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The Political Economy of Refugee-Host Integration in Kenya

A Comparative Case Study of Barriers to Self-Sufficiency and Resilience in the Northern Kenya counties of Turkana and Garissa

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Executive Summary

The 2016 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), an ambitious vision to promote self-sufficiency among refugees living in protracted camp settings and ease pressures on host countries, commits signatory bodies and nations to ensuring safe, dignified, and sustainable living situations for those fleeing catastrophes and seeking refuge and asylum outside their countries of origin. But current relief and development interventions often fall short of goals because they fail to account for the impact of complex stressors and community dynamics on their efforts and programming. This study sought to better understand the sources, obstacles, and opportunities to enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency of refugees and host communities in Kenya's Turkana and Garissa counties, in order to overcome barriers to the paradigmatic shift called for by the CRRF. The study concludes that understanding the different types, levels, and scales of vulnerabilities, stressors and social dynamics in refugee and host communities will help stakeholders and CRRF implementers tailor programming and interventions towards the needs and capacities of the appropriate populations.

Key Strengths and Gaps from Desk Review

The refugees of Kenya are among the most examined vulnerable groups in the world. This study began with a desk review of previous research and CRRF approaches. Key strengths in previous studies included using the CRRF approach to influence signatory hosting nations to see socio-economic inclusion of local hosts and refugees as a viable alternative to relief-dependent protracted camp settings and focusing attention of stakeholders and external partners/actors on enhancing the self-sufficiency and resilience of both refugees and impoverished and marginalized host communities. Self-sufficiency is defined here as the ability of an individual, group, or community to meet essential needs in a dignified and sustainable manner. Resilience is defined as the ability to withstand, adapt to, or transform in the face of shocks and chronic stressors. These studies have identified key gaps in economic landscapes and infrastructures, communication between sectors, and the attritional impacts of gender and ethnic inequities, and have prescribed programs and policy changes that would result in better communication, implementation, transparency and accountability, as well as infrastructure building.

Key strengths in previous interventions include steady collaboration between relief partners, donor nations, and host nations to craft and enact policy changes across CRRF countries to improve refugee rights to seek employment and move freely within host nations. CRRF approaches have also sought greater engagement with development agencies and the private sector for programming expertise, investment, and innovation. There have been numerous pilot programs aimed at improving service delivery through market modalities, and increasing the number of programs for building integrative approaches for host and refugees. One key contribution of the CRRF is to understand and minimize the negative impacts of siloing across the range of stakeholders and to provide a holistic understanding of the context and complexities of the implementation challenges.

Key shortcomings of previous studies include reliance on overly top down approaches, along with redundancy of studies, which led to survey fatigue. Most studies view intended or ongoing integration as an economic problem to be considered separately from political economy and local realities. The studies tend to focus on economic factors with scant attention to health, psychological, and social-cultural factors. The inability of external research teams to access accurate data from survey-fatigued and hostile beneficiary populations has led to chronic inadequate and superficial understanding and mapping of

levels, types, and scales of vulnerability. Much of this data gap is caused by an overreliance on survey methodology and quantitative analysis without the supplement and contextualization of rich qualitative and narrative data. Study recommendations also tend to be overly general, idealistic and aspirational, and fail to identify locally feasible and culturally appropriate intervention points, specifically in showing how policy makers or implementers should achieve recommended changes.

Key negative gaps in approaches and interventions are that most pilot programs, regardless of their successes and innovative characteristics, remain at that level, and are rarely scaled up. There is also poor understanding or little attention paid to local complexities—especially in understanding the disabling environment that characterizes the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs)—coupled with ignoring or neglecting the local and regional political economy in programming calculations. The desk review also noted a key paradox, wherein the programming assumed the presence of enabling environments in their approaches and projections of returns, while simultaneously seeking to build the assumed enabling environment through the intervention. While there has been much research on psychological needs of displaced populations, the bulk of this research has taken place with resettled refugee populations. The available research on psychological needs of protracted refugee encamped populations tends to be self-reported questionnaire-based with little input from tangible biological measurements of stress and shock impacts. We did not encounter any approach that considered and addressed the psycho-biological impacts (post-traumatic stress disorder [PTSD], complex PTSD [CPTSD], anxiety, depression, sleeplessness, compromised health and immunity) of shocks (refugees-displacement/post-displacement; refugees' and hosts' endemic violence; droughts and famines) and stressors (daily subsistence worries and concerns) on individuals and groups and how this affected their socio-economic behaviors, as well as how social networks and social capital helped to mitigate these impacts.

Most troubling, the research team found that despite recent emphasis on entrepreneurship among refugees, the false narrative of stereotypical "lazy and lethargic" and "relief-dependent" refugees still plays a significant role in guiding programmatic interventions. This tension creates unrealistic and antagonistic forces within programming goals and activities, and subsequently the inability of most beneficiaries to successfully engage in ongoing interventions and to emulate the entrepreneurial refugee/host is attributed to laziness, lethargy, and dependence rather than being blamed on the restrictions imposed by disabling environments, socio-economic limitations, and individual and group psycho-social conditions. The desk review suggested that the bulk of these entrepreneurial approaches were designed to be transferable but were not scalable (or have not been scaled up) and showed little engagement with understanding local political and social realities.

Study Approach and Focus

The research team used a mixed-methods approach, including deep ethnography/participant observation, semi-structured key informant interviews (KII) with external stakeholders (including relief and development officials, local and external private firm workers and businesspeople, and local county officials), semi-structured and focus group interviews, and questionnaire-based survey interviews with individuals from the refugee and host communities. Refugee-host interviews drew on 11 years of research in the refugee camps of Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab. Researchers studied refugee and host dynamics, informal and formal economies, grievances, agendas, motivations, actions, local political and social histories, and the psychobiological pathways of the impacts of stress and shock. Importantly, the team drew on trust networks built in the Somali and Turkana communities, traditionally wary and distrustful of outsiders. Enumerators were drawn from their own communities and recruitment was

arranged through networks of knowledge and interlocutors to ensure trust, data accuracy and precision, and to respect the ability of potential informants to refuse participation.

The team collected data from refugee and host communities in both Turkana and Garissa counties on:

1. Economic variables including subsistence: jobs and employment, business, skilled versus unskilled labor, household assets, access to credit, access to economic activities.
2. Psychological variables including stressors/stress relief mitigators, shocks/coping mechanisms, sleep patterns, perceptions and quality of health/health care
3. Social capital (social networks: friendship, faith, family, social support and remittance networks)
4. Food and nutritional security variables through direct measurement of body mass index, sum of skin folds and body fat percentage, perceptions of nutritional security and dependence, and nutritional dependence networks.

Analytical Findings from Nairobi, Turkana, and Garissa

The focus of the study was on understanding the economic and non-economic factors that affect resilience and self-sufficiency of host and refugee communities in both counties.

KIIs with relief agencies, development agencies, the external and local private sector, and local community leaders and officials shared important insights into key shortcomings common to many programs, along with barriers interventions face in promoting self-sufficiency and resilience among target populations. Among them were a focus on economic indicators over the impact of the local and regional political economy, significant siloing within agencies, and massive overlap and redundancy of studies and activities. Relief and development KIs acknowledged that most programming displayed a lack of understanding of local cultural contexts. Interestingly, most relief KI relegated the role of culture in programming to arts and crafts rather than a dynamic and significantly deterministic system within which individuals learn morals, ethics, rules, regulations, taboos, and limitations of behaviors, and which underlies much political economic complexity. Repeatedly, KIs said relief and development agencies engaged insufficiently with local private sectors, with social distance a persistent problem between beneficiaries and relief and development agencies, and other stakeholders. KIs said programs were designed and implemented with an overreliance on top-down approaches, belief in the goodness of politicians, and extractive economies such as oil and water, especially in Turkana. Relief KIs confirmed the existence of their faith in the "entrepreneurial refugee narrative" along with frustration at the "dependent refugee mentality" narrative.

Local business communities (Somali, Ethiopian, Meru, Kikuyu) have little faith in plans envisioned by relief and development actors and local government partners to build self-sufficient, resilient, and integrated societies. Well versed in the pitfalls and complexities of relief and development, they point to the labyrinthine nature of local economies, and the need for experience working within them, as reasons for their skepticism. According to local business communities, casual labor jobs are key sources of liquidity and resilience for the majority of hosts and refugees and necessitate a change in relief and development policies regarding terms of employment. KIs expressed concern that legislation on the new Refugee Bill being considered by the Kenyan legislature might keep the current situation at status quo, where refugee employment opportunities would be limited to the lower scale of opportunities in designated areas.

Most ongoing livelihood and skills training programs focus on building sustainable life skills and livelihood training for beneficiaries with the goal of gainful and steady employment, rather than casual jobs. We observed significant gaps and weaknesses in these programs, which are due to an insufficient feedback loop with beneficiaries and a lack of awareness of local political economy and daily realities. These communication and awareness gaps between programming actors and beneficiaries/beneficiaries' lives results in a marked disengagement of beneficiaries from programming actors and their interventions. Our analysis suggests that beneficiaries were either unaware of services or were not using these services. Refugees and host informants reported that their accomplishments, skills, and ideas were usually ignored in favor of external expertise. Among key problems they reported with livelihood and skills training programs were:

1. Skills and livelihood training are presented as an "unmitigated good," despite the generally low success rates of existing livelihood programs.
2. Entrepreneurship and other training programs fail to prepare beneficiaries for the realities of business development and subsistence activities, especially when competing with ethnic trading communities in a global diaspora.
3. Psychological counseling is lacking, as are socio-economic mentoring from local businesspeople and leaders and business/financial literacy counseling and mentoring to guide beneficiaries during and after training programs.

Informants said interventions usually fail to account for the ground realities of **disabling environments,** including police interactions involving abuse, corruption, and assault; low quality of health care for both refugees and hosts; frequent shocks and chronic stressors; and the secondary impact on individuals with income, who are unable to save, invest, or build because of the pressure they feel to help relatives. Other contributing factors to low resilience and self-sufficiency include:

1. The irregularity of jobs, even those within international and local NGOs, the relief sector, and private industry.
2. The discrimination and social exclusion between refugees and host communities.
3. The shortage and low quality of government and public infrastructure or external support systems in health, education, social safety nets, and financial services available to the bulk of the populations.
4. The dominance of local economies by politically or ethnically connected business groups with access to global supply chains and credit.

Finally, informants mentioned problems with integration or inclusion. In Turkana, informants from both refugee and host communities suggested that "integration" engineered through the Kalobeyei Integrated Social and Economic Development Program (KISEDP) was being seen only through the economic lens (host businesses in refugee camps/settlements) without sufficient focus and investment in social inclusion (hosts may not live in refugee camps or settlements). Given the ethnic differences between the refugees and their Turkana hosts, this gap is seen to be counterproductive, leading to increased social distance between the Turkana and the refugees. Integration or inclusion is similarly challenging in Garissa, where ethnic overlap between the dominant Somali refugee and host communities seems to indicate that integration would be easier than in Turkana. However, our results suggest that this ethnic overlap obfuscates a complex landscape of discrimination and exclusion of low-class/clan Somali and other non-Somali (including Somali Bantu) refugees by the Kenyan Somalis.

The quantitative analysis used regression and multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) contextualized within ethnographic data to identify the various shocks and stressors that affect both refugees and hosts, as well as key sources for resilience and drivers of self-sufficiency for both communities. The major shocks for refugees begin with the shock of forced displacement, the violence of the journey to the camps, and the initial settlement during the registration phase. In camp, the refugees are then subjected to the shocks that hosts face as well in ASALs, including rapid changes in government policy and infrastructure; climate catastrophes, such as droughts, floods, and famines; illness and deaths in the family; and sudden changes in financial situations, including job loss. Adding to these shocks are the stressors of daily lives in ASALs including worries over money and job security; access to food, water, health care, and education; and impacts of psycho-biological changes (inflammation and compromised cardiovascular and physical health and immune systems).

The regression analysis revealed three main themes of stressors based on worries associated with place (ethnicity, camp/town of residence), psychosocial/psychological (worries, shocks, stressors, aspirations, hopes), and socio-economic (social support networks, remittance networks, and other money sources, and jobs and employment). There are also three corresponding sources of resilience, including the importance of friendship and social support networks, remittances and local sources of money/support, and jobs/employment. These stressors and sources of resilience are not tied to levels of relief or aid and are significantly linked to two sources of well-being: access to household assets (necessities, comforts, and luxuries) and nutritional security measured by body fat percentage.

The MCA was used to circumvent the problem of endogeneity and interdependence of variables in affecting individual well-being. The results showed distinct clustering of both refugee and host communities based on their responses *and* the clustering of variables that affected/were reported by the clusters of respondents. It showed that social capital in the form of friendships and activities such as playing games, sports, prayer, and faith that are performed with friends and family are key sources of resilience, along with remittances, access to credit, and jobs. Also significant were aspirations and both short- and long-term hope. The MCA enabled division of both refugee and host community respondents into high economic capital and low economic capital categories, which were then examined to see the differences in the stressors and resilience sources. For refugees and hosts with high capital, the highest level of stressors included supporting extended family and kin through social support networks. This pressure seemed to lead to decreased ability for these individuals to invest in their own growth through education, training, savings, business, etc., by providing a constant attrition of resources away from them and their immediate families. For refugees and hosts with low capital, the highest stressors included lack of sleep, discrimination, negative feelings, health care worries, refugee-host interactions, and factors preventing gainful employment, including disabilities and a lack of skills.

Despite the numerous challenges voiced by external stakeholders, refugees, and host communities in Turkana and Garissa, positive programming outcomes and opportunities were also identified. These include:

1. *Jobs and economic ties between refugees and hosts:* In Turkana, refugee businesses employ youth from both refugee and host communities. Refugee and local traders often serve as mentors and trainers for their employees, as well as marriage and social brokers. Turkana women and men also sell goods (firewood, charcoal, construction materials) to the refugees, engage in labor activities for refugees (domestic work, construction, fetching water/relief food), and often these economic ties serve to mediate friendship ties. In Garissa, the situation is reversed: the refugees largely work outside the

camps in the homes or offices of local host communities. These relationships are often mediated through shared socio-economic ideas of value and exchange (between Somalis) and often result in other ties, including friendships, marital, and other kin relationships. Individuals with jobs (and remittances) are also far more likely to be the primary sources of economic support for their immediate and extended kin networks. This places a severe constraint on their own abilities to grow and attain self-sufficiency. These individuals are the key demographic for future programming in enhancing self-sufficiency, with programs aimed at helping them reduce the pressure for support.

2. *Social support networks through friendship, community and inter-community activities:* Major stress mitigators listed (and hence also sources of resilience) include the importance of friendship as a source of support; activities with friends, including communal gathering in private or public spaces to share food, drink, *mira*, tobacco, and alcohol; playing games and sports; listening to music; or watching visual media. One salient finding was that although most participants listed all the above activities as important, especially praying and worshipping, the refugees and hosts with the lowest forms of economic capital also showed the highest prevalence of *mira*, alcohol, and tobacco as stress mitigators, while those with high forms of economic capital showed the prevalence of games, sports, and sharing of food and drink as important stress mitigators and sources of resilience. Here we venture a caveat: that this correlation should not be seen as causal, where the low capital is a result of spending on *mira*, alcohol, and tobacco. Rather, these commodities serve to mitigate the sting of low capital by enabling refugees and hosts to indulge in some communal behaviors.
3. *Faith at individual and group/community levels:* Most respondents followed pathways of faith in either the Christian or Islamic religious traditions and stressed the importance of individual and communal prayer, the supporting role played by religious leaders, and the centrality of faith-inspired belief in divine support and, ultimately, hope that lives will get better. These factors enable the faithful to seek scriptural or traditional narratives on life difficulties as "tests" and ensure daily survival. For the refugees and hosts with higher capital, faith-based relationships overlap with social and economic ties and strengthen their access to higher forms of capital.
4. *Remittance flows from friends and family:* While remittance flows are seen as economic sources of resilience, we hold that they exist solely through social relationships and hence are a marker of social capital. Remittances are seen as crucial for survival and growth as they can be sent/used for emergencies, daily subsistence, and other investments, such as education and training. Used judiciously, remittances could be employed as business investments and would enhance both resilience and self-sufficiency in culturally appropriate ways.
5. *Small-scale agriculture and pastoralism as viable sources of livelihood:* Both host community and refugees who have experience in small-scale agriculture or pastoralism expressed interest in these activities. The primary limitations to such programs are in terms of land use for agriculture and pasture. However, small-scale activities where refugees and hosts can partner and learn from one another are seen as locally feasible and transformative in their ability to enhance self-sufficiency.

Recommendations for Enhancing Resilience and Self-sufficiency of Refugees and Host Communities in Arid and Semi-arid Lands and Non-enabling Environments

Through the desk review and qualitative and quantitative analyses, five recommendations were developed for governments and funding agencies to better align resources to promote refugee self-sufficiency alongside host community development:

1. **Interventions should shift the promoted job model from middle class delayed wage/daily labor to pastoral daily wage/non-daily attendance** – Expanding the number of daily wage jobs in Turkana and Garissa counties by shifting from the delayed payment to the pastoralist daily wage model might deliver more disposable income to refugees and hosts for immediate and long-term needs. More people with access to disposable income means that pressures on the few who do have such jobs or any job can be distributed across a wider social support network. These jobs are usually provided by local NGOs, relief organizations, and local businesses and account for the bulk of the wage-labor jobs in these counties. Local businesses have employed the pastoralist daily wage model successfully for refugees and hosts in both Turkana and Garissa counties.
2. **Interventions should include psychological counseling and social mentoring components that provide clinical psycho-social support to program beneficiaries –** It is highly likely that a large majority of refugees and hosts living in environmentally stressed and politically volatile/violent areas such as Turkana and Garissa counties suffer from PTSD, CPTSD, depression, anxiety, compromised immune and cardiovascular systems, high inflammation, chronic fatigue caused by shocks/stressors, and chronic sleep deprivation. People suffering from such conditions tend to have lower abilities to engage and follow through sufficiently with interventions such as training programs and have difficulty in navigating the social networks and relationships required for self-sufficient lives. We recommend that: Proven therapeutic and mentoring techniques need to be front and center in all development programming and interventions. There needs to be particular focus on enhancing healthy sleep behaviors, as 70 percent of beneficiaries from both refugee and host communities report unhealthy and inadequate sleeping patterns. This can be done by involving religious leaders, who may suggest or work with experts to suggest culturally appropriate techniques for restful sleep enhancement. While there are psycho-social and mental health support services available in the camps, these resources are usually fragmented, siloed between organizations, and dependent on limited funding. What's more, they are often focused on cure/management (individuals showing diagnosable conditions) rather than prevention or mitigation (individuals at risk), thereby excluding the bulk of the at-risk population from services. Furthermore, these diagnoses rarely account for culturally circumscribed manifestations of psychological and mental conditions and also often disregard social and cultural fears of accessing these services for fear of being labeled and ostracized.
    a. Mentorship from successful local individuals who understand local cultural contexts and political economies could help beneficiaries navigate the new social landscapes that emerge from engagement with development interventions. These individuals would include successful entrepreneurs in manufacturing and production and service industries and could demonstrate strategies for building friendships and higher capital social and economic networks through example and instruction. Mentoring

and apprenticeship is a common practice among the local entrepreneurial communities and can be utilized for development purposes.

b. External stakeholders investing in Turkana and Garissa should invest in research conducted by multi-disciplinary teams that have expertise in such intersectional research to understand the local and contextual particularity of the forms, degrees, and interdependence of psychological needs, local cultural realities, and political economics and the importance of social support as source of resilience and as stress mitigator among refugees and hosts—as well as how these factors would affect programmatic outcomes.

3. **Funders should invest in small-scale agriculture and livestock programs that target women and youth –** Host communities in both Turkana and Garissa counties emphasized the importance of livestock rearing and farming in their lives. Refugees in both counties also stressed their desire to use their skills in livestock management and small-scale agriculture to build sustainable lives for themselves during their stays in the camps While programs that stress the development of intensive agriculture for markets face significant environmental limitations, namely water and quality land shortages, investing in incremental growth by gradually adding technologies for water harvesting and increasing crop yields, has strong potential. Given that the cultural restrictions against agriculture within the pastoralist communities apply primarily to men, a long-term focus on pastoralist women who have traditionally practiced agriculture partnered with refugee women and men from agricultural/agro-pastoralist societies and training of young boys and girls would be locally feasible and culturally appropriate and could enhance general food production and nutritional security. Remittances could be reworked through dialogue into kin-based investment in such activities, thereby reversing the unidirectional flow of resources from the remitter to the recipient.
4. **Funders should embed within all programs appropriate feeding of participants –** Programs that require daily attendance and more than a few hours of attention usually face attrition due to lack of food and transportation. For programs that do offer food to beneficiaries, the meal provided typically consists of high carbohydrate foods such as baked goods, tea, and/or soft drinks, which have been shown to have negative impacts on energy levels, attention spans, and engagement ability. We suggest instead low-cost alternatives that could provide beneficiaries with much-needed source of protein that boost their energy levels, attention span, and engagement ability. While cash/payment might be an alternative modality, the importance of feeding program participants is to provide the nutritional energy required to engage with their program and to facilitate the knowledge/information transfer from the trainers to the beneficiaries. With cash, it is highly likely that beneficiaries would utilize the cash for their families' pressing needs rather than nutritional support for successful engagement with the training program.
5. **Funders should invest in programs that specifically aim to strengthen social capital as a key desired outcome rather than an incidental benefit of economic enhancement –** One major finding of the study was the role of social networks in mitigating worries and impacts of shocks and stressors in both refugee and host communities. Feasting events, joint construction projects, sporting activities, and religious services offer strong opportunities for strengthening social networks.

Key Considerations and Caveats

The envisioned model for self-sufficient communities would require massive and committed effort to build transformative infrastructure at multi-million-dollar scale from host and donor governments and the private sector. Given the history of economic marginalization and socio-political discrimination of all ASALs in Kenya, additional investment from the government of Kenya is unlikely, especially at the scale required, and the effort will continue to fall on the shoulders of relief and development agencies, both local and international.

The harsh physical environment of the ASALs and the fractured and "distorted" systems of inequity prevalent within the local political economies are the biggest limiting factors. Local business communities understand that the levels of business activities have an upper limit in the ASALs. Private sector returns on investment (ROIs) are tied to and dependent upon subsidies from donors; private sector actors and relief actors expressed a candid skepticism of the ability of the local host communities that are predominantly pastoralist to consistently generate sufficient revenue to break this dependency on subsidies. Low resilience tends to be self-perpetuating at individual, group, and community levels. It is unrealistic to expect a shift to more self-sufficient middle-class-style settlements in ASALs driven by higher individual, group, and community resilience, when the vast proportion of people in these areas have low resilience and are dependent on internal and external social, relief, and development support systems. The push toward self-reliance that does not address these realities and limitations will likely result in approaches that show sub-par performance or even failure. If or when this happens, the beneficiaries may be blamed for their own inability to become self-sufficient due to the refugee or poverty mentality (laziness, lethargy, and dependence). This research has combined various aspects of socio-economic, psycho-biological, and political/cultural complexities that affect the daily lives of people, specifically in terms of their resilience capacity and self-sufficiency potential. We hope that our findings will guide policymakers and development or relief workers planning development interventions to take into account these complexities and structural barriers to host and refugee self-sufficiency in the refugee-hosting counties of Turkana and Garissa.

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List of Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
BMI	Body Mass Index
CPTSD	Complex Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CVT	Center for Victims of Torture
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EI	Ethnographic Interview
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FFP	Food for Peace
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GISEDP	Garissa Integrated Social and Economic Development Program
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GOK	Government of Kenya
IFC	International Finance Corporation
KEA	Kenya/East Africa Office
KI	Key Informants
KII	Key Informant Interviews
KISEDP	Kalobeyei Integrated Social and Economic Development Program
LTSC	Local Trader Selection Committee
MP	Member of Parliament
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PRM	Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RAS	Refugee Affairs Secretariat
ROI	Return on Investment
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
WFP	World Food Programme

1. Abstract

This study was commissioned by USAID KEA/FFP to better understand sources, barriers, gaps, and opportunities to enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency of refugees and host communities in the refugee and hosting communities in accordance with the CRRF guidelines in refugee-hosting Turkana and Garissa counties in Kenya. The majority of the almost 500,000 refugees from East and Central Africa seeking refuge in Kenya live in two camps (Kakuma and Dadaab) and one planned integrated settlement (Kalobeyei) located in the ASALs in the northwest: Kakuma Refugee Camp (pop. ~140,000) and Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement (pop. ~34,000) in Turkana County near the border with South Sudan, and the northeast: Dadaab Refugee Camp Complex (pop. ~210,000) in Garissa County, near the border with Somalia.

This study addresses three questions: 1) How have different external stakeholders addressed the current refugee situation in Kenya with respect to the current and potentially changing landscapes aligning with CRRF principles? 2) How have refugee and host communities of Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab engaged with approaches taken by different stakeholders to address their situations? What is the effect of different types of approaches on refugees and host communities' resilience, economic growth, and self-sufficiency? 3) How can the U.S. government, within existing resources and programmatic limitations, better align its resources to promote refugees' self-sufficiency alongside host community development?

Our analysis of qualitative data from KIIs with relief, development, local and external private actors, and county officials, and ethnographic interviews with refugee and host community informants suggested significant communication and programmatic gaps between and within various stakeholder groups. The analysis also found insufficient understanding of local contexts, cultural variations, and ground realities with regard to the impact of political economies. Finally, the analysis found an inability to scale most interventions beyond pilot phases, neglect or insufficient engagement with refugee/host community abilities, skills, and contributions, and insufficient attention to the impact of psychosocial and health-related problems faced by refugees and hosts and their impacts on resilience and hence potential for self-sufficiency.

The researchers utilized regression and multiple correspondence analysis to identify key economic, social psychological, cultural, and health/nutritional barriers/stressors and sources/enhancers for resilience and self-sufficiency reported by refugees and hosts. Key findings include better resolution of different types/levels of vulnerability within these communities, identification of different programming needs, and the importance of social activities, socioeconomic support networks, and attritional or mitigatory impact on resilience and self-sufficiency of refugee and host individuals and groups in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab.

These analyses have enabled the extraction of key gaps, intervention points and target populations within camps to better inform U.S. government and partner organization programming. Recommendations focus on locally feasible and culturally appropriate interventions and programming shifts with the potential to mitigate overall stressors and shocks of protracted camp settings and life in the ASALs.

2. Introduction

The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) was launched in 2016 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), donor nations, humanitarian relief organizations, and other stakeholders. CRRF represents an ambitious paradigmatic shift away from the reliance on protracted camp settings that have characterized relief-humanitarian approaches in the past. It commits signatory bodies and nations to providing safe, dignified, and sustainable living situations for those fleeing catastrophes and seeking refuge and asylum outside their countries of origin. Specifically, CRRF calls for relief organizations, donors, and other stakeholders to work closely with signatory refugee hosting nations to a) include/integrate refugees into host communities, b) make refugee camps exceptions and temporary responses to emergencies, c) enable refugees to thrive, not just survive in host countries, and d) lower risks of protracted stay and dependence on humanitarian aid. The overall goal of the CRRF is to achieve refugee self-sufficiency and ease pressures on hosting countries.

Most relief approaches to refugee management in host countries have focused on humanitarian mandates to provide basic necessities: healthcare, food, shelter, water, and security. However, many refugee situations develop into protracted institutions, in which relief agencies are forced to supply non-essential but crucially important development services such as education, livelihoods, etc. Most of these development programs emerge as later additions to ongoing relief programs. However, successful CRRF implementation depends on close coordination between relief and development efforts to create integrated refugee-host settlements by enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency of both groups. This has led to the Relief and Development Coherence, also referred to as Humanitarian/Development Nexus.

The U.S. State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) defines "Relief and Development Coherence, sometimes called the "humanitarian-development nexus" as "an approach used in crisis response that coordinates and ensures complementarity between humanitarian and development assistance efforts." Its aim is to "minimize the strains on public services, infrastructure, social cohesion, and the broader economy that may result from hosting large numbers of forcibly displaced persons" by coordination with development programs from the beginning of a crisis. The reduced strain enabled through this coordination allows humanitarian organizations to continue processing, supporting, and "serving the most basic and immediate needs of populations in crisis and to new arrivals seeking refuge." Applied correctly and in accordance with CRRF objectives, the coordinated "humanitarian and development approach can simultaneously improve the conditions of refugees in protracted situations and enable continued progress on a host-country's economic and social development agenda," enhancing the welfare of "both displaced populations and their host communities."

Although Kenya is signatory to the CRRF and the 2016 New York Declaration and Global Compact on Refugees and Migration, the Government of Kenya Refugee Act of 2006 (amended 2011) restricts and forbids refugee mobility, employment, and settlement outside designated camps without official sanction. In 2017, the Parliament of Kenya passed a bill that would have granted refugees across Kenya increased freedom of movement and rights to work, in accordance with the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees to which Kenya is a signatory. The legislation emerged after The High Court of Kenya determined that restricting entire groups of people from mobility based on their ethnicity was discriminatory and unconstitutional, regardless of the behaviors of individuals within those groups. However, the legislation was not signed into law. Legislation proposed in October 2019 would change the definition of restricted zones from "designated camps" to "designated areas." This

change is meant to move Kenya a step closer to CRRF programming, with relief-development programming through the Kalobeyei Integrated Socioeconomic Development Program in Turkana County and the Northeast Garissa Integrated Socioeconomic Development Program also known as Garissa Integrated Socio-Economic Development Program (GISEDP) in Garissa County. The new law would continue to restrict refugee mobility and rights to seek employment outside those areas. But it would enable refugees to seek equitable employment within them. A primary concern is that these designated areas in ASALs, for reasons mentioned in the next section, do not offer sufficient employment opportunities.

Managing a successful transition in accordance with CRRF principles in these complex regions is new ground for relief and development organizations, donors, host governments, and other stakeholders, as well as refugee and host beneficiaries. Major programming hurdles exist, most significantly the need to understand local and regional contexts and the realities of the political economy and disabling environments, infrastructure gaps, and unmet needs of resource deprived and stressed populations living in the socially, politically, and environmentally volatile areas of Turkana and Garissa counties.

3. Research Background and Areas of Focus

Refugee self-reliance, or self-sufficiency is one of the primary goals of the paradigmatic shift in the CRRF, and is seen as a viable and sustainable alternative to the dominant practice of protracted camps that has historically characterized humanitarian relief responses. However, self-sufficiency derives from larger intersecting social, cultural, political, medical, and environmental systems of resilience that shape, and in turn are shaped by, economic activities. These are just a few of the factors that inform the resilience capabilities and abilities of peoples living in restrictive, marginalized, and environmentally harsh conditions, often mentioned but not rigorously mapped within most current approaches. Taken together, they lead to gaps in understanding the complex diverse personal circumstances or non-economic and psychosocial aspects of refugees and host communities affect pathways to self-sufficiency. This gap forms a barrier to feasible, actionable, and implementable policy at local, regional, national, and global levels.

Resilience of the refugees and hosts is defined as the ability of individuals, groups, and/or communities to withstand/absorb, adapt to, or transform with respect to varying types of personal, social, and systemic shocks, and chronic stressors characteristic of disabling environments. Self-sufficiency is the ability of individuals, groups, or communities to meet their essential needs in a sustainable and dignified manner. By essential needs, we include economic subsistence and psycho-social, cultural, and physical/health needs of a viable population. In this study we assume that the amount of resilience possessed by an individual, group, or community is a primary predictor of their potential for self-sufficiency and their ability to accomplish self-sufficient lifestyles.

Protracted refugee camps in host nations are usually located in marginalized regions, such as the ASALs in Kenya, where refugees are restricted from moving or seeking sustainable livelihood or subsistence activities. The path to enhanced resilience, self-sufficiency and sustainable integration for the ~450,000 refugees living in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab is complex. It is impacted by the endemic conflict, political and social marginalization, and general impoverishment of Turkana and Kenyan Somali hosts, the complexities of managing and providing relief and development within large densely populated refugee

camps, and structural and environmental limitations posed by socio-political-economic complexities and physical harshness of the ASALs.

The geography and climate of the ASALs make pastoralism and small-scale rain-dependent agriculture the predominant economic subsistence activities, with the exception of perennial riverine systems such as Turwell in Turkana and Tana in Garissa. Combined with lack of built infrastructure and histories of economic, political, and social marginalization, the overall political-economic and physical environments of the ASALs have precluded the development of urban centers, large scale irrigation and animal husbandry, medium and large scale industries, and other activities essential for generating economic growth and self-sufficiency. The historical and contemporary socio-politics of violent interactions between ethnic Somalis of Garissa and the Turkana of Turkana, the colonial and post-colonial governments of Kenya, and periodic droughts, food shortages, and famines have also contributed to the general decline of pastoralism as a viable growth activity for the hosts of these counties.

The exclusion of these areas from the national development trajectory is apparent in the ubiquitous phrase "naenda Kenya" or "I'm going to Kenya" used by residents of the northern counties when they leave the ASALs to visit more prosperous areas of southern and central Kenya. Both have also been the focus of open and endemic ongoing conflicts between the Kenyan government and local peoples. For the Turkana and the Somali of Garissa, Wajir and Mandera, conflict with the Kenyan government began with the colonial administration in the early 20th century and continued in post-colonial Kenya, with the Turkana conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s, and the Shifta War of 1963 to 1967 between ethnic Somalis of the northeast frontier province and the Kenyan government. Low-level conflicts continue to this day, enacted through military confrontation, social discrimination, and economic exclusion. As a result, impoverishment and deprivation is at high levels in both counties, Turkana in particular, despite decades of multimillion dollar development and relief interventions.

There is a general concern among both officials and, to a larger extent, the beneficiaries within the host communities over sharing resources between refugees and marginalized hosts following the eventual enactment of the Refugee Bill; this is growing and building on close to three decades of refugee host interactions in Kakuma and Dadaab areas. Usually perceived as violent and volatile, these interactions have actually shown greater nuance under scrutiny, ranging from friendship, mutually beneficial exchange (labor, resources) relationships, to conflicts, accusations of exploitation, and occasional episodes of violence between refugees and hosts. Overt physical manifestations of this violence have fluctuated over the three decades that Kakuma and Dadaab have existed. Most studies have noted the violent refugee-host conflicts in the periods between 2002–2005 and 2015–2017 and the year 2019. However, despite the narrative and potential for overt violent and simmering tensions between and within the refugee and host communities, the actual frequency of violence between refugees and hosts is remarkably low. These complexities are exacerbated as they feed into and are reinforced by the general political economy of the ASALs that operates on systems of patronage, with well-documented and entrenched phenomena of graft, corruption, and nepotism. Relief and development organizations are often forced to ignore such activities for fear of disrupting ongoing programs, and usually do not account for the impacts of such distortions in their programming.

In addition to the physical, legal, cultural, and socio-political limitations and adversities faced by refugee and host residents of the ASALs, this study also draws attention to an understudied adversity factor affecting both refugees and hosts. Various studies have shown that displaced populations tend to suffer disproportionately from PTSD and other psychobiological stressors from violent displacements, journeys, and ongoing shocks. Displaced populations also frequently exhibit CPTSD, depression,

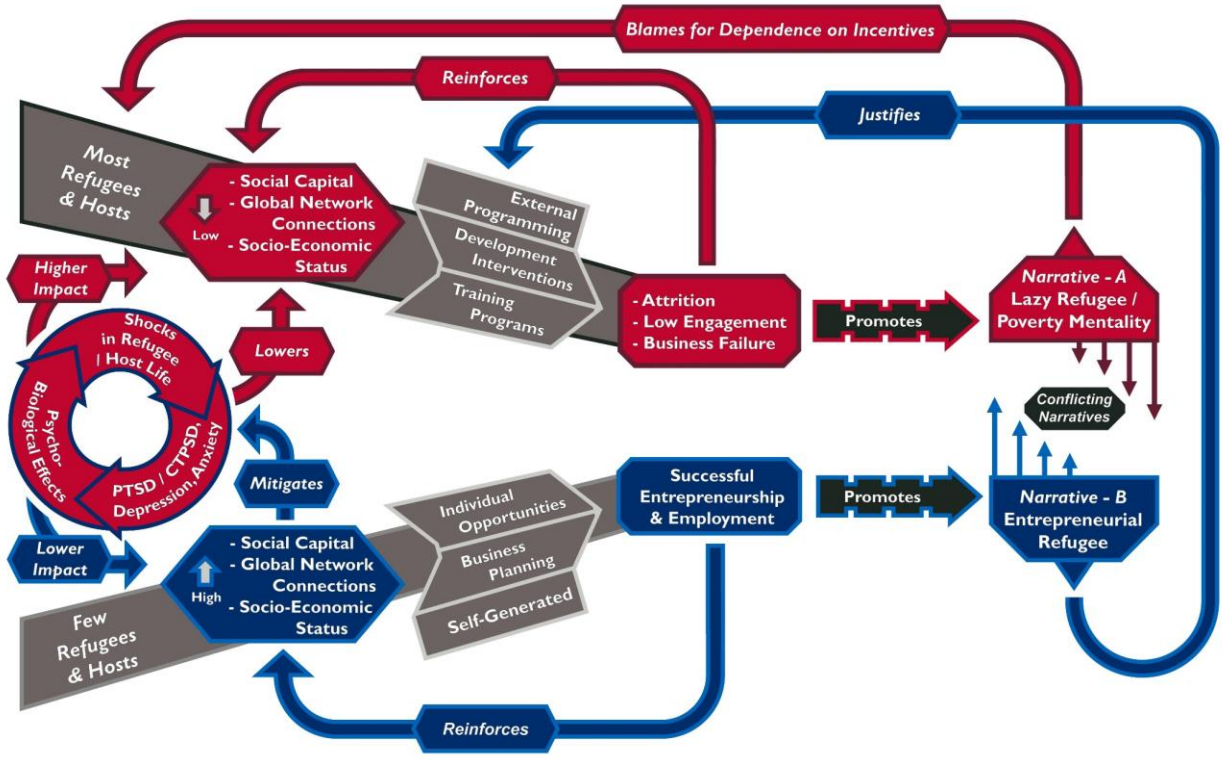
negativity, irregular sleeping patterns, and anxiety from protracted living in volatile, restrictive, and resource-deprived areas,. Refugees and hosts in ASALs also contend with daily stressors including lack of access to adequate nutrition, infrastructure support, education, employment, movement, sickness, or death of a person within the proximate or extended social network. Like most socioeconomically depressed groups, even refugees and hosts who are employed, entrepreneurs, or receive income through remittances are not buffered from shocks such as sickness, death, theft, assault, and environmental disasters. Furthermore, constant requests for support from extended family and friendship networks make it difficult for these individuals to save and invest, limiting advancement to self-sufficiency and resilience. On the other hand, these reciprocal socioeconomic support networks can enable survival amid the harsh conditions of the camps and nearby areas.

Shocks and stressors have complex biological impacts on psychosocial and physical health, reducing the ability of affected individuals to engage with external or internal interventions to engender self-sufficiency, regardless of incentives provided. Since much of the success of external interventions depends on the commitment of beneficiaries, the lack of response or commitment and poor performance or failure of both beneficiaries and intervention is blamed on the refugee, who are characterized as having a "poverty" or "dependence" mentality.

Interestingly, various studies have highlighted the presence of vibrant social and commercial economies established by successful entrepreneurial individuals and groups in these refugee camps that have had positive economic, social, and health impacts on surrounding areas.

This has led to the narrative of the refugee entrepreneur, based on the life story of a few (compared with the larger population) successful individuals who seem to thrive in these settings, both within and outside the camps. This narrative often ignores the role of social capital and support networks in the success of thriving outliers who show adaptive or even transformative resilience. This resilience comes from the greater access of refugees from certain ethnic groups or economic classes to social and other forms of capital from local, regional, and global networks. It also may derive from possession of particular skills reinforced by their membership in these groups or classes. That gives these individuals or groups far greater capacities to withstand economic, social, health, and psychological impacts of chronic stressors and shocks than the bulk of refugees and hosts. The majority lack access to extra-local socioeconomic support systems and have limited social capital linked to others in similar socioeconomic conditions.

Figure 1. Competing Narratives influencing Intervention Design and Implementation



Source: Authors' elaboration

In sum, refugees and hosts in the ASAL counties of Turkana and Garissa face severe challenges affecting their daily lives that stem from displacement, the environment, and the political economic infrastructure. Programs for real, positive, and enduring impact need to address these challenges through locally feasible and culturally and politically realistic interventions, primarily by: a) understanding the local realities, political economies, and the interdependence of social, economic, political, and psychological factors; b) addressing these complexities by interfacing and including local beneficiaries by acknowledging and incorporating their skills and adding this contextual knowledge into program design and implementation; and c) working with local and external academic experts and practitioners to anticipate and address impacts of unintended consequences of interventions.

4. Study Methodology

Prior to field work, we conducted a desk review that revealed significant gaps in previous approaches, specifically pertaining to data collection techniques that focused on quantitative data collected by external research teams unfamiliar with the area and local contexts; this minimized the importance of qualitative data. Furthermore, despite the general acknowledgement of the complexity and interdependence of the various factors (economic, social, political, cultural, environmental, and psychological) that affected refugee and host community lives in Turkana and Garissa, previous studies and intervention approaches treated each of these factors as separate, for analytical and programmatic ease and efficiency. This study was undertaken with the idea that the interdependence and complexity

needed to be unpacked, and the relationships between various factors explained through a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses.

To that end, our study methodology utilized a mixed-methods approach comprising ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and questionnaire-based surveys and also utilized qualitative and quantitative techniques to analyze the data. We used our contacts and networks building on the past 11 years of research in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, Nairobi, and Dadaab to establish trust and access to refugee and host communities.[1] Data was collected through key informant interviews (KII: n=26), ethnographic interviews (EI) for both refugees and hosts (n=22), focus group discussions (FGD) for both refugees and hosts (n=20), participant observation, and questionnaire-based surveys with both refugees and hosts (n=802) on the economic, political, social, psychological, cultural, and nutritional well-being of refugees' factors that positively or negatively affect resilience and self-sufficiency. KIs were contacted through email or by phone and selected based on their administrative positions within different agencies or firms.

With the exception of KIIs in Nairobi, all other KII, EI, FGD, and surveys were collected on refugees (n=590) and Turkana/Somali hosts (n=212) from Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab camps/settlements and surrounding areas in Turkana and Garissa counties. While interviews with local leaders and officials in Kakuma and Kalobeyei took place in an individual interview format, we conducted three FGDs with refugee leaders from Ifo, Hagadera, and Daghaaley camps in the UNHCR Mission posts in each camp during the August field session. We also conducted one FGD with local county leaders and officials from Dadaab. Fafi, and Lagdera sub-counties in UNHCR sub-office Dadaab. Taking advantage of the trust networks we have built through our work, we worked with our team leaders from both refugee (n=3) and host communities (n=2) to recruit trained enumerators (refugee n=14; host n=6 from Kakuma/Kalobeyei; refugee n=18 and host n=6 from Dadaab). These individuals hailed from the communities from which they were collecting data. The enumerators included 14 women and 28 men. The women enumerators focused both on female respondents and sum of skin fold data collection from both male and female respondents. The use of local enumerators enabled us to gain access to more accurate and precise data in culturally appropriate and respectful ways for both the ethnographies and the surveys.

Participants for EI and FGDs were selected based on networks of trust established by the researchers and through consultation with the local research associates' team members and community/zone/block leaders. Participants for the surveys were selected following the protocol established and approved in the research plan. Given the survey-fatigue and general antipathy toward external observers and enumerators in both Kakuma/Kalobeyei and Dadaab areas, we avoided random household surveys to avoid the power dynamics wherein respondents do not feel empowered to refuse entry/engagement to outside researchers displaying UN or official insignia. In such cases, respondents refuse to answer or give misleading responses, especially when discussing sensitive topics. Following protocols of hospitality

[1] Oka (2008–present) and Gengo (2015–present) have conducted field- and laboratory-based research on the refugee host interactions in Kenya, including cultural and political economies of Turkana and Garissa, and intersections between psycho-biological impacts of stressors and shocks on refugee and host social economies. Our previous research and knowledge of the local cultural realities and political economies enabled us to generate testable pathways for the interface between socio-economic behaviors, psycho-social stressors, systemic shocks, and the relief economy and development interventions. The qualitative and quantitative data used in this report comes from our fieldwork in August and September 2019.

within the various ethnic groups, we gained permission from elected block leaders, who contacted potential preselected informants prior to our arrival to ask for permission.

Table 1. Summary of Field Work

Data Collection Technique	Nairobi	Turkana (Aug. 9-19, 2019)	Garissa (Aug. 21-28 & Sept. 9-23, 2019)
Key Informant Interviews	16	10	11
Key Informant FGDs	1	1	2
Ethnographic Interviews	12	21	8
Refugee FGDs	n/a	4	6
Host FGDs	n/a	2	0
Questionnaire Based Surveys	n/a	260 refugees and 100 hosts	330 refugees and 116 hosts

Respondents were made aware of their rights and their ability to refuse engagement through the informed consent process. We ensured that those contacted felt empowered enough to refuse engagement. On the other hand, the informants who agreed to be surveyed did so on the basis of trust and gave sensitive, accurate, and precise information that they would not otherwise share. This was done to maximize the accuracy and precision of responses as reflecting ground realities and that would be contextualized/corroborated by the ethnographic data. In both sites, potential survey respondents were selected prior to contact using a network approach where the minimum geodesic distance (number of unique links/edges) between any enumerators and the respondent being interviewed by that enumerator is two. This meant that the respondent does not exist within the immediate proximal network of the enumerator, but they know at least one person in common. This ensured greater trust between enumerator and respondent, and verifiability of responses.

We established the sampling method to include multiple and often non-overlapping networks to avoid closed networks and selection bias, largely to focus on maximization of accuracy and precision. The respondents were chosen on the basis of their ability to understand their rights during the informed consent process, their trust in our teams' ability to protect their information and privacy, and their ease of engagement (including refusal to participate at any point in the interview). The interviews were conducted in the language of the respondents. The questions were translated and ground-tested with the team members and volunteer test participants prior to the actual surveys. Survey responses were recorded using Kobo Toolbox, a suite of open-source software designed for data collection on mobile devices in remote areas with inconsistent internet access. Each enumerator would meet with one of the team leaders at the end of every day and go through the responses prior to uploading them. Discrepancies and missing data were addressed on the day that the data was collected.

The distribution of participants' ethnicity, gender, and age for the surveys followed the demographic distribution in each camp and in the overall sample across all camps and surrounding areas. Annex 1 presents the distribution of host and refugee EI, FGD, and survey participants. Hosts are divided by ethnicity, gender, and location. Refugees are shown by country, ethnicity, camp/settlement, and gender.

We used qualitative analytical approaches to identify emergent themes, domains, and normative or differentiating behaviors, motivations, and agendas of participants; to understand structural barriers to enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency; and to elicit locally identified opportunities for socio-economic

growth. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected to understand resilience and self-sufficiency in protracted camp settings and beyond economic factors, including psychological, social, and biological underpinnings. Key data categories included economic and demographic factors; socio-economic support networks; sleep patterns and other bodily responses to stressors and shocks; direct measurement of nutritional security using body fat percentage and BMI; and psycho-social stressors and shocks. Statistical analysis was conducted using regression (linear ordinary least squares and logit linear regression using Stata ®, and multiple correspondence analysis using R-Studio, to identify key stressors and sources for resilience and barriers/opportunities toward self-sufficiency.

Our approach purposefully avoided random household surveys, so one limitation is that there is an emergent selection bias from the snowball effect where people we knew recommended potential informants who were within their networks. This added the danger of creating a closed network loop, despite our efforts to ensure distance between our team and networks and those of the respondents. We were also limited by the small amount of time in the field for ethnographic and FGD research: two weeks each in Kakuma/Kalobeyei and in Dadaab. However, due to our networks and prior experience in these areas, we were able to start the interviews right away, instead of waiting for contacts. The first field session in Dadaab from August 21–28 was initially limited because of the security requirement. We are indebted to UNHCR Sub-Office Dadaab, which covered the security detail, but the presence of the police and the UNHCR vehicle made both refugee and host communities distinctly uncomfortable and reserved in responding to questions.

5. Research Question #1: How have different external stakeholders addressed the current refugee situation in Kenya with respect to the contemporary and potentially changing landscapes?

To identify key strengths and gaps in current external stakeholder approaches to integrating development assistance with humanitarian assistance within protracted refugee camps and their host communities, five groups of key informants (KIs) were interviewed in formal and informal settings: relief and development actors from prominent agencies; external private sector firms actively working in Kakuma and/or Dadaab; local private sector businesses in retail, wholesale, and manufacturing; and county officials and leaders from Turkana and Garissa counties (see Table 6 in Annex 1 for complete list).

All KIs were asked about their knowledge of particular activities/sectors, their approaches to interventions, country-level implementation of the CRRF, and their understanding of local culture. There was specific focus on understanding the feasibility of relief and development interventions promoting host-refugee integration, self-sufficiency, and resilience, in line with CRRF objectives. Interviews

emphasized the need to hear uncomfortable insights and ideas. For that reason, part of many of these interviews were off the record. While the information received is not included in the data analysis, it provided context for researchers to understand specific events and processes. Informants were also granted anonymity by the research team. Interview results are divided into two sections: insights into key interventions and barriers, and opportunities for enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency.

Insights into Programming Interventions

Current approaches

Most KI from the relief and development and the external private sectors view the concepts of resilience and self-sufficiency from an economic perspective, with other factors, such as social capital, psychosocial support, and nutrition, being largely minimized in programmatic interventions. This fits in with desk review findings that the majority of programmatic interventions were based on a particular theory of change. That theory was that enhancing economic livelihoods in areas such as businesses, jobs, skills, and market access would lead to positive and intended enhancements in other areas such as healthcare, social networks, safety and security, education, and reliable access to nutrient rich foods. Subsequently, most programming and interventions targeting refugees and hosts have been based on either livelihood enhancement or infrastructure development aimed at improving equitable access to water, energy, land, credit, and nutrition.

In terms of livelihood enhancement, many programs remain rooted in earlier approaches, offering structured, classroom-style teaching of skills such as carpentry, tailoring, plumbing, and electrical repair and maintenance. Equity Bank has been offering financial services and skills training for both refugees and hosts in Kakuma for almost 7 years and offers management and business skills workshops for local host community entrepreneurs in partnership with WFP and other agencies.

However, recent developments are bringing readily marketable skills for a digital world and a global marketplace to the refugee and host communities , especially computer-based skills such as bookkeeping, programming/coding, and online sales/distributorship, as well as cloth weaving and other crafts for the global fair trade market. Proponents of these programs from the relief and development and private sectors (Tosheka, ITC) understand the lack of sufficient local demand for such skills, legal restrictions on refugee mobility and employment, and socioeconomic discrimination against ASAL counties. Subsequently, development actors have been promoting a gig economy approach, where beneficiaries can advertise their abilities or products online as freelancers' through the aegis of brokering organizations such as SamaSource, which employs low-income staff in developing countries for technology work, or UpWorks. Proponents of these programs promote use of the internet for beneficiaries to gain clientele outside Turkana or Garissa counties or even throughout the African continent and beyond.

In terms of infrastructure development, there has been considerable interest and investment in improving access to financial services, water, sanitation and hygiene, energy, and agriculture. External partners such as Equity Bank, MasterCard, Sanivation, and Renuvia have been at the forefront of engaging with both refugee and host communities. Renuvia has been constructing two separate solar power grids in Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement, Village 1 and Kalobeyei town. MasterCard has been working with local communities to enable more efficient payment for water and power services. Sanivation has been active in Kakuma for almost five years and has promoted the use of briquettes made from human and animal waste as an alternative to firewood or coal in cooking technology. It has also

promoted more environmentally friendly alternatives to pit latrines. Sanivation's goal is to scale up pilot programs in Kakuma and transition to a market-based modality in which production, distribution, and use of the briquettes and the environmentally friendly toilets are managed by beneficiaries themselves, providing them jobs and livelihoods. The primary goals of these interventions activities are to:

1. Generate a skilled, entrepreneurial, and self-sufficient sub-population whose economic activities can support a larger service sector and a growing local and regional economy.
2. Create an environment in which such a class can thrive and become the drivers for further growth.

These goals contrasted sharply with the more realistic assessments of the KIs from the local business communities and county officials and leaders, who noted from the onset:

1. The impacts of social, economic, and political discrimination and violence against their peoples, whether refugee Turkana, or Somali. Discrimination and legal restrictions against the free movement of refugees to settle and seek work anywhere is well-documented.
2. The intersections between various economic and non-economic factors determined the success or failure of business ventures and development interventions.

Despite the differences between the stated goals of the development and relief workers and the assessments of local business communities and county officials and leaders, all KIIs displayed direct or indirect and nuanced knowledge about systemic barriers to enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency.

Barriers

Programmatic Siloing

Follow-up questioning of relief KIs indicated that like county officials, local business communities, and beneficiaries, they were fully aware of the intersections between economic, political, cultural, social, and environmental factors at multiple scales that often determined the outcomes of their interventions and programming. However, and more importantly, staff from relief agencies stressed they lacked the time, energy, language, or ability to air their concerns, even in the space created by CRRF based on eroding the fluid boundaries and intersections between the sectors. This siloing was presented as a problem by UNHCR officials tasked with CRRF implementation as well as sector heads within UNHCR, WFP, and other humanitarian organizations who agreed that the culture of siloing and inter-sectoral competition presented major problems for CRRF implementation. Each sectoral head, concerned with depleting budgets and attrition of staff, tended to prioritize the centrality of their sector in relief and/or development programming. Subsequently, and as confirmed by the KIs, when livelihoods, water, environment, energy, health, land-use, and security operate within their own worlds, the impacts of intersection and feedback from emergent outcomes of these intersections are hard if not impossible to address. However, short of forcing section heads from relief and development organizations to meet each other on a regular basis, thereby adding more meetings onto their schedules, there seems to be little way out of this impasse. One suggestion that emerged and also draws on current business practices in technology innovation companies was to increase the number of informal discussions between triads of section heads around coffee or other social rituals to understand how each sector's activities and project outcomes can inform programs and outcomes in other sectors.

Neglecting Political Economies

A major issue cited in KIIs was the lack of engagement within relief and development sectors with the **realities of the political economy**. One senior relief KI said: "We know of the political economy, but we do not know it" (KII July 30, 2019). Political economy is concerned with the intersection of politics or economic values that emerge at national, regional, or local levels of governance, including small social groups and social networks. Political economies influence and are influenced by the organization of both social and economic capital and by the flow of influence and resulting interactions between agents and economic and political institutions and between different stakeholders in politics, business, religion, bureaucracy, as well as informal/extra-legal and formal/legal economies. The study of political economy includes understanding government failure, complex decision-making, economic regulation, monopoly, rent-seeking, market protection, institutional corruption, and distributional politics. In other words, understanding the political economy offers a realistic framework to understand the limitations of programming efforts in a disabling environment when applied in a world where networks of influence and local agendas and realities tend to override the externally designed theories of change guiding most interventions.

There was consensus among KIs from relief and development groups that while the realities and distortions of the political economy were well known to agency staff members in daily operations and interactions with host and beneficiary stakeholders, these were rarely accounted for in programming and interventions. Interviewees also acknowledged the difficulties of dealing with problems generated by the intersection of local, regional, national, and international political realities, and the feeling that "it was beyond […] pay grade to question or be able to inquire into decisions" (KII August 24, 2019).

But KIs also acknowledged that not addressing these issues usually led to costly post hoc and ad hoc programmatic adaptations and modifications, which in turn resulted in growing attrition, lowered positive outcomes, and lowering of return on investments (ROI) in multiple programs.

While most KIs are aware of the limitations of the physical environment of ASALs and the political economies of relief and development in these areas, there was sharp contrast between KIs from relief agencies and development agencies, with respect to integration and the building of resilient and self-sufficient communities, and from private sectors and local leaders/officials.

While being aware of the political economy and its impact, both relief sector and development sector KIs saw the emergent refugee-host political economy as a "distorted economy" wherein a few refugees and hosts benefited at the expense of the many, in both counties. They asserted that this distortion resulted from the covert or overt systems of labor and market manipulation by local and regional political and economic elites. For example, in Garissa, a complaint heard across the relief and development KIs was the overt ways in which local elites actively "advised" on selection of their own people for advertised jobs within humanitarian or relief sectors or, in other words, formal and institutionalized nepotism. In Turkana, however, the primary complaint was that nepotism, while present, was rarely in favor of the Turkana people. The top jobs usually went to non-Turkana, the allocation/selection of candidates was based on tribal/ethnic affiliation, and the nexus between business and political elites was a primary debilitating factor in the success of the programs and interventions

aimed at enhancing equity and access.[2] There was also a strong sense among relief and development KIs that local entrepreneurial groups were the primary drivers of these distorted economies. The contrast was that most programming decisions were and are taken under the assumption that the intervention will take place without being affected by the political economy or the ground realities. However, the KIs from the external private sector, the local private sector/business communities, and local leaders and county officials saw the economies of Turkana and Garissa not as distorted economies but as the way of doing business in Kenya, especially in the ASALs. Many KIs from the local business communities and local officials spoke of the decades of colonial and post-colonial marginalization (Shifta War, Turkana-Kenyan police conflict) and active social discrimination, environmental uncertainties and frequent shocks, and endemic poverty and violence in the ASALs, especially in terms of relationships between the Turkana and Somali communities and the GOK/down-Kenyan. In line with much academic work, they view the political economy as being the reality that needs to be and is confronted by business communities and political leaders on a daily basis.

Disconnects between Programming and Political Economy Realities – An Example:

The firm Renuvia is being subsidized by its partner, GIZ, for approximately 80 percent to 82 percent of the cost of construction, repair, and maintenance of the solar grid in Kalobeyei Settlement and Town. The program goal is that the subsidies will be retired after eight years, and emerging jobs and incomes among host and refugee communities will enable Renuvia to begin collecting revenue in increasing proportions for their services.

In conversation with Renuvia executives and engineers, however, they stated that they were taken aback by the high labor costs (10X) in Turkana versus Nairobi or Kitale. They reported that the feasibility assessment conducted by their subsidizing partner—GIZ—did not explore the labor issues, especially the cultural attitudes of the Turkana toward wages and prices, and did not account for the extraordinary amount of theft of material and equipment and the cost of security for the built infrastructure. Renuvia was not used to dealing with non-market logic in areas with negligible infrastructure, and they were surprised at the pushback on the negotiations on labor prices and were forced to reassess the projected ROI versus the attritional costs of labor, security, and maintenance.

Senior management at Renuvia categorically stated that based on their own calculations and projections, they do not believe in the host community's ability to generate enough revenue through integration. The firm's ability to sustain the infrastructure is currently entirely dependent upon the relief subsidies. They expressed interest in working with the local Somali businesspeople who have set up generator grids and stated that the long-term sustainability of the grid depended upon the refugee communities assuming responsibility for financing and managing the grid after the subsidies run out. A senior relief official estimated that sustaining such infrastructure through community-earned income would require the generation of 20,000 steady jobs in the Kakuma-Kalobeyei area over the next 15 years (Relief KII August 11, 2019).

[2] In both areas, there were also significant concerns raised that many relief and development program beneficiaries were often chosen via nepotism or by paying bribes to local program staff. Many of these complaints have been addressed by the agencies, but all KI acknowledged this as an ongoing and recurrent problem.

Insufficient Engagement with the Local Private Sector

Both local and external private sector KIs were interviewed to understand their interest and engagement with the refugee-host economies and ongoing or potential interventions. The private sector forms a central part of CRRF programming for self-sufficiency and resilience. Private sector engagement is seen as the third leg of the CRRF, as it seen as the most cost-effective way to reduce refugee dependence on relief and reduce the burden of refugee hosting from hosting governments. Our analysis of the discussions with external and local private sector firms brought up one key recurring issue. This was the divergence between the needs/goals of the private sector and those of the relief and development sectors. For the private sector, the need to demonstrate tangible ROI necessitates a formal or informal "sunset clause" or a "this is when we pack up and leave" assessment based on their own cost-benefit analysis and projected ROI. On the other hand, relief/development programs are based on funding cycles and set/limited periods for activities, monitoring, and evaluation, with uncertainty about renewal or extension of these programs. There is little or no calculation of ROI based on profit as these are not considerations under the relief or development mandates. According to external private sector KIs, it would be preferable for them to seek partnership and co-investment from local business communities and sectors, who understand the local political economies and cultural attitudes towards industry, commerce, and finance, and thus can be interlocutors. They see the inclusion of local business communities who have successfully navigated the local landscape as a win-win with respect to potential cost-sharing as well as reduction of attritional costs and delays due to their local partners' understanding of political and cultural factors and expediencies.

Local private sector informants interviewed concurred with their external private sector counterparts, and emphasized that the political, economic, social, and environmental realities of local business development were usually ignored by relief and development institutions, even though those institutions are key actors and employers in the regions studied. They report that on the ground realities limit the sustainability of programmatic interventions and built environments in ASALs and in refugee-host contexts, irrespective of intentions and capital available. One trader based in Nairobi with businesses in Dadaab, Garissa, Nairobi, Kitale, Lodwar, Kakuma, and Juba in South Sudan said there are strict limits to the level of business that any person or group can manage in either place:

> "In places like Nairobi and Kitale, there is infrastructure, skilled and unskilled labor, we can diversify. But in Turkana, the only business would be trade, where goods come from outside to be sold to the people. And apart from goats and cattle, there are few other industries that can be sustained without water and raw materials. Just look at the land. Maybe there will be Chinese buyers for rocks and sand." (KII July 27, 2019).

Most local business community KI said they are wary of investing in either Kakuma or Dadaab, given lack of infrastructure, high labor costs, and low market penetration, especially in Turkana, along with violence, predatory discrimination, and overregulation by government authorities and police. Given backing from the international community and relief agencies, however, they said they might reconsider. According to one trader:

> "Every year, we see outside people being brought here, with experts. They are asked to invest in Kakuma. They are told that Kakuma is good for business, like [one refugee trader, who has since become] a millionaire. But these people [the relief agencies] never ask us for any advice. We have operated in this area since the 1960s, but they prefer to

> go to some outside mzungu (white man) for advice. They don't trust us." (KII August 13, 2019).

This is especially true in Kakuma and Kalobeyei, where the skills of the local business community have resulted in excellent media coverage but have not been included in policy or programming. For example, the WFP program in Bamba Chakula program includes a workshop on entrepreneurial skills conducted by Equity Bank. However, when questioned privately, officials in WFP or Equity bank did not confirm whether any of the workshop trainers had any expertise in running an actual business, let alone in a resource strained and marginal environment such as Turkana. Similarly, the Local Trader Selection Committee for the Bamba Chakula program convened by WFP included representatives from relief agencies, local government and public health authorities, but no local trader or businessperson. The program director of one relief agency in Kakuma said that staff at the agency tasked with providing entrepreneurship training had no business expertise. Turkana trader community KIs in Kakuma and Kalobeyei reported that "the training did not prepare them for competing with the Somali or Ethiopians and their ways of doing business" (KII August 15, 2019).

This lack of engagement might change, at least in Garissa, where UNHCR is working closely with Garissa County officials to interact with the local business community in co-investment in programming and interventions. Community leaders and county officials there made clear in conversations with the research team they did not need instruction on how to build businesses. One official said, "We are Somali, we know business. We know what needs to be done. We just need the 'go-ahead' from the government with NEGISEDP[3] to start" (KII August 27, 2019).

The host community leaders and county officials spoke of medium and large-scale businesses based on pastoral products (meat, milk products, animal by-products—skin, hides, leather), as well as light manufacturing of agricultural and crafts-products. Some KIs from the local business community reiterated these assertions but also expressed unease with what they called the government of Kenya's discriminatory attitude towards Somalis and Kenyan Somali citizens of northeast counties (Garissa, Wajir, and Mandera) One trader said:

> "There are people in the government who have said that the only good Somali is a dead Somali. Our grandchildren and their grandchildren will continue to pay for the Shifta troubles"4 (KII September 20, 2019).

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[3] NEGISEDP: Northeastern Garissa Integrated Socio-Economic Development Program

[4] The Shifta troubles refer to the Shifta War (1963–1967) between the ethnic Somali residents of the colonial Northeastern Frontier Province (NFP) (comprising of Garissa, Wajir, and Mandera Counties) and the emergent Kenyan state. This war was a result of national boundaries drawn by the British colonial authorities between Somalia, Kenya, and Ethiopia and looms large in local contemporary narratives of the Kenyan Somali. An informal Somali plebiscite clearly suggested their desire to merge NFP with the new Somali Republic. But in 1963, the NFP was handed over to the Kenyan state. The war was won by the Kenyan state, largely through forced settlement of pastoral communities in permanent villages and confiscation/slaughter of livestock. These punitive measures of forced settlement and confiscation/killing of livestock followed the precedents set by the British colonial government against the Turkana and the Oromo in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, have resulted in collapse of pastoralism, and are seen as directly causal to the current underdevelopment of the ASALs in general and the Garissa/Wajir/Mandera and Turkana counties in particular.

Social Distance between Key Actors and Beneficiaries

Due to the nature of the relief landscape, security concerns, and the term-limited appointments, KIIs among both relief and development agencies said they have little or no interactions with the beneficiaries from either the host or the refugee communities, through the design, implementation, and evaluation process. Most take place via pre-arranged group meetings with community leaders in agency or activities. The community leaders are then charged with communicating information to their constituents. At many of the meetings, the research team noted translation problems and a lack of engagement. Internal hierarchies within communities are usually not accounted for, meaning community leaders from minority groups are silenced. Community leaders are also given an agenda for discussion by the meeting organizers, whether from relief or development agencies. Beneficiary community leaders are usually discouraged from bringing other items, however pressing, into the meeting discussion. As a result, a significant number of meeting attendees are often on their mobile phones or otherwise disengaged. Follow-up interviews revealed significant misunderstanding by community leaders of information given by agency officials.

KIs from both relief and development agencies acknowledged that this social distance is usually seen as a major problem by the relief and development agencies but they stress security concerns hinder their abilities to interact with beneficiaries outside the compounds of the relief agencies. Many said that despite these barriers, staff do start to better understand and respond to local realities over the period of their appointments, and are ironically in optimal positions to provide efficient services and develop better programs just before they are reassigned. This lack of continuity was also a problem for programming, funded in cycles as short as several months to a few years. Both relief and development KIs revealed that a major source of frustration was that just when a particular program might seem to be working, the funding would run out, the project would be deemed completed and any positive impact would dissipate rapidly thereafter.

External private sector KIs also expressed frustration with the distance of their relief or development agency partners from local realities, despite the presence of feasibility and other assessments. With their activities tied to the relatively short- term funding cycles of relief or development organizations, and to donor aspirations. They voiced concerns about the longevity, sustainability, and ability to make long-term commitments to their programs and activities. One private sector KI said while funding cycles of relief agencies were a negative consideration for investment, development funding cycles, though longer, are usually restricted, and often shut down without any plan for future development. One development KI gave an example of a five year program funded by a European donor nation which supplied tractors to local farmers, and funded training on and maintenance of the machines. When funding ran out, local farmers no longer had the equipment or ability to maintain them. The result was a "large number of farms with rusted and broken-down tractors littering the area" (KII August 14, 2019). Similar concerns were voiced by local private sector KIs and by county officials and community leaders who have seen various programs and interventions cycle over their lifetimes with little or no impact on the lives of beneficiaries.

Social Distance between Relief Agencies and Development Agencies

Social distance between relief agencies and development groups emerged as a major issue among those interviewed, particularly with regard to distinction between meeting humanitarian needs and human development. On one hand, the merger of relief and development is a new reality that many relief agencies are not prepared for. They often lack the expertise in providing services beyond basic

humanitarian needs. Many relief agency KIs stressed the "two should be kept separate and that relief sectors be primarily involved in crisis situations. In protracted camp situations, the development work should be turned over to development agencies and private sector and public partners" (KII July 26, 2019). On the other hand, these camps remain zones where new refugees arrive almost daily from South Sudan or Somalia with immediate needs that cannot be served by development agencies.

Many KI from relief agencies said they have become interlocutors and even co-implementers for development-style interventions, usually at pilot program levels. They said they have neither the expertise nor the time and resources to scale up the programs to increase their reach. One relief KI said the "landscape of Kakuma and Dadaab is littered with the remnant of well-studied pilot programs that showed excellent promise. Some were scaled up and failed, others were never scaled up." (Dadaab KII September 18, 2019)

For example, a Sanivation program to substitute wood and coal as energy sources with human waste briquettes is being increased to reach 20,000 households in Kakuma over the next two years, with the hope that briquette producers will be able to sell this fuel in the market, amplifying its benefits and reducing the environmental impact of burning wood and coal. However, much of the production cost of the briquettes is subsidized by external grants. If the local host community or refugees had to buy them on the open market, costs would be prohibitive. Meanwhile, charcoal and firewood sourced from as far away as Lokichoggio, more than 90 kilometers away from Kakuma, remain cheaper, more convenient, and better known fuel sources.

Repeatedly in interviews, concern emerged that international relief agencies and large development organizations, encumbered by top-down planning, approach their programming in refugee camps and host communities based on unrealistic expectations. This has been particularly the case when relief agencies intersect with large development organizations such as the World Bank and the IFC, which advocate for rigorous, model-based, market-centered approaches that also enhance social and gender equity. The critique was that such models often assume the presence of enabling environments, when those may not be present or viable. For example, according to the IFC and the World Bank, both Kakuma and Garissa represent significant opportunities for economic growth and investment. However, most KI from relief agencies, local private sector and county governments do not share this optimistic outlook. They report that economies in both camps are in decline compared to 2015 and 2016, when the World Bank and IFC studies were completed. While uncertainty of food aid and other relief services have contributed to this decline, the primary cause according to relief workers and local traders, is the migration of Somali businesses from both camps as the result of prolonged and targeted mistreatment. Since June 2018, when attacks on Somali owned shops and business people intensified, many businesses have chosen to relocate to Nairobi, Kitale, Mombasa, or even Uganda, Tanzania, and beyond. Decline in the much-storied and documented booming economies of Kakuma and Dadaab is indeed worrisome, and officials in both Turkana and Garissa counties said they are concerned that anti-Somali discrimination and violence will limit economic growth. KI from local business communities and among county leaders said the government of Kenya should reassess its policies regarding Kenyan Somalis and Somali refugees.

Opportunities for Future Programs

Consensus analysis from the KI was that developing integrated self-sufficient communities in Garissa and Turkana counties are contingent, in decreasing order of consensus, on:

1. "jobs that provided a steady source of income,"
2. "entrepreneurship and skills training."

Reimagining Employment Models

This consensus, especially with regard to jobs, was striking. But a key difference emerged in how various KIs defined what constituted a "job that provided a steady income":

- ***For relief and development agencies, external private sector stakeholders, and some county officials***, a job that provides steady income is based on regularly scheduled staggered payment for work accomplished monthly, biweekly, or weekly. That approach is driven by the perceived need to build an entrepreneurial middle class.
- ***For local private sector stakeholders, some county officials, and refugee-host communities***, a job that provides a steady income for pastoralists and most refugees who are unskilled or themselves pastoralists is a job that pays by the day, and, for most work, does not depend on the same worker daily.

One prominent businessperson said:

> "The pastoralists here, they don't want to come and work every day. So they will show up today, do stocking, cleaning, other activities, take their pay at the end of the day, and then I might not see them for the next few days. Tomorrow another five will come. They need money for expenses now, they will spend what they have earned today over the next few days, and then come back to me when they run out. In this way, I actually provide the jobs in the way that the people here want, to twenty people every month, instead of just five." (KII August 14, 2019).

This model of occasional but steady cash employment is particularly common in Turkana county, but also found among pastoralists in Garissa county. It provides enough cash for pastoralists to sufficiently intersect with the market, while enabling them to minimize their dependence on a routinized occupation. These jobs are also the most commonly found sources of employment in these areas for all takers—refugees and hosts—and are also the most realistically feasible jobs that can be created in the disabling ASAL conditions. Anathema to most middle-class oriented development approaches, which prioritize pathways to long-term, salaried employment, the occasional but steady employment model is considered socially acceptable, even desirable, in the two counties. Data analysis of both KI and refugee-host informants suggests the jobs, which pay by the day and do not require daily attendance, might provide more people with cash and consumption ability, and reduce their need to ask their relatives and extended kin members for small cash gifts. This is especially crucial within ASALs and protracted refugee camps, environments characterized by chronic stressors and frequent shocks. The constant strain of supporting stressed relatives makes long-term or even provisional planning, savings, investment in education, farming or raising livestock above a subsistence-level difficult if not impossible.

The study determined that a shift in the concept of job creation to include daily wage jobs, as appropriate, would allow more people to be employed by local and external private

sectors, and by relief and development organizations. Hence cash access would be distributed over a larger network of workers and would ease the pressure of constant support. While this recommendation emerged in KI and subsequent discussions, considerable data emerged in the research that seems to back this pathway, wherein such jobs a) mitigate the impact of worries and b) reduce the attritional effect of continuous demands for support within individual bonding networks.

Catalyzing Entrepreneurial Activities

The generation of entrepreneurial beneficiaries is seen as key to the growth of integrated self-sufficient economies in Turkana and Garissa counties. However, most KIs from the local private sector, as well as county officials and community leaders, were skeptical of the expected role of entrepreneurship for most beneficiaries. KI from the local trading community spoke of skills required to initiate, run, and manage a business. Said one trader:

> "If you think you can just go to school, take a class in business from someone who has never operated a business, and then expect to succeed, here, you are a fool. Even if you get a loan, how do you settle with the police? How do you pay license fees and bribes? How do you make sure that your supplies get here, and recover money from clients? How do you know trust? Can you manage credit? How long can you live on credit if you don't have a system for getting capital? It is insulting to us who struggle every day, even with successful businesses, that the outsiders think that anyone can do what we do, so easily, that the poor will be able to become rich rapidly by building a business." (KII September 20, 2019).

This was echoed by a Turkana county government official:

> "The Turkana have never been traders, and we don't like the market or the nimuchurus (brokers). Can Turkana learn how to trade and do business? Yes, we can. But we know Turkana who have succeeded, they learned from experience, over time, they learned from the Somalis, from the Ethiopians. A workshop is no substitute. But even if you train someone in a workshop, can they get credit? Get capital? For the Somalis and Ethiopians, it is easy. They have their people. They can get credit, they can live on credit, and their reach goes to Nairobi. It is proper training, experience, and access to these services." (KII August 13, 2019).

KI from relief and development agencies seemed to be focused on the need to develop entrepreneurship but acknowledged during interviews that not everyone can be an entrepreneur, and that placing that expectation on vulnerable beneficiaries often ends up doing more harm than good. They said the implementation model of entrepreneurship training and success programs should change.

Discussions on entrepreneurship revealed opportunities for involving local established traders as mentors and teachers in both formal and on-the-job training for refugee and host communities. Focused particularly on youth, such mentorship, knowledge building and inclusion into established networks of traders has impacted much more positively on long-term business sustainability and growth than has simply workshop training and infusion of capital. Mentorship also ups the social capital and resilience of mentees, as they build business connections and support networks.

Pre-established entrepreneurship can also play a significant role in planned interventions. The need to involve local private sector groups in training and mentoring segues into the second consensus shared by most KI (and with caveats by local private sector KI): the need to include the local private sector as a

partner into any planned intervention. This was especially true for external private sector who understood the need for incorporating local realities into their models and expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of intersection of relief agencies with local political economies. For the KIs from the county government and community leaders, if local private sectors could be engaged in interventions either by themselves or in partnership with external organizations (if higher capitalization is required), that would enhance local ownership of such programs and would reduce the probability of failure due to lack of understanding of local realities. Such partnerships can provide valuable forums for training and mentorship of youth in business practicalities and knowledge.

Counseling and Mentorship as Part of Programming Services

While the impact of psychological trauma and stress on engagement, work, and attention has been well-established, therapy, counseling, and mentorship have not been part of most training and livelihood programs. But in fact, such practices, while increasing initial costs, may be instrumental in determining individual success and inducing positive programmatic outcomes.

In an interview with a Danish Refugee Council Senior Manager (KII August 13, 2019), the research team asked about the impact of trauma and stress on beneficiaries enrolled in their livelihood programs. The KI pointed to a bookkeeping training program for refugees and some hosts, which required enrollees to take a nationally administered bookkeeping skills examination in order to pass the course.

> "We have been running this program for some time, and yes, the people taking the course had problems," the director said. "Attendance, paying attention, completing assignments, low. The pass rate was not very good, sometimes 50, 60 percent, sometimes lower. But recently, we brought vulnerable women, who had suffered from sexual and gender-based violence, who were enrolled in our trauma counseling, into this skills training program. To our surprise, their pass rate was better than the ones who had not suffered from sexual and gender-based violence, it was 97 percent."

When asked what was different, the KI said,

> "The women were already receiving counseling and therapy from the counseling program. When they enrolled in this program, they remained, they continued to receive counseling and therapy. But the main change was that the counselors also started providing support and mentorship for the new challenges the women faced in the bookkeeping program. I think this helped the women to understand what they needed to do, and there was someone they could go to for advice without any problem or hesitation."

The assessment of the research team is that including psychological counseling and mentoring in training and other livelihood programs for traumatized populations should be investigated further by trained educators and psychologists to establish value for future programs and interventions.

6. Research Question #2: How have refugee and host communities of Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab engaged with approaches taken by different stakeholders to address their situation? What is the effect of different types of approaches on the resilience, economic growth, and self-sufficiency of refugees and host communities?

The ethnographic interviews of refugee and host communities in Turkana and Garissa counties were designed to elicit data on interactions between refugees and host beneficiaries with external development interventions. Data was also collected on unmet needs, gaps, and agendas and motivations of participants. This section is divided into two sub-sections: Gaps, and Strengths and Opportunities, as reported by informants. All responses and direct quotations have been anonymized. The ethnographic approach used here included semi-structured individual interviews and focus group discussions with members of different refugee and host communities, and with leaders from both communities.

What do refugees and host community members see as potential strengths and gaps in the development approaches of different stakeholders?

Key Gaps

A common sentiment repeated by both host and refugee community members was that life in ASALs, both within and without refugee camps, is "hard, and outsiders cannot begin to understand it" (El Host August 14, 2019). In response, refugee and host communities in Turkana and Garissa have developed systems to navigating the relief and development landscapes to mitigate uncertainties and insecurities. Within this system lies a conflicting yet coexisting narrative of gratitude for relief organizations which "keep them alive," and anger towards relief organizations that "barely keep them alive" as months turn into years and decades. Hence eliciting data on unmet needs and gaps is not hard, and the key point of ethnographic analysis is to identify the ways in which individual and group agendas, motivations, and actions can impact the overall narrative of needs/gaps of the different communities and their constituents. Analysis of the narrative data found consensus among refugees and host communities from both counties on the following issues:

Disengagement of Beneficiaries from Interventions and Communication Gaps

One of the most important points made by all beneficiaries was the lack of engagement between themselves and external stakeholders. Questions aimed at eliciting this data were included in both the ethnographic and survey analysis, specifically:

a) To what extent has the host or refugee community been included in development programs in the area (none/very little, moderate, great extent).

The ethnographic data suggested that communication of these programs and the general awareness among the beneficiary community was low. The survey results, presented in Table 2, below, seem to confirm the ethnographic analysis.

Table 2. Survey Question: To what extent has the host or refugee community been included in development programs in the area?

Respondent	None/Very Little	Moderate	Great Extent
Host Community (n = 216)	60%	28%	12%
Refugees (n = 593)	64%	18%	18%

These responses feed into the issue of awareness of development programs geared specifically toward self-sufficiency.

b) Are you aware of any programs that are trying to help people in the host or refugee community become more self-sufficient? (yes/no). If so, do you belong to any such programs? (yes/no)

The ethnographic data suggested similarly that most respondents would be aware that such programs existed but that most of them would not be able to point to a specific program or be aware of some specific program. The ethnographic data also suggested that most people would not be involved in such programs. The survey responses, shown in Table 3, below, reinforce these findings. When asked, some respondents mentioned specific programs such as Uwezo and County Loans (n=7), some mentioned Swiss Contact, UNHCR, WFP, IRC (n=9), and the rest who claimed awareness mentioned generic programming arenas such as livelihood training, youth groups, vocational training, entrepreneurship and business skills, and recycling.

Table 3. Survey Question: Are you aware of any programs that are trying to help people in the host or refugee community become more self-sufficient? If so, do you belong to any such programs?

Respondent	Aware of Programs		Part of any Program	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Host Community (n = 216)	25%	75%	7%	93%
Refugees (n = 590)	33%	67%	11%	89%

While these results might be affected by the sampling method, the ethnographic data and the survey results together suggest that development programs tend to benefit very few people in the refugee or host communities.

Many informants said what engagements did occur were usually scripted and were perceived as performative and restrictive. Most interactions between beneficiary communities and external stakeholders, whether relief agencies, development partners, or external donors, take place in large group meetings, either with community leaders only or with leaders and constituents. The space chosen for these meetings is usually within humanitarian compounds, in the case of refugee areas, or, in host community settlements, under a tree or in a school. Said one KI of a meeting:

> "They told us to come for a meeting and we did. Some visitors were coming. We sat under a tree. No, they sat under a tree, we sat in the sun. We sat in the sun for more than an hour. That's how it is. The visitors and leaders got the shade. They spoke about something they were doing. Some water. We were very interested but half the time, we could not hear what they had to say. We were told not to ask questions that had nothing to do with water. I had many questions about water, but I couldn't hear what they were saying, so I kept quiet. I asked people around me and they couldn't hear either. That's how it is." (EI Host August 12, 2019).

Relief workers at the September 16–18 CRRF workshop in Dadaab encountered a similar problem when a microphone failed to register the voices of speakers. Most participants in the back rows could not hear what was being said, but were too polite or shy to speak up and left without the summary information UNHCR was providing.

As reported in the KII analysis, much of this disengagement and the resulting social distance between relief and development agencies and beneficiaries is based on security concerns, as well as the limited term appointments of relief workers. However, since CRRF implementation is under the umbrella of UNHCR and its changing mandate for relief agencies, UNHCR and other relief agencies have become the primary point of connection between external development stakeholders and refugee host beneficiaries. That means the same communication and outreach modalities, i.e. large group meetings with community leaders, are employed for connecting external development stakeholders and refugees and hosts. Subsequently, many refugee and host beneficiaries are unaware, unaffected, or unimpressed by the external interventions, as they do not directly interact with external stakeholders. For example, in June 2019, Sanivation participated in a public World Refugee Day ceremony in Kakuma. The attendees were selected from refugee and host communities. One man who did not attend the meeting but who had spoken with a friend who did, said:

> "They were talking about flushing toilets. They showed one that flushed. When I heard this, I started laughing. Flushing toilets in Kakuma? I had a home with a flushing toilet back in […] I know how much water is used. Here children beg for water, not money. What are they thinking? It would make people mad if they actually did that or tried. It would fail. There is no water here." (EI Refugee, July 25, 2019).

The point of the above example is not to criticize Sanivation or to even debate the accuracy of what was reported as secondhand information. Sanivation might not even have had a flushing toilet. Perhaps they were showing a video. However, the narrative that Sanivation was thinking of investing in flushing toilets spread across Kakuma and Kalobeyei through conversation and rumor networks. Such informal reports create a powerful perception of Sanivation, and other external development interventions, as distant from the realities of refugee and host community life. Even when external development stakeholders are not associated with relief agencies, they are often negatively impacted by negative perceptions of relief agencies among refugees and hosts. One research team leader from Kakuma was wearing a UNHCR cap

in Dadaab on his first day in the field. He was categorically told to remove it for his own safety. This negative perception of UNHCR is most prominent in Dadaab. Informants often regard the WFP, NRC, and Danish Refugee Council as divisions within UNHCR and level their anger and frustration at UNHCR. Even overt actions taken by the government of Kenya and Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) or the Garissa county government was incorrectly attributed to UNHCR. Thus, especially in Dadaab, and to some extent Kakuma and Kalobeyei, external interventions are often affected by negative perceptions of relief and development agencies.

Another factor playing a major role in disengagement, also due to security protocols, is the presence of armed police escorts accompanying relief officials and their partners into the camps. A motorcade of white Land Cruisers with prominent logos and military green police vehicles plays an enormous role in silencing many complaints, despite the best intentions of relief officials. Among refugees, this is seen as performance of power, and of distance. In its first field excursion to Dadaab (August 21–28,th 2019), the field team arrived with a UNHCR and police escort provided by UNHCR. The fear and trepidation on the faces of people when the researchers drove by was clear, as was the reluctance of informants to engage with interviews. On the second field trip, the team chose to use local transport and refuse the police escort. Relationships improved immediately, with significantly greater engagement and interaction as well as welcome.

Ignoring or Minimizing engagement with refugee accomplishments, skills, and ideas

This came up repeatedly in the KIIs and was a recurring factor in conversations with informants. Most informants have had access to internet technology including live streaming and sharing of videos. They are aware the Kakuma marketplace has been featured on Ted Talks, on Al Jazeera, and on Kenyan news media. Some were also aware of Ben Rawlence's book, *The City of Thorns* that focuses on refugee resilience and adaptability. World Bank studies in 2016 and IFC studies in 2017 have been heavily publicized. But as one man said:

> "They always are surprised when they speak about our skills, our abilities. And then they put it on the news, to say, look how good these people. But when it comes to employing those skills, they are nowhere. They will bring outsiders like you. It is all just drama." (El Refugee, August 12, 2019).

Numerous people in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab are skilled in trade, construction, crafts, medicine, and pharmaceuticals. Many have shown great resilience in establishing and maintaining sustainable employment or businesses within local informal or commercial economies. However, little evidence was found of programming interventions for livelihoods that engaged with the locally available skilled workforce or potential workforce. Rather, training programs relied on outsiders who lacked understanding of the local context. One host community member said in response to a question on the expertise of the instructors:

> "We were taught how to manage accounts and saving. The instructors were good. They are highly educated, and we respect them. I don't know if they have any experience in business." (FGD Hosts, August 15, 2019).

However, other host community members who were part of the focus group discussions qualified this remark. In the words of one woman trader:

> "Yes, we respect them and their education. But they could not show us how to compete with the Somali or the [Ethiopian] Gambelle. That was not even a part of the workshop. But business is in the real world, and we cannot compete with the Somali, the Ethiopians. Can they teach me how to eat my credit for more than 3 months without recovery from clients? I had to learn this by myself, and I can barely make. Most everyone else I know has given up." (EI Host, August 15, 2019).

The lack of engagement with existing skills and abilities of refugee and host communities is tied to a reliance on external experts, national market models, and a general lack of trust in relief dependent refugee and host communities under a larger narrative of refugee camps as thriving entrepreneurial zones.

Interventions Often Fail to Account for Ground Realities

Life in ASALs is hard for anyone, and the lives of refugees and hosts in Turkana and Garissa take place in **disabling environments** often ignored by the intervention models employed by external actors. Most such models assume the presence of enabling environments that simply do not exist on the ground. Programs which train hundreds of carpenters, tailors, and electricians in an environment with limited client base and cash flow may be unable to make meaningful impacts on the lives of beneficiaries. The argument for perpetuating such training programs is that these skills will become useful when and if the refugees are repatriated or resettled. The improbability of either resettlement or successful voluntary repatriation is usually dismissed as a secondary factor in contrast to the broader notion that education of any sort is an "unmitigated good." One elderly man said it had been futile for his son to participate in such training programs:

> "He has completed carpentry, electric, he completed secondary school. There are no jobs, we are not connected, so no incentive to work. He stays at home and we all see his certificates hanging on the walls. He tells me at least once a week that he should never have attended those classes. He is stuck with the empty certificates of completion. He is depressed and doesn't want to do anything." (EI Refugee, August 25, 2019).

Many others interviewed reported similar experiences. They undergone and completed skills training, only to find employment opportunities rare. Furthermore, the idea of CRRF integration of refugees and easing of restrictions on mobility and employment in Kenya is being limited to "designated areas" under the refugee bill, a generous interpretation of which could mean the entire county. Alternatively, "designated areas" could be limited to the area around the camps. Neither of these options offers any forum for high employment.

Additional factors that contribute to the disabling environment in Turkana and Garissa are described below. These factors are offered as considerations for the design of future programs and interventions.

Police Interactions

The interviews, along with the past twenty years of fieldwork in Turkana and other parts of Kenya, strongly suggest deep seated local concern and fear about police force activity and methods in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab. In nearly every interview conducted, informants mentioned police brutality, abuse, and corruption. Although not specifically reported as "police interactions" in the surveys, enumerators stressed that responses to general lack of security, area insecurity, and worries about insecurity focused on two main groups: militia and gangs, and police. One man said, "The police are

more feared than the bandits, because the bandits, the robbers, they come at night. But the police, they can beat us anytime. Every time a policeman comes, or a police car goes by, everyone wonders if they will be beaten. If you are Somali, then you will be harassed. It was good that you came this time without the police, because with them around, no one will tell you anything" (El Refugee, September 17, 2019).

These negative interactions are well-known to refugees and hosts. But relief and development workers also shared their fear of the police. In Dadaab, official convoys from the United Nations (UN) and other agencies are supposed to maintain speeds of 40 km/hr, but police escorts usually drive at speeds of 60-80 km/hr,. One UNHCR driver said police escorts "do what they want, they sometimes go up to a mile ahead and then they stop and wait for us. What will we do if we get attacked when they are speeding ahead? Wait for them to turn around and drive back?" (Dadaab Relief Worker Interview August 25, 2019). Other relief officials confirmed this observation and said the pattern continued, despite numerous complaints to superiors. Another issue affecting traffic between major sub-camps in Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab is security check points where private commercial and personal vehicles are charged 100 – 200 Kenyan shillings for passage. The UNHCR team involved with this report was stopped twice and allowed to pass through one of the checkpoints without payment only after members called the project supervisor and threatened to call the camp manager or deputy chief.

In Kakuma and Kalobeyei, such payments are usually exacted on the off road paths between the camps, where hosts and refugees have to pay 50-200 Kenyan shillings when stopped. For daily commuters, the money exacted at checkpoints take an enormous portion of their daily earnings, substantially reduce the ability to save, invest, expand their business ventures, or even derive enjoyment from buying consumables or goods for their families. One man said, "We joke that it better to drink the money earned in the bar rather than giving it to police on the way back home. At least we enjoy what we have earned, instead of the policeman eating it. Kitu kidogo [little something] here, kitu kidogo there, it becomes big after some time" (Kakuma Host, August 13, 2019).

Although civilians across Kenya have similar complaints, one of the primary differences between police interactions in Turkana and Garissa and down-Kenya is the vast ethnic distance between police and civilians. Police tend to be recruits from down-Kenya and come with preconceived ideas about violence and otherness of both refugees and hosts. These ideas have been shaped over several decades and are prevalent in down-Kenya. A police officer who gave one team leader (Gengo) a ride from Kakuma 1 back to the UNHCR compound on August 13 said, "These refugees are all violent. How can you be friends with them? They have been trained to kill. They should all be sent back. I have been here a year and hate them" (Informal Conversation, Police Officer, Kakuma). While this is just one anecdote, the research team has over the past decade observed commonplace brutality, been targeted for bribes, and have had to bail out friends jailed for the offence of refusing to pay a bribe.

While such behaviors have an attritional and deleterious effect on refugees and hosts, perhaps the largest impact of police interaction has been on local refugee economies and the business community. The system of weekly or monthly payments to police is well-established, and most businesspeople, from small kiosks to large shops, pay regular amounts. However, since 2015, the team has been told increasingly of predatory raids on medium-sized and large-businesses whose shops and homes have been seized, searched, and ransacked. Business owners have been taken to jail unless they pay between 10,000 and 20,000 Kenyan shillings on the spot. If jailed, the cost of release increases to 30,000 or even 50,000 Kenyan shillings. Somali businesses are targeted under the justification of national security. Somali businesspeople interviewed in Kakuma and Dadaab said that they were "tired of the attacks. Many of [their] friends and family had left, either back to Somalia, or to Uganda or even Tanzania or South

Africa" (Kakuma Refugee Trader Interview August 10, 2019). Indeed, it was observed by refugees, hosts, traders, and other informants that neither camp (Kakuma or Dadaab) enjoys the booming economy reported by the World Bank, WFP, NDIDG, or IFC in the recent past.

Shocks and Stressors in High Frequency

Disabling environments are strongly correlated or associated with ASALs and protracted refugee camps, environments characterized by chronic stressors and frequent shocks. Numerous studies suggest most people living in such conditions invest in extended family support networks. Individuals in such networks tend to face shocks either directly or indirectly (shock to close kin/friend) at high frequencies. It is common for an individual or someone close to the individual to experience shocks such as the loss of a family member or friend, illness, or job loss. In such cases, afflicted parties seek emotional, social, and financial or material support through these networks. The frequency of shocks along with the intensity of daily stressors creates an extraordinary level of pressure on individual nodes within such support networks. One woman said:

> "I work as a teacher, and I don't have many weeks when someone I know is not in some kind of trouble. When they ask, you can say no, but giving a little something is part of our tradition. The problem comes because every week you may be asked, sometimes by two or three people. We are all poor and so everyone has some problems at any time." (Host, September 20, 2019).

This is common in impoverished and marginalized communities, where individuals are connected by tight bonding connections, or bonding capital, that offer enough support to survive temporarily but not tangible, lasting solutions. While the networks help distribute support and ensure minimal survival, at any given time, multiple nodes will require support. That means people earning marginally more than friends or family will always be called upon for support, reducing their ability to save or invest. One man said:

> "I have a small shop. I earn some money. But I have to constantly support my people, every week. Every time I have some money that I want to use to expand the shop, something comes up. When you start with low capital like me, any additional costs, even small, like 100 bob every two days will stop my business from growing." (El Refugee, September 21, 2019).

Discrimination and Social Exclusion

Discrimination is rife between and with refugee and host communities in Garissa and Turkana counties. Refugees and hosts have cultural traditions and subsequent behaviors that are in constant flux. However, part of these traditions include social boundaries and systems of inclusion and exclusion, and systems of generating hierarchies.

One prominent example is that of the Somali Bantu, 12,000 of whom live in Kakuma and 25,000 of whom live in Dadaab. While the relationship between the Somali Bantu and Somalis in Kakuma has evolved over the past three decades from discrimination to coexistence, the plight of the Somali Bantu community in Dadaab is dire, as is their plight in Somalia in general. Skilled in manufacturing, construction, and agriculture, Somali Bantu have long been deeply discriminated against. They are called pejorative names, and routinely beaten, exploited, and abused by Somali. This was confirmed in interviews by the research team. Anthropologists and archaeologists have long documented this discrimination, and between1997 and 2003, 12,000 Somali Bantus were resettled in the United States as

refugees. But their current plight has continued deteriorating without notice by relief agencies. One leader said:

> "I have lived my life on the bottom of society, starting in Somalia when my daughter was raped and murdered in front of me, because they wanted our land. We came here, and the Somalis treat us no differently. My son was beaten up two days ago for not paying protection money to a Somali. I was hit last week, even I am leader, by two young Somali men. They (are) whipping a Bantu boy with sticks because they said he stole from them. In front of me, they chewed injera and then spat it out onto the ground and were forcing him to eat. When I tried to stop them, one spat at me, and then the other hit me on the shoulder with a stick. Even the children, six year olds, when I walk down the street they call out *oji* (nothing), *adong* (slave), *sanka dudu* (big nose), other things. I am old enough to be their great-grandmother and I can't say anything. If I do, the women (Somali) will beat me. They wash their hands if they touch us and wash the taps after we've used them. Do you know what that feels like?" (EI Refugee, September 22, 2019).

The situation for the 26,000 Somali Bantu in Dadaab is so dire that their community leaders contacted the High Commissioner for Refugees to plead for relocation to Kakuma. But efforts to address the issue have been undermined by powerful Somali business interested in Nairobi and the county government of Garissa.

The Somali Bantu and the Turkana, who face similar structural but not as physically brutal discrimination by the Kenyan government and by the majority of "down-Kenyans," have faced at a century or more of marginalization. They know that in the case of external interventions, they will not be included, nor will their voice be heard. Their lack of political power and the middlemen role played by relief or development agency lower level staff means that they either stay silent at large group meetings or are excluded from such gatherings.

Kenya's New Refugee Bill

Interviewers also encountered widespread misgivings and general confusion about new refugee legislation passed by Kenya's legislature in August 2019[5]. The legislation does not differ in any major respect from the 2006 Refugee Act, apart from a vague reference to integration (economic, not social or political) and the terms "designated area." As stated before, designated area can mean the whole county or just the camp. Of the refugees who had heard of the bill, there was general feeling that it would not really alter their lives in Kenya and that the position of the Kenyan government to keep refugees in protracted camps with restrictions on movement and employment would remain the status quo despite changes in legal language.

The host communities, however, had differing reactions to the refugee bill, not all positive. In Turkana and Garissa, the term "integration" has come to mean political integration and votes, with the danger that 180,000 refugees in Kakuma and 210,000 refugees in Dadaab could become the prime factors in elections of members of parliaments and governors. They also worried about loss of jobs and resources

[5] GOK Parliament released the report on public participation and feedback on the Refugee Bill on February 15, 2020. This includes comments and recommended amendments to the draft bill by members of the public that were not available in time to include in this report.

such as land, and water if refugees are allowed to settle anywhere in the counties. A UNHCR workshop discussion in Garissa on the September 16, 2019, on allowing Dadaab refugees access to land was vociferously opposed by Garissa county officials, but not because they did not want to share land. Their objections stemmed from the fact that pastoralists have good, albeit informal, systems of managing land distribution and property rights that have evolved over hundreds of years, and that adopting formal market systems on a national level would only result in violence and conflict. The hosts of Turkana expressed similar concerns, as the Turkana land tenure system was based long-established informal rules of exchange and interaction, which they fear would turn violent if opposed. Such informal land tenure systems were viewed with distrust by relief and development actors at the meetings.

Integration

Integration was a contentious topic among refugees and host groups in both counties. In Turkana, the host community around Kakuma and the refugees of Kakuma spoke more comfortably about integration based on their three-decade old system of exchange of labor, goods, friendships, and tensions. As detailed in Vemuru et al. (2016), there are Turkana villages within Kakuma 1 and Kakuma 2, and Turkana small businesses and workers walk freely around the camps. In Kalobeyei, the host community does not see any evidence of integration, with one woman saying: "Integration is dead and buried" (EI Host, August 15, 2019). According to our refugee and host informants and relief officials, no Turkana is allowed to live in the settlement, most Turkana-owned shops allocated by the Bamba Chakula programs have closed down or downsized. Two of the original seventeen Turkana Bamba Chakula traders have switched to private shops in Kalobeyei 1, the only settlement with significant clientele, while the others have relocated to Kalobeyei town and are operating small kiosks rather than the larger shops they operated before 2016. The cost of operating a business in Kalobeyei Village 1 begins with monthly rent of 4,000 Kenyan shillings and daily transport fees between Kalobeyei Town and Kalobeyei Settlement of 400 Kenyan shillings. In both Kakuma and Kalobeyei, host communities seek employment from refugees, streaming in from Kakuma Town and Kalobeyei Town, respectively.

In Garissa, the situation is reversed. The refugees are the ones who walk to the towns of Ifo, Hagadera, Dagahaaley, and Dadaab seeking employment. Hosts speak in positive terms about integration and some claim that because of ethnic similarities, integration is already being achieved, but refugees have different perspectives. While the Somali Bantu and other minorities do not see much difference in the way they are treated by Kenyans, the Somali Somalis complain they are exploited in terms of jobs and pay, their daughters are seen as viable mates for local old men, and they are generally treated as lower class, especially those from the Lower Jubba and Shabelle areas in Somalia. One old man said:

> "If you are from a top clan: Hawiye, Darood, Isaak, and from Kismayu, Mogadishu, then you will be respected. But if you [are] poor pastoralist, even though I am Ogaden, they [host community] will look down on me. One old man, [a] rich man from Garissa married two young girls from this area, 13 and 14 years old. This was last year. They both gave birth to children this year, almost at the same time. They come with money, and big families that are poor might see this as something that is better than nothing. At least the girls have a home." (EI Host, August. 21, 2019).

Key Strengths and Opportunities

One positive aspect of integration in Turkana was the development of women-focused agriculture. Eager to increase crop yields, the women were willing to work with communities experienced in agriculture, such as Congolese, Rwandan, Burundi, and Somali Bantu. One young woman said:

> "My mother worked to carry water for this Congolese family and saw how the men and women would grow tomatoes in their backyard and grow enough to eat and to sell. She learned from them and was able to grow better crops. Maybe, us Turkana women could work with the refugees who can do small agriculture and teach us how to increase the yield and we can teach how to grow crops in areas with less water." (El Host, August 15, 2019).

Young people were also interested in learning skills and being trained for real life business and crafts management by experienced refugees. One young man who worked for a Somali trader in town moved from casual daily loading jobs to a salaried position as a clerk. He established and has successfully maintained his own business. He said:

> "We can see the clear difference between the ways that the Somalis would take care of the customers and how we would be treated in Turkana shops. I learned how to keep customers happy and that's the way to grow the business. I think that refugees who have such skills can teach the youth here, and that would benefit everyone." (El Host, August 13, 2019).

What factors contribute to increased self-sufficiency and resilience of refugee and host community populations?

USAID defines resilience as "the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth" (USAID, 2012). It is, put more simply, the ability to manage shocks and stresses in a way that protects well-being over time.

Resilience is measured by understanding which sources of resilience—or "resilience capacities"—lead to greater well-being in the face of shocks and stresses. Resilience measurement therefore requires analyzing three things: (1) shocks and stresses, (2) resilience capacities, and (3) well-being outcomes.

In order to measure resilience, we will first define these key concepts. A shock is an acute, short-to-medium-term event or episode that causes harm, while a stress is a long-term pressure that causes harm. There are then three key kinds of resilience capacities: (1) absorptive capacities manage the near-term impact of shocks, such as selling livestock after a breadwinner passes away; (2) adaptive capacities anticipate and respond to shocks in advance, such as migrating before the drought strikes; and (3) transformative capacities change the system that stands in the way of well-being, such as improving the legitimacy of a long-corrupt local land office. Finally, the resilience framework is concerned with maintained or improved well-being in the face of shocks and stresses as the outcome of interest. Aid practitioners can focus on a range of well-being outcomes, but food security and economic well-being outcomes are most common.

The three key kinds of resilience capacities helps describe the different ways in which people build their resilience to shocks and stresses. But, what is most important when analyzing resilience is to understand which sources of resilience are linked with greater well-being. This evidence can guide aid practitioners on how to amplify the strengths and resources people already have in the face of adversity, as well as how to target their programming.

In this section, we now turn to the sources of resilience and shocks and stresses reported by refugee and host community respondents in these refugee-hosting counties.

For refugees, sources of resilience help to maintain and improve well-being in the face of protracted displacement. In Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps, the violence of forced displacement, of the cross-border migration journey into the camps, and the registration phase are an initial and significant set of shocks that then become a protracted stress. These initial shocks are then compounded by additional shocks provided by the frequency of violence (theft, assault, murder, rape) as well as the stress of an overarching culture of fear in the refugee camps and surrounding areas.

For host communities in the northern Kenyan ASALs, sources of resilience help to maintain and improve well-being in the face of the frequent shocks emerging from droughts, floods, and endemic violence from raiding activities as well inter-group conflicts. In Garissa and Turkana, catastrophic famines have occurred at least once a decade in the past 50 years, with droughts, floods, locusts, and other related environmental shocks being a normative feature of these landscapes. These shocks are compounded by shocks from endemic inter- and intra-group violence within these areas from livestock raiding and clashes with national security forces.

Refugees and host community members alike both experience idiosyncratic shocks, too, such as suffering from illness and disability or losing a loved one or income. The culture of fear and worries over personal or group safety in the face of violence within and outside the camps and settlements is a constant stress for many, in addition to the stress of lack of access to money, food, health, education, and other daily necessities. Both refugees and host communities in both regions also suffer from systemic economic marginalization and discrimination (see background) as well as legal restrictions (refugees) by the Kenyan Government that affects their abilities to seek livelihood opportunities, market access, quality education, and other pathways to building self-sufficient lives.

Self-sufficiency, on the other hand, is defined by USAID as the capacity to plan, finance, and implement solutions to local development challenges. A related definition used by UNHCR is "the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity." In this definition, self-sufficient persons lead productive and independent lives while contributing to the broader community. Applied specifically to refugees, self-sufficiency is seen as the ability for refugees to be free from dependence on humanitarian assistance, largely through livelihood opportunities. As the project scope suggested, "Focusing solely on an economic definition is limited as it does not capture the diversity of personal circumstances or the non-economic and psychosocial aspects specific to refugees' well-being. A holistic approach, involving a range of actors, to achieving self-sufficiency focuses on economic as well as social, cultural, and practical aspects of refugee self-sufficiency."

The concepts of self-sufficiency and resilience are interrelated, but they also are not the same. For instance, sudden shocks or the prevalence of stresses can erode existing levels of self-sufficiency or negate gains in self-sufficiency from development interventions. This is especially true in resource-strained and environmentally fragile places such as Turkana and Garissa counties, where the bulk of beneficiaries still live close to poverty conditions. Still, we believe that there is a strong relationship between these two concepts. Resilience—the ability to manage shocks and stresses in a way that maintains and protects well-being—can help people maintain their self-sufficiency over time. At the same time, self-sufficiency could be a well-being outcome of interest for resilience efforts. A key difference is

that self-sufficiency does not specifically focus on shocks and stresses, but the attributes of self-sufficient people likely overlap with key sources of resilience.

In the next section, we now turn to the key findings from our analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative data, along with implications for future programming.

Regression Analysis – Key Findings

Our quantitative analysis identifies the sources of resilience that help refugees and hosts maintain and improve well-being defined through economic well-being (access to assets categorized by necessities, comforts, and luxuries, and controlled for age and gender) and nutritional security (body fat percentage controlled for age) in the face of the major shock of displacement (refugees) as well as the frequent shocks faced by both groups in ASAL conditions (frequent drought, periodic famines, floods, and violence) and the stresses of living in protracted camp settings and ASALs.[6] The research team first analyzed the survey data using ordinary least squares (OLS) and logit linear regression models. The findings are divided into negative factors, which can be understood as shocks and stresses, and positive factors, which can be understood as sources of resilience.[7]

Regression Analysis on Economic Well-being

We collected and categorized data on economic material household assets owned or accessed by host and refugee informants into categories of luxury, comfort, and necessity. These assets included luxuries (TVs, smartphones, DVD/Blu-ray, cabinets, dressers, sofas, curtains, gas fuel), comforts (bed frames, ceramic cups and plates, glass cups and plates, radio/stereo, charcoal fuel), and necessities (carpet, mattress, plastic cups and plates, firewood fuel).

The regression analysis results are shown in Table 4, below. We used logistical regression to identify the variables that would predict the presence of household assets as luxuries, comforts, and necessities in the homes of host and refugee informants across all three camps.

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[6]Ideally, resilience measurement includes an interaction term between an index of shocks and stresses and key resilience capacities as collected from individual and household level survey data. This approach provides highly detailed data on both the covariate and idiosyncratic shocks and stresses each person is managing. The regression analysis in this report does not include survey data on specific shocks and stresses experienced by each individual. Instead, the quantitative analysis focuses on people's collective experience with covariate shocks (e.g., experiencing conflict and subsequent displacement for refugees, and drought, famine, and floods for host communities). The ethnographic data then sheds light on the idiosyncratic shocks that refugees and host community members experience, as well as how they manage these additional shocks and stresses.

[7] As noted in the desk review and in the methodology, despite our relationships of trust with the respondents, it is highly likely that some respondents might not give accurate/precise answers to sensitive questions. We decided to report all findings where the observed p-values were lower than or equal to 0.1 and whose significance was backed by the ethnographic data. The camp and population that were selected as the comparison points for the refugee data analysis were Kakuma 1 and the Somali community based on the higher amount of studies on Kakuma 1 (compared with Kalobeyei and Dadaab) and the relative affluence of the Somali community. The settlement and population chosen as the comparison points for the host data analysis were Kakuma Town and the Turkana Community as this site and the Turkana population have been the focus of studies far longer and more intensively than either Kalobeyei or Dadaab.

Regression Analysis on Sum of Skin Folds and Body Fat Percentage as Outcomes

Data on the food security—specifically nutrition security—of refugees and hosts were collected through measurement of height, weight, and sum of skin folds. These variables have a strong relationship with nutritional security among the host and refugee informants across all three camps.

The regression analysis results shown below are categorized into practitioner-friendly groups: infrastructure, economic, psychological (worries), place-based, and social and cultural factors. We explain each of these factors and contextualize them using our ethnographic data.

Table 4. Regression Analysis Results – Predictors of Economic Assets

Hosts

	Necessities	Comforts	Luxuries
Sources of Resilience		Living in Dadaab Having a job Food consumption score	Having a job Food consumption score **Time with friends** Worries about food
Stresses and Negative Factors	Living in Kalobeyei	**Living in Kalobeyei** Worries about jobs Self-reported health ratings	Being male Worries about security

Refugees

	Necessities	Comforts	Luxuries
Sources of Resilience	Local money sources Worries about money	Living Kalobeyei Remittances Worries about security	**Local money sources** **Time with friends**
Stresses and Negative Factors	**Living in Dadaab** **Difficulty in accessing water** **Worries about water** Worries about jobs Lack of hope in the short term **Lack of hope in the long term**	**Difficulty accessing water** Negative feelings Satisfaction with relationships **Worries about jobs** Lack of hope in the short term	**Being South-Sudanese** Being Sudanese/Darfuri **Eating at other peoples' homes** **Negative feelings**

Note: bolded variables are significant at the p≤0.01 level

Regression Analysis on Nutritional Security

Data on the food security—specifically nutrition security—of refugees and hosts were collected through measurement of height, weight, and sum of skin folds. These variables have a strong relationship with nutritional security among the host and refugee informants across all three camps.

The regression analysis results are shown in Table 5, below. We have categorized these results into practitioner-friendly groups: infrastructure, economic, psychological (worries), place-based, and social and cultural factors. We then explain each of these factors and contextualize them using our ethnographic data.

Table 5. Regression Analysis Results – Predictors of Nutritional Security

Hosts	Women	Men
Sources of Resilience	Having a Job Time with friends	Local money sources **Time with friends**
Stresses and Negative Factors	Living in Kalobeyei Being older Difficulty in accessing water	Self-assessment of health Lack of access to healthy foods Worries about food Worries about jobs

Refugees	Women	Men
Sources of Resilience		Being older Hope: Long Term Worries about money
Stresses and Negative Factors	**Nationality: South Sudanese** Nationality: Congolese Nationality: Sudanese/Darfuri **Nationality: Rwandan** Duration of time in the camp	Living in Kalobeyei Living in Kakuma 2 **Living in Kakuma 3** Living in Dagahaaley **Living in Hagadera** Nationality: South Sudanese Nationality: Sudanese/Darfuri **Nationality: Rwandan** Nationality: Burundian Lack of community integration Eating at other people's homes

Note: bolded variables are significant at the p≤0.01 level

Overall Findings

These regression analysis findings point to several key takeaways on sources of resilience and levels of self-sufficiency for refugees.

First, place matters. A refugee's country of origin as well as where they live can stand in the way of greater resilience. Certain camps are more resilient than others, while living in certain camps has a negative impact on well-being. Specifically, living in Kalobeyei (refugee women), Kakuma 2 and 3 (in the Kakuma area) or Hagadera and Dagahaaley (in the Dadaab area) has a negative impact on well-being. Ethnicity matters, too. For men, being South Sudanese, Rwandan, Burundian, or Sudanese/Darfuri has a negative relationship with well-being. For refugee women, being Congolese, South Sudanese, Sudanese/Darfuri, or Rwandan has a negative impact on well-being. Lack of community integration also has a negative relationship with well-being.

Second, social and psychological factors matter most for strengthening refugees' resilience. When it comes to nutritional security, being ***hopeful about the future*** is a significant source of resilience for refugee men. Meanwhile, ***length of time in the camp*** **negatively predicts** ***well-being***

for refugee women. When it comes to economic well-being, ***time with friends*** is a significant source of resilience. Worrying about water, jobs, food, and having negative feelings all stood in the way of greater resilience for refugees.

Finally, economic factors matter too, but they often have a social dimension, as many jobs and access to sources of cash or other forms of income are mediated through social relationships. When it comes to economic well-being, ***local money sources*** are an important source of resilience for refugees. Local money sources are social groups and relationships that provide an informal financial safety net for those in need.

The regression analysis findings also offer new insights on hosts and their well-being or self-sufficiency.

First, **place also matters** for the hosts. **Living in Kalobeyei Town or near the Kalobeyei Settlement** has a strong, negative relationship with economic well-being and nutritional security,, especially for Turkana women. As the previous sections suggest, while Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement is organically evolving into a classic relief-dependent refugee camp with opportunities for refugee entrepreneurs, the host community has not benefited. Rather, the socio-economic well-being of the host community in Kalobeyei Town and the surrounding areas seem to have declined rapidly after the initiation of KISEDP. This is a serious concern and a significant source of anger and frustration for the host community, who report decline of their businesses in both Kalobeyei Settlement (due to competition from the refugee traders) and Kalobeyei Town (after the traders relocated to Kalobeyei Settlement, saw their businesses collapse and were unable to restart their businesses in town).

Second, **social and psychological factors** matter significantly for host communities. Common stresses linked with lower well-being are **worries about jobs security, water difficulties, health, being male, and being older**. Conversely, **spending time with friends** has a strong, positive relationship with both economic well-being and nutritional security.

Finally, the two most significant **economic factors** for economic well-being and nutritional security were **local money sources and having a job**. As stated earlier, local money sources are social groups and relationships that provide an informal financial safety net for those in need. For host men who engage in bond friendships, such sources are strong predictors of higher access to necessities. Having a job is a strong predictor of higher access to assets and nutritional security for host women across all the three study sites, but not for men. Women in pastoralist communities can and do diversify their livelihood activities as they are not culturally restricted to pastoralism as men are, and hence emerge as the most reliable providers for their families.

While this analysis helps to identify key factors that impede or strengthen the resilience of both refugee and host communities, they also help in understanding the barriers to self-sufficiency in these areas for both communities. As environmentally stressed and marginalized regions with high levels of poverty (79-92% in Turkana, 54-71% in Garissa), and given the frequency of climatic shocks and endemic violence in both areas, the bulk of the population is dependent on external support, whether informally through kin and friendship networks or through formal development and relief interventions. The proportion of gainfully employed persons (salaried or self-employment) in both counties is low. Such individuals also end up being the primary sources of support against both daily needs and shocks to their extended kin.

For refugees, the bulk of the populations are relief or remittance dependent by nature of being a resident of the refugee camps/settlement. Many have skills in crafts production (Somali, Congolese, Ethiopian), agriculture (South Sudanese, Congolese, Rwandan, Burundian), and pastoralism (Somali,

South Sudanese). These groups have a high potential for self-sufficiency but are restricted from using their skills and know-how to enhance their self-sufficiency due to legal constraints, and more important, lack of capital. The refugees who come from business cultures (Ethiopian Oromo and Amhara, higher level Somali clans: Darood, Hawiye, Isaak, etc.) are part of global trading diaspora and have access to capital and credit from their own networks and hence have already achieved self-sufficiency. As we have already discussed earlier, these groups dominate most businesses in these camps and are (mistakenly) seen as a generalizable model that can be emulated by everyone.

The following section offers ethnographic insights on why and how certain factors stand in the way of greater resilience and enhanced self-sufficiency, while also shedding light on how key sources of resilience "work."

Infrastructure Factors

Difficulty accessing water was the infrastructure factor that had the greatest negative impact on well-being for both refugees and hosts. Given the general impoverishment and lack of infrastructure in Garissa and Turkana counties, it is surprising that relatively few infrastructure variables emerged in the analyses as key negative predictors of either economic or nutritional resilience. This variable was negatively correlated with the ability to access both necessities and comforts for refugees in all the three camps and was similarly negatively correlated with nutritional security for Turkana host women in both Kakuma and Kalobeyei. For refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma with access to free water as part of the humanitarian relief process, the primary difficulty lies in fetching water from the boreholes. Wealthier refugees hire local help to fetch water, but poorer refugees have to fetch water themselves. These activities are often fraught with arguments over lines, water use, and constant fear the boreholes will run dry and families lack water for drinking, cooking, or cleaning. If unchecked, these arguments can expand and devolve into intra- and inter-group conflict and add to the general psychosocial stress of insecurity that characterizes life in these areas. Indeed, worries about water are one of the key sources of psychological stress in both refugee camps and surrounding areas, especially in Turkana.

Economic Factors

It is unsurprising that having a job has a positive impact on both nutritional security and economic well-being for the host community. As mentioned in the previous section, massive deficits exist in regular employment in these regions for both host and refugee communities. Most jobs at both high and low wage levels are time-limited and relatively infrequent.

For host women in Turkana and Garissa counties, there are no cultural restrictions on pursuing diversified sources of employment through low paying jobs. Host Turkana and Somali men either practice subsistence pastoralism or seek higher paying jobs in NGOs and other relief and development agencies. Having a relatively reliable source of income imparts nutritional resilience security to host community women and enables them to provide for their children and families. Still, that many jobs undertaken primarily by host women—collecting firewood, making charcoal, fence construction, and small enterprises—while sufficient to keep the women and their families at survival level, expose the women to severe physical danger including violent assault, theft, and rape.

For the host community men who cannot find employment in NGOs and whose herds have been affected by droughts or raiding, local money sources have a strong relationship with nutritional security. Local money sources are social groups and relationships that provide an informal financial safety net for

those in need. For instance, in the pastoral exchange system of the "bond friendship," the person in need is entitled to partial or full satisfaction of their immediate needs from the recipient of the ask. One man explained, "My herd died, and I have not been able to get animals. I have to rely on my friends and family for support. If they are [Turkana], I ask for what I need. My friend knows that I only ask for what I need. If they are outsiders, I ask for something, and something more. They are on my land and they owe me. They don't give much, but it keeps me fed" (EI Host Community, Kalobeyei, August 14, 2019). For host men, dependence on such exchange systems has a strong relationship with nutritional security. One man explained, "When you get money from few or none, you can't buy much, and no healthy food. You can't cook, because you need a place, you need fuel. So you eat mandazi or chips, something to fill you. But that is not healthy" (EI Host, Dadaab, August 25, 2019).

The analysis of refugee responses suggested the key economic variables that positively predicted access to assets were socially mediated economic support networks, either from local money sources or long-distance remittances. Given that most refugees face legal restrictions and are barred from meaningful formal employment, these socioeconomic support networks have the strongest relationship with economic well-being. Such support networks also enable single men from the refugee community to access nutrition beyond their relief package and in the absence of income through local or long-distance remittances, when they eat at homes of friends or family homes. However, as reported in other studies (Gengo 2019; Oka et al. 2019), eating at other peoples' homes is a form of nutritional dependence that acts as a stressor and negatively impacts both economic and nutritional well-being.

Psychological Factor

Worrying about water, jobs, food, security and having negative feelings all stood in the way of greater well-being for both refugees and hosts. Meanwhile, being hopeful about the future and aspirations were an important source of resilience for refugee men. Based on our past and ongoing ethnographic research, worries about water, food, and employment are daily occurrences, and weigh heavily and constantly on people's minds. In both Turkana and Garissa, these worries have a negative impact on economic well-being.

Worries about security had a negative relationship with economic well-being for hosts, while (surprisingly) these worries have a positive relationship with economic well-being for refugees who report access to comforts.[8] This seemingly unexpected paired finding may be explained by the fear of attack by local militia/gangs for those whose socio-economic status is more visible but not high enough to ensure police protection. Those refugees worried about security tend to have a middle level access to assets (comforts) and thus have greater visibility as targets, but may not have the socio-economic influence to secure police protection. The refugees who enjoy greater access to assets (luxuries) and those who have access only to basic necessities report security worries as a stressor, being negatively correlated with their well-being. The worries over security negatively affect host well-being in both

[8] Another surprising finding was that among the refugee community in both counties, worries about money positively predict greater access to necessities and nutritional security (refugee men). Worries about food positively predict greater access to luxuries for hosts. While this is unexpected, it could be a measurement error or have a deeper cultural or contextual basis that we do not yet know.

counties, as they are not as well protected by the Kenyan police, who tend to be from down-Kenya (i.e., not-Somali or non-Turkana). One man explained:

> "I always have to worry about theft and burglary, about assault, because people know that I have a job, and I have bought things, good things. Last year, my house was robbed, but when I went to the police, they said that it was partially my fault, that when I bought a car, thieves heard about it as far as Loki[Choggio], and they could do nothing. So I worry" (El Kakuma Host Community, August 13, 2019)

Location

Place matters for well-being outcomes. The camp or area where people live has a strong relationship with nutritional security and economic well-being for both refugee and host communities. Specifically for the Turkana host community, being residents of Kalobeyei town and the areas surrounding Kalobeyei Settlement was a key factor for lower economic well-being. Living in Kalobeyei Town had a negative relationship with nutritional security for host women, while living in Kalobeyei settlement similarly had a negative relationship with nutritional security for refugee men.

These findings, while discouraging, fit squarely within previous findings by various studies that the establishment of Kalobeyei Settlement had a significantly negative impact on Kalobeyei town and its social economy. As mentioned previously, the intended integration has not been achieved and the benefits of the economy and the Bamba Chakula cash conversion has primarily benefited the refugees in Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement, especially Village 1, but not the hosts of Kalobeyei. Most of the businesses in all three Kalobeyei Settlement villages belong to refugees, and the host community has been effectively excluded from these benefits. While some shops are owned by host community members, these tend to be Meru or Kikuyu businessmen from down-Kenya, not Turkana. There is palpable and readily observable anger aimed at aid agencies and their interventions that, according to our informants, have consistently failed to deliver promised results.

It is important to note that our ethnographic data reveals that there is important variation in economic well-being in Kalobeyei Settlement. Kalobeyei Village 1 is transforming into a relief-dependent refugee camp like (albeit on a smaller scale than) Kakuma 1, with fully established commercial and residential real estate markets. Just as refugees settled in Kakuma 2 and 3 (and to lesser extent Kakuma 4) have consistently attempted to resettle informally in Kakuma 1, residents of Kalobeyei Villages 2 and 3 are migrating to Kalobeyei Village 1. This desirability of Kalobeyei 1 is primarily based on convenience and transport costs. Bamba Chakula for Kalobeyei residents can only be used in Kalobeyei shops. Hence those residents who cannot afford to stay in Kakuma 1 and go to Kalobeyei just for the Bamba Chakula transaction, Kalobeyei 1 is a better option than Kalobeyei 2 or 3, as it has more shops, restaurants, and other service-oriented businesses. Furthermore, given the depressed economy in Kakuma due to the increased outflow of the Somali business community, many Congolese and Burundian residents in Kakuma are purchasing or renting shop spaces in Kalobeyei Village 1. Their primary draw is that the residents of Kalobeyei Settlement have more access to cash (due to informal conversion of Bamba Chakula food purchases to cash as outlined in Oka et al. 2019), and there is less competition in Kalobeyei than in Kakuma. Indeed, living in Kalobeyei is a strong predictor for greater access to comforts for refugees but not necessities or luxuries, where it is counter-predictive.

There is little predictive difference between Dadaab and Kakuma in predicting either economic or nutritional well-being for both hosts and refugees. However, living in Dadaab does strongly predict

greater access to comforts for hosts. Again, the host community in Garissa is marginally better off than the refugees, and this finding might apply to those members of the host community who have jobs or are self-employed.

Social and Cultural

Within the refugee communities, national and ethnic origins can have a negative impact on nutritional security and economic well-being. Being South Sudanese, Sudanese, and Darfuri is linked with lower economic well-being and nutritional security for both refugee men and women from these communities, along with Rwandan men and women, Congolese women, and Burundian men (mostly in Kalobeyei Settlement, and Kakuma 2, 3). While fluctuating relief rations over the past five years explains part of this finding, we suggest that answer might lie in the dominance of local economic business activities by Somali and Ethiopian communities and the general lack of business skills among the South Sudanese communities. The South Sudanese community is also frequently at the center of conflict within and between refugee and host community groups in Kakuma. As the numerically dominant community in Kakuma and Kalobeyei, they have frequently clashed with the host Turkana, with the Somali, and the Burundian and Congolese communities. Ethnographic interviews identify high levels of post-conflict trauma, too, especially for new arrivals, which can translate into difficulties in adapting to Kakuma/Kalobeyei camp settings.

Next to the South Sudanese, the community that clashes with the local Turkana is the Somali, largely over disagreements in exchange of labor and goods. Somali are fully engaged in local markets and market behaviors and are also the largest employer of Turkana. The Turkana (especially the pastoralists) practice non-market exchange logic in their transactions. Disagreements emerge over wages, payment, and other disputes. Somalis as the wealthiest community are also targeted for theft, assault, rape, and other acts of violence by local gangs. However, barring a serious clash in July 2019, the conflict between the Somali (and other refugee communities) in Turkana and the Turkana communities remains largely non-violent.

In Dadaab, the primary conflicts between refugees and hosts emerge over water and firewood extraction, but not land for pastoralism. There is an unspoken accord (also seen in Turkana) that grazing rights are available to all pastoralists. While this might be a venue for increased investment in livestock herding, we cannot predict the outcomes of allowing refugees to graze their livestock freely, especially in Turkana, where the refugee pastoralist communities would include South Sudanese Nuer and Dinka, and Somali.

Perhaps the strongest key finding from the regression analyses is the importance of spending time with friends. Spending time with friends has a strong and positive relationship with economic well-being for both refugees and hosts, and with nutritional security for host men and women across all camps and areas. This is a highly important finding as it foregrounds the importance of positive social networks as key sources of resilience for both communities. When asked about friendship and spending time with friends, both host and refugee community informants stated that "without friends, someone to talk to, share food with, to discuss worries, to chew *mira*, smoke, to tell jokes, life in these camps and areas would be unbearable" (EI Host, Dadaab September 21, 2019). It should be noted that the socio-economic support networks listed in the economic factors are primarily the result of social networks and cultural exchange processes; local money sources and remittances are mediated by and in turn reinforce social relationships.

Regression Analysis Key Takeaways

In summary, the regression analyses of both economic and nutritional indicators enabled the identification of numerous positive and negative factors associated with resilience and with barriers or strengths for self-sufficiency.

- Psychological factors really matter. Being hopeful about the future and time with friends are significant sources of resilience for refugees. Meanwhile, negative feelings and worries have a negative impact on well-being across both refugees and hosts.
- Social factors are critical, too. Spending time with friends is linked with economic well-being for refugees and nutritional security for hosts. This space allows for exchange of ideas, for sharing concerns, and seeking and sharing resources.
- For refugees, the economic sources of resilience that matters most have a social dimension, too. For instance, local money sources are the most important economic factor for resilience, which refers to social groups and relationships that provide an informal financial safety net for those in need.
- Jobs and employment have a strong relationship with well-being for hosts in both counties but not significantly so for refugees. Jobs available for the bulk of the people tend to be low skill/pay and (especially) for women and enable survival but also come with risk of physical assault. However, jobs of any sort are a key step for self-sufficiency, especially for women.
- There is sustained dependence on socio-economic support networks among host community men and for refugees in accessing assets and nutrition. This dependence enables survival but is a barrier to self-sufficiency.
- Difficulty in accessing water and worries about water have a negative impact on resilience in both counties, but especially in Turkana and more so in Kalobeyei.
- Both refugee and host community lives are filled with chronic stresses stemming from worries about money and security. Those with more capital are worried about security given their greater visibility in the camps or surrounding areas and are often asked by others for assistance.
- Place also matters: there are different cultural, social, and political economies for each settlement, with some camps/settlements (Kakuma 1 and 4, Kakuma Town, Kalobeyei Village 1, Dadaab Town, and Ifo) showing better overall economic and nutritional security than others (Kakuma 2, 3, Kalobeyei Villages 2, 3, Kalobeyei Town, Hagadera, and Daghaley). Physical geography, camp history, market size, access to relief services, and other factors contribute to these differences.
- Group identity matters, too. Nationality and ethnicity also contribute to resilience and self-sufficiency in that some communities such as the Somali and Ethiopians dominate businesses to the exclusion of others. This is not intentional but largely a product of the enduring presence of Somali and Ethiopian trading communities in local, regional, and global business systems and global diaspora access to capital, credit, and skills.

Correspondence Analysis

The previous section delivered the key findings from our survey data and regression analysis around two key well-being outcomes: economic well-being and nutritional security. We specifically identified key sources of resilience that help refugees maintain their well-being in the face of protracted displacement, such as *hope for the future*, *time with friends*, and *informal social safety nets*. These sources of resilience matter because practitioners can then design interventions to amplify these identified sources of

resilience. We also identified key stresses and other factors that have a negative impact on resilience and well-being. Factors such as *negative feelings and worries*, *being from a certain settlement or place of origin that is more marginalized*, and otherwise *not being integrated in a community* all have a negative impact on resilience and well-being. Interventions should aim to mitigate these stresses as well.

We now expand our analysis beyond these topline takeaways; we want to know more about the relationship among these factors and what they "look like" on the ground. This report has found that programming in Kakuma and Dadaab often are not contextualized and do not include feedback loops with beneficiaries. Providing greater insight on how these factors play out on the ground is an important step toward more relevant and context-driven programming.

Moreover, we know that endogeneity can be an issue with linear modeling. Endogeneity is when there is a feedback loop between our outcome of interest and the variable we are saying explains that outcome. For instance, in the quantitative analysis, we found that negative feelings are linked to lower economic well-being. But it is just as likely that lower economic well-being leads to negative feelings. What is more, regression analysis did not indicate any significant role played by religion, lack of sleep, or PTSD—even though (and probably because) these are ubiquitous within these communities. More in-depth data analysis can identify more nuanced types and drivers of vulnerability (identified as a key issue and gap in studies using linear assessment by the 2016 WFP Household Vulnerability study conducted by Kimetrica (Guyat et al., 2016)). For instance, the Somali Bantu or the Turkana of Kalobeyei are more vulnerable and have different programming needs than the Somali or the Ethiopians. Sub-groups within the latter two communities (displaced pastoralists and farmers) would have different needs than the business communities within these groups. Individuals with a regular income and more assets will be concerned about savings, social mobility, quality of health care and education, and job satisfaction, while those who are just managing are concerned about food, hunger, and basic access to health care and education.

As a result, we will rely on a well-established multi-variate technique—MCA)—that can account for endogeneity and the relationship between variables. We combine MCA with our ethnographic data to better understand the lived realities of hosts and refugees and the interdependent relationships between the factors we have been discussing. MCA can identify which variables (e.g., economic, social, cultural) are clustered together, as well as which individuals are clustered together based on their survey responses. As a result of what mathematicians call triangular inequality, those individuals that report certain variables will tend to cluster together. This allows us to map on a graph exactly which groups are affected by what cluster of variables (details and methodology as well the graphs showing clustering of variables and individuals are covered in Annex 1).

This technique also allowed us to measure the differential prevalence/impact of all the economic, psychological, social, and other variables included in the questionnaire (n=117 response categories for refugees; n=106 response categories for hosts) on the respondents. To ensure that the MCA was truly presenting an accurate distribution of respondents based on their well-being, the maps that showed the economic well-being (necessities, comforts, luxuries) and nutritional security (BMI, sum of skin folds, and body fat percentage) of respondents were compared with the raw data. This ensured that the clustering of respondents matched their distribution along the economic and nutritional well-being spectrum. This also enabled us to clearly differentiate between refugees and hosts with higher access to capital and those with lower access to capital. As in any impoverished landscape, the majority of individuals clustered in the low capital areas, and only a small proportion were clustered in higher-proportion areas. The latter also tended to have their own businesses, jobs, higher levels of remittances, and regional/global access to credit and capital. Most important, these variable clusters for both groups

showed significant spatial distance between each respondent group. For example, worries and stressors for higher-capital refugees and hosts include education, security, access to healthy foods, fruits, vegetables, sugar, and having to support extended kin. These reflect their concerns, given their higher access to education and higher quality of consumables. The worries and stressors for lower capital refugees and hosts (the bulk of both populations) include access to basic food, water, safety, lack of sleep, theft, flooding, and discrimination by Kenyans. These reflect the concerns shared by people for whom basic necessities and concerns over security (children's lives) are more important than the quality of education or food.

Key Sources of Resilience in the Kenyan Context as Revealed in the Correspondence Analysis

In its 2018 *Resilience Evidence Forum Report*, the USAID Center for Resilience identified the following key sources of resilience that transcend contexts:

- Social Capital
- Financial Inclusion
- Aspirations, Self-Efficacy, Confidence to Adapt
- Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality
- Diversification of Livelihood Risk
- The Sustainability of Natural Resources
- Access to Markets

The following sections outline the relevance and applicability of each potential source of resilience for refugees and host communities in Kakuma and Garissa counties as shown in the MCA and ethnographic analysis, with particular attention to key barriers and implications for future programming.

Social Capital

Social capital can be a key source of resilience for refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab, but can undermine sources of resilience. For instance, constantly absorbing the shocks of those immediately around them can wear away at common sources of resilience such as savings and assets. For the worst-off, social capital is often an important way to access support in times of need. Those with the highest socioeconomic status are often able to better navigate requests for support and control how they distribute resources. This can be seen clearly in the Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Dadaab data, where interactions with friends, including amount of time spent with friends, and communities in the form of prayer and faith-based interactions had a strong relationship with economic well-being and nutritional resilience.

Remittances and other socio-economic networks and employment serve as major sources of resilience for both groups. Refugees and hosts with higher capital report remittances and employment as sources of resilience at the highest levels. Those with lower capital also report remittances and other socio-economic support networks as important sources of resilience but not at the higher or the highest levels since most of them get little or sporadic access to remittances. However, many of the refugees

and hosts in the latter groups are secondary recipients in what Omata (2017) calls "remittance clusters" (also covered in the desk review). These individuals receive limited amounts of money or resources for immediate or emergency needs from those with remittances. One woman said,

> "My children and I are alone, the food we get from the UN [WFP] is not enough. The Bamba Chakula is not enough. I have tried to do many small businesses, eggs, groundnuts, nothing worked. Sometimes, I can find work making injera. But I have two cousins, they get money from their family in Dubai. When they can, they give me some. It keeps us going, but I cannot rely on this" (El Refugee, Dadaab, September 20, 2019).

Financial Inclusion

Informal financial inclusion is an important source of resilience in Dadaab and Kakuma. We find that higher socio-economic status are correlated with better friendships as well as higher nutritional security. However, there are a number of key factors that often undermine this source of resilience for refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma. For one, security forces are corrupt and demand bribes. For another, a majority of refugees and hosts have limited mobility and access to markets and capital. Those who are best off are often thriving because of remittances from relatives and their social networks. Beyond this, there are few opportunities for meaningful access to savings, credit, and insurance. Furthermore, the strain placed on earners due to their need to absorb shocks to their own lives or the lives of their friends and extended kin members creates further attrition to any plans for building credit, generating savings, and thereby growing their own social insurance and financial buffering against shocks and stressors.

There are also social factors that impede financial inclusion of vulnerable and marginalized groups and ethnic minorities. The Turkana in Kakuma/Kalobeyei and the Bantus (Somali Bantu) are excluded from both formal and informal financial systems that could give them access to greater capital and credit. Somali traders from higher status clans, Ethiopians, or Kenyan Meru/Kikuyu have little trouble gaining access to both formal and informal financial systems through both overt and covert means, due to established patronage and influence networks. Social capital and access to informal and formal financial inclusion are strongly linked. The implications for programming are for enhancing social capital are that any programming so targeted will positively affect informal access to credit/capital and formal financial inclusion.

Aspirations, Self-Efficacy, Confidence to Adapt

Aspirations, self-efficacy, and confidence to adapt can be important sources of resilience in Dadaab and Kakuma. For instance, the team's research found that those with confidence to adapt can strategically plan how they distribute resources to those seeking assistance, while those without can struggle to stay afloat. Specifically, the findings show that long term aspirations and hope for the future are linked with greater resilience. However, a number of key factors often undermine this source of resilience for refugees in Dadaab and Kakuma. The most important is that most refugees are highly traumatized. The physiological and psychosocial impact of conflict and displacement creates a significant hurdle to developing aspirations, self-efficacy, and confidence to adapt. These impacts express themselves differently across cultures and hence are difficult to diagnose clinically.

Negative feelings are reported as significant stress for all groups except host communities with higher capital. Refugees from both higher and lower capital groups report negative feelings that arise from their

violent displacement and then compounded by the protracted camp setting. One of the leaders of the South Sudanese Nuer community in Ifo stated:

> "I can never forget the day I left my home. My family was killed. I left with my remaining children in 2000. I come to Kakuma, and the Dinka have a revenge claim. They were going to kill me. So they [UNHCR and DRA] brought me here to Dadaab in 2008. I cannot support my family, I cannot find work. I was in Ifo 2, and then they shut it down and moved here. I have lost hope for myself but not for my children. I live, every day, just for them" (EI Refugee, Dadaab, August 23, 2019).

The host community with lower capital in both counties listed negative feelings linked to being discriminated against, to the daily struggle to find work, to make enough to feed the family, and low/no expectation that anything was going to help. One man said,

> "As a Somali Kenyan, I still have to pay money to cross checkpoint, even with an ID. I do construction now, and it never pays enough. My herd died early this year [in the March 2019 drought], and I am lost without it. Luckily, I am single and can depend on family and friends. But don't stop thinking that nothing is going to work out" (EI Host, Dadaab, September 21, 2019).

Both groups with lower capital report lack of sleep as a highly significant stressor while this factor was not reported by groups with higher capital. While we had expected lack of sleep and negative feelings to show up at the highest level of significance for groups with lower capital, it is likely that the ubiquity of this condition leads to its acceptance as normal. The ethnographic interviews reflected this ubiquity across refugees and hosts, as summed by one person:

> "Everything keeps us awake: nightmares, worries, the insecurity, the violence, illness. … I cannot remember a night that I have slept through in the past 12 years I have been here in Dadaab" (EI Refugee Dadaab August 24, 2019).

Similar responses came from the host community, where one woman said,

> "Here, most worry about food until it is not a worry that you talk about. For me, I have a small job, but fees, exams, books, uniforms, for children, somebody is always sick, when should I sleep happily? (EI Host Kakuma August 16, 2019).

For programming, the implications are the need to prioritize mentoring and counseling, along with life skills training and ways of promoting "normalcy in small vignettes." This would mean significant upfront costs for creating environments that enable engagement in normalizing activities, as explained in the next section.

Diversification of Livelihood Risk and Access to Markets

Diversification of livelihood risk is not a clear source of resilience in Dadaab and Kakuma for most of the men from both refugee and host pastoralist communities that dominate these landscapes. Access to markets is similarly not a significant source of resilience. As explained earlier, pastoralism is a gendered activity that confers status only on men but not on women. In these societies, other activities that rely on nontraditional and more market-oriented forums are discouraged within the traditions. It seems to be a key source of resilience for women and potentially for younger boys who tend to be more market-oriented and increasingly removed from the pastoralist lifestyle. Furthermore, in a context of limited

livelihood opportunities, having one or more of these opportunities is not necessarily correlated with better well-being for most refugee and host community men—but largely due to social and cultural reasons. For instance, shop owners, gainfully employed persons from both communities, and refugee incentive workers are often no less stressed than those without work, just differently so. They are also more likely to be asked for contributions or support from others, compounding their stress even further.

Key barriers stand in the way of this common source of resilience and most relate to the structural makeup of a refugee camp. For instance, refugees do not have work permits and cannot access traditional labor markets and job opportunities. Livelihood opportunities for incentive workers or entrepreneur are sparse and do not necessarily provide meaningful livelihood. And yet, they often lead to increasing demands from an entrepreneur's social network for financial help. What is more, business owners routinely pay bribes to corrupt police officers, which impedes their ability to save and reinvest. It also discourages others from launching businesses. In both Kakuma and Dadaab, Somali businesspeople who are uniquely targeted for such extra-legal treatment are choosing to leave for Nairobi, Mombasa, Somalia, or Uganda, and this flight is negatively affecting the overall economies of both camps.

Women's Empowerment

The issue of women's empowerment is usually front and center in most development and relief interventions in both Garissa and Turkana Counties, with many programs directly targeting women or aiming for balanced recruitment. Women are reconsidered the primary caregivers, and the data shows greater diversification of livelihood activities among women in both refugee and host communities in both counties. However, as explained earlier, most women's subsistence activities tend to be in the casual labor market (gathering firewood and/or making charcoal for selling in the towns and camps, cooking, small kiosks, fence constructions, etc.) and are generally characterized by low wages or earnings and abuse and physical assault during and after the activities. These jobs enable survival and feeding children/family, and for some women, also enable paying for school (examination) fees, uniforms, books, etc. Within the pastoral subsistence regime, women usually take care of the baby/infant animal until they are ready to graze by themselves.

Key stressors that negatively affect both refugee and host women's empowerment include issues of safety/security, cultural and economic barriers in seeking/completing education and careers, and discrimination in employment. One woman said,

> "Walking around in any camp or town after dark is scary. If my daughter is out late, I worry. […] I work as a teacher and also have a kiosk near Kakuma 1, in my village. I make enough to my children and keep them in school. [Although] I have a diploma in teaching and also completed a course in accounts management using computers, I cannot get a higher paying job. Here, if a man and a woman both apply for the same job, they give it to the man because they say the man has a family, and the woman is supported by her husband, why should she get the job" (EI Host, August 11, 2019).

The barriers to women's empowerment also include religious and traditional beliefs in gendered spaces and practices, that privilege their roles as mothers, grandmothers, and other "nurturing" careers such as teaching, nursing, secretarial work, pediatrics, and obstetrics-gynecology. Most of the interventions we encountered relied on superficial understanding of the gender dynamics in these areas and saw workshops and outreach programs as ways to re-educate or change the cultural beliefs of the people.

Unfortunately, we found no evidence for the efficacy of such programs. The analysis suggested a need for programming that includes teaching women about building higher levels of social capital.

Additional sources of resilience in Kakuma and Dadaab

In addition to the sources of resilience presented in USAID's Center for Resilience report, field research identified the following as significant factors contributing to individual's resilience:

"Normalcy"

Normalcy refers to different tactics for creating a normal life in a camp setting. This means the generation of actions that allow a sense of alternative or good normalcy among refugees and hosts in ASALs, where shocks and stressors are the daily experienced forms of normalcy. This normalcy can be sought in daily activities that include domestic work, childrearing, participation in friendship networks, community and supra-community festivities, and celebrations.

The importance across all groups of friendship and time with friends and family cannot be overstated. However, there is a distinct difference in the mitigatory significance of friend activity between groups with higher capital and those with lower capital. The friendship activities for both refugees and hosts that are reported at higher and highest levels of significance by the group with higher capital include playing sports, games, discussion, and prayer/faith. They also list friendship activities involving tobacco, alcohol, and *mira* at high levels. However, the groups with lower capital report use of tobacco and alcohol at the highest level and *mira* at higher levels of significance. This is in line with much research on the correlation between these practices and socio-economic status, but this should not be taken to indicate that the low status is driven by wasteful expenditure on these practices. Rather, the lack of opportunities and the pressures from stressors and shocks result in investment in friendship activities that include alcohol, tobacco, and *mira*. Notably, many individuals with low capital do not purchase their own *mira*/tobacco, cigarettes, or even alcohol. One man explained,

> "I have no money, and I eat at other peoples' homes almost four times a week and then I go hungry. If my friends are chewing *mira* or smoking, I will join them. They have money, and they don't leave me out. Each of them will give me 10 sticks of *mira* or a few cigarettes, so I can chew with them. But they also buy groundnuts (peanuts) and Sprites and that is what I can have for dinner that day—peanuts and soft drinks" (EI Refugee, Kakuma August 13, 2019).

The ability of refugees and hosts to participate in such activities that generate normalcy is strongly correlated with resilience. Refugees and hosts with higher capital also report high levels of stress relief activities that include playing sports and games, discussions and conversations, and prayer/faith. Alcohol, *mira*, and tobacco are reported stress relief mitigators, but not at the highest levels of significance. For refugees and host communities with lower capital, alcohol, tobacco, and *mira* appear as stress relief mitigators at the higher and highest levels of significance, as do prayer and faith. All groups show the importance of prayer and faith as stress relief mitigators at the highest levels. The results show a pressing need for programming that promote skills training, knowledge of handling socio-economic relationships, normalcy in small vignettes through rituals and feasting, inclusive inter-faith religious and secular (sports, arts, performances) gatherings and co-production and co-creation of art in visual, narrative, oral, auditory, or performative media.

Nutrition & Physical Health

Nutritional security is a key outcome and key driver of resilience. As our regression and correspondence analysis and ethnographic data suggest, refugee and host access to adequate and healthy nutrition is informed by access to socio-economic capital and systems of psychological support. In turn, adequate and healthy nutritional security predicts better physical health and access to social and economic support systems. This has implications for food provided during development interventions, which can ensure that refugees and host beneficiaries are getting adequate and balanced nutrition at least once a day. This is especially important for a large group of refugees and hosts, usually single men who depend on meals at friends' and relatives' homes. Eating at friends' and relatives' homes, while reflecting active social support, also creates an attritional effect on the families providing the food. The men and women who are forced to eat at other people's houses also stagger their activities so they don't abuse the hospitality of their hosts. The result of this is that most of these groups eat only four full meals on average per week.

Systemic Factors Negatively Impacting Resilience and Self-Sufficiency

Key barriers can stand in the way of greater well-being. Such barriers might negatively impact much needed transformative capacities, but are part of much larger issues affecting the region and the nation, and are beyond the ability of development interventions to resolve. These play key roles in generating the disabling environment within which all interventions operate. As mentioned in KII and ethnographic interviews, these factors are part of the political economy that are typically not engaged with nor accounted for in most programming.

First and foremost are **security concerns or lack of security.** Security has long been problematic for protracted camp situations which are often located in areas with endemic conflict. Illegitimate actions by security forces and by informal militias, often in partnership with police, also mitigate common sources of resilience. In Kakuma, Dadaab, and Kalobeyei, Kenyan police are the greatest source of insecurity. They are corrupt and demand bribes as well as threaten and carry out acts of violence that can mitigate common sources of resilience and well-being. Our research team in Dadaab was stopped frequently at security roadblocks with demands for bribes. In Kakuma, our team was also stopped but let go after explanation and proof of connection with UNHCR, RAS, and the District Commissioner. Although they were let go without paying bribes, it was only after phone calls to senior officials, contacts that are not within the social reach of most refugees or hosts. The traders have the greatest complaints about the police confiscation of goods, demands for bribes, and unlawful detention and release only after further bribes are paid or after public or official pressure. However, these issues are endemic across Kenya and attempts to resolve these complaints usually result in retribution for the complainer and their families. Most refugee and host community members reported that their frustration with daily interactions with the police and security forces are stymied by the sheer certainty that the senior officers will protect the officers as opposed to the people. One prominent complaint voiced by a refugee FGD in Kakuma was that:

> "even the [particular senior officer] is involved. […] She is one of us, but she treats all of us, even refugees badly. Only those with money, they get what they want" (FGD Host, Kakuma, August 11, 2019).

Second, and also critical, are **legal restrictions on refugee residence, mobility, and employment** that continue to affect individual capacities for enhancing resilience and potential for self-sufficiency. While the 2019 Refugee Bill is being debated in Parliament, it does not seem that refugees will be

granted full rights to mobility or employment in accordance with Kenyan Law (2011 Amendment to 2006 Refugee Act), with the 1951 Refugee Convention/1967 Refugee Protocol, or with CRRF guidelines. Restricted mobility and employment rights within Turkana and Garissa counties have been debated by parliament and a draft reflecting this debate and is scheduled for posting on public forums for response on February 15, 2020. The lack of mobility is particularly felt by Kenyan Somali hosts, who are routinely stopped and asked for IDs (including the area MP), and by Turkana, who are socially discriminated against in terms of mobility and jobs outside Turkana County and also within Turkana County, where higher-level jobs in NGOs and private firms tend to go to non-Turkana.

A third factor is lack of refugee and host community access to capital, property ownership, and labor markets. This is directly linked to the first two factors, as well to lack of social capital. In both Turkana and Garissa, access to capital, property ownership, and labor markets is often determined in accordance with social, kinship, and friendship ties. Local markets are dominated by powerful families and clans and are usually located in larger population centers. Uneven market penetration, systems of control, and infrastructure makes transfer or upscaling of market stimulation and other market-oriented modalities difficult. These factors are known to external NGOs and relief organizations and local stakeholders, but due to lack of communication, trust, or vested interest, there is little or no feedback, inclination or power to resist the impacts of such market distortions. For most residents of ASALs and across Kenya, such uneven markets are normal aspects of life.

The fourth factor, infrequently studied but with the significant potential impact on resilience, is **psychobiological trauma.** Most refugees and hosts in ASALs have experienced or witnessed violence and conflict firsthand. Such trauma, if untreated through counseling, medication, or other culturally appropriate and humane modalities, mitigates common sources of resilience. Physiological and psychological impacts of shocks and stresses stand in the way of greater well-being, and affect one's ability to respond to opportunities, show consistency, and work. PTSD is also associated with depression, anxiety, and chronic sleep deprivation. All these factors have negative physiological impacts. The lack or inadequacies of health services in both counties, endemic and frequently pandemic food shortages and insecurity, and psychobiological conditions significantly downgrade resilience capacities. While social capital can mitigate such conditions, ability to access bridging or linking capital is restricted by ethnicity, gender, clan, lineage, and class.

The fifth factor is the clustering effect of vulnerability within **networks of bonding capital** common to those with the lowest levels of resilience. The density and intimacy of a protracted refugee setting, where suffering is widespread, can mitigate common sources of resilience. Similarly in the ASAL host communities of Garissa and Turkana suffering and impoverishment is endemic and normative. All the negative impacts of the four aforementioned factors combine to affect almost every member of a support network, putting both host and refugees at lower levels of resilience into intimate connection with people in similar or worse states. This has grave implications for the well-being of any individual living in a environments of chronic stressors and frequent shocks. It is highly likely that someone intimately connected with such individuals will suffer directly or indirectly from shocks, stressors, or worries, and will ask for support. Thus people constantly absorb the shocks of those immediately around them, wearing away at common sources of resilience including assets, savings, wages, food, living space, and time.

Here, social support networks serve as stressors for higher-capital refugees and hosts. Those respondents with higher capital in both communities report supporting kin/friends beyond their immediate family as major stressors. The density, intimacy, and levels of suffering in a protracted refugee

setting are unique features of this context, and they have implications for how social capital "works." Respondents with higher capital reported constantly absorbing the shocks and the impacts of chronic stressors of those in their extended networks and spoke of the drain on remittance networks, incomes from employment, and other social sources of support and inclusion. One man said,

> "My family in England sends me money every month—200 [GBP]—but when I get money, I find I have relatives that I did not even know before [said jokingly]. I have to help because that is what family is. Sometimes I can say no, but they know when I get the money. And it is not that they are lying. But the problem is that then I can't save, have less money to put in my business. And then the elders come for donations to the mosque or other things. Sometimes, I have to hide" (El Refugee Dadaab, September 19, 2019)

Here we add a caveat, that although bonding networks can have a negative impact due to the aforementioned attrition on individual resources and resilience, in shock-prone and highly stressed situations such as protracted camps of densely clustered settlements in ASALs, bonding networks in addition to relief are often the only pathway to survival.

These factors are significant barriers to development interventions and need be addressed in programming. However, the analysis also revealed locally feasible and culturally appropriate adjustments that could be programmed without further strain on existing U.S. government resources and programmatic limitations. These are outlined in the next section.

7. Research Question #3: How can the U.S. government, within its existing funding and programmatic limitations, better align its resources to promote refugees' self-sufficiency and host community development?

Recommendation #1: Shift Promoted Job Model from Middle Class Delayed Wage/Daily Labor to Pastoral Daily Wage/Non-Daily Attendance

As suggested in the KII and ethnographic interviews, having a reliable source of income is a major factor contributing to increased self-sufficiency and resilience. The regression and correspondence analysis data suggested that jobs and frequency of work, including daily wage jobs, seem to be a primary factor in mitigating stressors and shocks as well as reliance on remittances, while also enabling social support networks. Expanding the number of daily wage jobs in both Turkana and Garissa counties by shifting from the delayed payment model to the pastoralist daily wage model might:

1. Deliver more disposable income to more people for expedient and long-term needs.
2. Considerably lessen the stress of supporting nuclear and extended family members, potentially enabling higher savings, investment in education, small business development, livestock, or agriculture.
3. Ease pressure on spending for daily needs and enable conversion remittances from outside Turkana/Garissa counties to conditional investments by family in business, livestock, and agriculture, not just money for emergency needs. Conditions would be managed through cultural models and would keep social relationships intact.
4. Build a middle class, by enabling investment in the creation of higher salaried and skilled jobs that promote class mobility over generations.

Recommendation #2: All U.S. Government interventions should include counseling and mentoring to provide clinical psychosocial support to program beneficiaries

Both refugees and hosts suffer from high levels of shocks and stressors in ASALs/protracted camps, and have been subjected to or witnessed brutal violence either within these environments or as part of the displacement process. Consequently, a large majority of the beneficiaries likely suffer from conditions including PTSD, Complex PTSD, depression, anxiety, compromised immune and cardiovascular systems, inflammation, chronic fatigue, and chronic sleep deprivation. . Lack of restful sleep is a major predictor and outcomes of these conditions, exacerbating. While socioeconomic and psychosocial support systems help mitigate impacts, the vast majority of the beneficiaries who do not have such support demonstrate the lowest level of resilience and by default, the lowest potential for self-sufficiency. Even those with some sources of support and might have higher resilience capacity are still disproportionately affected by the lack of infrastructure.

Proven therapeutic and mentoring techniques could help beneficiaries navigate the structure of most development programming, as well as the changes that come after the engagement. Such counseling and mentoring must be a priority offering in all development programming and interventions.

Counseling and mentoring could involve faith based groups and organizations, funding organizations such as the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT) that already work in such situations to enable them to expand and provide support for ongoing or proposed development programs, and peer mentoring from respected community elders and leaders, including among youth. Help could also be sought from Doctors Without Borders, who provide psychiatric and psychotherapeutic help.

Corollary to Recommendation #2: The U.S. government should invest in policy-impactful research to understand the intersection between psychological needs/issues, their relationship to local cultural realities and political economies, and the importance of social support as sources of resilience and factors driving self-sufficiency among both refugees and hosts.

The data analysis from both the ethnographic and the survey data shows the negative impacts of psychological shocks and stressors on both refugee and host communities also affected and limited by the disabling environments (physical landscapes, local cultural realities, and political economies). The analysis also shows how being part of social support networks can positively mitigate such impacts. USAID programming for such studies could solicit research and implementation proposals composed of multi-disciplinary teams with expertise in such intersectional research. Specifically, the U.S. academy has

the largest pool of ethnographers in the world who are experts on local and regional dynamics in any part of the world, who could provide key knowledge on the specific psycho-social needs/issues, and their relationships. Referring to the model generated by *Local Works* (USAID), a 2014 solicitation that brought together practitioners, academics, and social entrepreneurship experts to address complexities of local systems, including the political economies and ground realities, and to apply these insights for development interventions. One recommendation that would follow this model would be for USAID KEA/FFP to seek proposals that involve ethnographers working in tandem with psychologists, economists, political scientists, engineers, and practitioners to understand, contextualize and account for the dynamics of intersecting factors that result in complex systems in hosting counties including psycho-social needs and issues, political economic, and cultural realities and their impacts on programming.

Recommendation #3: The U.S. Government should invest in small-scale agriculture and livestock programs targeted to women and youth

Host communities in both counties emphasized the importance of livestock rearing and farming in their lives. But while intervention programs encourage agricultural development, they tend to encourage output at a scale that refugee and host communities find difficult to maintain. Water shortages and limitation in the quality of available land pose almost insurmountable challenges to large scale agriculture. Herders face challenges from the effects of seasonal droughts on grazing lands, and often lack the ability to purchase enough animals for optimal herd reproduction and survival. Interviewees proposed investing instead in incremental growth, by gradually adding technologies to better irrigation and increase crop yields.

Recommendation #4: The U.S. Government should include appropriate feeding of participants as a cross-cutting issue embedded within all programs

Interviews with KIs and refugee host community members revealed that livelihood and other programs requiring daily attendance and hours of attention usually face attrition due to lack of food and transportation. However, NRC Kakuma found that even when the beneficiaries were given transportation money and food, the programs had little impact. Most beneficiaries in such conditions suffer from chronic sleep deprivation, psychosocial conditions including PTSD, depression, high inflammation, and chronic fatigue. Lack of attention is a problem brought about by such factors and can be more immediately resolved through better nutrition. However, the study also showed the food provided to beneficiaries was largely baked goods and tea or soft drinks, all high in sugar and carbohydrates. Such foods cause short-term energy spikes followed by a crash in energy levels leading to disengagement, lack of attention, and ultimately sub-optimal performance. The research team recommends altering livelihood programs that provide food to include protein such as beans, eggs, meat, fish, nuts, and seeds in their offering. Proteins slow down the digestive process and moderate carbohydrate intake. Eggs, beans, and nuts are cost effective and, if well prepared, culturally appropriate for the targeted communities.

Recommendation #5: The U.S. Government should invest in programs that specifically aim to strengthen social capital.

Social networks, including remittance networks, play a critical role in mitigating worries and impacts of shocks and stressors in refugee and host communities. Remittances flow through social networks and

are marks of network support. If remittances that are usually sent for emergencies or for basic necessities could be converted into investments into small businesses, agriculture, or livestock, where the remitters and remittees can engage in partnerships, this would enable both host and refugee recipients to invest in agriculture and/or livestock. Partnerships, conditions of investment and ROI would be managed through cultural models of exchange.

Other recommendations to strengthen social capital include sharing foods, culinary styles, and ritual spaces. Spending time with friends, the ability to maintain long term hopes, praying, and faith have emerged as positive factors that mitigate against stressors. If activities in which different groups of refugees and hosts build something together—wind turbines, and small bunds or ponds for water harvesting and agriculture, for example— include social spaces for participants and their families to celebrate milestones and achievements by sharing of food, drink, stories, and ideas, then individuals can be moved from bonding networks of support to community-bridging networks of support. Language barriers can be addressed through interlocutors and translators, although the KiSwahili is the primary language of cross-group communication in both counties.

Other recommendations include:

1. **Improving camp design –** If camps are laid out in a way that invites interaction, this may encourage relationship building and network formation. Cramped shelters within many camps push people to spend time outside, but this may not be enough to build trust and forge enduring relationships. Having access to a community center, public spaces or common meeting points offers opportunities for congregating in safety and comfort. Still, forging social capital may require an additional step that either generates income or contributes to another development output. This also assumes that people feel safe within the camp and in these common spaces. The impact of transforming the police force that monitors the camps to effectively protect citizens could be immense. Note that a thoughtful camp design and improved security within the camp may not do much to foster networks that extend across refugee and host communities.
2. **Joint construction projects –** These have proven to bring individuals or groups together in a powerful way around a common purpose. The idea is to have people work on constructing a structure of benefit to the community at large, such as a community center or water gathering point. When done in a way that intentionally strengthens relationships between different groups, such projects can instill pride and serve as lasting testaments to what groups can achieve when they work together.
3. **Faith traditions –** Faith communities can promote bonding and bridging, but can also be divisive if not approached purposefully. Research findings suggest that both hosts and refugees value faith and prayer as a personal stress mitigator and a personal and communal source of resilience. For many communities, attending weekly religious services is a ritual offering a sense of normalcy, and connections for building social capital. Such services facilitate bonding among people who share a faith tradition, and can have a bridging effect if faith traditions cross ethnic lines. Conversely, religious services can be divisive if religious leaders do not collaborate. If South Sudanese Nuer Anglicans require a separate religious service from Rwandan Tutsi Anglicans within a camp, for example, then faith based organizations, in collaboration with religious leaders, can work together to offer common services, with tremendous positive effect on their constituencies. Such forums offer space for sharing faith, hope, and community, but more importantly, sharing narratives of loss and hope, food preparation and products, songs, music, and poetry.

4. **Sporting events –** Non-competitive sporting events and games can bridge divides. A good football game can help bring people together in ways that little else can. These activities have emerged as highly relevant stress mitigators and sources of resilience in both the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Possible paths forward include working with referees or coaches to strengthen ideals of playing by rules, ethics, and good sportsmanship. Given the U.S. government interest, it might also be fruitful to approach organizations sponsored by top sports personalities in the U.S. and Europe, as well as local and national Kenyan leagues with large followings among refugee and host communities. For example, English soccer team Manchester United, and player Eric Cantona, are known for supporting refugee relief operations. Luol Deng, was himself a refugee from South Sudan before his family was granted asylum in the United Kingdom.
5. **Savings groups –** These have been highly effective in helping individual refugees (and hosts?) pool resources for small investments in home repairs or purchase of farm animals such as goats or chickens. Groups usually self-select, so they require some level of comfort with each other. It is critical that group not reinforce existing power dynamics. Members should be granted equal voice regardless of ethnic group or class.
6. **Joint Feasting Events** – Feasting is a unifying cultural practice across human societies. In the Kenyan counties studied, both refugees and hosts engage in feasting to mark special occasions, rites of passage, and other important lifecycle moments and events. As previously noted, most interactions between external actors and beneficiaries are riddled with communication gaps, lack of interest, and scripted, performative, and one-way transfers of information. The unproductive nature of such meetings is matched only by their universal use for most public outreach programs. Here we suggest that feasting might be a better method to transfer information, where beneficiaries are treated with dignity through food sharing rituals. Beneficiaries who tend to be community leaders can be requested to prepare and bring special food items to create a bidirectional exchange of food and a dignified forum for discussion.
    a. One further benefit of such culturally appropriate and indeed desirable practices such as feasting is for interventions introducing new fuel and cooking environmentally friendly technologies.
    b. Given the convenience of and familiarity with firewood and charcoal, most beneficiaries are wary of new technologies, partially due to cost, but more due to lack of trust in their technology to cook food to their satisfaction.
    c. If these technologies could be introduced through cooking and feasting events and meetings, where the beneficiaries can help prepare, familiarize themselves with, and taste food cooked through the new fuel sources or cooking technologies, that would likely result in the increase in technology adoption.

8. Conclusion

The implementation of the CRRF necessitates paradigmatic shifts in interventions and programs for enhancing resilience and self-sufficiency of refugees in protracted camps and of neighboring host communities. Most studies cover aspects of economic behaviors to inform new or evaluate ongoing or finished programs, with little attention paid to the intersections between economic, and psychological, social, health, and cultural factors and local realities and contingencies. The lack of understanding of these intersections, and the impacts on refugees and hosts of the daily stressors, trauma and challenges in harsh conditions such as the ASALs of northern Kenya represents a glaring gap in current CRRF

approaches. This gap is especially problematic given that these populations commonly suffer from disproportionate levels of stress and trauma and rely on social capital and networks to supplement or complement their needs, wants, and desires beyond relief packages or development services. Without filling that knowledge gap by understanding these complexities, any CRRF programming will continue to suffer attrition, no matter how innovative it may appear to policymakers in Nairobi, London, or Washington, D.C. This study on measuring resilience and self-sufficiency among refugees and hosts in Turkana and Garissa counties is one of the first attempts to fill this gap by looking at how the aforementioned variables affect each other and the lives of refugees and hosts. The findings show clearly, through rigorous qualitative and quantitative analysis, that knowing these complexities will help stakeholders and CRRF implementers map different types, levels, and scales of vulnerabilities, and identify the stressors and mitigators affecting different groups, to tailor programming and interventions to the needs and capacities of appropriate populations. In the short run, some of the recommendations may increase program costs. However, if tested for viability, the long-term success and local endurance of these programs will lead to more efficiency and more effective use of donor resources.

References

No references were used.

Annex I. Detailed Methodology

The primary goal of this research was to study approaches that build refugee and host community self-sufficiency and resilience capacities as well as positive host community-refugee relations. Specifically, this research unpacks factors underlying the different levels of individual and group-level resilience (absorptive, adaptive, and transformative) that confer meaningful lives among both refugee and host communities of Turkana and Garissa. In order to fully understand the complexity of resilience-building among these communities, we needed to gain data on underlying social and cultural mechanisms that go beyond iterative survey-based variables: for example, education, cash savings and economic assets, employment, and reported aspirations/confidence to adapt.

This is especially true in both Turkana and Garissa for both refugee and host communities due to social, environmental, and political restrictions on their economic and social mobility and opportunities. There are other mechanisms that confer different levels of resilience despite such restrictions. These include extended kin and friendship networks, social support networks, weak ties within and across ethnic groups, and position/status within local and regional hierarchies. Underlying the existence of relationships lie factors such as quality of relationships, power dynamics, informal processes, institutions, patronage, ethnicity, or other affiliations.

For refugees in protracted encampment settings, the primary stressors and shocks that affect resilience come from the complexities of the "refugee wait" and the ASAL environments. This is a function of a) protracted encampment with restricted economic and social mobility; b) the humanitarian governance burdened by bureaucratic systems, donor fatigue, host country politics, logistical attrition, and refugee angst; and c) geographic marginalization within hostile physical and complex human landscapes. In response, refugees and hosts attempt to generate some meaning in their lives through coping mechanisms built primarily around the notion of capturing "normalcy" (as outlined in Oka, 2014). Normalcy means a life that approximates the remembered/imagined pre or post-refuge life—of social gatherings, of continued investment in cultural processes, including rites of passage, such as weddings, births, funerals, feasts, religious festivals. Even for those born in the refugee camp, this approximated normalcy becomes the norm.

For the Somali and Turkana host communities in Garissa and Turkana counties, resilience is affected by targeted economic marginalization and social discrimination by the government, recurrent droughts and famines that affect livestock and agricultural activities, with lowered food insecurity, endemic conflict with pastoral groups and with the government, and complex relationships with the almost 400,000+ refugees in both counties. Various studies have shown that the closed district administration, punitive military measures taken against Oromo-Somali and Turkana pastoralists (killing/confiscation of livestock) in both colonial and post-colonial periods and intra- and inter-group raiding, coupled with droughts and famines have kept livestock levels almost permanently under asset-replenishment thresholds (i.e., the minimum number of livestock necessary to replenish herds devastated by raids or famines).

In response, the host communities of Garissa and Turkana have generated their own narratives of past self-sufficiency, resilience, and the ability to withstand hardships. They have also tried to approximate normalcy and dignity by engaging and investing in cultural activities such as rites of passage, feasts, festivals, and religious engagements. In particular, the host communities living in close proximity to the refugee camps have built complex exchange relationships (goods, services, favors, friendship, marriages, partnerships, exchange) with the refugees that have resulted in significantly better nutritional, economic,

and social security than the host community living away from the camps (Gengo et al., 2017; Sanghi et al., 2016; Vemuru et al., 2016).

The ability to gain this normalcy, however fleeting, is directly derivative of some dignity, and both indicate a certain measure of culturally and socially appropriate lives with agentive participation and transformation of social and political economies. Normalcy and dignity are hence key factors driving the up-scaling of resilience beyond absorptive, toward adaptive and transformative, amongst the refugee and host communities, and are accessed through participation in structured daily practices, the social economies, and the broader social lives of the different communities, and specifically, in the abilities of refugees and hosts to generate and maintain meaningful relationships.

These modalities needed to be explored in order to understand the complexities of resilience capacities in both Dadaab-Garissa and Kakuma-Turkana. Better understanding resilience capacities and host community refugee relations can ensure that gains toward self-sufficiency—the focus of considerable recent research by the UNHCR, World Bank, International Financial Corporation, USG, and the World Food Program—are not lost.

The objectives of this research included identifying:

a) Factors that impede or enhance resilience and potential self-sufficiency of refugees and hosts within the changing humanitarian development landscapes

b) Key strengths and gaps in current external approaches to building integrated economies focused on self-sufficiency at Kakuma, Kalobeyei and Dadaab

c) Key intervention points where NGOs, civic bodies, and private and corporate organizations, can build on and enhance local skills and abilities in partnership with both refugee and host communities.

Given the complexities of the research, we used a mixed methods approach, composed of both qualitative (ethnographic) and quantitative (survey-based) approaches. We will specifically focus on ethnography to understand the non-obvious mechanisms and drivers of resilience within both refugee and host communities.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative components of the field study utilized ethnographic methods, including participant observation, in-depth and semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions. The team tried to ensure that women represented a minimum of 50 percent of the participants in the ethnography and 50 percent of the researchers/enumerators who will participate in data collection activities. The numbers of informants and participants in each site listed in Tables 6-10 below.

Key informant interviews were conducted in Nairobi, Kakuma/Kalobeyei, and Dadaab with external stakeholders that include staff and workers in relief and development agencies, government/county officials, and with corporate and private investors and firms. Key informants were identified through desk review and the initial stay in Nairobi. The interviews were set up throughout the fieldwork, depending on the schedule of the informants. The data was elicited in narrative form through intensive semi-structured interviews (Table 6) and four focus group discussions in Dadaab (Table 8).

Table 6. Distribution of Formal and Informal Key Informant Interviews

Organization	Location	Number Interviewed
UNHCR	Nairobi	1
	Kakuma	6
	Dadaab	7
WFP	Nairobi	2
	Dadaab	2
FAO	Nairobi	2
NRC	Nairobi	2
	Kakuma	1
	Dadaab	1
DRC	Kakuma	1
GIZ	Kakuma	2
IFC	Dadaab	1
Renuvia (private firm)	Nairobi	2
Somali Business Community (private firms)	Nairobi	7

Ethnographic Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

In Kakuma and Kalobeyei, we conducted ethnographic interviews and participant observation and focus group discussions with the refugee and host populations. The team leveraged our existing trust networks in both camps built over 10 years of research to solicit participants through a process that (a) minimized selection bias and (b) ensured that potential participants felt empowered to refuse the interview. To achieve the latter objective, the team did not conduct random household interviews. Rather, the team relied on its existing networks to identify potential participants but required that the enumerator or ethnographer was not known directly to the interviewee. We also ensured that the solicitation/interaction was built through an intermediary known to both parties but who was not involved with the research. This resolved selection bias while enhancing the accuracy and precision of the data due to the establishment of trust. The demographic distribution of the participants tried to follow the ethnic distribution of Kakuma and Kalobeyei camps (55 percent South Sudanese; 30 percent Somali and Somali Bantu; 15 percent Rwandan, Burundian, Congolese, Ethiopian Oromo, and Amhara, Darfuri). We used interpreters we had previously worked with from each of these communities to ensure access, trust, and accuracy/precision of responses. We also conducted participant observation with selected informants in both public and domestic areas to understand the type and quality of relationships between informants participating in social gatherings and conducting their daily practices.

The qualitative methods implemented in Dadaab Refugee Camp closely mirrored the strategy deployed in Kakuma and Kalobeyei, following similar procedures to minimize selection bias and risk to participants. However, our team leaders from Kakuma who are well known and respected within the refugee and host leadership in Dadaab came with us as team leaders in Dadaab in order to build trust networks based on our previous research and demonstrated reputation for engaged and reflexive concern for refugee and host community welfare in Kenya. The team conducted ethnographic interviews and participant observation and focus group discussions with refugees and host communities in each sub-camp and surrounding areas. The ethnic, gender, and national breakdown of the ethnographic interviews and focus group discussion participants is given in Tables 7 and 8 below.

Table 7. Distribution of Ethnographic Interview Participants in Formal, Informal, and Group Settings

Refugee/Host	Location	Ethnicity	Male	Female
Refugee	Nairobi	Somali Somali	2	1
		Ethiopian Oromo	1	4
	Kakuma	Somali Somali	8	6
	Dadaab	Somali	2	0
		Oromo	2	1
Host	Kalobeyei	Turkana	3	4
	Dadaab	Somali	2	1
	Nairobi	Somali	4	0

Table 8. Distribution of Focus Group Discussion Participants

Refugee/Host	Location	Ethnicity and type	Male	Female
Refugee FGDs	Kakuma	South Sudanese Dinka	4	2
		Sudanese Darfuri	3	3
		Ethiopian Oromo (single survivors)	5	0
		Somali w/ failed businesses	0	3
	Kalobeyei	Congolese and Burundian	5 (3 Cong, 2 Bur)	0
		South Sudanese Nuer	0	5
	Dadaab Ifo	Somali Bantu Community	12	8
		Somali	16	11
	Dadaab Hagadera	Somali Bantu Community	7	15
		Oromo	7	2

	Dadaab Dagahaaley	Somali Bantu Community	6	9
		South Sudanese Nuer, Rwandan, Congolese, Burundian	12	6
Refugee Key Informant FGDs	Dadaab Ifo	Refugee community Leaders (all communities)	6	5
	Dadaab Dagahaaley	Refugee community Leaders (all communities)	10	8
	Dadaab Hagadera	Refugee community Leaders (all communities)	9	4
Host FGD	Kakuma	Turkana Single Mothers	0	5
		Turkana unemployed youth	5	0
Host KI FGD	Kakuma	Turkana Business Owners	3	3
	Nairobi	Kenyan Somali Business Owners	6	2
	Dadaab	Host community leaders and officials from Dadaab, Fafi, and Ladgera sub-counties	17	0

Qualitative Methods

The quantitative approach involved surveys in all three camps/surrounding areas with close attention to demographic distribution of ethnicities within each camp and attempts to maintain 50 percent representation of men and women.

Given the survey-fatigue and general antipathy toward external observers in both Kakuma/Kalobeyei and Dadaab areas, we avoided random household surveys. From past experience, external interviewers and enumerators, especially from Nairobi, are usually considered suspicious and unwelcome. Furthermore, such approaches are often associated with power dynamics wherein refugee and host respondents in random household surveys do not feel empowered to refuse entry/engagement, especially when the enumerators display insignia and badges from relief agencies such as UNHCR or WFP. In such cases, respondents refuse to answer or give misleading responses, especially when discussing sensitive topics. This dynamic has been made clear to us by various respondents and some of our own enumerators who have worked as local translators for external surveying firms. Following protocols of hospitality within the various ethnic group, we contacted informants prior to our arrival to ask for permission. Respondents were made aware of their rights and their ability to refuse engagement through the informed consent process. Our approach ensured that those contacted feel empowered enough to refuse engagement. On the other hand, the informants who did agree to be surveyed did so on the basis of trust and gave sensitive information that they would not otherwise share.

Hence, we maximized the accuracy and precision of responses as reflective of ground realities, and then contextualized the quantitative analysis with the ethnographic data that focused on those groups under-represented in the survey. In both sites, potential survey respondents were contacted using our

networks. To contact potential respondents, we used network approaches where the minimum geodesic distance (number of unique links/edges) between any enumerators and the respondent being interviewed by that enumerator was two. This means that the respondent did not exist within the immediate proximal network of the enumerator, but they did know at least one person in common. This enabled both trust and verifiability and also meant that the sampling method would include multiple and often non-overlapping networks.

The respondents were chosen on the basis of their ability to understand their rights during the informed consent process, their trust in our teams' ability to protect their information and privacy, their willingness to share details of their lives, including the covert aspects, and their ease of engagement (including refusal to participate at any point in the interview). The interviews were conducted in the language of the respondents. The questions were translated into the targeted groups' languages and ground-tested with the teams and volunteers prior to the actual surveys. The ethnic, gender, and national breakdown of both refugee and host communities is given in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 9. Distribution of Host Survey Participants

Ethnicity	Kakuma		Kalobeyei		Dadaab		Total Count
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Turkana	68	13	8	11	0	0	100
Somali	0	0	0	0	65	51	116
Total							216

Table 10. Distribution of Refugee Survey Participants

Country of Origin	Ethnicity	Kakuma		Kalobeyei		Dadaab		Total Count
		M	F	M	F	M	F	
South Sudan	Dinka	7	8	0	0	2	0	17
	Nuer	20	2	0	4	4	0	30
	Lopit	8	0	1	3	0	0	12
	Lotuko	0	0	8	19	0	0	27
	Other	3	1	12	18	2	3	39
Somalia	Somali Somali	15	19	0	0	112	116	262
	Somali Bantu	0	6	0	0	18	17	41
Ethiopia	Amhara	0	2	0	0	2	0	4
	Oromo	8	0	3	2	15	21	49
	Other	7	0	0	0	3	3	13
Sudan	Darfuri	10	13	1	4	2	0	30
Congo		9	7	8	8	7	2	41

Burundi		3	5	0	10	1	0	19
Rwanda		2	3	0	1	0	0	6
	Total							590

Annex II: Regression Analysis

The quantitative analysis used was multiple regression, using both linear and logistical regression analysis. The aim was to see what factors predict resilience and hence the basic capacities for self-sufficiency. We chose two variables as dependent variables (responses) for these analyses: *economic resilience* in terms of household assets, and *nutritional resilience* in terms of body fat percentage. The findings are divided into negative predictors (stressors) and positive predictors (mitigators or sources of resilience). Given the problems in data accuracy and precision, we decided to report findings where the observed p-values were lower than or equal to 0.1. The camp and population that were selected as the comparison points were Kakuma 1 and the Somali community based on the amount of studies on Kakuma 1 and the relative affluence of the Somali community.

Regression Analysis on Economic Resilience

We used logistic regression to predict whether several explanatory variables might correlate with survey participants' the likelihood of reporting asset ownership in three categories: necessary, comfort, and luxury. The regression analysis results are shown in Table 11, below. At the 99 percent confidence level, the only predictor of variation in necessary assets among the host community is location: the host community in Kalobeyei are significantly less likely than those in Kakuma Town to report having basic necessities, while Dadaab and Kakuma Town are statistically similar in this regard. Compared to Kakuma Town, the host community in Kalobeyei are also less likely to report comfort assets. When it comes to luxury assets, a higher food consumption score (FCS) and reporting time with friends are both associated with a higher likelihood of having these assets. Food security—a rarity in the camps—is reserved for the wealthy in the camps, who are more likely to afford luxury assets. In the latter case, time with friends can be considered a proxy for social support networking behavior, which may be the explanatory factor here.

Compared to Kakuma, refugees in Dadaab are less likely to report necessities and luxury assets, while those in Kalobeyei are more likely to report owning comfort assets. Nationality is a predictive factor only for luxury assets, with refugees from both Sudan/Darfur and South Sudan being less likely to report owning these assets, compared to Somalis. Several proxy variables for social support are associated with the likelihood of reporting assets in all three categories. The number of local sources of money (necessities and luxuries), time with friends (luxury), and number of sources of remittance support (comfort) are all associated with a higher likelihood of reporting assets. However, eating at other people's homes when there is no food at home is associated with a lower likelihood of reporting luxury assets. This latter result is unsurprising: this form of networking behavior is most common among the most vulnerable, who are also the least likely to own luxury assets. Several variables related to quality of life and well-being are also associated with asset reporting. Water difficulty (necessities and comforts), negative feelings (comforts and luxuries), and worries related to jobs (comforts) and water (necessities) are all associated with lower likelihood of asset reporting. However, worries about money (necessities),

security (comforts), and food (luxuries) are all associated with greater likelihood of asset reporting. Paradoxically, hope for the future is associated with lower likelihood of necessity and comfort asset reporting. Though not tested in these models, ethnographic observation supports the speculation that people without these assets either rely on their faith for hope or believe that their situations are so dire that they can only improve in the future.

Table 11. Regression Analysis for Economic Resilience

Household Assets	Beneficiary Type	Negative Predictor/Stressors * p ≤ 0.1, ** p≤0.05, *** p≤0.01	Positive Predictors/Mitigators * p ≤ 0.1, ** p≤0.05, *** p≤0.01
Necessities	Hosts	Location: Living in Kalobeyei **	**No significant factor**
	Refugees	Location: Living in Dadaab *** Difficulty in accessing water *** Worries about water *** Worries about jobs ** Lack of hope: short term ** Lack of hope: long term ***	Local money sources ** Worries about money **
Comforts	Hosts	Location: Living in Kalobeyei *** Worries about jobs ** Self-reported health ratings *	Location: Living in Dadaab * Employment: Having a job ** FCS **
	Refugees	Difficulty in accessing Water *** Negative feelings ** Satisfaction w/ relationships ** Worries about jobs *** Lack of hope: short term **	Location: Living in Kalobeyei ** Remittances * Worries about security **
Luxuries	Hosts	Gender: Being male ** Worries about security *	Employment: Having a job * FCS ** Time with friends *** Worries about food **
	Refugees	Nationality: South Sudanese *** Nationality: Sudanese/Darfuri ** Eating at other people's homes *** Negative feelings ***	Local money sources *** Time with friends ***

Regression Analysis on Nutritional Security

We used ordered logistic regression to model how several variables of interest might relate to nutritional status, as indicated by a five-category ordinal scale of adiposity, from essential fat (underweight) to obese. This outcome variable is sex-controlled, meaning that separate models for women and men are not necessary. Results considered significant at the 99 percent confidence level are described below.

Compared to Kakuma Town, the host community at Dadaab have significantly greater body fat scores, with a large magnitude of difference. Those with greater relationship satisfaction and higher FCS also

tend to have better nutritional status. While the latter result needs no explanation, we suggest that having mutually beneficial personal relationships could entail a higher likelihood of receiving food from friends and family when needed. Unexpectedly, however, feeling safer is correlated with lower adiposity, and the inverse—having greater worries about security—is associated with greater adiposity.

Among refugees, living at Kalobeyei predicts diminished nutritional status compared to Kakuma, while Dadaab and Kakuma are statistically similar. Across all locations, only South Sudanese have significantly lower adiposity scores when using Somalis as a comparison group. Having a higher frequency of negative feelings such as a sad mood, depression, despair, or anxiety predicts worse nutritional status. However, we found several unexpected results in the refugee sample as well. Similar to the host communities, refugees who report feeling *safer* are more likely to have lower adiposity. Additionally, those who report greater difficulty accessing water are more likely to have higher adiposity.

The regression analysis results are shown in the Table 12, below. We have categorized these results into practitioner-friendly groups: infrastructure, economic, psychological (worries), place-based, and social and cultural factors. We then explain each of these factors and contextualize them using our ethnographic data.

Table 12. Regression Analysis for Nutritional Security

Nutritional Resilience	Negative Predictors/Stressors * p ≤ 0.1, ** p≤0.05, *** p≤0.01	Positive Predictors/Mitigators * p ≤ 0.1, ** p≤0.05, *** p≤0.01
Host Women	Location: Living in Kalobeyei ** Being older * Difficulty in accessing water **	Employment: Having a Job ** Time with friends *
Host Men	Self-assessment of health * Lack of access to healthy foods * Worries about food * Worries about jobs *	Local money sources ** Time with friends ***
Refugee Women	Nationality: South Sudanese *** Nationality: Congolese ** Nationality: Sudanese/Darfuri * Nationality: Rwandan *** Duration of time in the camp ** FCS**	**No significant factors**
Refugee Men	Location: Living in Kalobeyei ** Sub-camp: Living in Kakuma 2** Sub-camp: Living in Kakuma 3 *** Sub-camp: Living in Dagahaaley ** Sub-camp: Living in Hagadera *** Nationality: South Sudanese ** Nationality: Sudanese/Darfuri ** Nationality: Rwandan *** Nationality: Burundian ** Lack of community integration ** Eating at other people's homes **	Being older ** Hope: Long term ** Worries about money **

Annex III: Correspondence Analysis

The primary problem with regression analysis is that it forces complex data into a linear format and in so doing, assumes independence of the different predictor variables. However, we know that these systems embed a significant amount of endogeneity and interdependence of variables. For example, nutritional health (nutritional resilience) is predicted by economic and psychological well-being. However, in turn nutritional well-being also predicts economic and psychological well-being in the aggregate, as these three variables feed into and affect each other. If resilience is the complex end product of individual physical health and psychological factors, as well as socio-economic factors interacting with and building on each other to mediate the individual response to shocks and stressors, any regression analysis has to be conducted with the caveat that variables being analyzed as sources of resilience are endogenously linked to one another. Given that regression does not test or affirm causality, but rather correlations, and that all variables are endogenously linked, different researchers will find reasonable justification to establish some variables as responses or outcomes and others as sources. By forcing these variables into a regression, we lose sight of the interdependence and co-occurrence or clustering of factors and sources of resilience. We also wanted to get a better resolution of the different stressors and corresponding sources of resilience used by hosts and refugees across the three camps/areas. The regression analysis did not indicate any significant role played by faith and religion, of lack of sleep, of PTSD or CPTSD, even though (and probably because) these are ubiquitous within these communities.

What the primary stressors and negative factors that affect and impact groups of refugees and hosts at different levels of socio-economic status? What are the factors that help individuals mitigate the stressors and negative factors? These questions are especially important from the viewpoint of vulnerability. As the Kimetrica (2016) study suggested, most studies on refugees conflate different types of vulnerability and the factors driving these vulnerabilities. In turn, these

a) Obfuscate the larger differences in vulnerability between groups, and

b) Make targeted programming difficult and often unhelpful for the most vulnerable.

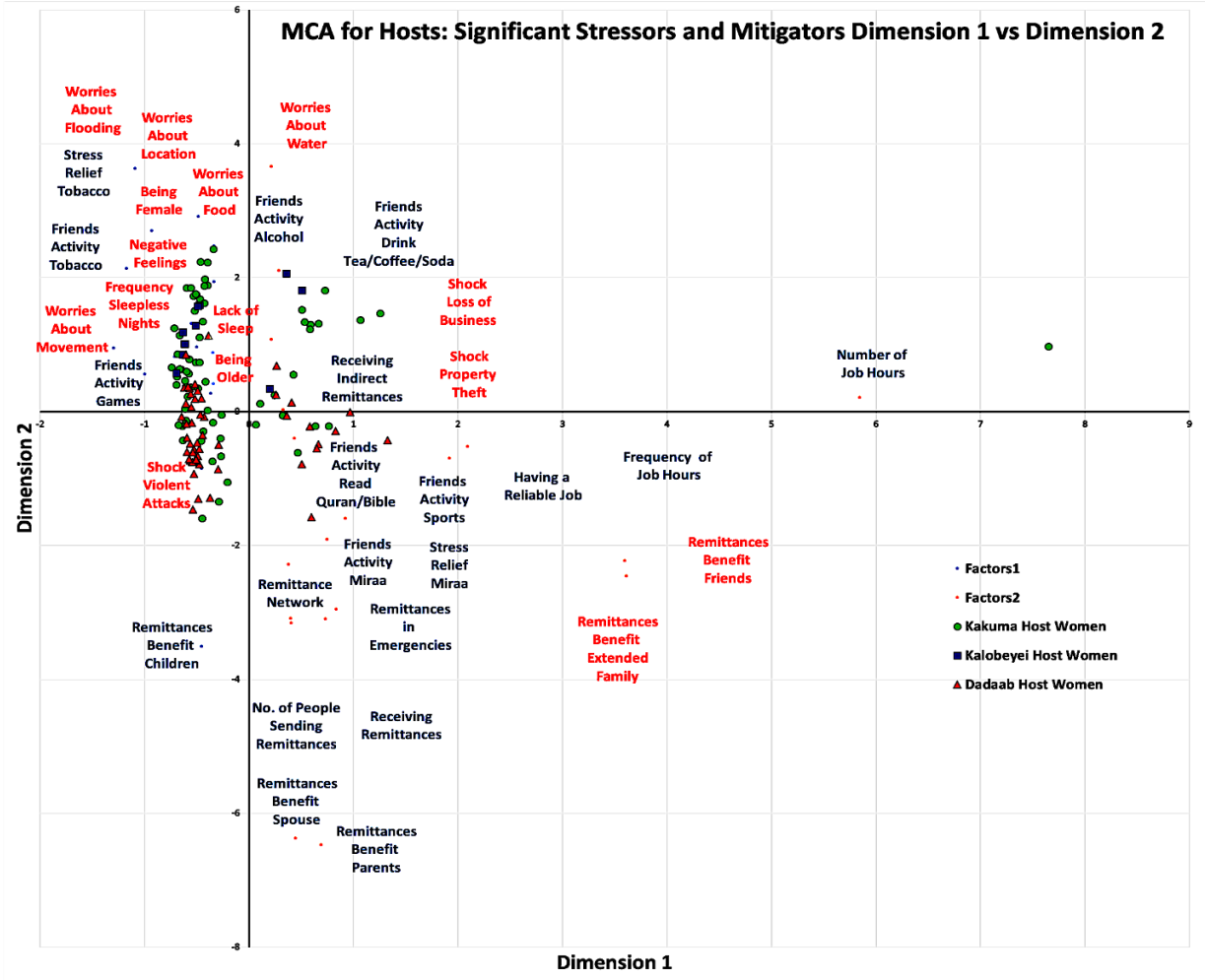
Beneficiaries who are socio-economically vulnerable, such as the Somali Bantu or the Nuerians in Dadaab, or the Turkana of Kalobeyei have different programming needs than the Somali or the Ethiopians. Sub-groups within the latter two communities (displaced pastoralists and farmers) would have different needs than the business communities within these groups. Individuals with regular income, businesses, and large amounts of assets would be concerned about security savings, expansion, social mobility, quality of healthcare/education, job satisfaction, etc. Individuals barely eking out a living would be worried about food, hunger, and basic level access to healthcare/education. Their mitigation abilities and approaches would also differ. To find out which economic, health, psycho-social, social-cultural, and other variables are clustered, and which individuals are clustered together through overall in their responses, we decided to undertake a correspondence analysis, or Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

Multiple Correspondence analysis (MCA) is a form of statistical ordination—a series of techniques including Principal Components Analysis, Cluster Analysis, and Multidimensional Scaling that seek to display the most significant patterning in complex multivariate data on a limited number of variable axes. CA is specifically appropriate for use on categorical data rather than continuous numerical values. It functions by calculating chi-square associations between data row and column totals and determining the percentage of total data variance that each observation and variable in the data contribute. These

associations can then be displayed on a biplot, a figure that shows both the correlational or associative structure of variables as well as how individual observations relate to each variable. The new "dimensions" extracted by this procedure represent a larger percentage of data structure than any single variable, and thus allow a large amount of information about the structure and patterning of the total dataset to be displayed on one plot. The data can subsequently be displayed to examine the clustering of variables and the clustering of respondents. For the data gathered from both refugee and host communities, we can display both variable associations (e.g., informant responses to particular questions categorized as either yes/no or as particular ordinal ranks) as well as data points representing individual respondents on one plots of any two dimensions extracted from the MCA. The first two or three dimensions usually represent the largest amount of association between variables for both host and refugee communities.

In the figures below, we show the results of the different variable clusters affecting different groups of host women respondents across the three sites. The first figure shows the biplot of Dimension 1 vs Dimension 2 that captures the primary variables that would show up in most regression analysis, but also highlights variables that would not be significantly extracted in regressions, largely due to the p-value parameters.

Figure 2. MCA for Hosts: Significant Stressors and Mitigators Dimension 1 vs Dimension 2



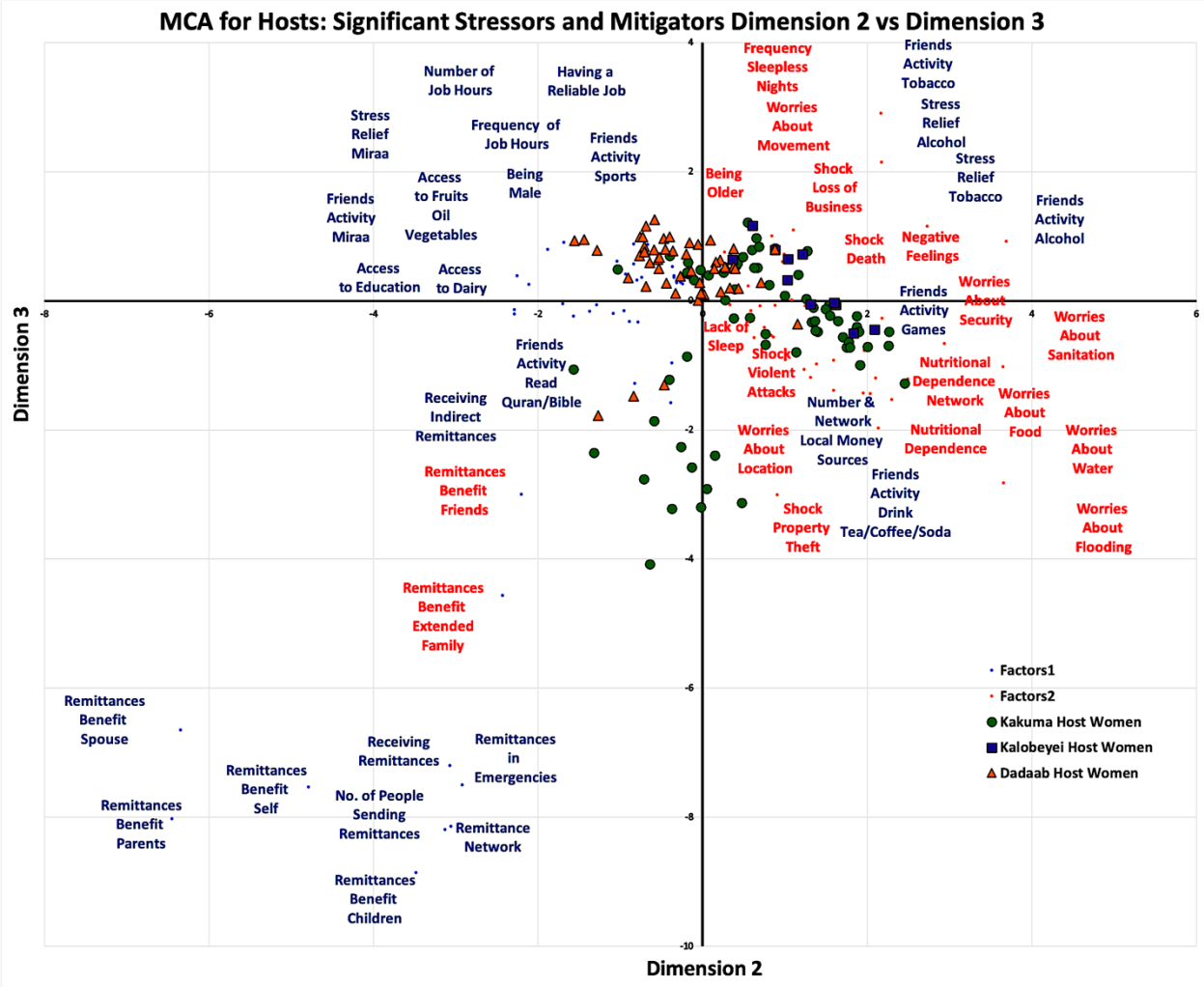
The small orange and blue dots (Factors 1 and 2) represent different stressors or sources of resilience/self-sufficiency), both positive and negative that cluster together. The circles, squares, and triangles represent the host women of Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab towns respectively. For visual clarity, we have not labeled all individual variables (represented by orange or blue dots). The direction of each vector (distance from dot to center) indicates how much of the structure of a particular variable is represented on each new MCA dimension. Individual respondents are coded by their residence location. In the present analysis, different variables that relate to particular categories of behavior (remittances, worries, and jobs) tend to correlate (e.g., individuals expressing one worry often express other related worries, while those with jobs or who receive remittances tend to express fewer and other related worries). This is visually evident as individuals who express more worries tend to be located further out along variable vectors that express these particular worries. Displaying lower order dimensions of the CA can still show significant patterning, and individual data points could be coded by other characteristics, for instance age, sex, body mass index, income, size of social support network, and so forth. In sum, CA provides a rapid and informative means of visualizing data and quickly identifying and understanding the most significant patterning and associations between variables, and how individual respondents relate to these variables.

The red text boxes indicate the relative position and clustering of stressors and the blue text boxes indicate the relative position and clustering of sources of resilience. As seen here, the variables loading along the

- Positive axis of Dimension 1 (horizontal, value loading > 0,) and the negative axis of Dimension 2 (vertical, value loading < 0) are jobs and remittances, both sources of resilience. The number of respondents associated with these variables are low, with Kakuma and Dadaab host women faring much better than the host women of Kalobeyei. The associated shocks are linked to theft of property, and to loss of business, that primarily affect those who have property or businesses. The stress relief mechanisms associated with these respondents include friendship activities such as faith, miraa, sports, drinking tea and coffee or soda together.
- Negative axis of Dimension 1 (horizontal, value loading < 0,) and the negative axis of Dimension 2 (vertical, value loading > 0) are multiple worries about basic human needs (water, food, security, etc). The number of respondents associated with these variables are higher, with Kakuma, Kalobeyei, and Dadaab host women clustering close together and in association with the shocks Kalobeyei. The associated shocks are linked to theft of property, and to loss of business, that primarily affect those who have property or businesses. The stress relief mechanisms associated with these respondents include playing games and sport, faith, and also alcohol and tobacco.

However, the distribution of the 'vulnerable' is flat in Dimension 1 and most of the variability for these groups is seen along Dimension 2. So the next figure plots the same respondents against the clustering of variables that would be significantly loaded on Dimensions 2 and 3.

Figure 3. MCA Hosts: Significant Stressors and Mitigators Dimension 2 vs Dimension 3



Here, we can see the variation in the vulnerable groups more clearly along Dimensions 2 (horizontal) and 3 (vertical), where we see clear clustering of negative stressors (basic need worries, shock death, frequency of sleepless nights, etc.) associated with the more vulnerable groups (right side of Dimension 3 and above Dimension 2) while the groups on the left side of Dimension 3 are better off. Again, the analysis shows the larger variation among host women in Kakuma and Dadaab where the presence of jobs, remittances (left of Dimension 3) is associated with worries/access to fruit, vegetables, milk, etc., richer people's worries, and stress relief mechanisms including sports, faith, and friendship. We also find the worries of having to support extended kin and friends being significantly reported as a stressor by the 'richer people.' Again, the analysis suggests that it is the most vulnerable women from the host communities in all three areas whose stress relief is associated with alcohol, tobacco, as well as faith.

The analysis enabled us to calculate the clustering of variables on different dimensions based on their frequency and co-occurrence. Only those variables with a score of greater than +/- 0.20 on one, two, and three of the first three dimensions were chosen as significant. These variables were then sorted and listed based on how many dimensions on which they loaded on, with the understanding that the more dimensions onto which a variable loads, the more significant is the impact of that variable. These

variables were then divided into stressors/negative predictors and mitigators/positive predictors of resilience and self-sufficiency.

The following tables and discussion present detailed findings of the correspondence analysis.

As seen in Table 13, for host communities with lower capital (social, economic, educational), the research team identified 51 stressors in all, with 24 stressors of high significance (loading on one dimension), 17 stressors of higher significance (loading on two dimensions), and nine stressors of highest significance (loading on three dimensions). The primary stressors loading on three dimensions with the highest significance are older, sleep problems, discrimination from down-Kenyans, psychological stress from negative feelings, number of people in a household, healthcare access, staying with refugees, and worries about moving in Kenya outside Turkana and Garissa, despite being Kenyan citizens. The host communities represented in this table are also more likely to suffer significantly from the whole range of shocks, from death, loss of job/business, theft, as these can lead to severe depletion of resilience and negatively affect self-sufficiency.

Table 13. Stressors Associated with Lower Capital Host Communities

Stressors Associated with Lower Capital Hosts	Number of Significant Dimensions that Stressor Loads on	Factor Significance
Area Problems	I	High
Being Head of Household	I	High
Being Male	I	High
Camp	I	High
Credit on Collateral	I	High
Number of People Who Give Credit on Collateral	I	High
Food: Access to Healthy Foods	I	High
Food: Access to Pulses	I	High
Fuel: Access to Cooking Oils	I	High
Having Other People Eat at Your House	I	High
Health	I	High
Health Nourishment	I	High
Health Perceptions	I	High
Intra-Community Collaboration	I	High
Lack of School Preferences	I	High
Level of Integration into Community	I	High

Network of People Eating at Your House	1	High
Quality of Relationships	1	High
Safety in Camp	1	High
Satisfaction with Educational Opportunities	1	High
Shocks: Violent Assault	1	High
Worries about General Insecurity	1	High
Worries about Jobs	1	High
Worries about Lack of Schools	1	High
Worries about Sanitation	1	High
Being Female	2	Higher
Food: Access to Fruit	2	Higher
Food: Access to Staples	2	Higher
Frequency of Nutritional Dependence	2	Higher
Lack of Fair Chances Compared to Refugees	2	Higher
Nutritional Dependence	2	Higher
Shocks: Death in Family	2	Higher
Shocks: Job Loss in Family	2	Higher
Shocks: Loss of Business	2	Higher
Shocks: Property Theft	2	Higher
Time Needed to Fetch Water	2	Higher
WASH: Difficulty in Clean Water	2	Higher
Worries about Area Insecurity	2	Higher
Worries about Flooding	2	Higher
Worries about Food	2	Higher
Worries about Money	2	Higher
Worries about Water	2	Higher
Being Older	3	Highest
Fitful/Lack of Sleep	3	Highest
High Frequency of Sleepless Nights	3	Highest

Lack of Fair Chances Compared to Down-Kenyans	3	Highest
Negative Feelings	3	Highest
Number of People in Household	3	Highest
Access to Health Care	3	Highest
Refugee-Host Dynamics	3	Highest
Worries about Mobility	3	Highest

In contrast, host communities with greater levels of capital show different and lower amounts of stressors, as seen in Table 14. In Table 14, findings show 37 stressors in total, of which 32 are highly significant, four have higher significance (access to sugar, remittances for friends, violent assault, and education worries) and only one variable—remittances for extended family benefit, is reported as the being of highest significance. As explained below, this is one of the most crucially important findings of this analysis, as those with higher forms of capital in these areas are constantly fielding requests of help from family, extended kin, and friends. These respondents report shocks such as job/business loss and property theft, but reported impact is not as significant as that of hosts who have lower forms of capital. Death in the family was not reported as a significant factor, indicating better access among this group to health and nutrition. The primary shock affecting the hosts with higher capital is that of violent assault, which also corresponds with the regression analysis finding that host access to luxury assets (greater economic capital) is positively predicted by worries about security.

Table 14. Stressors Associated with Higher Capital Host Communities

Stressors Associated with Higher Capital Hosts	Number of Significant Dimensions that Stressor Loads on	Factor Significance
Area Problems	1	High
Being Male	1	High
Credit on Collateral	1	High
Food: Access to Dairy	1	High
Food: Access to Fruits	1	High
Food: Access to Pulses	1	High
Food: Access to Vegetables	1	High
Frequency of Nutritional Dependence	1	High
Fuel: Access to Cooking Oils	1	High
Getting Sufficient Food	1	High
Health Perceptions	1	High

Integration into Community	1	High
Number of People who Give Credit on Collateral	1	High
Nutritional Dependence	1	High
Nutritional Security	1	High
Other People Eating at Home	1	High
Quality of Health Care	1	High
Refugee-Host Dynamics	1	High
Remittance for Friends Benefit	1	High
Satisfaction with Educational Opportunities	1	High
School Preference	1	High
Shocks: Job Loss in Family	1	High
Shocks: Loss of Business	1	High
Shocks: Property Theft	1	High
WASH: Difficulty in Clean Water	1	High
Worries about Area Insecurity	1	High
Worries about Flooding	1	High
Worries about Food	1	High
Worries about General Insecurity	1	High
Worries about Jobs	1	High
Worries about Sanitation	1	High
Worries about Water	1	High
Food: Access to Sugar	2	Higher
Remittance for Friends Benefit	2	Higher
Shocks: Violent Assault	2	Higher
Worries about Education	2	Higher
Remittance for Extended Family Benefit	3	Highest

Just as there are differences in the type and significance of stressors affecting the host community with lower versus higher access to capital, the analysis found similar differences in corresponding mitigators reported by these two groups, as shown in the following tables 15 and 16, below.

Table 15. Mitigators Associated with Lower Capital Host Communities

Mitigators Associated with Lower Capital Hosts	Number of Significant Dimensions that Mitigator Loads on	Factor Significance
Credit on Trust	1	High
Friends: Chat/Discuss/Make Stories	1	High
Friends: Coffee/Tea/Soda	1	High
Friends: *Mira*	1	High
Friends: Pray	1	High
Getting Money from Outside	1	High
Having a Job	1	High
Having a Regular Job	1	High
Importance of Faith	1	High
Importance of Time Spent with Friends	1	High
Network of Local People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
Number of People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
Number of People Who Give Credit on Trust	1	High
Stress Relief: *Mira*	1	High
Remittance for Children Benefit	1	High
Friends: Alcohol	2	Higher
Friends: Play Games	2	Higher
Length of Job Hours	2	Higher
Stress Relief: Alcohol	2	Higher
Stress Relief: Family Time	2	Higher
Stress Relief: Friends Time	2	Higher
Self-Assessed Ability to Cope	2	Higher
Friends: Tobacco	3	Highest
No. of Jobs within Family	3	Highest
Stress Relief: Tobacco	3	Highest
Stress Relief: Read or Recite the Bible/Quran, Pray, Talk with Leaders	3	Highest

As seen in Table 15, 27 mitigators that were identified as significant, with 16 being highly significant (loading on one dimension), seven being of higher significance (loading on two dimensions), and four of the highest significance. The number of stressors reported for this group (n=51) are almost double that of the corresponding mitigators. While the number of jobs within a family and faith/prayer are of the highest significance, so too is the use of tobacco (chewing and smoking) as a stress relief mechanism and an activity with friends. Alcohol is reported at higher significance as well, also as a stress relief mechanism and an activity with friends. Other stress relief mitigators include games/sports, time spent with friends and family, number of job hours, followed by using miraa as stress relief, and local financial and social support networks. These mitigators are in contrast to the mitigators clustering around stressors associated with high capital hosts, as seen in Table 16.

Table 16. Mitigators Associated with Higher Capital Host Communities

Mitigators Associated with Higher Capital Hosts	Number of Dimensions that Mitigator Loads On	Factor Significance
Credit on Trust	1	High
Food: Access to Healthy Foods	1	High
Food: Access to Meat/Fish	1	High
Friends: Alcohol	1	High
Friends: *Mira*	1	High
Length of Job Hours	1	High
Level of Education	1	High
Network of Local People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
Number of People Who Give Credit on Trust	1	High
Stress Relief: Family Time	1	High
Stress Relief: Friends Time	1	High
Stress Relief: Play Games/Sports	1	High
Getting Money from Outside	2	Higher
Having a Job	2	Higher
Having a Regular Job	2	Higher
Network of People at Whose Houses You Eat	2	Higher
Number of People Who Can Help with Money	2	Higher
Relief: Chew *Mira*	2	Higher
Relief: Read/Recite Bible/Quran	2	Higher
Remittance for Children Benefit	2	Higher

Remittance for Own Benefit	2	Higher
Friends: Coffee/Tea/Soda	3	Highest
Friends: Play Sports	3	Highest
Friends: Read/Recite Bible or Quran, Pray	3	Highest
Network of People who Send Remittances	3	Highest
Number of People Who Send Remittances	3	Highest
Receiving Remittances	3	Highest
Remittance for Emergencies	3	Highest
Remittance for Parents Benefit	3	Highest
Remittance for Spouse Benefit	3	Highest

As seen in table 16, 30 mitigators are clustered with 37 stressors reported by hosts with high capital, with 12 of high significance, and nine mitigators of higher and highest significance. In this group, primary mitigators are remittances, helping immediate family with remittances, activities with friends including praying, sharing non-alcoholic beverages, playing sports, and stress relief mechanisms including faith and prayer, jobs and employment, and family and friends time. Chewing miraa is seen as a stress relief mechanism and an activity done with friends, along with alcohol, but to a lesser extent than among those with lower social capital. Tobacco use was not reported as either a stress relief mechanism or a friend activity.

Correspondence analysis results for refugees followed similar trends for stressors and mitigators clustering for refugees with lower versus higher capital, as shown in Tables 17 – 20.

As seen in Table 17, 68 stressors were reported, with 27 stressors of high significance, 37 stressors of higher significance, and four stressors of highest significance. The most significant stressors were linked to refugee unemployment with disability, family responsibilities, and lack of skills preventing individuals from seeking jobs. The other significant stressor in this group was that of negative feelings. This is in line with emerging consensus from public health and psychological/anthropological studies that negative feelings and other symptoms of depression, trauma, and other mental health issues are strongly linked to the inability to seek employment. However, these inabilities are often based on the assumption of the refugee mentality. Other significant factors include worries (water, money, education, flooding, food, etc.), trauma caused by conditions of forced displacement (war/conflict, drought, and ethnic persecution), lack of sleep, family responsibilities, and managing collateral and creditors.

Table 17. Stressors Associated with Lower Capital Refugees

Stressors Associated with Lower Capital Refugees	Number of Dimensions that Stressor Loads On	Stressor Significance
Camp Life	1	High
Duration of Stay in Camp	1	High

Feeling of Safety	1	High
Food: Access to Dairy	1	High
Food: Access to Fruits	1	High
Food: Access to Pulses	1	High
Food: Access to Staples	1	High
Food: Access to Staples	1	High
Frequency of Nutritional Dependence	1	High
Health Nourishment	1	High
Intra-Community Collaboration	1	High
Jobs: Unwilling to Work (Bio-caused lethargy)	1	High
Level of Integration into Community	1	High
Migration: Political Persecution	1	High
Migration: Religious Persecution	1	High
Migration: Specific threat against self/family	1	High
Nationality	1	High
Number of Creditors with Collateral	1	High
Perception of Health	1	High
Remittance for Community Benefit	1	High
Safety in Camp	1	High
School Type: Refugee School	1	High
Sub-Camp Location	1	High
Time Needed to Fetch Water	1	High
WASH: Difficulty in Clean Water	1	High
Worries about Jobs	1	High
Worries about Sanitation	1	High
Being Female	2	Higher
Being Head of Household	2	Higher
Being Male	2	Higher
Being Married	2	Higher
Being Older	2	Higher

Credit on Collateral	2	Higher
Educating Children	2	Higher
Fitful/Lack of Sleep	2	Higher
Food: Access to Dairy	2	Higher
Food: Access to Meat/Fish	2	Higher
Food: Access to Pulses	2	Higher
Food: Access to Sugar	2	Higher
Food: Access to Vegetables	2	Higher
Fuel: Access to Cooking Oils	2	Higher
High Frequency of Sleepless Nights	2	Higher
Lack of Inter-Community Collaboration	2	Higher
Job: Low/No education	2	Higher
Jobs: Few Jobs	2	Higher
Lack of Fair Chances Compared to Kenyans	2	Higher
Migration: Drought/Famine	2	Higher
Migration: Ethnic Persecution	2	Higher
Migration: War/Conflict	2	Higher
Number of People in Household	2	Higher
Quality of Health Care	2	Higher
Refugee-Host Dynamics	2	Higher
Satisfaction with Educational Opportunities	2	Higher
School Preferences	2	Higher
School Type: Boarding School	2	Higher
School Type: Day School	2	Higher
Worries about Area Insecurity	2	Higher
Worries about Education	2	Higher
Worries about Flooding	2	Higher
Worries about Food	2	Higher
Worries about General Insecurity	2	Higher
Worries about Mobility	2	Higher

Worries about Money	2	Higher
Worries about Water	2	Higher
Jobs: Disability	3	Highest
Jobs: Family Responsibility Prevent	3	Highest
Jobs: Lack of Skills	3	Highest
Negative Feelings	3	Highest

As seen in Table 18, for refugees with higher capital, there were 40 stressors, with 34 stressors loading on one dimension for high significance and six stressors loading on two dimensions for higher significance. No stressors were found loading on three dimensions for highest significance. The stressors showing higher significance including prevalence of negative feelings, reported inability to seek employment due to perceived lethargy, and nutritional insecurity. Interestingly, and similarly to hosts with higher capital, refugees with higher capital reported stress from using their remittances to support friends, extended kin, and community.

Table 18. Stressors Associated with Higher Capital Refugees

Stressors Associated with Higher Capital Refugees	Number of Dimensions that Stressor Loads On	Stressor Significance
Ability to Move Freely	1	High
Being Male	1	High
Duration of Encampment	1	High
Food: Access to Dairy	1	High
Food: Access to Fruit	1	High
Food: Access to Healthy Foods	1	High
Food: Access to Meat/fish	1	High
Food: Access to Pulses	1	High
Food: Access to Sugar	1	High
Food: Access to Vegetables	1	High
Frequency of Nutritional Dependence	1	High
Fuel: Access to Cooking Oil	1	High
Inter-Community Collaboration	1	High
Intra-Community Collaboration	1	High
Jobs: Few Jobs Available	1	High

Lack of School Preferences	1	High
Migration: Drought/Famine	1	High
Migration: Ethnic Persecution	1	High
Migration: Political Persecution	1	High
Migration: Religious Persecution	1	High
Migration: Specific Threat against Self/family	1	High
Nationality	1	High
Quality of Health Care	1	High
Safety in Camp	1	High
School Type: Boarding School	1	High
School Type: Day School in Town	1	High
Worries about Area Insecurity	1	High
Worries about Education	1	High
Worries about Flooding	1	High
Worries about General Insecurity	1	High
Worries about Jobs	1	High
Worries about Sanitation	1	High
Worries about Water	1	High
Worries over Food	1	High
Jobs: Unwilling (Bio-Psych Caused lethargy)	2	Higher
Negative Feelings	2	Higher
Nutritional Security	2	Higher
Remittance for Community Benefit	2	Higher
Remittance for Extended Kin Benefit	2	Higher
Remittance for Friends Benefit	2	Higher

For refugees with lower capital, there were 32 mitigators total (Table 19), 14 loading on one dimension with high significance, 14 loading on two dimensions with higher significance and four loading on three dimensions with highest significance. Mitigators showing highest significance were primarily associated with friendships (spending time, playing games and sports, and praying/faith) and the importance of prayer and faith. The theme of friendship was also prevalent within higher level mitigators including conversations and meetings, sharing food and tobacco, alcohol, and miraa, hope in the short and long

term, as well as the number of people who sent remittances. Stress relief mitigators included tobacco, games and sports, alcohol, and importantly, the ability to gain credit on trust relations. The themes of coping ability, family relationships and remittances as well as the ability to support children, spouses, parents, and self through socioeconomic support networks were also important mitigators of high significance.

Table 19. Mitigators Associated with Lower Capital Refugees

Mitigators Associated with Lower Capital Refugees	Number of Dimensions that Mitigator Loads On	Factor Significance
Ability to Cope with Shock	1	High
Getting Money from Outside	1	High
Network of Local People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
Network of Remittance Senders	1	High
Number of People Who Give Credit on Trust	1	High
Quality of Relationships	1	High
Receiving Remittances	1	High
Relief: Family Time	1	High
Relief: *Mira*	1	High
Remittance for Children Benefit	1	High
Remittance for Own Benefit	1	High
Remittance for Parents Benefit	1	High
Remittance for Spouse Benefit	1	High
Remittances in Emergency	1	High
Credit on Trust	2	Higher
Friends: Alcohol	2	Higher
Friends: Chat/Discuss/Make Stories	2	Higher
Friends: Coffee/Tea/Soda	2	Higher
Friends: *Mira*	2	Higher
Friends: Tobacco	2	Higher
Hope: Long Term	2	Higher
Hope: Short Term	2	Higher
Importance of Relationships	2	Higher

Level of Education	2	Higher
Number of People Who Send Remittances	2	Higher
Relief: Alcohol	2	Higher
Relief: Play Games/Sports	2	Higher
Relief: Tobacco	2	Higher
Friends: Play Games/Sports	3	Highest
Friends: Read/Recite Bible or Quran, Pray	3	Highest
Relief: Friends Time	3	Highest
Relief: Read/Recite Bible/Quran, Pray, Talk with religious leaders	3	Highest

Finally, as seen in Table 20, for refugees with higher capital, there were 32 mitigators, 16 loading on one dimension with high significance, 14 loading on two dimensions with higher significance and three loading on three dimensions with highest significance. The two mitigators with the highest significance were prayer and faith for stress relief, and the number of people who send remittances. The mitigators that showed higher significance centered around friendship (prayer/faith, miraa, and playing sports//games), economic, including employment, and ability to access socioeconomic support networks (remittances) and helping children, parents, and spouse through remittances. Refugees with higher capital reported alcohol and tobacco as stress relief mitigators and friendship activities with high significance but lower importance, than refugee with lower capital where both alcohol and tobacco have higher significance.

Table 20. Mitigators Associated with Higher Capital Refugees

Mitigators Associated with Higher Capital Refugees	Number of Dimensions that Mitigator Loads On	Mitigator Significance
Credit on Trust	1	High
Friends: Alcohol	1	High
Friends: Tobacco	1	High
Hope: Long-Term	1	High
Hope: Short Term	1	High
Length of Job Hours	1	High
Level of Education	1	High
Network of Local People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
Network of People Who Can Help with Money	1	High
No. of Jobs within Family	1	High

Relief: Alcohol	1	High
Relief: Family Time	1	High
Relief: *Mira*	1	High
Relief: Play Games/Sports	1	High
Relief: Tobacco	1	High
Time Spent with Friends	1	High
Friends: *Mira*	2	Higher
Friends: Play Sports	2	Higher
Friends: Read/Recite Bible/Quran, Pray	2	Higher
Getting Money from Outside	2	Higher
Having a Job	2	Higher
Having a Regular Job	2	Higher
Network of People Who Send Remittances	2	Higher
Number of People Who Can Help with Money	2	Higher
Receiving Remittances	2	Higher
Remittance for Children Benefit	2	Higher
Remittance for Emergencies	2	Higher
Remittance for Own Benefit	2	Higher
Remittance for Parents Benefit	2	Higher
Remittance for Spouse Benefit	2	Higher
Number of People who Send Remittances	3	Highest
Relief: Read/Recite Bible/Quran, Pray, Talk with Religious Leaders	3	Highest