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CHALLENGES FACED BY SOMALI REFUGEES IN DADAAB CAMP IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA

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Abstract: *The question of the impact of refugees on host nations has lingered in research circles for a long time. Global researches indicate that refugees have negative and positive impacts they pose to the socioeconomic development of hosting nations. However, to appreciate the impacts of refugees on host socioeconomic development require an understanding on the challenges refugees face in contributing to the development of host states. Thus, this study's objective was to investigate the challenges faced by refugees in Dadaab camps in contributing to the socio-economic development of Kenya. The study was founded on the refugee aid and development theory and used mixed methods design to collect data from refugees, host communities, government officials, NGO officers and security officers dealing with the social and economic factors associated with refugees. Multistage and census sampling were used to select respondents. Findings show that refugees face social and economic challenges that affect their contribution to the development of host nations and concludes that refugees' socioeconomic development of host countries is hampered by social and economic challenges. The study recommends the instituting and implementation of policies that promote the protection of refugees to allow them effectively to contribute to socioeconomic development of Kenya.*

Key words: Socioeconomic development challenges, Somali refugees, Dadaab refugee camp

1.1 Introduction

As the number of refugees across the world increase, so does the attention on the impact these migrations bring to host nations. Research shows that refugees create crucial economic and social advantage for their families, the asylum country and home country. However, this advantage is overlooked as questions of the impact of refugees on host communities and states are framed in form of burdens and not benefits (Allen 2009). Central to the perception of refugees is the public resources utilized in hosting them. For instance, Francis (2015) contends that refugee hosting is a burden in Jordan while in Africa, Loschmann, Bilgili, and Siegel (2019) consider that the costs of hosting refugees outweighs their major and minor benefits. Contrastingly, other researchers consider refugees to impact host nations positively economically and socially (Richard, 2013; Miller, 2018).

The negative impacts refugees have on host communities established from researches across the world include national security threats, increased rents, heightened food prices, taking away jobs especially those of low skilled host community workforce, stretching national public expenditure due to investment in education, health, security, water and sanitation (Betts, 2009; Francis, 2015). Regionally and locally the negatives include poor security situation including cases of car hijacking and kidnappings of aid workers, shootings, rape, murder, and assault are regularly reported and associated with refugees (Jaji, 2009). Contrastingly, across the globe and in Africa, refugees positively contribute to the local economy through provision of cheap labor and increased payment of taxes through legitimate business engagement (Betts, 2009; Francis, 2015). Thus, the issue of whether refugees' impacts on host nations are beneficial or costly varies with cases. Understanding the kind of impact refugees have on host communities requires one to understand the challenges the refugees face because the challenges encountered shapes whether the nature of the impact—whether positive or negative.

1.2 Statement of problem

The impact of hosting refugees in Kenya is not clear and often dependent on the opinions presented by the media and politicians, which are often skewed to advance certain agenda. Such perceptions are not objective and do not reflect the true nature of things in practice despite the country being one of the largest refugee host in Africa. There lacks an empirical basis upon which to base the objective analysis of the impact of refugees in Kenya. As such, understanding the exact impact refugees have on the socioeconomic development of Kenya begins with understanding the challenges refugees are likely to face while making their contributions. This study therefore seeks to address that gap by identifying the challenges refugees undergo while contributing socioeconomically to the development of the host nation.

1.3 Study objective

The study investigates the challenges faced by refugees in Dadaab camps in contributing to the socio-economic development of Kenya.

1.4 Justification of the study

Although many studies and publications done on the issue of refugees globally and locally exist, majority of them emphasize on the wellbeing of refugees rather than the socio-economic impacts they pose to the host communities and the challenges they face in attaining those impacts. This leaves a situation where the role of refugees in contributing to the socioeconomic development of host (Kenya) is overlooked. As such, the presence of refugees is not appreciated and used to the advantage of developing Kenya. To overturn this perception, there is need for an objective investigation into the challenge's refugees face in impacting Kenya's development socioeconomically.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The study was anchored on the Refugee Aid and Development (RAD) theory. This theory recognizes that movements and settlement of refugees in host nations has benefits and challenges intertwined and that refugee hosting and management should be perceived in appreciation of the complementarity of their costs and benefits. Thus, applying this theory, refugee management bodies like UNHCR are required to align refugee assistance programs with the host communities' development plans by including a development orientation in refugee aid to support self-reliance among refugees and promote social and economic structures in host countries. These development-oriented principals consider both refugee and host communities (Betts, 2004; Morfor, 2012). In this way, the challenges refugees are likely to face in their contribution to the host nation are minimized hence given them a chance to benefit host communities.

1.6 Literature review

Social Challenges

Studies across the world indicate that several social challenges face refugees' contribution to the development of their host nations. Education is one such social issue presented dominantly. According to UNHCR (2016), the education sector in Dadaab camps was challenged by the high teacher turnover among Teacher's Service Commission-managed teachers, who ran away from the precarious security situation around the Dadaab camps. Besides, UNHCR. (2019) indicated that a high number of refugee children who have attained school going age do not attend school and majority of those attending drop out at primary and secondary levels; many girls than boys drop out. What is more, due to the mentioned challenges, many refugee youths do not qualify to pursue professional training, which sanctions them to less meaningful jobs with meager wages. As such, refugee participation in economic development of host nation is curtailed. This creates dependence on aid, and leads refugee youths into crime, radicalization, or being recruited to terror groups, which negatively impacts Kenya's safety (Jaji, 2009). In other societies, refugee youths quit school in favour of short-lived NGO jobs. Such cases of refugees prefer the short-term monetary benefits they will get from NGO employments at the expense of long-term benefits like getting education which will enable them access better opportunities in future (UNDP, 2018).

Host government has a big responsibility to play concerning the protection and management of refugees. When refugees' rights are preserved, the effect is appreciated not only by refugees but also by the host communities, the host country and international rights protection groups. Refugee rights are broad and include, right of non-refoulement, right to acquire movable and immovable property, intellectual property rights, right of association, right to access courts, right to employment, right to housing, right to education and freedom of movement (Da Costa, 2006). Every country, Kenya included, is obliged to grant, and respect these rights. However, this is not the case in Kenya, as the country has been accused of infringing on most of these rights towards the Somali refugees particularly the freedom of movement and the right to non-refoulement (Jaji, 2009; Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2017). This study investigates whether this infringement affects refugees' socioeconomic development of Kenya.

Additionally, the Kenya constitution, in Article 43 presents six basic rights that all people within the boundaries of Kenya must enjoy. They include right to good health comprising access to reproductive health services; right to adequate housing with reasonable standards of sanitation; access to adequate and quality food; access to adequate, safe, and clean water; and access to education and social security. However, among refugee circles, the sanitation state of camps, access to quality education, good nutrition, reasonable healthcare, and access to good housing are all not met. As such, the Kenya government does not meet its obligation to refugees as is prescribed in the Bill of Rights, which challenges refugees' safe stay and peace of mind critical to enable participation in development (Refugee Consortium of Kenya, 2012).

A study by Yarnell and Thomas (2014) further elaborates on the abuses towards refugees by revealing that criminal gangs and state police through harassment, intimidation, and abuse violate refugees' basic rights. Regular police-round ups, harassment, and haphazard arrests of refugees by security officers is rampant. Gender-based abuses also happen among refugee camps and children and women are most affected. Women and children suffer cases of sexual violence, intimate partner abuse, and human trafficking. For instance, in the DR Congo conflict in the Kivu provinces, majority of the reported cases of sexual violence happened to women (UNHCR, 2020). These violations were found to strain refugees' effective participation in development of the host and are of interest to this study to establish whether they apply to Dadaab refugees.

Mitike and Deressa (2009) investigated another form of gender-based violence—FGM – in Eastern Ethiopia among Somali refugees and established that it was a common practice among Somali refugees. Cultural and religious foundation of this practice had influenced 84% of parents to intend to circumcise their daughters although 42% circumcised their girls. As Somali girls aged, chances of taking them through female genital mutilation (FGM) increased significantly to the extent that 95% of them were circumcised by age 12 years. The illegality of this practice leads to the exponential growth of traditional circumcisers who form the majority of the circumcisers. According to Kimonge (2011), FGM has societal, community, individual and relationship costs, which include healthcare issues associated with the medical costs required to reconstruct or rehabilitate women who have undergone FGM. The health issues can be as severe as loss of life due to complications associated with the practice—for instance in the case of excessive bleeding. The practice also affects school attendance of many girls, affects their performance and influence school dropouts as the practice is considered as a rite of passage to adulthood in some societies. As a rite of passage, FGM forces girls to be married off, as they are adults hence depriving families of their support and contribution. The early marriages limit girl's exposure and education on sexuality, which can cause her to have marital problems. Some studies have also established that FGM causes marital problems.

Refugees face different and stringent regulatory environment that curtail their business and economic thrive within and outside refugee camps compared to host nationals. This condemns refugees to depend on aid as they are unable to fend for themselves, an outcome that refugees dislike. Earlier research conducted in Dadaab camps established that dependence on aid, which in most cases was inadequate, discouraged refugees and caused them to feel less worthy as they were unable to escape the refugee status in camps or make better their living conditions (Abdi, 2008).

The dependence arises from restriction on right to work and mobility (Alexender et al., 2018) largely associated with the encampment policy. This denies refugees freedom of movement outside the camp and within the host country. Although movement restrictions stand, in Kenya refugees are permitted to move or work just outside the camps or in the nearby towns without a pass. Travelling beyond these nearby towns requires that refugees have authorization from the Department of Refugee Affairs. These restrictions have motivated many refugees to sneak out of camps without permits and/or encouraging some to use dubious means, often illegal—e.g. through forgery or bribery, to acquire travel passes (RCK, 2012) yet the effect this has on development of the hosts is unknown. The influence these effects have on refugees' socioeconomic development are the center for this investigation.

Economic challenges

The arrival of refugees in a given area causes imbalance in the local economy and social environments, which affects the host community negatively. For instance, refugees bring about competition for the available natural and economic resources, which, in scarcity, attract increased prices hence leading to increased inflation—a factor that not only affects the local economy but also increases the poverty levels of the local communities. Refugees also take up jobs meant for locals and drive the cost of commodities and housing up, over time they pile pressure on the social services, infrastructure and health facilities which affect the socioeconomic being of the host (Miller, 2018). For instance, the government of Jordan spent \$ 168 million with an additional \$ 62 million needed to cater for the expected increase in the refugee population. Further to this, in 2015, the Jordanian government spent on receiving refugees 35% of its public budget. Such public expenditure drains the Jordanian public coffers and is harmful unless the international community bring on board financial and technical support (Fakih & Marrouch, 2015). The studies fail to investigate how these effects affect refugee socioeconomic development to the host.

Egypt hosts Sudanese, Somali, Eritrean, Ethiopian, and Iraqi refugees who are challenged in various ways. High refugee and national unemployment rates, high cost of living associated with high commodity and rental costs, and restrictive refugee regulatory policies challenge refugee participation in socioeconomic development in the country (Egypt). Similarly, the large population of unemployed refugee youth hinder refugee access to labour opportunities in Egypt, which also exacerbates the challenge. Therefore, many refugees are often led to work in under regulated areas of work and jobs that offer no or minimal security and safety including employment as domestic workers in Egyptian homes (Buscher and Lauren, 2010). Thomson Reuters Foundation (2017) submits that refugee camps act as safe havens and hideouts for terrorists. The terrorists use the peace of refugee camps to plan and execute terrorist activities against the host country. The report also submits that during the migration of refugees, criminals take advantage of the porous borders and minimal security checks arising from the closed border and hide among the refugees as they sneak illegal weapons in the host country, which are later used to commit crimes and smuggled goods, which deny the country of revenue in form of VAT.

1.7 Research design and methods

This study used mixed methods research design determined by pragmatic approach. This design allows complementarity to yield robust findings. Method mixing was done through triangulation, which involved convergence of qualitative and quantitative approaches at the analysis stage such that the strengths of one approach was used to overcome the weaknesses of the other (Creswell, 2014).

The study was done in Dadaab refugee complex in Dadaab, Garissa County. The complex is made of Dagahaley, Ifo II, and Hagadera camps. This complex is the largest in Kenya, is located near the Kenya-Somalia border, and is dominated by Somali refugees. On several occasions, the Kenya government has shown interest in closing this camp due to alleged association with national insecurity.

The targeted population were refugees, host communities, officers from the government in charge of refugee affairs, UNHCR personnel, budgeting and fiscal planning officers, officials from local financial institutions in Dadaab, NGOs closely working with UNHCR, tax collection officers, officers from select human rights groups, security agents, and Youth education pack (YEP) principal were targeted, as per the study's purpose. Refugees were sampled using multistage sampling because they were distributed in clans and households. Cluster sampling was first used at the clan and sub-clan level after which simple random sampling was used to identify participants. Simple random sampling was used to identify religious leaders. The host community was categorized based on the economic activity or position in society including Nyumba Kumi officials, community leaders, pastoralists, businesspersons/traders, religious leaders and the jobless and non-leaders, and were sampled using stratified random sampling to eliminate biasing of respondents. Other participants except the hosts and refugees were chosen by census sampling because they were few and at a privileged position to share purposeful information to the study (Babbie, 2010). Marshall et al.'s (2013) principle of a saturated sample size in qualitative studies was used to choose a sample size of 30 from whom qualitative data was collected using an in-depth face-to-face interview. Yamane's formula— $n=N/(1+N(e)^2)$ was used to estimate the size among refugees and host community from whom quantitative data was collected using a questionnaire. In that formula, N is the population size while 'e' is the margin of error. As is the case in many social sciences, a confidence interval of 95% and margin of error of 5% was applied. The resultant sample size for refugees was 92 (leaders) while that of host communities was 381.

Interviews were used in line with census method since participants were well informed about refugee implications. Reliability of questionnaire was determined using reliability scale (Cronbach's Alpha) of 72.6% while validity was checked using questions that capture the intended purpose. For the qualitative data credibility was checked through triangulation (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004), using complimentary data collection tools measuring the same item (Bengtsson, 2016), and through member checking (Birt, Scott, Cavers, Campbell, & Walter, 2016). The face-to-face interviews allowed the researcher to do member checking until the expected response was achieved. Quantitative data was analyzed statistically using descriptive methods (percentages and means) and presented in tables while content analysis was used to analyze qualitative data, which was presented as quotes or narrations. SPSS program was used to manipulate and model descriptive data.

1.8 Discussion of findings

Social challenges

Education levels of refugees

The study found that due to insecurity in the northern part of Kenya, Kenyan teachers of non-Somali ethnicity abandoned their teaching jobs in the Dadaab camps, as they felt targeted by terrorists for being outcasts. Attracting teachers from other parts to this area is also a huddle for the same reason. The findings further revealed that schools in and around camps were manned by a few host community teachers who were Somalis hence increasing their workload tremendously where one teacher was expected to attend to 107 pupils at a go. This huge workload has compromised the quality of education offered to refugee and host community children. This finding concurs with Refugee Consortium of Kenya (2012) who established that access to quality education in refugee camps is unmet.

Refugee skills and dependence on support

Table 1: Refugee skills and benevolent support

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Somali refugees in Dadaab have adequate skills to perform formal jobs	369	2.52	0.900
Somali refugees in Dadaab depend on benevolent support from others/organizations	370	3.18	1.585
Dependence on benevolent support challenges refugee socioeconomic contribution	369	2.40	1.003

Source: Author (2021).

As indicated in Table 1, Somali refugees have adequate skills to participate in formal jobs (Mean=2.52; SD=0.900). The qualitative findings indicated that refugee youths normally enroll in the Youth Education Pack (YEP) founded by UNHCR in partnership with Norwegian Refugee Council to acquire skills and knowledge useful to enable them access job opportunities or/and start their own businesses. This was done as a way of bridging the gap created by the high numbers of refugee children uneducated or dropping out of school before they reach tertiary levels. This finding disagrees with UNDP (2018) which indicated that due to dropping out of school prematurely refugees had been denied adequate skills to undertake future formal (professional) jobs.

The study also found that Somali refugees in Dadaab depend on benevolent support from others/other organizations (Mean=3.18; SD=1.585) as is the case with many refugees across the world. However, the study found majority of the respondents disagreeing that dependence on benevolent support challenged refugees' socioeconomic contribution to Kenya (Mean =2.40; SD= 1.003). Thus, even though refugees depend on aid, it does not prevent them from participating in socioeconomic development of the host nation. This is associated with refugees' alternative income generating activities like remittances and involvement in economic activities, which are used to supplement refugees' income levels and access to basic needs hence giving them ability to contribute to socioeconomic development of Kenya. This finding disagrees with Abdi's (2008) findings that dependence on aid discouraged refugees to participate in a country's socioeconomic development.

Prevalence of Female Genital Mutilation and Child Marriage Cases

The study established that majority of the refugee women have undergone female genital mutilation (FGM) and a significant number got married before they attained 18 years, which affect their participation in host development. This finding concurs with Mitike and Deressa (2009) who established that refugee girls underwent genital mutilation practice that severely affect their contribution to society. FGM and early marriages negatively affect development of refugee women, confine them to housewife roles, affect their education by encouraging school dropout, limit the income generating activities and works that women can take part in, and cause serious medical complications or even death to the victims (due to excess bleeding). These lower women contribution to economic development of the nation as well as create a group of women who cannot compete professionally with women from other parts of the country. This finding is similar to what Kimonge (2011) presented in the literatures.

The study further established that FGM was rampant, easy, and cheap to procure costing Ksh 500 for refugee girls and Ksh 10,000 for diaspora girls. The practice also thrives with the support of quack pharmacists and chemists who administer anaesthesia and inject tetanus jabs to victims. These practices, though horrific for girls, are believed to be a sign of maturity and rite of passage that controls girl's sexual desires hence preventing pre-marital sex and enhancing marital fidelity, findings that concur with Mitike and Deressa (2009).

Human rights abuses/violations

The study established that refugees in Dadaab camps do face human rights violations— documented and undocumented— mostly by the Kenyan Police including detention of refugees on suspicion of being terrorists or their sympathizers, forced extortions, harassment, and request of bribes. These abuses demoralize and divert the attention of refugees from making positive contribution to the development of Kenya and instead encourage their involvement in acts that are against the Kenya state like withholding intelligence on attacks and/or enrolling in terror cells. Sometimes, the host community also perpetrate abuses towards refugees including sexual and gender-based violence, which also have similar effect on refugees as indicated. What is more, poverty pushes refugees to send their children to labour at the expense of their education. Such children engage in low skills (manual) jobs. This disadvantages the children's access to education and challenges their future productivity as indicated by UNHCR (2020), which would yield more to the development of Kenya. The findings here are similar to those presented in the literatures that refugees have faced numerous human rights violations (Yarnell & Thomas, 2014).

Health Crisis

Qualitative findings show that refugees have overstretched the national health system as demand for health services is high putting pressure to the health workforce who overwork under difficult settings. Health personnel employed in Dadaab host community and under Government of Kenya payroll usually seek transfers to other relatively conducive area or seek greener pastures by joining UNHCR selected organizations providing health services to Refugees in the three camps of the complex. Thus, this causes an inadequate health personnel crisis for host community most of the time. This challenges effective health care to refugees and host communities who are often stricken by disease outbreaks like Polio, Cholera, and Measles.

Challenged healthcare leads to unhealthy refugees, which compromises their effective contribution to socioeconomic development of Kenya. The study also indicated that the health crisis opens up the door for smuggling fake drugs and substances into the country, which endangers the lives of refugee and host communities and hinders the growth of local drug manufacturing companies hence denying the country tax and employment opportunities. These negatively affect refugees' contribution to the socioeconomic development of the country. These findings concur with the finding that refugees exert additional pressure on the health systems of a country (Betts, 2009; Francis, 2015).

Insecurity

The study found that insecurity challenges the safety of people, property, and businesses in camps and its environs, which affects how they participate in socioeconomic development. Insecurity leads to loss of revenue strains, lost job opportunities, loss of lives, maimed/disabled people, smuggled goods and weapons, and costly goods and services all, which have negative socioeconomic impact to Kenya. This finding is in concurrence with the many literatures that indicated the effect of insecurity in this study (Jaji, 2009).

Freedom of movement

Majority of the interviewed respondents concurred that refugee management laws in Kenya offer limited freedom of movement to refugees, which hinder their socio-economic development similar to the submissions by Alexander et al. (2018). The study informed that all refugees including business people were required to get movement pass from the Refugee Affairs Secretariat led committee, which has a lengthy bureaucratic process and its officers often take this chance to seek for bribes, sexual favours, and harassment of applicants. This has restricted refugee freedom of movement, which is unconstitutional according to the 2010 constitution of Kenya Article 39 (1) and International Human Right Charters and Principles that permit free movement unless critical issue permit.

Economic challenges

Commodity prices, investment, and employment opportunities

Table 2: Commodity prices, rental cost, investment, and employment opportunities

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Prevailing commodity prices challenges Somali refugees' contribution towards socioeconomic development	366	1.92	1.020
Prevailing inflation levels in Dadaab challenge Somali refugees' socioeconomic contribution	368	1.88	0.982

Source: Author (2021).

The study found respondents disagreeing that prevailing commodity prices challenged Somali refugees' contribution towards socioeconomic development (Mean=1.92; SD=1.020). This finding disagrees with Buscher and Lauren (2010) who advanced that high commodity prices challenged refugees' contribution to development in Egypt. This study's finding could be associated with dependence on aid, which cushions refugees from fluctuations in market prices. Majority disagreed that inflation in Dadaab challenged Somali refugees' socioeconomic contribution to Kenya (Mean=1.88; SD=0.982). This finding is associated with the fact that there was no increased inflation associated with Somali refugees in the region as presented in earlier findings of this study. Since refugee arrival lowered inflation, that inflation was not high to challenge participation in development (Miller, 2018).

Loss of donor confidence and budget support for Dadaab refugee operations

The study also found that the international community and donors were having funding fatigue with the protracted 30 years refugee situation in Dadaab camps. The unending global wars leading to large population displacement and refugees in countries like Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Libya were prioritized over the Dadaab refugees who have existed for longer. As such, food ration, teachers, and health workers were reduced due to funding constraint. The study also found Kambioos and IFO 2 camps were closed due to such funding constraints. Limited donor funding reduces relief aid hence challenges refugees' ability to participate in socioeconomic development by limiting their ability to save and invest, increasing possibility of joblessness due to loss of investments to Dadaab, increases conflict with host communities resulting from scramble for limited resources and increases idle youths who are prone to engage in crime all which affect negatively the socioeconomic development of Kenya. These findings concur with Fakih and Marrouch (2015) that refugees drain donors and states in the modern world of limited resources, which is challenging for future sustenance of refugee hosting.

Smuggled Goods and Merchandise

The study found out that smuggling of goods and merchandise also challenges Somali refugees' contribution to the socioeconomic development of Kenya (Respondent KI 2; 17, 2021). The study found that smuggling of goods and merchandise deprive the country of tax and revenue opportunities and kill local industries and markets producing similar products. The contrabands are also cheaper than locally supplied goods hence cannot compete successfully. Contraband goods including sugar, rice, fake milk products, drugs, and substances etc. also pose a health risk to consumers, as the goods are not checked for quality standards. This finding concurs with the earlier one that goods are smuggled through the porous Somalia-Kenya border, which deny the country an important source of, tax e.g. VAT (Thomson Reuters Foundation (2017)). The study indicated that the government has identified the issue of smuggled goods and is dealing with it by enhanced border surveillance and destruction of seized contraband goods, but these measures are ineffective.

1.9 Conclusion

The study concludes that social and economic challenges affect Somali refugees' contribution to the socioeconomic development of Kenya. Refugees in Dadaab are exposed to poor quality education, which makes them less competitive in the professional job market. FGM, Child marriage, human rights violations, health crisis, insecurity, and limited freedom of movement challenge refugees' socioeconomic development to Kenya. The economic challenges include loss of/or limited donor support and smuggled merchandise/goods. Prevailing commodity prices and inflation do not challenge Somali refugees' contribution towards socioeconomic development.

1.10 Recommendations

UNHCR together with the Kenya government should sensitize refugees on the importance of completing schooling up to tertiary level to make refugees competitive in professional job market. All hindrances to this (like FGM and early marriages) should be addressed according to the law. This can be achieved by enforcing the laws that outlaw such acts like human rights abuses and gender-based violations.

Government in partnership with UNHCR should ensure all refugee camps are well provided with social amenities including setting up adequate classrooms and education facilities and equipment and hiring adequate teachers. The stakeholders should also explore the need for temporary or makeshift schools to manage high refugee and host community numbers. UNHCR should recruit more donors and partners to support the protection of refugees by investing in refugee support projects aimed at making refugee existence better.

The government should rework the policy that restricts refugee movement to be in line with the Kenya constitution and international laws that advocate for refugee protection. The government should enhance border surveillance using drones and modern technology to curtail smuggling of goods into the country.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Map of Dadaab refugee camps.

