



The Socio-Economic Implications of Somali Refugees to the Host community at the Dadaab Refugee Camp in Kenya

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ABSTRACT

Across the world, refugee hosting has been associated with costs and benefits to the hosting nations. However, in Kenya, hosting Somali refugees is majorly considered costly rather than beneficial to the nation. The county's high insecurity is one of the major effects that Somali refugees are associated with. No objective research has indicated the specific benefits of Somali refugees in Kenya. Using mixed research method, this study focused on establishing the costs and benefits of Somali refugees. The findings show that Somali refugees pose positive and negative effects on the Kenyan state. These effects are economic, social, and environmental. The study recommends policy implementation and technological adoption strategies as ways of enhancing Somali refugee contribution to Kenya's socio-economic development.

Key Words: Refugees, host community, socio-economic, government

INTRODUCTION

The refugee situation in the world has been persistent in the recent two decades with 79.5 million people displaced in 2019 [1]. The effect of this large number of refugees and asylum seekers on host nations is of great interest to many. According to research, refugees produce significant economic and social benefits for refugee families, the host country and home country even though questions about the effect of refugees on hosting communities and nations are presented as burdens rather than benefits [2]. Most policy makers and statesmen look at the public resources used to host refugees, which they think outweighs the micro and macro-economic benefits accrued [3].

Plenty of global and local literature documents the negative impact refugees have on host communities. Some of the common impacts of refugees widely advanced include national

security threat, increased rents, heightened food prices, taking away jobs especially those of low skilled host community workforce, stretching national public expenditure due to investment associated with refugees i.e. Investment in refugee education, health, security, water and sanitation among others. Globally, refugees have been associated with positive contributions to the local economy through provision of cheap labor and increased payment of taxes through legitimate business engagement [4, 5].

Kenya has been hosting thousands of refugees from neighboring states since the 1970s [6] and presently the country hosts Dadaab Refugee Camp, which is among the largest camps in Africa. Dadaab refugee camp stands out because it is the largest based on refugee population and was amongst the first to be instituted in the country. The camp is also considered as one that mostly affects Kenya negatively as it is viewed as a security threat owed to its proximity to Somalia and its habitation of Somali refugees who the government considers sympathetic to terrorists or active in terror acts [7]. Based on this, the socio-economic impact of refugees in this camp cannot be overlooked. Some scholars have argued that among the refugees hosted in Kenya, those from Somalia stand out due to the direct positive and negative socio-economic impacts they pose on the Kenya state [8].

The welcoming and hosting of Somali refugees in Kenya has been theoretically viewed as a costly affair that strains the nation's economic, social, environmental and sometimes political states. As such, these refugees are viewed as a hindrance or impediment to the development of the host country during their stay and even years after the refugee issue is resolved [9]. Although positive impacts of refugees exist across the world [10], they are not vividly explained or appreciated in the Kenyan context mainly because there is no authoritative empirical investigation on the same. Therefore, this study demystifies this.

REVIEWED LITERATURE

Economic impacts

Huge inflow and prolonged refugee migrations stay cause major economic effects to the hosting nation. A number of these effects are accompanied by augmented public expenses that do not have any associated income linked to the care and preservation of migrant communities [11]. The first macroeconomic impact from the influx of asylum seekers is through aggregate demand while effects of supply of labour develop gradually [5]. Specifically, researchers like Richard [10] elaborated on these market effects by considering that refugee influx to a given area or country leads to positive effects including causing economic stimulus in each country by attracting investors and development partners.

Researchers like UNHCR Standing Committee [9] establish that refugees enhance multiculturalism and cultural diversity, bring cheap and skilled labour, increase the general demand for commodities, create economies of scale, and promoting creativity and entrepreneurship among host and native communities. Further, researchers show that refugee migrations to an area increase investment in housing, establish trade linkages and opportunities, attracts investment and investors, develops host areas, enhances skills sharing, increases business activities, contributes to agricultural production and job creation [10, 12]. The arrival of refugees might spur economic growth, expansion, novelty, enhancing the local economy dynamism and newness [11] and promote trade and income generating activities among refugee and host communities [13].

Nordic Agency for Development and Ecology [14] adds that refugee camps contributed to host countries total yearly indirect and direct returns. Some of the benefits are allocated to developing infrastructure that is useful to native community. Locally, Nordic Agency for Development and Ecology established that the effect of Dadaab camps on the host population include increased trading opportunities and lowered commodity and food prices contrary to the findings by Richard [10] and Miller [15]. Remittances are the other form of positive impact associated with refugees. Remittances improve the economic situation of people and countries and deter others not to be migrants and refugees. Additionally, remittances earn countries foreign currency to assist offsetting persistent imbalance of payments shortfalls in emerging states due to the imbalance that exist in more imports versus less exports [16].

Other impacts of refugees include economic benefits arising from enhanced and diversified economic activities to the communities living around camps and enhanced accessibility to cash or food exchange for goods labour, and services, to the host community [17]. Nordic Agency for Development and Ecology [14] adds that refugees in Kenya are associated with growth of local markets with substantive purchasing power with respect to milk and livestock products common among pastoralists.

The disadvantages of refugees and refugee camps include pressure on available resources and amenities, pressure on available infrastructure, and insecurity cases [17, 18]. Some studies elaborate that immigration can withhold host populations' wage growth for the low skilled workers so that they compete with immigrants, while simultaneously alleviating wage progression for immigrant workers whose abilities match those host populations have [19]. As presented by Dustmann *et al.* [20], such labour competitions can be circumvented by engaging occupational downgrading whereby immigrants are placed at the bottom of the host wage payment to reduce pressure of competition and to give an upper edge to the native workforce. The other negative effects of refugee migrations include increased commodity prices and inflation, increases property prices [10, 15] and 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. Semi-skilled refugees also cause huge undesirable impact on the remunerations and occupational chances of semi-skilled locals with whom they compete for jobs directly [12]. These literatures indicate that refugees across the world present negative and positive effects to the host nation. This study investigated whether the same effects are replicated among the Somali refugees in Dadaab to the host communities.

Improved Infrastructure

The arrival of refugees prompts upsurge of public investment and influences developmental progression in the building, telecommunications, transport, and other public services sectors, leading to an increase in gross domestic product [5], which is beneficial to the host country. Such revelations have been witnessed in Dadaab area where the host communities have sought after better access to potable water and healthcare services from the Dadaab camps [17]. These services did not exist previously, and they are solely associated with the arrival of refugees and specifically Somali refugees. Besides refugees prompting public investment, skilled refugees can be used to spur development in the host country. As such, highly skilled and knowledgeable refugees can be utilized for the advantage and benefits of host community and country by allowing the refugees pursue their livelihoods through their skills which they use to contribute

significantly to the growth of the local economy. For example, in Jordan, Iraq refugees work in healthcare sector and academic institutions hence contribute to creating a healthy and knowledgeable host community [29].

Social impacts

Insecurity

In many refugee-hosting countries, refugees have been associated with violence and insecurity e.g. [7, 21] although in most cases they are not the initiators but culprits of the violence. Researchers like Nowrast [22] consider refugees peaceful while others like Kirui and Mwaruvie [23] view them as security threats. However, refugees are good people who, when integrated with the native communities, participate in economic development. Research shows that terrorist attacks associated with refugees cause one death in every 3.64 billion people every year indicating that the chances of a refugee causing terror attack and killing citizens is low [22].

However, globally, it has been established that during the migration of refugees, criminals take advantage of the porous borders and minimal security checks on migrants escaping political instabilities to disguise as refugees and sneak illegal weapons and criminals into the host country. These criminals and weapons are later used to commit crimes in the host country including causing insecurity and promoting smuggling of contraband goods, which cause various economic destructions as well as deny host countries revenue from VAT [24, 25]. Additionally, refugees can become a security threat when they collude with or secretly host terrorists. For instance, Starr [26] confirms this using the case of Turkey where Syrian refugees, although not a threat to national security, offered protection and hideouts for Syrian fighters. The fighters often visited the camps to get supplies, rest and visit their refugee families hence the association of refugees with insecurity.

In the Kenyan context, proximity of the Dadaab refugee camp to Somalia coupled with the porous Kenya-Somalia border makes it easy for rebels and militants from Somalia to enter the camp and hide among refugees [7] where they get better environment for retreating after engaging in terror acts. In fact, based on the numerous insecurity cases in Dadaab refugee camps, Kenya sealed her border with Somalia at Liboi in December 2006, as a measure to overcome the growing security concern posed by the Islamic insurgent group — Al-Shaabab. This was a dilemma to Kenya, as it needed to ensure the security of its citizens by controlling its borders but also was expected to uphold the 1969 Organisation of African Union (OAU) convention that allowed safeguarding of refugee's rights [24] as well as allow free trade between the two countries [7].

Although Kenya did not report security issues in Dadaab Refugee Complex for many years, in 2009 reports of insecurity concerns within the complex became common. Cases of hijacking and kidnappings of aid workers, shootings, rape, murder, assault, poaching, human trafficking, smuggling contraband, prostitution, gambling, and proliferation of illegal weapons [23, 25, 27] were regularly reported. The poor security situation in and outside the camps was associated with Somali militants roaming the camps [25]. This necessitated the Kenya government to initiate the operation Linda Nchi in 2011 where the Kenya Defence Force (KDF) entered Somalia to fight and neutralize the militants. This further exacerbated retaliatory attacks on Kenyan soil most of which Kenya government claimed were planned in Dadaab camps.

However, according to Thomson Reuters Foundation [18], it is misinformation to associate refugees with terror acts because (1) all refugees in Dadaab are vetted and registered by UNHCR and Kenya government and (2) if stakeholders (particularly Kenya government) have intelligence about some refugees being involved in terrorism or crime, why not arrest them and take them through the judicial processes. Nevertheless, Thomson Reuters Foundation [18] agrees that refugee camps act as safe havens and hideouts for terrorists and it is where the planning and executing terror acts happens, but refugees are not direct partakers. Besides terrorism, refugees are associated with other crimes including gambling, alcohol consumption, crime, and prostitution as well as long-term mental health problems to the host community members [15], and erosion of moral fabric of native youths [28]. All these insecurities affect the host nation negatively and tarnish the image refugees attract among host communities.

Pressure on available services

Over time, refugees pile pressure on available social services, infrastructure, and health facilities of the host hence affecting the socioeconomic being of the host community [9, 15]. UNHCR (2011) cited in Miller [15], p. 5 submit that large numbers of refugees always cause social tensions, violence and conflicts with the host community, particularly when the refugees are in a very disadvantaged position and/or have divergent ethnic and cultural orientations to the host community. Refugees also compete with the locals for available jobs, and increase pressure on available natural resources, physical amenities, and infrastructure [9, 10, 15]. An instance of the increased pressure on natural resources is the depletion of trees used for building materials, firewood as well as exerting pressure on grazing land near camps [14].

According to UNICEF [30], global trends show that most refugees are children and as their numbers increase, demand for education increases yet the education facilities do not increase simultaneously. Thus, this affects the education sector significantly as the scramble for the limited education resources lead to poor education quality to refugees and immediate host communities. The poor education attained causes future livelihood issues as the refugees and host communities produce learners who are less skilled. An example of such a case is given where 50% of the Syrian refugees in Jordan below 18 years were affected. For the Syrian refugee children in Jordan, in places like Amman and Irbid, 50% of the schools were overcrowded hence hampering quality education levels. Additionally, in some such areas, children access education on shift and rotational basis decreasing the time the student spends in class. On the other hand, teachers do double shifts as a strategy of attending to all learners, which make the teachers overworked, and tired yet they are not adequately compensated for that financially [31].

Harmonious coexistence

Refugees bring about neighbours who are harmonious to the host community. For instance, according to UNHCR (2007), when the host community and refugees residing amongst them share linguistic and cultural ties, there is a higher likelihood of nonviolent co-existence, cohesion, and social interaction among them. An instance of such coexistence is presented by UNHCR where Central African Republic (CAR) refugees who fled into the Democratic Republic of Congo lived harmoniously with their host. However, inequalities can distort this harmonious coexistence. Betts [4] indicates that social conflicts and tensions mostly arise because of inequalities among the host and refugees' populations. Traditionally refugees due to their nature of vulnerability do receive global humanitarian aid including food, service (livelihood,

vocational training, education, water, sanitation, and health) and non-food items. Such support and assistance services are rarely accessed in most host communities. This makes refugees to be looked upon as those who are profiting from fortunate access to livelihood means limited among the host society. To some extent, this creates tensions, conflict, and mistrust among refugees and host communities. However, such situations can be mitigated if the social services offered by donors are extended to host populations, which enhance the likelihood of the hosting communities to have positive perception of refugees.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This study used pragmatic approach, which culminated into mixed methods research design. Through this research design, the researcher combined qualitative and quantitative methods to inquiry with the aim of creating complementarity in data collection methods leading to robust findings [33]. The methods were mixed through triangulation strategy that involved the researcher converging them at the analysis level to allow the combination of the different strengths of qualitative and quantitative methods while outdoing the weaknesses inherent in them through complementarity.

The study took place in Dadaab, Garissa County, which hosts Dadaab refugee camp, the largest refugee camp in Kenya hosting the largest number off Somali refugees. The study targeted government officials in charge of refugee affairs, budgeting and fiscal planning, tax collection, UNHCR officials, officials of NGOs closely working with UNHCR, select human rights group, select security agents, local financial institutions, Youth education pack (YEP), refugees and host communities as per Appendix A. This population was chosen according to relevance of the officers in offering information that met the purpose of the study.

Refugees were sampled using multistage sampling because of how that population was distributed—in clusters and clans conglomerated into households. Cluster sampling was first used to identify the different clans and sub-clans in the clusters after which simple random sampling was used to identify participants. Simple random sampling was used to identify religious leaders. All other participants were chosen by census because (1) all participants in these groups serve in privileged positions where they are, in one-way or the other, informed about the socio-economic implications of refugees to the host community. (2) The participants from these groups were few and/rich in unique information and experiences that could be studied with each of them giving information of value to the research [34]. The host community was organised according to traders/businessmen, Nyumba Kumi representatives, religious leaders, community leaders and pastoralists and were sampled using stratified random sampling. Marshall *et al.*'s (2013) principle of a saturated sample size in qualitative studies was used to choose a size of 30 with respect to the sampling methods used and the saturation level attainment. For quantitative data collection method (used on refugees and host community), the sample was calculated statistically using Yamane's formula— $n = N / (1 + N(e)^2)$ which is used when the population is finite as was the case in this study. 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.

In-depth interviews were used to collect qualitative data from all respondents except refugees and host community respondents. The choice of this method was based on (1) the choice of the

target population and the census sampling methods used to pick participants were discriminatory to the extent that the chosen participants were those well informed about refugee implications hence the need to choose them. (2) Second, interviews allowed the collection of qualitative data that was adequate to inform the facts about the actual happenings in the study environment as well as the perceptions subjects have towards those happenings. The researcher structured and administered the interviews using face-to-face method to increase participation and return rate as well as allow the collection of non-verbally communicated cues. Questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data from refugees and the host communities since these participants were many and were being surveyed. The questionnaire used had open ended and closed ended questions. Reliability of quantitative data-collection instrument was determined in a pilot study using statistical reliability test (Cronbach's Alpha). Content validity was checked by ensuring that the questions presented in the questionnaire capture the intended purpose. The researcher accepted the instrument as it had a reliability statistic of 0.726 (72.6%).

For the qualitative data collection instruments, trustworthiness of data was ensured through credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, which are the equivalent of validity and reliability in quantitative studies. Credibility was checked through triangulation [35], use of complimentary data collection tools measuring the same item [36], and through member checking [37]. What is more, the face-to-face data collection methods (interviews) allowed the researcher to clarify questions (member checking) until the expected response was achieved. Thick description was used to achieve transferability. In this method, the researcher explained the exact set up where the interview took place and the exact description of the nature of respondents—see appendix B. Concerning the dependability and conformability of this research, the researcher allowed an internal audit of the collected data and the analysis process by a contracted researcher who counterchecked the findings against the raw recordings and notes made during the data collection process to establish coherence and ensure all respondents' feedbacks were captured and without alteration or ambiguity while ensuring neutrality.

Quantitative data was analysed statistically using descriptive methods (percentages and means) while content analysis was used to analyse qualitative data. SPSS program was used to manipulate and model descriptive data. Descriptions allowed the researcher chance to explain the facts of the host and refugee existence just as it is. In content analysis, the researcher reviewed all findings collected and identified content that was useful in answering the study's research questions. The researcher preferred manifest style of content analysis, which allowed the use of quotes and narrations to reinforce the discussion of the analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Socio-economic impact Somali refugees have to Kenya

Findings from key informants show that respondents consider that refugees to have positive and negative socioeconomic impacts to the nation. This finding confirms the application of the RAD theory, which holds that refugees pose costs and advantages to the host nations. Respondent KI 4 agreed that the host communities and its leaders have, for a while, refused to support the repatriation of refugees or closure of refugee camps because of the positive socioeconomic contribution refugees have on Kenya. The findings here concur with those presented in the literatures [9, 10, 15, 17] that refugees have positive and negative economic

implications they pose on host community. The positive and negative effects of refugees were detailed in the following paragraphs.

Economic impacts

Positive impacts

Remittances from Diaspora

The study found that most of the refugees get monthly remittances from their family members abroad to the tune of USD 50 to USD 700 through the UNHCR facilitated resettlement package. The remittances benefit the country in three ways: First, the remittances are taxed a fee, which goes to the national government for economic building. Second, the remittances have increased refugee patronage of financial institutions available in Dadaab. Thirdly, the remittances refugees receive are used to finance personal needs, education costs, as well as business costs, which improve the living state of refugees. Not having the remittances would disadvantage refugees who lack alternative ways of earning a livelihood by, for instance, leading them into criminal activities like stealing to survive.

Trade and taxation Opportunities

The study found that refugees create trading opportunities for themselves and host communities. For instance, the host communities trade their livestock and products, which have ready market in refugee camps. One government official noted that Dagahaley refugee camp was the second largest livestock market in the entire North Eastern region after Garissa town. These trading opportunities generate livelihood opportunities for host and refugee communities and provide market for Kenyan goods hence, growth of local companies as well as earn the country revenue through tax (VAT). The trading activities also create employment opportunities for many refugee and host community youths who work as salespeople, goods loaders, and county/national government on-the-ground tax agents.

The study further found that using the Postal Corporation, refugees send and receive goods and services from across the world. All these are taxed to benefit the country.” Respondent KI 5 indicated that, “Refugees attract taxations on goods and items they receive from their families, relatives, and friends from overseas. Goods and items, they normally receive through Kenya Postal Corporation are laptops, shoes, beauty, cosmetic products, sports jersey etc. on which they pay taxes to the government (KRA) through postal corporation.” These findings concur with Callamard [13] who indicated that refugees opened up business and trade activities in and around camps and UNHCR Standing Committee [9]; Richard [10] and Miller’s [15] revelation that the positive impact of refugees include attraction of investment and investors, and increased business activities. The study also established that although Kenya benefits from the trade between refugees and the outside world, there are many other undocumented trade activities that are not tracked for taxation hence the government was urged to follow up with these as a way of increasing the economic impact refugees have on Kenya.

Growth of the financial sector

The study found that refugees influenced the growth of financial sector in Dadaab directly (through need for saving partner, and business financing partner), and indirectly (where refugee management organisations require financial services to facilitate their operations). The study investigated whether refugees saved part of their incomes and the findings presented in

Table 1: Percentage of income refugees save

	Frequency	Percent
21-30%	7	13
11-20%	9	16
0 (No savings done)	14	26
1-10%	25	45
Total	55	100

Findings indicate that majority (45%) of Somali refugees with a monthly earning save 1-10% of their income, 26% do not save, and 16% save 11-20% while 13% save 21-30% of their incomes. This indicates that majority of refugees save part of their income. When the country of origin of the institutions they save with was investigated, majority (78%) indicated that they save locally (in Kenya) and 22% do not. Saving locally means growth to local financial institutions and contributes to local and national economic growth of Kenya since the savings earn an interest for the local financial institutions hence economic development.

Key informants indicated that refugees or host communities around camps running businesses or refugee management bodies offering services to refugees and host community require financial institutions to facilitate their activities, offer currency exchange, offer capital, and keep investor monies safely. This need was found to attract financial partners to the region including Equity bank and Hawalas (informal exchange bureaus and money transfer services) which have led to the growth of financial sector in Dadaab. Respondent KI 23 gave an instance where one local bank in the area, Equity bank, had over 10,000 customers who are refugees. Organizations that engage in refugee-related activities like NGOs, UNHCR and government institutions in Dadaab needed financial partners to manage their financial needs including paying employees and suppliers, paying taxes, and receiving payments. This also contributed to the growth of financial institutions to the area. This finding agrees with the findings that showed that refugees spur economic growth, expansion, and innovation into the local economy [11]. The finding also concurs with Francis [5] who indicated that refugees spurred growth in public investment, and in other functions like transportation, telecommunications, building, and the service sectors.

Improved infrastructure

Respondent KI 15 indicated, "There are many infrastructural developments associated with the presence of Somali refugees in Dadaab, Kenya." Before refugee camps were set up in Dadaab, the area did not have infrastructure as it is. Somali refugees and high-level advocacy of UNHCR and other international agencies lobbied the Government of Kenya and private sector to improve the road and telecommunication networks in the area to ease access and operations to refugee camps. As a result, infrastructure was improved/built. Currently, the roads from Liboi to Garissa and Wajir to Dadaab are annually paved to ease transportation of goods to and from refugee camps or the surrounding areas. This finding is in concurrence with that presented by Betts [4] and Francis [5] that refugees had influenced road construction, sector construction and telecommunication system.

Lowered commodity prices

Table 2: Economic impacts of refugees

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Somali refugees have increased employment opportunities	367	2.17	0.801
Somali refugees Contribute towards lowering commodity prices	370	1.68	1.021
Somali refugees have influenced lowering of rental cost	370	1.18	0.938
Somali refugees have influenced increased investment to the Dadaab area	370	2.17	0.907
Somali refugees have increased wages	366	1.76	0.858
Somali refugees have influenced economic diversification	364	1.90	1.034
Somali refugees have influenced the lowering of inflation	365	1.38	1.022

(Scale: No extent = 0; Small extent =1; Average extent =2 and High extent =3.)

Table 2 shows that majority of respondents to agree to an average extent that Somali refugees contribute towards lowering commodity prices (Mean=1.68; S.D. =1.021). This finding can be attributed to the cheap contraband commodities that are sneaked into the country through the porous Kenya-Somalia border. Additionally, the lowered commodity prices are associated with the relief aid that refugees receive which refugees sometimes sell to host communities at lower prices. Aid offered in terms of foodstuffs reduces refugees' demand for similar products hence attracting lower selling prices for such commodities. The study also found that refugees contribute to lowering of the prices of the food in the following ways: First, refugees sell to host communities part of the relief food they receive in order to get money to buy alternative food items that are not catered for by the relief voucher. This is because the voucher is normally specific to purchasing authorized food items (Sorghum, beans, oil) hence refugees must find ways they will use to get important items like milk, rice, wheat and firewood) which is selling part of the relief food to get income to purchase the non-supplied items. This is however illegal as relief food should not be sold or transferred to third parties. However, it helps in reducing food prices in Dadaab.

Second, UNHCR negotiates with the County government to provide designated places for farming within the refugee camps where refugees can plant vegetables like red pepper, okra, cowpeas, cassava, spinach, kales, tomato, and bananas. This farming yields food items that are consumed by refugees and some sold to host communities for income. As such, this lowers the prices of similar food items, as supply is plenty. Additionally, it ensures that refugees and host community are supplied with nutritious foods, hence creating healthy people. Respondent KI 13 stated, "The host communities are supplied with Red Pepper, Okra, Cowpeas, Cassava, Spinach, Kales, Tomato, and Bananas which are critical to supporting and preventing malnourishment in Dadaab refugee camps and host communities." Currently Danish Refugee Council is working with over 200 farmers on this farming program and the results are astounding.

Besides the participation in farming to get food, farming activities improve the environment of the Dadaab region. The study established that farming activities in refugee camps are being expanded to host communities by up scaling the food forest (planting of fruits and vegetable) currently done by the Refugee Reconstruction and Development Organization to build resilience and conserve the environment. Before this dryland farming interventions, all vegetables and fruits came from Garissa, Thika, Nyeri and Meru but now very few of that consignment come from the stated towns. However, the produce from refugee camps and host communities are fresh and cheaper than those imported from the towns stated because of the long journey and transportation costs.

Additionally, most Dadaab refugees are traders who bring about increased suppliers of commodities who in return create increased competition thus lowering commodity prices. This finding disagrees with that submitted by UNHCR Standing Committee [9]; Miller [15] that refugees drive the cost of commodities and housing up but agrees with the Nordic Agency for Development and Ecology [14] whose research indicated that the impact of refugees in Dadaab camps is felt through reduced food and commodity prices.

Impact of refugees on rental cost

Table 2 indicates the findings on the impact of refugees on rental costs where respondents agreed to a small extent that Somali refugees have influenced lowering of rental cost (Mean=1.18; S.D. =0.938) and growth of rental opportunities. The findings indicate to a small extent because refugees do not compete with host community on renting available houses since they are restricted to staying in temporary structures constructed in camps by UNHCR. This finding disagrees with that submitted by UNHCR Standing Committee [9]; Miller [15] that refugees drive up the cost of housing. The findings of the study is associated with the arrival of refugees that attracted service providers and other inhabitants in Dadaab area which increases demand and construction of rental units in the area leading to high supply of rental units resulting in lowering of rental prices. Respondent KI 15 stated that, "There was high demand of housing by different cadres of workforces offering services to refugees and refugee camps which drove up rental prices of properties in Dadaab and its environs." The high demand then triggered an upsurge of development of commercial buildings that catered for the demand. The peak of this socio-economic development was in 2011 to 2015 and the host community cashed on this business boom significantly.

Increased investment to Dadaab

As indicated in Table 2, on investment, the study found that, to an average extent, the Somali refugees have influenced increased investment to the Dadaab area (Mean= 2.17; S.D. 0.907) as well as attracted investors to the region (mean=1.89; S.D. = 0.814). The arrival of refugees to the area attracted service providers like banks, private schools, business investors, real estate investors, hoteliers, accommodation providers, among others, who collectively increased investment to the area as supported by the submissions of Respondent KI 15. This finding agrees with the one submitted by UNHCR Standing Committee [9]; Richard [10]; Miller [15] that refugees attract investment and investors and increased business activities to the area where they are hosted.

Increased wages, diversification, and low inflation

As indicated in Table 2, the other economic impacts of refugees include increase in wages among employees in the area, to an average extent (Mean =1.76; SD =0.858). This finding disagrees with the one established in the literature that shows that refugee arrival lowers the wages of native workers as they bring in cheap labour [5, 12]. This could be attributed to the increased investment and job opportunities to the area. Additionally, Dadaab is classified as a hardship area, which according to UN and Kenya government standards warrants that employees in this area be paid more to compensate them for working in a hardship area, hence the finding.

Somali refugees have influenced economic diversification to an average extent (Mean = 1.90; SD =1.034) which is in line with the finding by Enghoff *et al.* [17] who indicated that one of the advantages of refugees and refugee camps is enhanced and diversified economic activities to the communities living around camps. Kenyan Somalis have been predominantly pastoralists for a long time but with the arrival of Somali refugees, those staying closer to Dadaab have diversified into business/trading, and some got employed in various sectors in and around the camps hence the finding.

The study also found that Somali refugees have influenced the lowering of inflation to a small extent (Mean = 1.38; SD =1.022). The finding that refugee arrival lowered inflation in Dadaab deviates from the previously known finding that refugees increase inflation through scarcity of items and increased prices [9, 15]. This can be associated with the lowered commodity prices, lowered rental costs, and increased wages associated with the arrival of Somali refugees to Dadaab as already discussed. When prices go down and people's incomes increase, the value of their money rises hence lowered inflation.

Social impacts

Improved Social Services e.g. water, education, hospitals

Somali refugees owing to their vulnerabilities have been provided by important amenities courtesy of the efforts of UNHCR and other NGOs in partnership with the government. The refugees have access to water, education, and hospitals, which are a critical part of their livelihood. In some instances, the services (like access to clean water) offered to refugees are better than those of the neighbouring host communities to the extent that the hosts come to camps to access such services thanks to the 22 boreholes sunk by UNHCR to ensure reliable water availability in the camps. Respondent KI 15 while giving an example of how services have improved noted that previously refugees had access to water twice a week different from the host communities who accessed the water on rotational basis better from what existed before. UNHCR has sunk boreholes in various places in the camps where refugees can easily access safe and clean water.

Additionally, the study established that thanks to refugee camps, the host communities are provided with free health services by UNHCR and other humanitarian agencies at the hospitals/dispensaries in Dadaab refugee camps. Refugee camps have hospitals that are better equipped to offer extra advanced services like scanning and lab services. Organizations that support health services in refugee camps have also supported sub-county (government) hospitals by providing equipment and subsidizing services to make them affordable or free for the host community. Some critical surgeries are free of charge in the Dadaab Sub County

hospital courtesy of the support of these organizations. The free services include Caesarean surgery and special clinic for ear, neck, and throat (ENT) and eyes. UNHCR with the support of other stakeholders have also lobbied for the construction of schools in Dadaab refugee camps to ensure refugees/their children access education easily. This finding agrees with Enghoff *et al.* [17] and Betts [4] who observed that refugees contribute or influence enhanced measures that promote access to water, education, and health services in the camps and among hosting communities.

Employment Opportunities

As indicated in Table 2, the study also found that to an average extent Somali refugees have increased employment opportunities to Dadaab area (mean =2.17; S.D. =0.801). The key informants also informed that refugees create employment opportunities directly or indirectly. For instance, health facilities and schools built to support refugees were found to offer hundreds of job opportunities to refugees and host communities. Hundreds of Kenyan health professionals (nurses, clinicians laboratory experts and doctors) and teachers, engineers, planners, among others have been employed to serve in these projects thus supporting their families as well as generating revenue to the government through the PAYE (Pay as you Earn) scheme.

Additionally, refugee camps have created employment opportunities for host and refugees' communities. The UN officers at the camp, International government organizations (IGOs), NGOs, Private organizations and CBOs offer some employment opportunities to refugees and Kenyans living near refugee camps. Respondent KI21 estimated that offer 5000 employees including refugees and host communities are employed directly and indirectly in Dadaab refugee camp working informally and formally. Of concern to note is the fact that refugees take up most of the unskilled employment opportunities while hosts take up most of the formal employment opportunities.

However, the significance of refugees even in the informal sector is appreciated: "The refugees provide critical workforce to host community in the areas of animals rearing, domestic workers, cooking and serving in restaurants and working in minimarkets or shops," Respondent KI 12. The reason for this imbalance according to the study is that most refugees do not progress to post primary education and are usually employed by the host community at a lower wage of Kes 3,000 to 7,000 per month compared to the host community workforce. This finding corroborates the World Bank [11] report that indicates that refugees were mainly involved in the informal sector of employment.

Harmony between refugees and host

Concerning animosity and harmony between refugees and host communities, the findings in **Table 3** were collected.

Table 3: Harmonious coexistence

	There exists animosity between Somali refugees and Host communities in Dadaab (n=370)	Somali refugees and host communities in Dadaab coexist harmoniously (n-370)
I don't know	2%	0%
Strongly disagree	27%	1%
Disagree	55%	7%
Agree	12%	46 %
Strongly agree	4%	46%

These findings show that majority (55%) of respondents disagreed that there exists animosity between Somali refugees and host communities and 27% disagreed strongly. Additionally, it was found that 46% agreed while 46% agreed strongly that Somali refugees and host communities in Dadaab coexist harmoniously hence agreeing with the findings by UNHCR (2007). This is evidenced by the intermarriages and celebrations that happen between the two groups, which are social events that promote relationships. Respondent KI 16 concurred submitting that, "There are a lot of inter-marriages that exist between the host communities and refugees at the Dadaab refugee camps. This has created cohesion, trust, and co-existence of both communities." The cohesion and good relationship developed eliminates mistrust and animosity while creating harmonious coexistence. Although refugee-host community intermarriages are common, high rates of divorce is a concern as well. Respondent KI 6 and 7 separately indicated that there has been no investigation to establish the cause of the divorces but speculated that cultural differences and some refugees marrying for the sake of getting Kenyan identity cards were the main culprits. This finding disagrees with that presented by UNHCR (2011); Betts [4] that refugees are a cause of conflict with the hosting people. It clearly indicates that generally refugees are not causers of conflict with the hosting nation.

Vocational Skills and Technical Training development

As part of supporting the host community and giving back to them, UNHCR and Norwegian Refugee Council set Youth Education Pack (YEP) Centre for Dadaab refugees and host community that is supporting youth aged 18-35 years to enrol for professional courses of certificate and diploma, Vocational Skills development and Technical Training such as electricity, plumbing, Solar and Air Condition Repair, and short high impact courses (including Hair dressing, Samosa making, Cakes, and Tie and Die). The graduates usually use those skills to earn a livelihood. Graduates are encouraged to start micro-business enterprise to utilize the skills gained where they are trained on entrepreneurship and given seed capital to facilitate them (Business per group varies one business to another 200-300k). Respondent KI 18 added that this initiative was geared towards cushioning refugee and host youths from unemployment and its effects. The other reason was to address the issues of radicalization and youth ending strategically and silently up in the extremist and violent groups like Somalia's-Al-Shabaab or Al-Qaeda. The findings presented in the reviewed literature presented a similar scenario to the current one where Betts [4] indicated that refugees were offered vocational training due to their vulnerabilities [which then impacted them positively by equipping them with skills relevant to pursue employment].

Negative impacts of Refugees***General insecurity in the camps and host Country***

All security sector personnel interviewed agreed that Somali refugees are a risk to Kenya's national security based on intelligence information they have. The respondents noted that many cases of terrorism, human and drug trafficking, kidnappings, assault, and proliferation of weapons could be associated with the camps. Respondent KI 7 noted that all the security cases associated to terrorism and taking place between 2011 to 2020 were linked or associated to Somali refugees or refugee camps. However, the study underscored the fact that not all Somali refugees are terrorists and/or support such acts just as was established by Starr [26] for the case of Syrian refugees in Europe. Respondent KI 14 observed that refugee issues should not entirely be securitized but refugees should be treated as people in need of Kenya state protection and support and not as terrorists. However, Respondent KI 7 & 8 indicated that refugee camps and host community areas are insecure based on the terrorist activities that have been frequently witnessed in Kenya and many of them are associated with refugees—whether directly or indirectly. This finding confirms the one presented in the literatures [7, 23, 25, 27] that refugees were associated with insecurity.

It was also revealed that Dadaab refugee camps border Somalia through Hamey, Abdisugow and Liboi border towns of Kenya in addition to over 300 undocumented routes or border sites where terrorist can enter to Kenya. Somali refugees in Dadaab sneak out of the country and back using these sites without notifying the UNHCR or GoK of their movement. It is possible that terrorists take advantage of these movements to sneak into the country as well and/or hide in refugee camps or that the refugees who sneak out and into the country engage in terror acts. This finding concurs that presented by Thomson Reuters Foundation [18]) that terrorists take advantage of the porous borders to sneak into the country and engage in crimes. The challenge from the Kenyan side is that the government has inadequate financial and human resource capacity to man these porous borders hence the porosity.

The study also found that some idle refugee youths and sympathizers of Al-Shabaab terror group have been radicalized and joined the Al-Shabaab terrorist group. These few cases have spoilt the name of the entire refugee fraternity causing the entire Somali refugee group to be considered sympathizers. Respondent KI 22 submitted, "There are some Al-Shabaab sympathizer and sleeper cells that recruit and radicalize idle and unemployed Somali refugees yet the government of Kenya and UNHCR do not fund programs in the Dadaab refugee camps that address youth enrolment in violent extremist groups," just as was established in an earlier study by (Ng'ang'a, 2016).

Population Increase (crowding)

Concerning population increase, Respondent KI 4 submitted that the increased numbers of Somali refugees have constrained the available space in Dadaab camps to the extent of causing overcrowding which is unhealthy. The study revealed that some refugees have set up temporary houses on the outskirts of the camp, which according to the central government is illegal. Overcrowded camps are a problem that has existed in camps before based on the findings of the previous researches by Nordic Agency for Development and Ecology [14]. This problem limits or puts pressure on access to basic amenities and limited resources, which affects the budget allocated towards refugee camps by UNHCR while piling pressure on the host nation as well.

Refugee Education

The study investigated the ratio of learners per class in Dadaab schools and found, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Learner/Classroom Ratio

Learner/Classroom Ratio				
Level	Classrooms	Students	Ratio	Remarks
Primary	393	56502	144	Both pry/ECD
Secondary	109	11370	104	
	502	67872	135	

Source: Respondent KI 9 (2021).

The finding show that 144 refugee children shared a class in primary/ECD and 104 shared a class in secondary school. Respondents indicated that when the classes were built, they were to accommodate 50-60 learners on average (disregarding physical distancing rules). Thus, the fact that classes are forced to hold almost double indicates a case of overcrowding and a time bomb for transmission of communicable diseases. The findings also show that the teachers were overwhelmed because the high number of learners per class limits teacher attention to all learners and the problem is even augmented by the shortage of teachers in the region due to fear of insecurity just as was indicated by UNHCR (2016). This finding indicates the state of poor education that refugee children are exposed to in camps characteristic of refugee camps as indicated in previous studies [18, 31]. The impact of this is half-baked learners who are less competitive compared to their counterparts from the rest of Kenya who are in schools with better facilities. Additionally, the congestion is a health risk particularly in this season of COVID-19 just as was substantiated by Respondent KI 9.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study concludes that Somali refugees have positive and negative socioeconomic impacts to Kenya just as is advanced by the Refugee Aid and Development theory. The positive socioeconomic impacts include betterment of the livelihoods of refugees to minimize dependence on aid through increased incomes, equipping of refugee youths with skills relevant for entrepreneurship/job opportunities, and offering jobs to them. These factors increase refugee participation in Kenya's socioeconomic development. The impacts of refugees to host communities is betterment of their livelihoods through creation of job opportunities, increase in wages, lowered commodity prices, growth of sectors (like financial & real estate), essential services (like healthcare), and infrastructural development. To the Kenya state, refugees create employment for its citizens, ready market for local goods and services, economic diversification, low local inflation, increased investment into the area and tax opportunities. The negative impacts of Somali refugees to the socioeconomic development of Kenya are the threat to Kenya's national security, overcrowding/population pressure, which exerts pressure on available amenities and services like on education.

The study recommends that the GoK should promote refugee hosting through institution and implementation of relevant policies and regulations that give room for refugee freedom in participating in host's socioeconomic development initiatives. These policies should also

address the issue of radicalization and idleness among refugee youths. The government should also incorporate innovative security surveillance measures (using drones and helicopters) to ensure border monitoring and combat any illegal activities (like smuggled goods, and terrorist crossover to Kenya) likely to affect positive refugee contribution to Kenya's socioeconomic development.

LIMITATION

The study was limited by self-reporting bias, which was overcome by the robust methodology that allowed triangulation between qualitative and quantitative data collection and reporting methods.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Target and Sample Size

Population Category	Population	Sampling method	Sample Size
Quantitative sample size			
Refugees at Dadaab (leaders of sub-clans and religions)	221,102	Clustering & simple random sampling	92
Host community (representatives)	8,100	Stratified random sampling	381
Total quantitative sample size	229,202		473
Qualitative sample size			
UNHCR officials	5	Census	5
RAS staff	4		4
Director general department of the Directorate of Budget, Fiscal and Economic Affairs	1		1
UNICEF	1		1
RCK	1		1
YEB	1		1
KRA Enforcement officers	2		2
Manager Postal Corporation of Kenya-Dadaab	1		1
Deputy County Commissioner and Assistant deputy county commissioner- Dadaab sub-county	2		2
Amnesty International	1		1
Danish Refugee council	1		1
Kituo cha Sheria	1		1
Eye on Security	1		1
Sub County Police Commander and assistant superintendent of police- Dadaab Sub County Officer	2		2
Sub-County Children's officer, education officer, and PHO	3		3
Managers of Financial Institutions (KCB, Equity, Hawala)	3		3
Total	30		30

Source: Author (2019)

Appendix B: The Thick Description Method of Interviews

The thick description method involved the researcher explaining the exact set up in which interviews happened to give readers a sneak peek into the interview room. All the participants except the KRA officers were interviewed on weekdays in the morning hours between 7 am to 11.40am, which were official working hours. The researcher preferred morning hours as these were the most active and productive hours of many workers. The two KRA officers participated in out-of-the-office activities during the time of study hence were interviewed in the afternoon (3 pm to 6pm) as per their availability. In fact, the interview with one of the KRA officers failed twice due to official reasons like having impromptu field trainings as well as personal reasons like tiredness. Only one interview (to the Director General) flopped due to his busy schedule and inability to reassign the researcher to interview any other appointed staff at his duty station.

All interviews took place in the offices of interviewees or boardrooms at their workplaces thus the set-ups were familiar grounds. The researcher preferred this to give interviewees confidence and allow them to feel in control of the interview session. Except for the KRA enforcement officers, all the interviewees were active and looked interested during the time of interview. They showed no sign of stress and did not act as if the interview was a bother. On the other hand, the KRA officers interviewed seemed in a hurry during the time of interviews particularly when the clock hit 4.30pm. The researcher deduced that probably they were looking forward to retiring from the day's hard work. Although the KRA officers were cooperative in addressing the interview questions posed at them, they showed little interest to elaborate further unless prompted to but were quick to quote documents (not availed for the researcher's review). The proceedings of the interview were recorded on phone as well as short notes taken on what was said. All interviews ended well and achieved the goal for which they were intended.