossly affect growth of the integrated settlement. Recommendations and growth prospects should consider such scenarios and offer alternative livelihood sources in the event of such a situation, which would ideally slow growth and the vibrancy of economic activities in the new settlement.

b) The new settlement may experience slower or faster growth than Kakuma in the short and long terms, particularly due to the area’s inter-linkage with Kakuma and its lower population. There is, for example, no doubt that Kakuma Camp and town will play a key role in the larger area’s economic growth in the next decade, which can be both an opportunity and challenge for the rapid growth of the Kalobeyei New Settlement. There is a need to study and understand the inter-linkages to determine the likely direction and speed of growth of the new settlement.

c) The involvement of the local community in growth of the new settlement creates many opportunities for sustained growth in the short and long terms. There are however many issues of equality in opportunities, which will often conflict with capitalistic values, which are key to the development of a functional urban system. There is need to balance proposals to allow for local innovation based on both local knowledge and international best practice, particularly through capacity development. Ongoing developments in the new site are already seen as a source of tension, as the host community feel they are not getting what they bargained for. Pro-active considerations thus need to be negotiated at the early stage to avoid long standing conflicts, which will not create an appropriate environment for productive engagement and growth.

d) Demand for commercial services such as shops were identified as major reasons for transformation at the local level. Provision for lower-order goods shops (neighbourhood shopping areas) must be made during the planning stage to control the rate of settlement transition and retrofitting of economic activities, often with varied implications on space appropriation.

5.2 Land Use, Land Tenure and Migration Patterns

5.2.1 Land Tenure

Land Tenure refers to the way in which individuals or groups of people within community or society enjoy rights of access to land. At a broader level, this includes the conditions under which such land is enjoyed. The Constitution of Kenya (Chapter 5, Sections 60 – 68) classifies land into public, private and community, and highlights that all land in Kenya belongs to the people collectively as a nation, communities and individuals.

• **Public Land** refers to land that is unalienated by the Government of Kenya, land used or occupied by a State organ, which no individual or community ownership can be established, minerals and mineral oils, Government forests, and game.

• **Community land** refers to land held by communities based on ethnicity, culture or similar interest. It also refers to land registered in the name of group representatives, transferred to a specific community, and land held, managed or used by communities as community forests, grazing areas or shrines.

• **Private land** consists of land held by a person under freehold or leasehold tenure, and any other land declared private land under an Act of Parliament.
In Turkana County the land ownership system is clear. All places fall under territorial sections; owners and traditional land management practices are well known, and some are documented. In Kakuma, Lodwar, Lokichogio and other developing townships, some land parcels have been allocated to individuals and institutions after verification and authentication by the County Government land survey team. The process of registering rights to land among native Turkana community members is a simple one that follows the following key steps, which are also summarized in Figure 84.

- A member of the public demarcates what they consider as their “own” from the greater community land. This must be done in agreement with neighbours.
- He/she applies for survey and registration from the County Government using serialized application forms. If the proposed parcel is less than five acres, application is completed at the sub-county offices, else at the county headquarters. Applications from institutions, investors and large scale owners are completed at the county headquarters. At the time of data collection, the application fee for less than five acres was KES. 6,000.
- Within reasonable timelines, surveyors from the county headquarters visit the site, ascertain the boundaries, survey the parcel and erect boundary beacons.
- A survey plan for the parcel of interest is prepared, registered with the county lands office and a copy issued to the owner of parcel as proof of ownership.

As of August 2016, the Turkana County Government was in the process of amalgamating and merging all these individual maps and plans into one county survey plan. Information on the process and status was not available at the time of survey.

5.2.2 Land Use and Land Cover in Kalobeyei

Land use and land cover for the Kalobeyei area was derived from a combination of remote sensing sensors and ground based techniques. It involved classification of medium- and high-resolution satellite imagery from Landsat 8 (OLI - 2016) and GeoEye (2013). The high-resolution imagery was only used for the new integrated site and its environs. It was assumed that this one epoch would be representative of the typical land use and land cover of the area in most parts of the year.

The following land cover classes were used in the survey:

- **Wooded Grasslands** – grasslands with a tree canopy of ≥10%. This cover type contains a mixture of trees, shrubs and grasses and broadly supports wildlife in Kenya's rangelands.
- **Open Grasslands** – grasslands devoid of trees. They are grasses in wild lands, moorlands, wetlands, recreational areas, and glades. They include areas that support nomadic pastoralism in Kenya’s rangelands.
- **Open Forests** – a mixture of trees, shrubs and grasses in which, the tree canopies do not form a continuous closed cover. They occur in savanna environments in the semi-arid, sub-humid and humid tropics.
- **Moderate Forests** – forests with trees, shrubs and bushes, and less undergrowth. Most of the trees are deciduous, and shed their leaves during the dry season. This land cover class is mostly found on the slopes of the mountains and hills, beneath the open forests.
- **Dense Forests** – trees crowded together to form a thick canopy.
In the central part, there was a long north south stretch of bare land (with little pasture) touching Lonyoduk, Lopur Kalobeyei, Lokudule sub-locations. There were riverine trees along Tarach River and other larger streams within the region. The shade provided by these trees created cool meeting venues for elders and the larger community. The eastern region had open and wooded grasslands. There was also open forest along the boundary of Lokore and Nakalale Sub-locations and barren lands started to emerge towards the eastern boundary.
The land cover classification for the Kalobeyei New Site was processed from high resolution satellite imagery (0.5m) and featured three main land cover types namely: wooded grasslands (trees and shrubs), open grasslands (short hardy vegetation) and other lands (bare land). The wooded grassland, which accounted for about 7% of the new site land cover, formed a linear pattern mostly to the north-western zone, indicating a riverine ecosystem. The open grasslands were evenly distributed across the site and accounted for about 23% of the land cover. The “Other lands” cover type was evenly distributed across the site and accounted for approximately 70% of the total land area.

5.2.3 Migration Patterns

The survey sought to explore migration patterns in the larger Kalobeyei area, to understand the seasonal movements and patterns of settlement to inform planning for the pastoral community. As outlined in Chapter 3 (Methodology), this was done using a participatory mapping approach.

The mapping revealed two major migratory routes used by herders from the Kalobeyei region, with movements defined by availability of pasture and water: a) the Kalobeyei-Loreng-Kaabong (Uganda), and b) the Songot-Mogila-Lokwanamoru-Nanam routes (Figure 87). In general, herders used the plains during the wet season and moved to the mountains in the dry season. Most herders are usually back in Kalobeyei around May, during which time the area is green from the long rains experienced between March and May.

a. Kalobeyei-Loreng-Kaabong (Uganda)

This route heads to Loreng, Loima in to the Kaabong and Nakitong areas of Uganda. However, the paths followed are heavily dependent on the season and how much rainfall the area has received. In May, when Kalobeyei and the stretch of plains along the Tarach River are green, herders will tend to settle in such areas as the new site and other grass lush patches of Kalobeyei. As the dry seasons nears, migration starts towards Loreng-Loima ending up in the Kaabong area of Uganda from July to September. Depending on prevailing seasonal conditions in the Kalobeyei area, return migrations begin in October to coincide with the May season in Kalobeyei.

b. Songot-Mogila-Lokwanamoru-Nanam

This route features movements between the Songot Mountains to the north of Kalobeyei, the Mogila range in Lokichogio and the Lokwanamoru range to the north-east. Movement is dictated by the seasonal conditions of the Songot, Nanam and Lopur Plains with movement to the mountain ranges in the dry seasons. This migration is primarily dictated by weather conditions, and is not always characterized by presence in certain areas during specific times of the year.

5.3: Topographic Mapping and Densification of Features in the Kalobeyei new site

A topographic map is a basic requirement for land allotment and land use planning, as it defines which parts of the land are usable and those with natural barriers. In the case of Kalobeyei New Site, such a map was required for these two purposes. Initial mapping for the 1500-hectare parcel was first completed in 2013-2014,
but omitted details such as dry riverbeds, which become flood zones during rainy seasons. This resulted in houses being placed in dangerous flood areas, requiring new, detailed mapping. This was implemented as part of the baseline mapping survey. The approach used was to enhance the old map by “picking” the following features that had previously been omitted:

- Detailed location of dry stream or river beds
- Existing settlements (manyattas)
- Existing land cover (patches of forest and woodlands)
- Developed and developing infrastructural services – roads, settlements and public facilities e.g. hospitals

The following tools and equipment were used in the densification of features in the new site:

- Real Time Kinematics (RTK) Geodetic Global Positioning System (GPS) & its accessories
- Hand held Garmin GPS
- Tape measure (30M)
- Satellite Image (0.5m Resolution)

Using the boundary beacon coordinates provided by the Turkana County Government survey department, the base station was set at beacon KOL3 and the beacon coordinates keyed in to the RTK Base. Using these coordinates and the one acquired by the base station, the difference was automatically computed by the base station and send to the rover automatically as a correction constant for all coordinates that were picked by the rover. The RTK used had external radios and with the advantage of flat terrain, all the details were picked from the same base station.

The proposed approach was to map features within a one kilometre buffer of the new site to enable future planning for the larger area. However, this was not possible as the survey team faced hostility from the host community, who misunderstood this as a way of annexing more community land into the new settlement. Attempts to negotiate and explain the value of such mapping were rejected by local leaders. To address this challenge, a high-resolution satellite image of the area of interest was acquired, geo-referenced and projected to the same coordinate system used for picking the details using RTK. The required features within one kilometre buffer were digitized from the image, and measures were taken to ensure consistency and connectivity of data from field mapping and the satellite image.

The collected data was downloaded from the RTK GPS and imported into Micro-Survey CAD 2013, from which layers were created and features drawn depending on their variability on the ground. Similar layers captured via digitization of the satellite image were merged to form a continuous detailed topographical map. The specifications for the drawings/maps developed are as follows:

- Coordinate System: Projected
- Projection: Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) Zone 36 North
- Datum: Arc Datum 1960
- Spheroid: Clarke 1880 modified
- Unit of Measure: Meter (m)

Figure 88 presents the final output of the topographic map produced after densification.

Figure 88: Densified topographical map for Kalobeyei New Site
Turkana Girls learning how to use a point and shoot camera during a five days photography workshop in Kakuma town, Kenya 2016 © UN-Habitat/Julius Mwelu
Results of the Kalobeyei Socio-Economic Baseline Survey indicate that, unlike Kakuma, the area's socio-economic status is low, in terms of access to various services and infrastructure such as health, education, water, sanitation and other areas. Kakuma was found to be more vibrant than Kalobeyei. This also validates the World Bank (2016) survey, which noted that respondents prefer Kakuma due to work opportunities.

It is also clear that residents in Kakuma are attaining a greater level of education. Only around 30% of respondents had no formal education, compared to 70% in Kalobeyei. The calibre of human resources in Kalobeyei is therefore lower, which may hinder openness and the embrace of integration. This may also lead to unhealthy competition for any emerging employment opportunities, as noted by Guay (2015).

The development of Kalobeyei as an integrated and sustainable settlement is likely to improve service delivery, in and goods and services produced in Kalobeyei will be distributed to other commercial hubs such as Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Lodwar and other smaller centres. These are projected to expand with the growth of the new settlement. This will create stronger economic linkages to the new site, and in turn increase the opportunities for growth and prosperity, transforming Kalobeyei into a key urban centre in the region and spurring its growth. This projected urban stability will rely heavily on the continued presence of refugees in the area. The development of the LAPSSET corridor will further enhance the vibrancy of the larger Kalobeyei - Kakuma area, and bring numerous economic and connectivity opportunities. Planning for the new site thus needs to consider the far-reaching benefits and anticipated challenges that may come with the development of the corridor.

The survey findings indicate that the current driver of the local Kalobeyei economy is livestock, small-scale commercial activities such as shops, and some formal sector employment. The cattle holding size and grazing area is likely to be reduced when the settlement is built, to accommodate people and various facilities and services. This will push host community members who rely on livestock to graze their livestock in unsettled areas, or lead to conflict with new arrivals in the settlement. If this occurs, a repeat of events seen in Kakuma may occur. There, the biggest impact of the camp was the displacement of Turkana livestock. The current noted no-alternative go zones of Nalapatui, Oropoi, Lokabuk, Losiker, Nauountos, Nakicheruta, Lokwamo, Lonyoduk and Ngimanimania are considered by the host community as livestock keeping and grazing zones.

The new site settlers mainly rely on humanitarian support, but a few are engaging in small businesses and farming. On economic front the study uncovered a serious problem of unemployment, as most youth, even some who have completed college, were found to be idling in the main shopping centre, refugee camp and new site.

In terms of physical infrastructure, the Kalobeyei host community highlighted the lack of access to water, and were concerned that the County and the humanitarian organizations are not fulfilling their promise to provide water in exchange for the land that was given to settle refugees. They noted that the existing water points are not sufficient for them and their animals. New site residents also complained of water reliability, and considered the water supply to be insufficient for their domestic needs. This is an area where integrated planning must address the existing water shortage. For domestic use only, the projected population of 60,000 at the Kalobeyei New Site will require 900,000 litres of water per day for domestic use, based on the sphere standards of 15 litres per day.

In terms of road conditions and transportation, Kalobeyei centre is generally well-connected to the Lodwar-Lokichoggio highway. However, access to several areas is still a challenge due to poor quality access roads. There is a road to the new site which is in good condition, making access easier. One notable deficiency in road infrastructure is the lack of provision for Non-Motorised Transport (NMT), despite the area having many pedestrians and cyclists, who must use the road. This lack of NMT provision was also evident in Kalobeyei centre.

In terms of social infrastructure, the host community highlighted the problem of travel distances and conditions of existing education and health facilities. They reported that they do not have access to recreational facilities or spaces, and therefore use school compounds and bars instead. They also noted that they have a small market centre which lacks basic services and hence are occasionally forced to travel long distance for basic goods and services.

In terms of settlement transformation, it was evident that the settlement of refugees in Kakuma has influenced the growth of Kakuma Town significantly, and that mass influx and outward migration of refugees affects the town's rate of growth. More detailed analysis on this aspect is required, particularly in terms of its likely impact on the long-term vibrancy of growth and economic prosperity in the Kalobeyei New Settlement.

Most markets and businesses in the camp developed because of the demand for services. They were unplanned and

72 World Bank (2016). The Economics of Hosting Refugees: A Host Community Perspective from Turkana

developed organically, with streets transformed into vibrant business areas. Initially, basic commodities (food) were sold, since the new arrivals were hesitant to consume foreign food in the camp, and products sold eventually included more items. The host markets were strategically located and are managed by the County Government of Turkana in close collaboration with the local community.

The business pioneers in most of markets in the camp were well-established and comfortable with their living environment. They owe their success to the ever-increasing population of refugees, and some are acting as mentors in the new settlement site.

Another emerging area of concern is the heavy reliance on wood fuel by the host and refugee communities. This may have long-term negative environmental impacts if not addressed immediately, given that the area population is anticipated to grow exponentially in the near future.

The major threat to sustainability of Kalobeyei as an integrated settlement is the reluctance of the host community to share their living spaces, and refugees’ aspirations to return to their home countries once it is safe to do so.

### 6.2 Recommendations

There are several needs which must be addressed, related to harnessing existing human capital, economics, livelihoods, physical infrastructure, and access to basic services.

A sustainably integrated settlement in Kalobeyei New Site requires addressing the concerns of the host community through sensitization forums and capacity building, to improve their competitiveness for available opportunities. Since the hosts are still engaged in pastoralism, it will be important to address their concerns through good livestock programs and practices, which should enable them to engage in practical and feasible ventures of interest to them. This means that integration should give priority to mapping and building existing human resources in the host and refugee communities.

Interactions between young members of the two communities should be considered a bridge between them, as the youth are more willing to embrace communities outside of their own. This is vital if integration is to be built on mutual trust. Youth can also act as agents and ambassadors of change, since they are likely to accept new and better ways of doing things, such as innovative agricultural practice and use of ICTs for information sharing and value-addition.

The attainment of an integrated settlement will also rely on addressing potential areas of conflict between the refugee and host communities, and on the willingness of the two communities to coexist and work together towards the long-term development of Kalobeyei New Settlement and the development of Turkana County more broadly. Addressing possible conflict areas requires an understanding of current tensions, and on predicting the impacts of conflict and potential collaboration in various areas. During the household survey, respondents were asked to answer a series of questions on changes they perceived to have come about as a result of refugee settlement, the impact of these changes, and how they have adjusted to them. Respondents were also asked to identify their future aspirations, which is the key to understanding their commitment to local development.

The Spatial Plan must connect the new site area to surrounding centres known for livestock keeping, including: Nalapatui, Oropoi, Lokabuk, Losiker, Nauontos, Nakichereta, Lokwamo, Lonyoduk and Ngimanimania. This will avoid or reduce conflict with other urban functions and activities to be proposed in the plan.

The planning team must make provisions for markets with proper facilities such as toilets, stalls etc. The planning team can learn from the Mosaic Markets in the Kakuma Refugee Camp and host community markets. These markets should be run by joint committees, with representatives from host and refugee communities who represent the unique interests of the communities they represent.

The county and national government, along with humanitarian organizations (including UN agencies such as UN Habitat) should embrace dialogue and frequent meetings with both the host and refugee community, to convey their commitment to the ideals of integration. This was made clear during the FGD with Kalobeyei host elders, who felt that they have been given a raw deal in giving up their grazing land for use for integrated settlement.

The growth of Kalobeyei is anticipated to be rapid. Comprehensive water and energy mapping is vital, to develop realistic and sustainable strategies to address immediate and future water and energy needs. With the anticipated population and complexity of development associated with urbanization, it is recommended that a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) is conducted concurrently with the plan, to ensure that possible negative environmental issues are identified early, and mitigation measures mainstreamed in the plan.
Annexes

Annex 1: Market Profiles

Seven markets were profiled during the socio-economic survey: Kakuma Town Livestock Market, Hong Kong, Kakuma II, Kakuma III, Kakuma IV, Ethiopian and Somali markets. This was done through observations and key informant interviews with both market managers and business operators.

1. Kakuma Town Livestock Market

Location: At the edge of the main Kakuma Market.

Summary: The market was established in 1996. As well as a livestock trading centre, it acts as:

- A livestock theft check point – because of its centrality, community members can report any livestock theft, which would facilitate their tracing during trading days. The market has a storage facility for recovered livestock.
- A disease check point - It is easier to notice and control any spread of diseases within the Turkana community.
- A central area for interaction and promoting cohesiveness among the communities.

Ownership and management: The market is owned and managed by at least two hundred host community members. It has a well-established committee comprising eleven officials - five executive members and six other members. Elections for officials are held every three years, and there is no established salary for the executive members. It has five employees - one accountant, a cleaner and three guards. The market has an office, which also accommodates one County Government official.

Size and facilities: The market site is 2.5 hectares. The facilities available include two offices, a store, four toilets (two male and two female), a stall for camels, ten stalls for goats and sheep, and a shelter for the buyers and sellers. These structures are built with permanent material such as stone and mortar. Solar is the main source of power in the market. There is also a parking and loading area to facilitate vehicular transport of livestock. The market is secure as it has a metallic gate and three guards.

Operationalization: The market operates on daily basis and is busy in early morning and late evening. It is open for all people, and the main customers are refugees from Kakuma Camp. Most of the livestock traded here include camels, cows, sheep, goats and donkeys.

Revenue and tax: Sellers pay revenue to the County Government while the buyer pays to the community (market) office. Table 14 summarizes the applicable charges for different livestock.

*The number fluctuates depending on season, e.g. more camels are sold during Ramadhan. Camels mostly are bought by Somalis while cows are bought by the Sudanese.

The revenue collected at the office is used for construction and renovation of the market structures, and to cater for salaries of the five employees and allowances for the executive.

Source of livestock: Different parts of Turkana County; Uganda.

Other related facilities: Connected to the market is a slaughter area located about two kilometres away, in Kalemchuch. This location was selected because of its proximity to the target market (the Kakuma Refugee Camp), the air polluting nature of slaughter activities, and because of lack of adequate land next to the market. Collections from livestock trade support construction of the slaughter house. At the time of data collection, the slaughter house was not yet opened due to water and fencing challenges.

Informal trade of livestock was reported by the market managers, which sometimes includes sale of stolen animals to refugees in the camp.

Table 14: Applicable charges on livestock in Kakuma market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Livestock type</th>
<th>Seller (to the County Government)</th>
<th>Buyer (to the community office)</th>
<th>Approx. No. of items sold/day*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camel</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pictures of Kakuma Livestock Market

Chairman and Vice chairman in their office
Documents shelf
Part of general view of the compound

Water Tank in the Compound
Offices
Security Office

Water Tank
Cages
Cages

Chairman and Vice chairman in their office
Documents shelf
Part of general view of the compound
2. Hong Kong Market

Location: Kakuma I Zone 4 along the main road bordering Kakuma II. Near Don Bosco Vocational Training Centre (Coordinates: 3° 44’52” N, 34° 50’21” E).

Summary: Hong Kong Market was established in 1993 and is generally dominated by Rwandese and South Sudanese traders. It is associated with Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and is fondly referred to as the headquarter of South Sudanese Dinka Community. Other nationalities include Ugandans, Somalis, Congolese and Burundians. It accommodates all traders both from the refugee and the host communities. The market began with the trade of food items distributed to the refugees then (which food they were not familiar with). It has grown to offer diverse goods and services to its clientele.

Ownership and management: The market is free to access for all and has no individual ownership. It does not have dedicated staff although market leaders are responsible for resolving conflicts and answering queries among traders.

Size and facilities: The market only expands along the main road and its growth is restricted on both sides by refugee and host community settlements. It has 300 largely temporary stalls and no storage facilities. Available social amenities include a police patrol base which provides security, boreholes, health centres (Clinic 2), schools and churches. Some traders sell electricity to businesses. There are no publicly available toilets and water points.

Operationalization: The market operates daily. Most traders are male, and the age bracket of operators ranges from 25-58 years.

Revenue and tax: Rent for stalls is Kshs. 4,500 per month. Other charges include business operating licenses offered by the County Government, and cost of power.

Origin of goods and services: Most food related goods come from Kitale and Uganda, while clothing comes from Eastleigh in Nairobi. The range of goods and services provided include: hotels, shops, butcheries, salons, phone charging, charcoal, tobacco and firewood. The host community mostly sell charcoal, tobacco and firewood. Barter trade is popular in the market, with exchange of different goods for food being most common. Ugandans, Congolese and Rwandese dominate the eatery businesses.

Other related issues: Some of the challenges faced by traders and customers in the market include limited movement, particularly among the refugees who must get a travel pass to restock their businesses.
3. Kakuma II Market (also called Phase 2 market)

Location: Kakuma II Zone 1. It is near firewood distribution centre and Clinic 5.

**Summary:** The market was established in 2006 and the traders are mostly Somalis, and some Ethiopians, Congolese and Burundians. The market started with the sale of food donations from WFP, which was not familiar to the refugees. It has grown to include trade in other items such as clothing and other services. Females are the most dominant gender in the market, with the most common age group being 35-49 years.

**Ownership and management:** Shops are usually owned by refugees who have converted sections of their houses into commercial spaces. Some of them rent these spaces while others operate businesses from their own converted houses.

**Size and facilities:** The market is only located along the main road and its growth is restricted between all sides are built up.

**Operationalization:** The market is open daily and there are no traders from the host community area. Some refugees hire the hosts as casual workers in the businesses (e.g. as cooks in hotels).

**Revenue and tax:** The average rent for a shop is about Kshs. 4,000. Traders also pay for business permits from the County Government. Other operating costs include privately distributed power, whose cost ranges from Kshs. 1200 – 4500 depending on number of power-consuming items in the enterprise.

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**Noticeable Landmarks**

- Motorcycle repair
- Posto Mill
- Photo Studio
- Furniture making & selling
- Noticeable Landmarks
- Noticeable Landmarks
- Groceries business
- General Merchandise
- Dressmaking

*Photos: © Roland Kalamo, 2016*
4. Kakuma III Market (also called Reception market)

**Location:** Kakuma III Zone 1 Block 3. The market is near Kakuma Reception centre

**Summary:** The market was established in 2004 and the traders are mostly Sudanese (Darfurians), and some Rwandese, Congolese, Burundians and Ethiopians. The market started with the sale of food donations from WFP, which was not familiar to the refugees. Most traders are men, with a large population of the traders aged between 20-49 years. Traded goods range from food products to firewood and electronics.

**Ownership and management:** The market does not have a management committee

**Operationalization:** The market operates daily. Since it is located near the host community area, it has a small space where the locals sell such items as firewood, charcoal and tobacco. Other Kenyans (e.g. Kikuyus, Luyhas) also trade in the market.

**Revenue and tax:** The average cost of rent is Kshs. 4,000, which depends on the size of the premises. Other charges include cost of power which range from Kshs. 1500-4500.

**Origin of goods and services:** Kitale, Lodwar, Nairobi and South Sudan
5. Ethiopian Markets

Location: Kakuma I Zone 1

**Summary:** The market was established in 1992 and the traders are mostly Ethiopians, and some Rwandese, Congolese, Burundians. Traders from the host community are also present. The market started with the sale of food donations from WFP, which was not familiar to the refugees. Men are the most dominant gender, with a large population of the traders aged between 20-49 years. Traded goods range from food products to clothes and household goods.

**Operationalization:** The market operates daily. While some host community and other Kenyans are traders in the market, there is a large population of locals employed in the dominant Ethiopian restaurants.

**Revenue and tax:** The average rent is about Kshs. 5,000 depending on the size of the premises. Traders also pay for annual business operating licenses from the county government as well as for power which is charged based on the number of consuming items.

**Origin of goods and services:** Kitale, Lodwar, Nairobi and South Sudan

Pictures Of Ethiopian Market Activities

![General Merchandise Shop](image1)
![Outfits stall](image2)
![M-pesa Stall](image3)

![Refreshments Transportation](image4)
![Bicycles and Motorcycle Repairs](image5)
![Streetscape](image6)

Photos: © Roland Kalamo, 2016
6. Somali Market

Location: Kakuma I Zone 1

Summary: Somali market opened in 1993 and is perhaps the largest market in Kakuma Camp and the larger Kakuma area. Most of the traders are Somalis, and some Ethiopians, Rwandese, Congolese and Kenyans from different parts of the country. Most Rwandese sell second hand shoes and building materials while the Congolese operate barbershops and tailoring shops. The market is dominated by non-food items (shoes, clothes, electronics (e.g. mobile phones, chargers and batteries), cosmetics (mostly women lotions, perfumes and sprays), hardware goods, restaurants, and butcheries. Most Somali businesses are family ventures.

Ownership and management: The market does not have a management committee.

Operationalization: The market operates daily, with some businesses open 24 hours

7. Kakuma IV/New Area Market

Location of the Market: Kakuma IV Zone 1

Summary: This market was established in 2013 to take advantage of the resurgence of civil war in South Sudan (and hence a large influx of refugees into Kakuma). Most traders are Kenyans (local Turkanas and Kenyans from other regions), Somalis and South Sudanese (mostly the Nuer). Business types here include such activities as sale of firewood, restaurants, cinemas, sale of clothes, and mechanical repair shops for motor cycles. Most traders are women.

Revenue and tax: The average rent is about Kshs. 4,000 depending on the size of the premises. Traders also pay for annual business operating licenses from the county government as well as for power which is charged based on the number of consuming items.

Pictures Of Kakuma IV/New Area Market

Photos: © Roland Kalamo, 2016