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Master in Economic Development and Growth

“Economic Activities in Kakuma camp” The Kakuma Camp Case Study

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Abstract: Humanitarian organizations (HOs) are the main authority in long-term refugee camps. However, literature criticizes the economic relevance of HOs in a long-term refugee camp. My thesis applies the discussion to a case study in Kakuma camp. The study proposes two research questions: 1) To what extent does the long-term presence of HOs affect the market system and economic life of refugees in Kakuma camp? Furthermore, 2) to what extent do refugees maintain economic activities in Kakuma camp? My research answers the two research questions with a comprehensive approach through data collection from the main market actors and the market system. The case study uses a sequential explanatory mixed method, 115 interviews and secondary literature. The case study concludes that 1) HOs have a negative effective on the market systems and the economic life of refugees in Kakuma camp. The main argument is that HOs act as the dominant market actor, occupying the supply side of the market through free-given assets, interventions and items. On the other hand, 2) refugees maintain various economic activities through a wide trade system, entrepreneurial spirit and several businesses. Refugee economies supply the market but are in unnecessary competition with HOs. Overall, the answers to the two research questions endorse each other and support the literature on the criticism concerning the economic relevance of HOs in long-term refugee camps.

Key words: humanitarian organization, refugee economies, market system, Kakuma camp

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Abbreviations

DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EAI	Economically-Active Individual
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GO	Government Organization
HO	Humanitarian Organization
ICLA	Information, Counseling and Legal Assistance
IFC	International Finance Cooperation
ILO	International Labour Organization
ITC	International Trade Center
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
UN	United Nation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WASH	Water, Sanitation & Hygiene
WFP	World Food Program
VCT	Vocational Training Centre

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

The world currently has to deal with 25.4 million refugees (UNHCR 2017). Eighty-four percent of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries (UNHCR 2017), with Lebanon, Jordan, Ethiopia and Kenya hosting the majority of *registered* refugees worldwide (Sanghi 2016).

Refugees spend several years in refugee camps, outside of their origin country and without the opportunity to return (World Bank Group 2016). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) announced that the duration of remaining a refugee is on average seventeen years (UNHCR 2006:107). Milner (2011) concludes that almost two-thirds of the world's refugees are living in non-ending exile. Children are born in refugee camps (Amy 2013). Furthermore, refugees create sustainable livelihoods in a refugee camp (Betts 2014; Betts 2018).

The worldwide refugee situation places immense pressure on the refugee camps. The UN's New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants (2016) places sustainable development and a strong economy in the focus to resolve issues of human mobility (UN 2016; ILO 2017). The declaration states in paragraph 20b that measures are needed to foster and expand self-reliant livelihoods (UN 2016).

The major role in this refugee situation is played by humanitarian organizations (HOs), who are the main authority in long-term refugee camps. Indeed, HOs administrate long-term refugee camps (Verdirame 2005:17; Jamal 2000). Furthermore, HOs provide a wide range of humanitarian assistance and interventions in the refugee camp, which affects the lives of the refugees (Jacobsen 2001).

Despite the pivotal role played by HOs in the worldwide refugee situation, the economic relevance of HOs in a long-term refugee camp is criticized by

several literature sources. Jacobsen (2005:77,108) concluded that the economic development of refugees is more decisive than humanitarian handouts. Jacobsen (2005:108) argued that refugees should be granted economic freedom and economic rights. Jamal (2000) proposed that HOs should enable refugees' human capacity and develop durable solutions for the self-governance of refugees (Jamal 2000). Dick (2002) concluded that the target for long-term refugee camps should be to reduce humanitarian dependency and allow refugees to be economically productive. Montclos (2000) demonstrated that a reduction in humanitarian aid would not immediately close the camp; rather, refugees would stay and the camp would emerge as a market. To summarize, HOs are criticized due to their strong economic relevance.

The first research problem is to describe the effects of HOs on the market system and economic lives of refugees in a long-term refugee camp. Furthermore, the second research problem is to describe the economic activities of refugees. The findings to this research problems are increasingly important due to the immense pressure on long-term refugee camps and the goals set by the UN declaration. My research contributes to these research problems through a case study in Kakuma camp.

1.2 Purpose and Aim

My first purpose is to provide findings about the economic role of HOs in the market system and economic lives of refugees in a long-term refugee camp. The second purpose is to describe the economic activities of refugees. Accordingly, the thesis asks following two research questions:

- 1) *To what extent does the long-term presence of HOs affect the market system and economic life of refugees in Kakuma camp?*

- 2) *To what extent do refugees maintain economic activities in Kakuma camp?*

Kakuma camp has existed for a quarter of century, hosting 180,000 refugees and situated in Turkana county in Kenya. The case study of Kakuma is relevant because it is seen as a concentrated microcosm of the increasing refugee challenge across the world (Alix-Garcia 2017).

In order to answer the research questions, this thesis collected quantitative and qualitative data through a sequential explanatory mixed method. The quantitative data is analyzed descriptively, while the qualitative data is transcribed and coded. The data collection lasted seven weeks and took place in Kakuma camp.

The thesis uses the theoretical frameworks from Werker (2007) and the International Labour Organization (ILO 2017). Both frameworks explain the market system in a refugee camp. The frameworks enable the thesis to analysis the case study of Kakuma camp.

In order to answer the research questions, my field study conducted data comprehensively. Therefore, my thesis distinguishes five main actors in the Kakuma camp: economically-active individuals (EAIs), households, government authorities, humanitarian organizations and the private sector. EAIs are all of the refugees and inhabitants in Kakuma town and Kakuma camp who produce, sell and trade in the market system. This includes shop owners, street venders, wholesalers, retailers, employees, employers and entrepreneurs. In my sample, the households are situated in Kakuma town and camp. The government authorities determine the official rules and regulations in the market system. HOs administrate Kakuma camp, while the private sector is the international private and national private sector, which interact economically in the market system but have their central offices outside of Kakuma. In order to answer the research questions, my groundwork delved into how the different market actors interact in the market system. Furthermore, my research explores how the refugees maintain economic activities.

1.3 Answers to the Research Questions

The case study ascertained that 1) the long-term presence of the HOs negatively affects the market system and economic life of refugees. Furthermore, 2) refugees maintain wide-spreading, heterogeneous and creative economic activities. Both answers endorse each other and provide the following explanation.

The field study ascertained that HOs occupy the supply side of the market system through free-given assets, interventions and services. However, refugees maintain economic activities through a large trade system and different businesses. In my sample, refugees want to supply the market system with their products and services. Indeed, refugees highlight that they want to extend their businesses. The field study argues that economic activities are in unnecessary competition with the free-given items, interventions and services issued by the HOs.

Overall, my findings support the literature concerning criticism about the economic relevance of HOs in a long-term refugee camp. Furthermore, my case study supports the notion in previous literature that refugees are economically active.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The second chapter offers an orientation of the social, economic and political environment of the case study. The third chapter entails the theory. The fourth chapter introduces the methodology. The fifth chapter details the findings, and the sixth chapter concludes. The seventh chapter depicts the references and the eighth chapter comprises the appendix. The text and appendix are linked to each other, whereby the reader can use the link to go directly forth and back between the appendix and text. When direct citations from literature or sources from books are used, the thesis provides the respective pages of the sources.

2. Orientation of Kakuma Refugee Camp

The literature review presents an overview of the environment of refugees in Kenya, Turkana county and Kakuma camp and town. Finally, the chapter defines frequently-used terms like long-term refugee camp, humanitarian organizations and refugee economies.

2.1 Kenya

Kenya is situated in central Africa and has borders with Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan and Ethiopia. Map 1 in Appendix H depicts the location of Kakuma camp, which is close to the South Sudanese and Ugandan borders. According to the UNCHR Factsheet (2015), there are 584,989 registered refugees in Kenya. The highest percentage of refugees are from Somalia, followed by South Sudan.

The UNHCR Factsheet (2015) depicts four main refugee camps. Dadaab (224,884 refugees) and Alinjugur (127,674 refugees) – both of which are close to the Somalian border. Kakuma camp (180,674 refugees), which is close to the South Sudanese border and has an increasing number of refugees due to the continuous inflow from South Sudan (UNHCR 2017). Finally, the fourth camp in Nairobi (51,757 refugees). Kenya is the second largest *registered* refugee-hosting country in Africa (Sanhgi 2016).

Kakuma camp is the second largest refugee camp in Kenya. The camp was established in Turkana county in 1992 (Verdirame 1999).

2.2 Turkana county

Turkana county is situated in the north-west of Kenya. The capital of Turkana is Lodwar. Kakuma camp lies in Turkana county, which is known as the birthplace of humanity (Sanhgi 2016; Harmand 2015). A 3.3 million year-old stone tool was found in West Turkana, which stands for hominin evolution and technological origin (Harmand 2015).

However, this is not directly the first appearance of Turkana today. The Turkana people are an ethnic group with traditional clothes, own tribe language and traditional cultural roles. Turkana people are semi-nomadic pastoralists (Sanghi 2016; Alix-Garcia 2017; Ohta 2005). Picture 1 in Appendix F depicts a traditional Turkana woman with her grandchildren in a nomadic shelter in Kakuma town.

Livestock determines the social ranking in Turkana county. A Turkana person sits higher in the social ranking when they possess more animals. Goats are the dominant livestock in Turkana, as well as the dominant food. Turkana men believe that they should only eat meat (Lokuruka 2006). Turkana people are significantly more dependent on livestock than agriculture activities (Alix-Garcia 2017).

Turkana county is one of the poorest regions in Kenya, with a poverty rate of around 90 percent (Sanghi 2016; Kenyan National Bureau of Statistics 2017). In the national Kenyan integrated household budget survey (KIHBS 2018), it is revealed that Turkana county has the lowest proportion of population who own a mobile phone. Moreover, Turkana county has an eminent proportion of households who require more than 30 minutes to fetch water. Less than 10 percent of Turkana's households utilize electricity to provide light in their household. Consequently, firewood and charcoal are the dominant energy sources. Furthermore, Turkana is among the counties with the lowest school attendance rate. Turkana county has the highest self-assisted birth rate among all counties and it is also among the counties with the highest proportion of the population without internet access. Turkana county is sparsely populated, although it is among the counties with the utmost proportion of households, who report grievance about land titles (KIHBS 2018). Overall, Turkana county appears as backwards compared with the rest of Kenya. Indeed, this notion is also strengthened by existing literature (Sanghi 2016; Alix-Garcia 2017).

Recent economic development and growth are visible. For example, the main street, between Lodwar and Kakuma, is under construction. The recent oil find can be a major opportunity for economic growth. It has the potential to promote infrastructure, health, economy and education (Sanghi 2016). The Turkana county government wants to integrate the refugees in the Turkana economy, as expressed in Quote 1 in Appendix C.

2.3 Kakuma Camp and Town

The chapter provides an overview of the political, social and cultural situation of the refugees in my case study.

History

In 1991, 30,000 unaccompanied boys arrived in north Turkana county, labeled as the so-called “lost Boys from Sudan” (Sanghi 2016:1). In this time, Kenya allowed refugees to move freely and integration was allowed. Work rights were granted for refugees (Verdirame 1999).

However, the steady inflow of the lost boys and the increase of Somali refugees changed the Kenyan policy towards an encampment strategy (Verdirame 1999). UNHCR established sub-offices close to the border of Sudan to administrate the refugee inflow. In cooperation with the Kenyan government, UNHCR determined the status of the new arrivals, whereby the refugees either received refugee status or they were directed to other camps, while some refugees were rejected (Verdirame 1999).

In 1992, the HOs established Kakuma camp (Alix-Garcia 2017; Verdirame 1999). Kakuma camp started with a population of 35,000 refugees, whereas today it has more than 180,000 refugees. The refugee population has fluctuated in Kakuma camp over the years. Graph 1 in Appendix E depicts the number of refugees in Kakuma camp between 1994 and today.

Geographic and Demographic Information

Kakuma lies in north Turkana. Kakuma camp is separated into four sub-camps – Kakuma I, II, III, IV – and Kalobeyei settlement. Map 2 in Appendix H depicts the locations of the Kakuma camps and town. The river only bears water in the raining season and was completely dried out during the field study. To sum up, Kakuma camps and Kakuma town are situated very close to each other.

The whole area of Kakuma camp spans more than 13.5 km² (Alix-Garcia 2017). The camps have on average a populated density of 12,000-13,000 individuals per square kilometer (Alix-Garcia 2017). Kakuma I is the oldest settlement and most density populated (Alix-Garcia 2017). Overall, Kakuma camp appears as a city with many streets, many shelters made out of iron sheets or mud/timber (Alix-Garcia 2017; Montclos 2000).

The refugees are from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Most of the refugees are South Sudanese, with a share of 50 percent of all refugees in Kakuma camp (Sanghi 2016). In Kakuma I, II, III and IV, the refugee nationalities are mixed. Kalobeyei settlement primarily entails the newest arrivals from South Sudan (IFC 2018; Betts 2018b). Overall, Kakuma appears as multi-cultural and multi-national.

Kalobeyei settlement is a recent pilot project where refugees can live permanently and together with Turkana people. Kalobeyei settlement is managed by the HOs with the agreement of the Turkana county government and it is financed by the European Union (Betts 2018b). Overall, Kakuma camp is switching towards being a permanent settlement.

Kakuma town is less than one kilometer away from Kakuma camp and it has around 40,000 inhabitants (Oka 2014). Kakuma town has one paved street, on which many bars, shops and a few wholesalers are located. The picture on the streets is mixed, with many goats, traditional individuals from

Turkana, many motorcycles and refugees. Many businesses carry out their activities. The environment is vibrant, buoyant and busy. Picture 2 in Appendix F displays the main road in Kakuma town, which is also the only paved road. Overall, Kakuma town appears as a vivid town.

However, Kakuma camp and town seem isolated. There is only one road connecting Kakuma with the rest of Kenya. At one end, the unpaved road leads to Lodwar, whereby it takes between 3-5 hours to arrive to Lodwar. At the other end, the unpaved road leads to the Juba in South Sudan. Picture 3 in Appendix F depicts the semi-arid landscape around Kakuma camp and town, which is mainly due to the missing water and the average temperature of 40 degrees (Aukot 2003). Furthermore, Picture 3 offers an impression of the empty surroundings. Kakuma town has one landing strip for humanitarian airplanes. Kakuma camp and town are geographically, institutionally and socially isolated from the Kenyan government (Agier 2002; Werker 2007).

Consequently, the local Turkana people feel excluded from the Kenyan government and forgotten by the world (Vemuru 2016).

Society and Laws

The research ascertained that the social environment is heterogenous in Kakuma town. Some Turkana people are traditional, pastoralist and technologically-illiterate, whereas others are creative entrepreneurs who build permanent houses and are technologically-literate.

HOs administrate Kakuma camp (Verdirame 2005:17), providing food distribution, health services, shelters, legal assistance, skill training as well as water, sanitary and hygiene services (Oka 2014). Humanitarian aid has increased the health and education services in Kakuma camp to a higher level than Kakuma town (Alix-Garcia 2017). Crisp (2003) suggests that it is striking how prominently humanitarian assistances are interacting in

Kakuma camp. To summarize, HOs seems to play a major role in Kakuma camp.

Furthermore, the refugees have the opportunity to work as volunteers and receive an incentive fee. The HOs employs many so-called incentive workers and they pay them a very low incentive fee (wage) (Vermuru 2016; IFC 2018). Accordingly, HOs seem to play a major role in the labor market in Kakuma camp.

The World Bank investigated the impact of refugees on the hosting community in Kakuma town (Vemuru 2016). Their findings highlight that refugees have a significant positive socio-economic impact on the host population in Kakuma. Moreover, the presence of refugees has transformed the socio-economic dynamic in Kakuma town (Sanghi 2016). The local community has established cultural and economic relationships with the refugees (Ohta 2005). Therefore, Kakuma town and camp are socio-economically intertwined.

This notion is also supported by Alix-Garcia (2018), who indicates that the presence of the refugees has increased employment and economic activities for local producers. Furthermore, local producers can sell their products in the refugee camp market (Alix-Garcia 2017). For example, bargaining with firewood is a salient income-generating activity for the local community (Alix-Garcia 2017; Sanghi 2016).

Furthermore, the availability of different products is better developed inside Kakuma camp than in Kakuma town (Grindheim 2013; Alix-Garcia 2018). Accordingly, the Kakuma camp economy is overshadowing the Kakuma town economy (Alix-Garcia 2017). Consequently, the local community prefers the market in Kakuma camp (Grindheim 2013).

However, despite the peaceful interactions, incidences of gender-based violence and domestic violence are documented in Kakuma camps and town (Horn 2010). Furthermore, refugees report having difficulties with the Turkana language, particularly because the Turkana language is harsh (Ohta 2005). For instance, refugees are called “emoit” in the Turkana language, which has two meanings: one meaning is that emoit is an enemy who attacks and steals the livestock, while the second meaning is simply a non-Turkana (Ohta 2005).

Not all aspects of life are positive inside the Kakuma camp; for example, children are employed by refugees (Alix-Garcia 2017). Picture 4 in Appendix F depicts one of the many occasions of child labor witnessed during my field study.

Kakuma camp has many specific restrictions and laws. The refugees do not have the right to work and mobility is limited (Vemuru 2016). The refugees have to ask for permission from the Department for Refugee Affairs to travel out of the camp. Picture 5 in Appendix F depicts a movement pass for refugees issued by the Turkana government. The permission shows that refugees have to pay money for these permissions. Furthermore, the refugees are banned from cutting trees and keeping livestock (Betts 2018). Moreover, entrepreneurs are compelled to apply for business licenses (Betts 2018). Refugees are forced to pay taxes, although they do not see any benefit from these taxes (Betts 2018). These restrictions, laws and limitations are forcing refugees to work and live in the informal sector. Kakuma camp is an informal refugee camp, although the Kenyan police and administration largely turn a blind eye to trade relationships and movement between Kakuma camp and town (Ohta 2005).

3. Key Concepts and Analytical Framework

In order to enable an analysis of the research questions, this chapter familiarizes the reader with the market system in a refugee camp and the

economic life of refugees. The chapter describes the key concepts used in this thesis and the model of the refugee camp economy. The chapter provides a description of the framework for market system analysis. My research about refugee economies is not the first, whereby the chapter also provides a review of relevant previous literature.

3.1 Refugee Economies, Long-term Refugee Camp, HOs

Refugee economies are defined as a comprehensive approach to capture the refugees' economic activities in a wider market system (Betts 2014). It explores the economic life of refugees from the perspective of a refugee him-/herself (Betts 2014).

Jacobsen (2001) describes refugee camps as purpose-built sites that are mostly situated in rural and remote areas. Furthermore, Jacobsen (2001) explains that the refugee camp is administered by UNHCR with the allowance of the host government, while NGOs provide refugees with free assistances and asset. Moreover, Deardorff (2009) defines a long-term encampment as a mandatory living condition in a densely-populated place with at least 25,000 refugees for a duration of at least five years.

Werker (2008) defines non-government organizations (NGOs) as humanitarian cooperatives that are not profit-oriented. The objectives of NGOs are to promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment and provide all kinds of social services. NGOs are working mostly in developing countries. The thesis combines UNHCR and NGOs in their humanitarian attitude and treats them as one market actor, labeled as humanitarian organizations (HOs).

3.2 Model of a Refugee Camp Economy

This chapter makes the reader more familiar with how literature describes the camp economy and the economic activities of refugees. The chapter describes previous research about the Kakuma camp economy.

Werker (2007) provided a model of a refugee camp economy. In the model, three actors shape the refugee market outcome: the institutional environment, humanitarian assistance and the refugee composition.

Werker (2007) distinguished between key distortions in the camp economy. Market outcomes in the refugee camps are shaped by the institutional context, which in turn is determined by the host-refugee policies. This is supported by new institutional economics, which teaches us that markets are shaped by institutions (Betts 2018; Williamson 2000). Another distortion factor is the isolation of the camp, although this does not relate to geographical isolation; rather, the isolation is based on the status of a refugee being social isolated. Another distortion factor is the demographic make-up of the refugee camp, whereby the age, work experience and nationality of the refugees shape the market outcomes in a refugee camp. Finally, a central distortion factor is humanitarian aid, which influences the economic life of refugees through humanitarian assistance. However, the model by Werker (2007) does not mention the private sector. Indeed, this is a research gap that my thesis aims to fill.

To summarize, the key distortions by Werker (2007) provided me with understanding concerning how to research and analyze the camp economy in Kakuma camp. The model is used to answer the research question regarding how HOs affect the market system in Kakuma camp, as well as supporting the thesis to address the economic activities of refugees in Kakuma camp.

3.4 The Framework for Market System Analysis

The ILO (2017) developed a framework for market system analysis, claiming that is specifically adapted for the market environment of refugees. [Figure 1](#) in Appendix E shows the framework of market system analysis, which includes the core functions (supply and demand), supporting functions as well as rules and regulations. It provides the reader with a general understanding of what a market system is and how refugees are part of the market system.

In the middle of Figure 1 is the core function of the framework, namely the demand and supply of products, services and labor (ILO 2017). The core function is the market itself, as a multi-arrangement of buyers and sellers. In the core function are services and goods exchanged (ILO 2017). Refugees supply the market with their skills, capacities and labor. On the other side are refugees' products and services demanded (ILO 2017). The core function is surrounded by supporting functions as well as rules and regulations.

Supporting functions entail all of the functions that support refugees to be part of the market. Figure 1 depicts the supporting functions of information, training, mentoring as well as coaching, coordination and finance. Information refers to market information; for instance, refugees knowing about possible income-generating opportunities. Training is provided by HOs; for example, language and skill training. Mentoring and coaching can be business development services and moral support for refugees. Coordination refers to any kind of social network, like associations, cooperatives or family. Finance regards the special setting in which refugees are mostly not eligible for bank accounts (ILO 2017).

The rules and regulations govern how refugees access the market system. Figure 1 depicts the labor laws, gender norms, skills recognition standards, social norms and informal rules. Laws refers to the working rights for refugees, as well as including bureaucratic administration processes. Social norms entail all types of cultural, social and political norms around refugees. Informal rules refer to informal support through social support networks, of which refugees can be part. Gender norms refer to the role of male and female refugees in the labor participation. Skills recognition standards reflect the administration process for refugees who arrive with a foreign diploma and certifications.

To summarize, the framework for market system analysis provided the reader with general information concerning how a market system is surrounded by supporting functions as well as rules and regulations in a refugee camp. Through the supporting functions, I assessed how the HOs are intervening in the market. Furthermore, the framework provides an understand of how refugees are accessing the market system.

3.3 Previous Research on the Refugee Camp Economy

Previous research has delved in the economic life of refugees. Literature describes that refugees have various livelihood activities and income-generating activities in refugee camps (Betts 2014; Betts 2018; Jamal 2000; IFC 2018; Werker 2007). Crisp (2003) describes that refugees invest in small businesses, which propels the camp economy and thus the presence of refugees is a boost for the host economy. Agier (2002) concludes that the camp economy represents potential for economic development. Taylor (2017) describes a refugee camp as the genesis of an economy. Furthermore, Taylor (2017) concluded that the refugees' economic outcomes and refugee economies are mainly shaped by the refugees' capital, especially human capital.

Moreover, Hammar (2014:124) contends that the continuously-changing conditions have direct implications for people's mobility and creativity to make a living in the camp economy. This is also supported by Taylor (2017), who suggests that the refugee situation results in a diversity of households' income activities. To summarize, being in the refugee camp urges the refugees to be creative and find different economic activities to survive.

Previous researchers have explored the Kakuma camp economy. Some argue that Kakuma camp is a vivid informal marketplace including growing economic activities (Oka 2011; Oka 2014; Vemuru 2016; IFC 2018). Crisp (2003) and Jamal (2000) argued that Kakuma camp is a developed economy. The IFC (2018) details annual household consumption of 16.5 million US

dollars in Kakuma camp. Furthermore, Kakuma camp has 2,000 businesses and fourteen wholesalers in the Kakuma camp market. Accordingly, the Kakuma camp economy seems like a vivid marketplace with many refugee businesses. This thesis uses the previous literature and offers insights into whether it holds in relation to the research question.

4. Methodology

This chapter describes the sequential explanatory mixed method, sampling strategies, questionnaires, research bias and my research ethic. Furthermore, the chapter explains why this methodology is used to answer the research questions.

All research participants agreed to be cited in the thesis. Given that the refugee camp has an informal, sensitive and political character, the thesis does not exhibit the name or positions of the respondents. The quantitative and qualitative data are saved and can be presented in questions of credibility.

4.1 Sequential Explanatory Mixed Method

The chapter explains the sequential explanatory mixed method, which entails a quantitative phase and a qualitative phase (Creswell 2017:210).

The first phase involves quantitative data collection and ends with a quantitative data analysis. Subsequently, the second phase continues with a qualitative data collection and ends with a qualitative analysis. In the final step, the quantitative and qualitative analyses are jointly interpreted (Creswell 2017:210).

Graph 2 in Appendix E illustrates how the research applied the sequential explanatory mixed method to answer the research questions. In the first week, I started the quantitative phase and conducted quantitative interviews with economically-active individuals in Kakuma camp and town, which

included shop owners, entrepreneurs, streets vendors and farmers. In the second week, I collected quantitative data about the households in Kakuma camp and town. At the end of the second week, I descriptively analyzed the quantitative data from both weeks and sorted the results in an Excel file.

Subsequently, I started the qualitative phase. In the third week, I started the qualitative data collection and conducted qualitative data from shop owners, employees, employers, street vendors and farmers. In the fourth week, I collected qualitatively data of the households. In the fifth week, I held qualitative interviews with the HOs. In the sixth week, I visit the Lodwar Business Exchange Forum and qualitatively interviewed the national private sector and government authorities. Furthermore, I collected qualitative data from international companies.

Afterwards, I started to transcribe the audio-recorded interviews (Sunders 2009:485). Due to the dynamic environment, the interviews mostly lasted between 10 and 30 minutes. In order to reduce the time spent transcribing, I took advantage of the data-sampling method, which transcribes only sections of my audio-recording (Saunders 2009:486). I chose sections of the audio-recorded interviews to transcribe that are representative of the audio interview. Accordingly, I did not transcribe every qualitative interview in its entirety. I also used this method because after many interviews some points repeatedly came up and did not provide new findings. Subsequently, I coded the transcribed sections into categories (Saunders 2009:509). I coded interviews with the QDA Miner program, after which I analyzed the categories. A snapshot of the codebook is presented in Appendix G. To sum up, the analysis of the qualitative interviews took several weeks.

Finally, in the last step of the sequential explanatory mixed method, I combined the results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses and jointly interpreted them. Overall, the sequential explanatory mixed method lasted for several weeks.

The complete data set comprises 66 quantitative and 49 qualitative interviews, making a total of 115 interviews. Table 1 in Appendix D illustrates the detailed composition of my qualitative and quantitative interviews.

I chose the sequential explanatory mixed method to answer the research questions for two reasons. First, Kakuma presents itself as being so overwhelming with its size, its multiple sub-camps and many nationalities. The thesis gained a macro-view over the market system in Kakuma camp through the quantitative data collection, while the qualitative data collection enabled the thesis to investigate the underlying reasons in further depth (Creswell 2017:222). Therefore, the sequential explanatory mixed method allowed the field study to delve step by step into this complex and intertwined environment. Second, Betts (2014) prescribes that research about refugee economies and markets systems should be grounded on a comprehensive understanding. The sequential explanatory mixed method is adequate for this purpose. To sum up, I argue that the sequential explanatory mixed method is the suitable method to answer the research questions.

4.2 Questionnaires and Interviews

The chapter explains the structured and semi-structured questionnaires used in the thesis. Furthermore, the chapter explains the different types of interviews.

The framework for market systems analyses helped me to formulate the questionnaires (ILO 2017). The aim of the questionnaires was to capture how the different market actors perceive and interact in the market system, as well as questions about the economic activities and the perception about the HOs in Kakuma camp.

I used structured interviews in the quantitative phase. A structure interview is a form of data collection in which all respondents answer the same questions in a predominated order (Saunders 2009:601).

During the qualitative phase, I applied semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews prepare questions and themes for the interview, although the order can vary and new questions can be asked according to the interview situation (Saunders 2009:601).

The questionnaires are presented in Appendix G. I used eight different questionnaires to cover the two phases of the sequential explanatory mixed method as well as addressing the five main actors on the market. Similar questions were used in all questionnaires.

During the quantitative phase, I used the structured quantitative questionnaires III and IV. The quantitative questionnaire III refers to the economically-active individuals, while the quantitative questionnaire IV refers to the households. During the qualitative phase, I used the semi-structured qualitative questionnaires I, II, V, VI, VII and VIII. The qualitative questionnaire covers the economically-active individuals. The qualitative questionnaire II refers to the households, while the qualitative questionnaire V regards the group interviews with the farmers. The qualitative questionnaire VI refers to the government authorities, whereby the interviews cannot be named. The qualitative questionnaire VII covers the HOs and the qualitative questionnaire VIII regards the private sector.

I used different types of interviews to reach the different respondents. I used face-to-face interviews, group interviews, focus group interviews, telephone and internet-mediated interviews, the Kobo toolbox as an app for mobile surveys, a recorder to record the interviews and printed questionnaires (Saunders 2009: 321).

4.3 Sampling

The chapter explains the three sample strategies that are used in the field. Furthermore, the chapter describes the respondents.

I simultaneously adopted snowball sampling, self-selection sampling and purposive sampling during the field study. All three sampling strategies are non-probability samples (Saunders 2009:213). The three non-probability sampling strategies do not allow for generalizations about the population (Saunders 2009:235). Therefore, the thesis underpins the findings with secondary literature to make conclusions.

In snowball sampling, the respondents suggest another person to interview (Saunders 2009:601). The strategy is suitable for a difficult-to-reach population (Faugier 1997) such as refugees, who are difficult to reach owing to the language barriers, the informal settlement, illegal status, social barriers and genders norms.

Purposive sampling enables the researcher to decide which respondents to select (Tongco 2007). I decided for a purposive sample strategy based on my desire to evaluate in-depth specific market sectors, unusual cases or key topics (Saunders 2009:236). Additionally, I used purposive sampling to cover all of the main nationalities and locations in Kakuma camp (Saunders 2009:592). Purposive sampling facilitated me to efficiently close gaps in my data collection (Tongco 2007).

The groundwork drew attention during many trips in the refugee camp, whereby refugees asked whether they could participate in the research. In these moments, I employed self-selection sampling, which empowers individuals to participate in the study based on their own will (Saunders 200:241).

I used the three sample strategies to answer the research questions based on the following reasons. First, Scheyvens (2000) demonstrates that investigations in cross-gender and cross-culture environments need a flexible research design. This thesis gained flexibility through the options of three non-probability sampling strategies, which benefited the research in the unpredictable surrounding of Kakuma camp.

Second, snowball sampling, purposive sampling and self-selection sampling have the benefit of collecting data as quickly as possible and they are approved in the pilot stage of the research. This fits adequately to my approach to quickly gain a research outcome during my short time in Kakuma camp.

Third, non-probability sampling is recommended when the sample size is ambiguous (Saunders 2009:233), which is the case in a refugee camp given the unregistered inflow and outflow of refugees. Moreover, the combination of different non-probability samplings strategies is used in many research projects (Saunders 2009:243). Overall, the three sample strategies supported my approach to answer the research questions comprehensively.

The list of my respondents is presented in Appendix B, and it refers to the respondents of the qualitative interviews. I used quantitative and qualitative data to provide graphs for the locations of the interviews and the nationality of respondents. A snapshot of the quantitative data in an Excel file is presented in Appendix B. The quantitative data was also used to provide the researcher with an overview.

Overall, my sample comprises street venders, shop owners, entrepreneurs, organization staff members, refugees, households, farmers, principals, religious leaders, unemployed individuals, housewives, students and government authorities. Moreover, I had the chance to visit the Turkana Business Exchange Forum, which was a public-private actors meeting. My

sample covered all of the different sub-camps in Kakuma camp, Kalobeyei settlement and Kakuma town.

To sum up, the sample strategy was used to answer the research questions comprehensively. The thesis underpins the findings with secondary literature to make conclusions.

4.4 Research Biases

The research tried to diminish any possible biases through paying careful attention to research ethics and appearance. However, the research cannot be considered entirely unbiased.

In such an informal, sensitive and multi-ethnic environment of a refugee camp, research appearance and ethics are especially important (Sultana 2007; Scheyvens 2000). Accordingly, I employed the following aspects.

First, it was central to maintain an interview flow during the questionnaires, thus prompting the respondents to remain interested. Furthermore, I asked the refugees whether they wanted to ask me anything, which shook up the researcher-respondent power relationship and switched the chairs.

Second, I always tried to remain calm, target the questions in a clear matter and avoid using specific economic terms. My body language was in an open position and I listened carefully. I tried to read the body language of the respondents, judging whether they were interested, nervous, sad or angry.

Third, I adjusted the questions from the qualitative questionnaire, whereby sometimes I could ask more specifically and sometimes I retained easy questions. Moreover, some questions were not asked; for example, I did not ask the refugees how they perceive HOs because the refugees saw me as a representative of such an organization.

Fourth, when possible, I asked the respondents to invite the guide and myself into their property, because interviews in front of the shelter resulted in many people gathering, thus placing the respondents under strong social pressure. For the street vendors, I ask for a chair so that I could sit inside their shop hidden behind the counter. Picture 6 in Appendix F depicts an interview scene in Kalobeyei settlement and demonstrates how quickly an interview could end up in a group interview when the interview scene was visible.

Fifth, I continuously questioned my positionality towards my field stay, since there are many influences, experience and politics during the time of research (Sultana 2007). I tried to remain an independent researcher.

Sixth, Scheyvens (2000) indicates that for explorations in a cross-gender and cross-culture environment, it is especially important to maintain respect for local customs, flexibility in the research design, willingness to share the study results and to demonstrate humor. Accordingly, I addressed these aspects in my research.

Nevertheless, I cannot argue that my research is unbiased. For instance, snowball sampling cannot be unbiased (Faugier 1997). Overall, biases occur owing to the social connection from one individual to the recommended individual or due to some individuals being popular and thus suggested (Rapoport 1977; Faugier 1997).

Another source of bias can occur due to the fear that the information is used for government authorities, because refugees have an illegal status and they work in the informal economy.

Another possible cause of bias can occur due to the many different languages and nationalities in a refugee camp, like Kakuma camp (Davidson 2009). My guide/translator could not always speak every language. In such

cases, friends of the respondent offered to translate, which means that in such cases the interview included the respondent, his/her friend and the translator.

Given the multi-cultural and multi-lingual environment in Kakuma camp, I needed to interpret the answers given by the respondents (Saunders 2009:491). I underpin my interpretations with secondary literature to solve the research questions. In my thesis, secondary literature includes surveys, media accounts, websites, publications, reports, censuses, books and journals (Saunders 2009:68).

To sum up, the research can be biased, whereby I paid close attention to research ethics and appearance to tackle these biases. Furthermore, I underpin my findings with secondary literature.

5. Findings

This chapter guides the reader through the findings. Accordingly, it describes the economic activities of refugees and the economic role of the HOs in Kakuma camp. The chapter answer the research questions with a comprehensive approach and distinguishes five main actors in Kakuma camp: economically-active individuals (EAIs), households, government authorities, HOs and the private sector. According to my field study, development actors do not have a permanent presence in Kakuma camp. The groundwork collected data of the development actors in Nairobi to have a comprehensive overview but does not comprise its own sub-chapter.

The findings are based on the qualitative and quantitative data analysis of my field study, based on the answers provided by the respondents.

5.1 Economically-Active Individuals

This chapter demonstrates that the refugees in my sample maintain various economic activities through trade systems, several businesses and

entrepreneurial spirit. The findings are based on the respondents of the interviewees.

The dataset entails quantitative and qualitative data from EAIs in Kakuma camp I, II, III, IV, Kalobeyei settlement and Kakuma town. Graph 3 in Appendix E depicts the locations where the interviews took place. Graph 4 in Appendix E shows the nationality of the respondents. In my sample, the economically-active individuals (EAIs) have an average age of 38 years. My sample includes EAIs from Turkana who live in Kakuma town, whom I label as Turkana-EAIs. I included the Turkana-EAIs in my research to understand how refugees interact economically with the local population. The term “EAIs” refers to both refugees and Turkana-EAIs.

In my sample, refugees run many different businesses. EAIs claim to be shop owners, hotel owners, wholesalers, electricity shop owners, textile producer, restaurant owners, employees, entrepreneurs, farmers and bakers (Respondent 3, 13, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32 in Appendix B; Group Interview I, II in Appendix B). Therefore, refugees claim to be active in many different economic activities. To sum up, the field study ascertained that the variety of businesses during the field study was overwhelming, with refugees maintaining heterogeneous economic activities.

My study ascertained that the trade systems are intertwined between Kakuma camp and Kakuma town. The refugee and turkana-EAI respondents narrated that they move freely between Kakuma town and camp to conduct business (Respondents 3, 4, 5, in Appendix B). Furthermore, the refugees claim that they bargain in a plentiful scale with each other as well as with the Turkana-EAIs in Kakuma town (Respondent 31, 32 in Appendix B). On the other hand, the Turkana-EAIs express that they conduct business with the refugees (Respondent 4, 5 in Appendix B). The field study found that Kakuma camp and town are interrelated economically with each other. I argue that the economic interrelations between Kakuma camp and town

indicate that the refugees maintain economic activities through economic interactions with the local population.

In my sample, the EAIs express that they import products from outside of Kakuma and re-sell them (Respondent 13, 25, 27, 28 in Appendix B). The research asked the EAIs where they buy the products and items, and Graph 5 in Appendix E depicts the answers. The graph is based on my entire sample. Graph 5 has a discernible share of “Kakuma Town”, which refers to the refugee-EAIs who buy products from Turkana-EAIs in Kakuma town. The majority of EAIs buy their products from Kitale and Nairobi. Only three percent of my entire EAIs sample buys products from local producers. Refugees narrate that they maintain widespread trade systems (Respondent 14, 18). This is also supported by Quote 2 in Appendix C by a principal of a school in Kakuma camp III. He expresses in relation to Kakuma camp III that all refugee-EAIs buy products from far outside Kakuma and re-sell them in the Kakuma camp market. To sum up, the paragraph demonstrates that refugees maintain economic activities through wide trade systems.

I asked the refugee-EAIs how they perceive their business future and if there is an opportunity to expand their business. The refugee-EAIs in my sample see the future in an optimistic and positive manner (Respondent 27, 28, 31 in Appendix B). The majority of refugee-EAIs want to expand their business, because the demand is high. Furthermore, the EAIs express that Kakuma camp and town are growing economically (Respondent 5, 31 in Appendix B). To sum up, refugees appear as optimistic entrepreneurs who want to scale up and expand their businesses.

In my sample, EAIs express that they would advise young entrepreneurs that they should start with little money, have patience and maintain excellent customer relationships (Respondent 5, 31 in Appendix B; sources out of the quantitative analysis). My study ascertained that the EAIs in my sample perceive room on the market for new shop owners and entrepreneurs

(Respondent 5, 31 in Appendix B). To sum up, EAIs appears as successful business people with knowledge about business administration. I argue that that it seems that the competition among the EAIs is low, since the EAIs see room for new entrepreneurs.

The refugee farmers explain that they are in cooperatives in which they share the costs, harvests and work (Group interview I and II in Appendix B). Many refugee farmers narrate that they brought seeds from their origin country to experiment with them in Kakuma camp. Picture 7 in Appendix F depicts a Congolese farmer who is showing me his plants, which he brought from the Democratic Republic of Congo (the yellow in the middle). The refugee farmers claim that these seeds are not known in Turkana and Turkana people have not an expression for the seeds (Group Interview I and II in Appendix B). To sum up, the refugee farmers experiment with lucrative new seeds and plants, reflecting that refugees bring new inputs to the market and are creative entrepreneurs. Furthermore, this finding demonstrates that refugees work in cooperatives and maintain lucrative economic activities.

Furthermore, the refugee farmers express that they do not cultivate the kind of crops that are provided by HOs (Group interview I, II in Appendix B). This supports the view that refugee farmers are negatively affected by HOs, because it does not necessarily mean that growing vegetables is the most profitable agriculture form on the market.

During my research, the refugee-EAIs narrated that they have previous work experiences on which they build their businesses (Respondent 3, 31, 32 in Appendix B; Group interview I and II in Appendix B). The research ascertained that refugees enter the market with skills, capabilities and work experiences. In conclusion, refugees use these previous experiences to maintain economic activities. In my sample, this also means that refugees can start economic activities without further skill training provided by HOs.

I encountered small producers like textile producers or bakeries (Respondent 31, 32 in Appendix B). Picture 8 in Appendix F depicts a small textile manufacturer in Kakuma III, whereby the women in the picture are employees. This small textile producer express that he trains other refugees to learn skills. The manufacturer express that his graduates have opened other textile shops (Respondent 32 in Appendix B), which shows the entrepreneurial spirit and creativity of the refugees. This supports the notion that refugees maintain heterogenous economic activities.

Overall, the streets are busy with many businesses ongoing in Kakuma camp. Picture 9 in Appendix F depicts a common situation in the Kakuma camp market streets. The refugee shops are side-by-side and in immense numbers in Kakuma camp. It is striking for a researcher in Kakuma camp how many businesses, economic activities, venders and customers are on the street. This supports the view that Kakuma is a market place with a significant number of EAIs, again further underpinning the notion that refugees maintain several economic activities.

During the field study, it was striking for how long the refugee businesses have existed. The quantitative data analysis suggests that the average duration of the businesses is five years. Indeed, some EAIs expressed that their businesses have existed for more than ten years (Respondent 31, 32, 33 in Appendix B). The research found that the refugee shops – with their large warehouses – offer the sign of permanent economic activity. Picture 10 depicts one of the warehouses of one of the refugee shop owners in Kakuma II. It also demonstrates the large scale in which refugees store items and assets. To sum up, the research has found that refugees maintain long-lasting and large-scale economic activities.

Overall, this chapter provides answers to the second research question, whereby the study ascertained that refugees maintain heterogenous, creative, sustainable, long-lasting and widespread economic activities. The study

found that the EIAs want to expand their business and that refugee economies supply the market with various items and services.

5.2 Households

This chapter provide findings regarding the second research question and demonstrates that the households maintain plenty of economic activities.

Graph 6 in Appendix E depicts the location and Graph 7 the nationality of the interviewed households. My sample covers households from Kakuma I, II, III and IV, Kalobeyi settlement as well as Kakuma town. The field study tried to cover all main nationalities. Ninety percent of my household sample comprises refugee households. The average age of the household respondents is 40 years old. In my sample, the households have on average four children.

The households in my sample demonstrate that they produce food domestically (Respondent 15, 16, 17, 30 in Appendix B). Picture 11 in Appendix F depicts the drying process of Okra, which is a common household activity. The male household head explains that he cultivates Okra on a free spot outside of the camp and that his wife dries and sorts the Okra harvest (Respondent 30 in Appendix B). Other households demonstrate that they hold small livestock like chicken, ducks and doves (Respondent 15, 16, 17, 30 in Appendix B). Other households demonstrated that they store firewood to re-sell it later, while others have solar devices in their backyard to supply the household with electricity (Respondent 30 in Appendix B). To sum up, the research encountered plenty of domestic economic activities, which is also supported by my qualitative analysis. I conclude that this finding bolsters the notion that refugees develop various economic activities.

To sum up, the chapter shows that the households have various and heterogenous economic activities, whereby the households across all nationalities and locations are very market-oriented and interactive with the

market around them. This provides evidence regarding the second research question.

5.3 Government Authorities

The research delves into the host-refugee institutional environment to answer the research questions. Based on the model of the refugee camp economy, the economic life of refugees is shaped by the institutional environment (Werker 2007). Unfortunately, I was not allowed to use the interviews with government authorities. The chapter relies on respondents' perceptions about the government authorities,

Respondents demonstrate that the county government wants to promote the economy in Kakuma camp and include the refugees in the Turkana economy (Respondent 1, 2 in Appendix B). I argue that this is a positive sign for refugees to increase the economic activities through better labor rights.

5.4 Private sector

Secondary literature is sparse about the role of the private sector in the economic life of refugees and the market system in which they operate. This field study closes this gap and provides findings concerning the role of the private sector regarding the economic activities of refugees and in relation to the HOs.

According to my respondents, refugees think that everything that is international and imported from outside Kenya should be for free (Respondent 8, 23 in Appendix B). Quote 4 in Appendix C expresses the previous argument. The international private sector expresses that they are running awareness projects and sending their staff to the refugee camp to convince the refugees (Respondent 8, 23 in Appendix B). I argue that the economic relevance of the HOs negatively influences the mindsets of refugees regarding international assets and services.

Interviews with the private sector reveal that they want to include refugees in their value chain (Respondent 8, 9, 23, 24 in Appendix B). Quote 5 in Appendix C is provided by an international company expressing that they aim to design their company system based on refugees and the local population. The private sector express that they see refugees as valuable employees (Respondent 8, 9, 23, 24 in Appendix B). I argue that this demonstrates that the private actors see refugees as being economically active, showing a desire to build on their economic skills of refugees and include them in production.

The international private sector expresses that they want to increase their engagement in Kakuma camp, although the HOs occupy the space to conduct business (Respondents 8, 23, 24 in Appendix B). According to my interviews, the private sector reports that competition against free products issued by the HOs is pointless (Respondent 8, 23, 24 in Appendix B). The private sector expresses that as long as free products are on the market, the refugees will use these products (Respondent 8, 23 in Appendix B). I argue that the private sector is in unnecessary competition with HOs, which supports the view that HOs negatively affect the market outcome in Kakuma camp.

The private sector interviewees demonstrate that Kakuma camp is a vivid market place and that they want to increase their investment (Respondent 8, 9, 11, 23, 24 in Appendix B). I argue that this supports the view that Kakuma camp is a market place with a significant number of economically-active refugees, who maintain economic activities sufficiently large that the private sector is interested in investing.

To sum up, during the field study the private sector expressed a desire to invest in Kakuma camp, although they find themselves in unnecessary competition with HOs, who are providing free services and interventions

assets. Furthermore, the private sector supports the view that refugees maintain economic activities on a large scale.

5.5 Humanitarian Organizations

This chapter provides findings in relation to the second research question. The field study ascertained that HOs negatively distort market outcomes and the economic life of refugees. The chapter describes HOs as the dominate market actor, occupying the market supply with free-given assets and interventions.

HOs express that they intervene in multiple ways in the market system and the economic life of refugees in Kakuma camp (Respondent 1, 2, 6, 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 29 in Appendix B). For instance, HOs claim that they make use of vocational training centers to build capacity and skills. The HO interviewees explain that vocational training centers (VCTs) are schools in which refugees can obtain certain skills and capabilities (Respondents 20, 22 in Appendix B). My respondents reveal that VCTs are creating an over-supply of certain skills in the labor market (Respondents 1, 20, 22 in Appendix B). The reasons are that VCTs produce graduate refugees over many years with the same skills (Respondents 10 in Appendix B). This supports the view that HOs interact in the market system and create over-supply, which has a negative effect on the market system and the economic life of refugees. In my sample, HOs negatively distort the supply side of the labor market outcomes.

Furthermore, HOs claim that they control food prices on the market (Respondent 29 in Appendix B). Moreover, one HO interviewee expresses that they have built the permanent Kalobeyei settlement (Respondent 2 in Appendix B). The same respondent explains in [Quote 6](#) in Appendix C that the HO is shifting their approach to permanent shelters in Kalobeyei settlement.

Another respondent expresses that the HO builds market connections through retailer engagements (Respondent 29 in Appendix B). Furthermore, another HO interviewee expresses that they hand out free solar devices and cooking stoves (Respondent 21 in Appendix B). Moreover, HOs claim to provide water hygiene and sanitation interventions as well as offering solar devices as well as household equipment for free (Respondent 2, 29 in Appendix B). To sum up, HOs are supplying the market with multiple free assets, services and interventions. Furthermore, HOs control the food prices on the market. However, the previous chapter showed that refugee economic activities supply similar items and services. I argue that this negatively distorts the market system, because HOs occupy the supply side of the market.

HOs give the impression that they treat refugees as a homogeneous group (Respondent 20, 21 in Appendix B). One respondent points out that HOs supply the market with free interventions regardless of whether refugees maintain economic activities (Respondent 1 in Appendix B). This thesis has shown in the previous sub-chapter that refugees maintain heterogeneous economic activities, whereby I argue that a supply of free interventions regardless of the economic activities of refugees negatively distorts the market system.

Dick (2002) asked how long the HOs can go on feeding people in refugee camps. In the case of Kakuma camp, the answer has already been for more than a quarter of a century. One HO explains that they provide food aid in the form of sorghum, beans and maize (Respondent 29 in Appendix B). The previous chapter found that farmers want to deliver but the supply of staple food has been covered. Therefore, I interpreted that EAIs are forced to supply the niches in the food market, which are fresh vegetables (Group Interview I, II in Appendix B). I concluded that the economic activities of refugees are in unnecessary competition with the free assets, services and interventions.

HOs claim that they are market-oriented (Respondent 2, 20 in Appendix B). They express that they search for new under-supplied market sectors to supply with their services (Respondent 1, 10 in Appendix B). An example is that HOs want to supply refugees with a free internet connection, because HOs argue that refugees have limit access to the internet (Respondent 1 in Appendix B). However, another respondent argues that refugees already have an internet shop from which they are making their living (Respondent 1 in Appendix B). The thesis found internet providers on the market during the research (Respondent 13). In my sample, it seems that HOs want to supply under-supplied areas of the market, although my research found out that the economic activities of refugees already supply the market with similar services and assets. In my sample, the market dominance of the HOs occupies the supply side of the market system, besides refugees want to supply the market.

Furthermore, HOs are represented in Kakuma camp in an overwhelming number. Picture 12 in Appendix F depicts one of many “Welcome signs” in Kakuma camp, listing the different organizations that are operating in Kakuma camp. Exact numbers of how many HOs exist in Kakuma camp and how many incentive workers are employed are not published. However, I counted at least 50 HOs with permanent compounds in Kakuma camp and town. It seems that HOs are the dominant and permanent market actors in Kakuma camp. Accordingly, I argue that HOs are an overwhelming presence in the Kakuma market system.

To sum up, the market system analysis offers an answer to the first research question. HOs negatively affect the market system and the economic life of refugees through occupying the supply side of the market with free assets, services and interventions. Besides that, the economic activities of refugees supply the market. Quote 7 in Appendix is provided by one development interviewee, who highlights why HOs negatively distort the market system.

5.6 Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings that refugees maintain economic activities and that HOs negatively affect the market. Finally, the chapter also provides an outlook for future research.

The HOs explain why they strongly intervene in the market system and economic life of refugees, because they see the refugees as a vulnerable group and Kakuma camp as a humanitarian context (Respondent 19, 20, 22 in Appendix B). However, other HOs say that refugees are economically independent and that Kakuma camp is a development context (Respondent 2, 10, 21 in Appendix B). The research findings can only contribute to this discussion by providing evidence that 1) HOs negatively affect the outcomes of the market system and the economic activities of refugees and 2) refugees maintain various, widespread, heterogenous and creative economic activities. However, my research is too narrow to decide whether Kakuma is a development or humanitarian context. The thesis concludes that further research would be promising to solve the discussion.

My thesis does *not* conclude that HOs are obsolete worldwide. Unfortunately, there are many emergency contexts in the world that desperately require humanitarian support (Werker 2007); rather, the findings of this thesis specifically consider long-term refugee camps.

The thesis needs to consider that Kakuma camp itself lies in the most under-developed county of a developing country (KIHBS 2018). I argue that many different external factors could determine the Kakuma economy. On the other hand, this thesis argued that Kakuma is situated like in a nutshell. To sum up, further research is needed to explore how external factors influence the economic life of refugees and the market system in Kakuma camp.

Notwithstanding, the thesis faces limitations. For instance, it does not provide econometric evidence. Furthermore, my field study is based on the respondents from the interviews, which can be biased. Moreover, my

research sample is too small to be representative and generalizations are difficult to make. Therefore, for further research it is most interesting to provide econometric evidence for my findings to find the significant determinants regarding how the HOs affect the camp economy but also the economy in the hosting environment. Further research can provide econometric evidence about the determinants of the economic activities of refugees. These are relevant questions to promote income-generating activities of refugees.

Additionally, for further research it is promising to delve into the causes of economic growth in a refugee camp by applying theories like the institution as a fundamental driver (Robinson 2012), the limited access and open access orders by North (2006), factor endowments by Sokoloff (2000), the principles of causalities (Veblen 1898; Hodgson 2004) or human capital (Taylor 2017).

5.7 Reflection on the Case Study

This chapter offers a personal reflection on the fieldwork.

I strongly under-estimated the time required for conducted a field study. The field study started with preparation in Sweden, work to finance the research in Germany, the field work in Kenya and writing the thesis in Denmark. Overall, the research required nine months.

In the field, it was my ambition to explore as much as possible and collect as much data as possible. I stayed as long as possible in the field, even though it is challenging to stay in a refugee camp. It reflected my approach to research in a holistic and comprehensive way (Betts 2014). However, I collected too much data and too many different aspects, whereby a lot of data remains unexplored.

The framework of market system analysis claims to be adapted for refugee livelihoods and the refugee camp market (ILO 2017). However, during the

research it emerged that the framework appears like a broad framework for market systems. The thesis is not satisfied with the choice of the framework. Accordingly, I tried to tackle this drawback by providing key concepts and the refugee camp economy model by Werker (2007).

However, this is a difficult approach to undertaken as one person. In fact, I was supposed to narrow down the topic and stick to the research questions, although this proved difficult when every day brought new influences, experiences and interviews. In hindsight, the solution would have been to leave the environment much earlier. However, I failed to do so, and it was more difficult than I thought. I under-estimated how overwhelming Kakuma is and how much time it needs to order the ideas in an academic way.

6. Conclusion

This thesis started with the purpose to describe the economic activities of refugees and the economic role of HOs in the case study of Kakuma camp. Based on the field study and secondary literature, the thesis answers the following two research questions:

- 1) To what extent does the long-term presence of HOs affect the market system and economic life of refugees in Kakuma camp?*
- 2) To what extent do refugees maintain economic activities in Kakuma camp?*

Overall, the thesis found out that the long-term presence of HOs negatively distorts the market system and economic life of refugees. Furthermore, the refugees maintain widespread, heterogenous and creative economic activities. Both answers combined provide the following conclusions.

- 1) HOs appear as the dominated market actor occupying the supply side of the market system through free assets, interventions and free services.

However, refugees supply the market with assets, items and services, which are similar to the free humanitarian ones. In my research, refugees want to expand their business and scale up. Therefore, the thesis concludes that refugee economies are in unnecessary competition with free services and assets, which negatively affect the economic activities of refugees.

2) My field study found that refugees maintain heterogenous, creative, sustainable, large and widespread economic activities, reflecting the refugees are entrepreneurs, employers and employees. According to my data collection, refugees and the local community are economically connected and integrated to each other. My study found that refugees have established strong trade systems between Kakuma camp and the rest of Kenya. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that refugees have creative entrepreneurial ideas and prove to be market-oriented. Moreover, refugees work in cooperatives.

Secondary literature is sparse about the role of the private sector regarding the economic activities of refugees. The study found out that the private sector acknowledges the refugees as economically active and wants to include the refugees in their value chains. The field study ascertained that the private sector regards the economic activities of refugees as reflecting sufficient potential to invest. However, the private sector hesitates to increase their engagement due to the market dominance of the HOs. To sum up, HOs negatively distort the market outcome through hindering the private sector from investing.

Furthermore, my field study found out that the Turkana county government offers signs of the economic integration of refugees in the local economy. Kenyan government gives the impression that they support the economic success of refugees. These are positive institutional developments for the economic activities of refugees and the outcome of the market system in Kakuma camp.

Overall, my findings supporting the literature regarding criticism about the economic relevance of HO in long-term refugee camps as well as refugees maintaining booming economic activities. Notwithstanding, my research cannot be unbiased and my research is too small and narrow to conclude generalizations. Therefore, further quantitative research including econometric evidence is suggested.

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8. Appendix

Appendix A entails definitions of terms used in the thesis. Appendix B depicts the list of respondents. Appendix C shows the quotations used in the thesis. Appendix D reveals the components of the qualitative and quantitative interviews. Appendix E shows the graphs and figures and Appendix F the pictures. Appendix G reveals the qualitative and quantitative interviews used in the field. Finally, Appendix H comprises maps of Kakuma.

Appendix A: Definition of Terms

In the "Self-Reliance Handbook" by UNHCR (2005), self-reliance is defined as a social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet their essential needs.

Inclusive market development is defined as making the market work for the refugees and host community (ILO 2017).

Appendix B: List of Respondents

List of respondents of the qualitative interviews

Respondent 1	Development Organization, World Bank, qualitative
Respondent 2	Humanitarian Organization, UNHCR, qualitative
Respondent 3	Restaurant and hotel owner, male, around 40, Kakuma camp II,

	qualitative
Respondent 4	Farmer, women, around 70, Kakuma town, qualitative
Respondent 5	Shop owner, female, around 30, Kakuma town, qualitative
Respondent 6	Humanitarian Organization, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), qualitative
Respondent 7	Private Sector, solar company, Bluebox, qualitative
Respondent 8	Private sector, solar company, Sunivasion, qualitative
Respondent 9	Private Sector, recycle company Kakuma town, qualitative
Respondent 10	Humanitarian Organization, Swiss contact, qualitative
Respondent 11	Private Sector, Bank, qualitative
Respondent 12	Unemployed refugee, male, under 20, Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Respondent 13	Internet provider, male, around 20, Kalobeyei, qualitative
Respondent 14	Principal, male, around 50, Kakuma camp III, qualitative
Respondent 15	Household, female, 6 kids, Kalonbeyei, qualitative
Respondent 16	Household, female, 8 kids, Kakuma camp III, qualitative
Respondent 17	Household, female, 6 kids, solar household, Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Respondent 18	Teacher, male, around 50, Kakuma camp III, qualitative
Respondent 19	Humanitarian Organization, Peace Wind Japan (PWJ), qualitative
Respondent 20	Humanitarian Organization, Don Bosco, qualitative
Respondent 21	Humanitarian Organization, SNV, qualitative
Respondent 22	Humanitarian Organization, Danish refugee council (DRC), qualitative
Respondent 23	Private Sector, Solar company, Sunking, qualitative
Respondent 24	Key Informant, Private sector, Business cooperation from Sweden, qualitative

Respondent 25	Hotel owner, male, around 40, Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Respondent 26	Humanitarian Organization, NRC, qualitative, Nairobi
Respondent 27	Shop owner, male, around 40, Kakuma camp I, qualitative
Respondent 28	Shop Owner, female, around 50, Kakuma camp IV, qualitative
Respondent 29	Humanitarian Organization, World Food Program (WFP), qualitative
Respondent 30	Household female, 3 kids, Kalobeyei, qualitative
Respondent 31	Entrepreneur bakery, male, around 60, Kakuma camp III, qualitative
Respondent 32	Entrepreneur Textile Producer, male, around 60, Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Group Interview I	Farmers, Group of around 6-7 people in Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Group Interview II	Farmers, Group of around 10 people in Kakuma camp II, qualitative
Group Interview III	Farmers, Group of around 7 people in Kakuma town, qualitative

Quantitative Respondents, Snapshot of the Excel file

	Are you shop owner?	education	Nationality	shop condition	Location	Vocational training	What kind of shop do you have?	How long do you have the shop? In years	What skills do you need?	What market is your target with economic activity	Which item do you sell the most?	Is transportation difficult for your economic activity	Do you have access to finance like credit	Do you have electricity?	Do you use electronic mobile payment?	How many do you employ someone?
2	Yes		Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	Dukas	10	mathematics, service	local, UNHCR, biggest shop in Kakuma	sugar, cereals, beans, cold drinks	yes, seasonal	yes	Yes	yes	
3	related to shop owner		Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	Food seller		strong, clever	local	tomato, potatoes, fruits cereals	yes, seasonal	yes	Yes	yes	
4	yes		Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	Hotel		1 mathematics, service, selling spirit	local	Hotel, service	no	No	No	no, cash	
5	yes		Kenyan, Turkana	house, biggest shop	Kakuma Town	No	Dukas	20	education grade, negotiation skills, honest, good	local	clothes, garden stuff	no	yes	Yes	yes	yes, 10
6	chief of one department		Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	Building Material	5	heart	local	paints, timbeer, cement	yes, seasonality	yes	Yes	yes	I am on my own
7	chef	18 years	Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	Building Material	1	honest and good heart	local and national	iron sheets, building material, cement, nails	yes, resin	yes	no	yes	I am on my own
8	chef	14 years	Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	food supplier and building material		mathematics, physically strong, education, 1 personality	local, national, bordering countries	food items, building material	poor roads	yes	yes	yes	yes, 2
9	chef	7 years	Kenyan, Turkana	house	Kakuma Town	No	building material		service, education, personality, good heart	local, national, bordering countries	building material	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes, 23
10	employee		Kenyan, Turkana	petrol station have many shops, the owner was not available	Kakuma Town	Yes	Food supplier, hardware, petrol station, services	5	education, honesty and personality, family related	South Sudan, there is another petrol	foodstuff, petrol and product, hardware material	no	yes	yes	yes	yes, 20
11																
12	shop owner	education primary in Somalia	Somali	shelter	Kakuma III	no	selling clothes	3	mathematics, service skills, business, language Swahili, English	Local, And kakuma town, camp	equally, it is fluctuating in one week on jeans, shoes, clothes	yes	no	no	no	yes 1, broth
13	shop owner, one									Local, And						

Appendix C: Quotations

Quote 1 : “then looking at the county government and I mean there is the Turkana governor is pushing forward into a full integrational of the refugees in this county. As the national government they are always talk about on the return on the refugees in the country of origin” (Respondent 2 in Appendix B)

Quote 2: “(laughing about my question). No. refugees buy them (the items) from far away from other places in Kenya, they bring it on then they break it into sizes “. (Respondent 14 in Appendix B)

Quote 4: “so the other challenge we are facing is you know most people here in Kakuma are used to free things, being given free things” (Respondent 23 in Appendix B).

Quote 5 “So we designed the system going to be 100% either refugee based or host community based” (Respondent 8 in Appendix B)

Quote 6 : We are guided by the current demand which is the construction industry, because we are shifting transitional temperament shelters into permanent” (Respondent 2 in Appendix B)

Quote 7: “in our view the main factor why private hasn’t started yet , because obviously, they is a lot of potential . it is because it is still crowed by the humanitarian aid ,so you have still NGO’s coming in and saying we are setting up a centre in providing internet for free, however you already have refugees providing addressing the need of having internet setting up small businesses for that. So basically with this free money , you are destroying the more nested marked and so hindering the development of the market” (Respondent 1 in Appendix B).

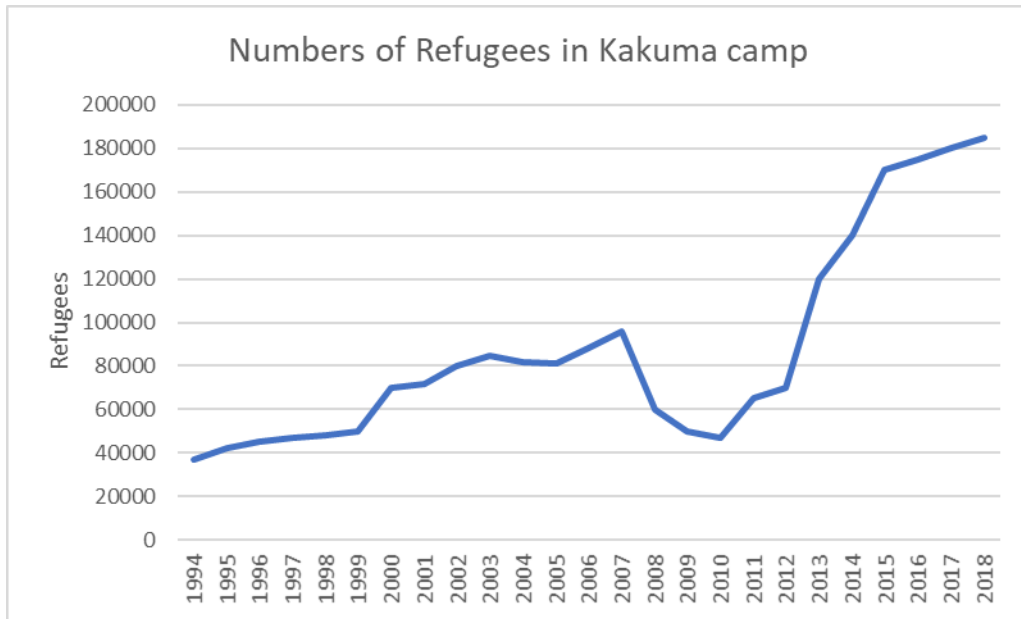
Appendix D: Data Collection

Table 1

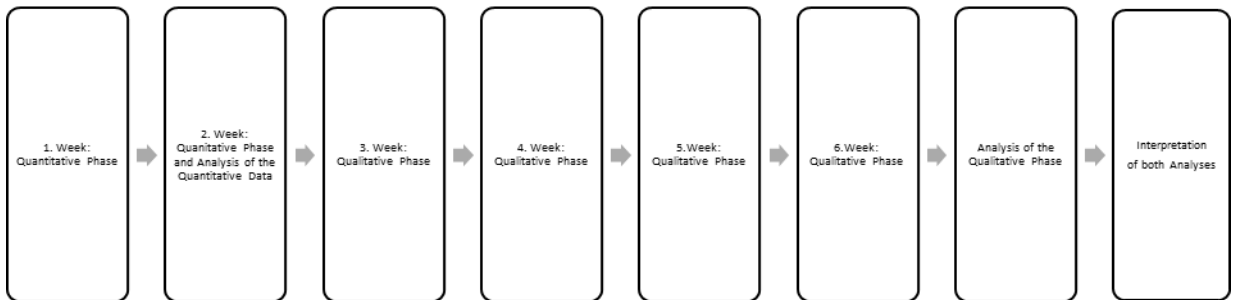
Sequential Explanatory Mixed Method	Number of Interviews
Quantitative Research	66
Qualitative Research	43
Focus Group Interviews (intended)	6
Complete Dataset	115

Appendix E Graphs and Figure

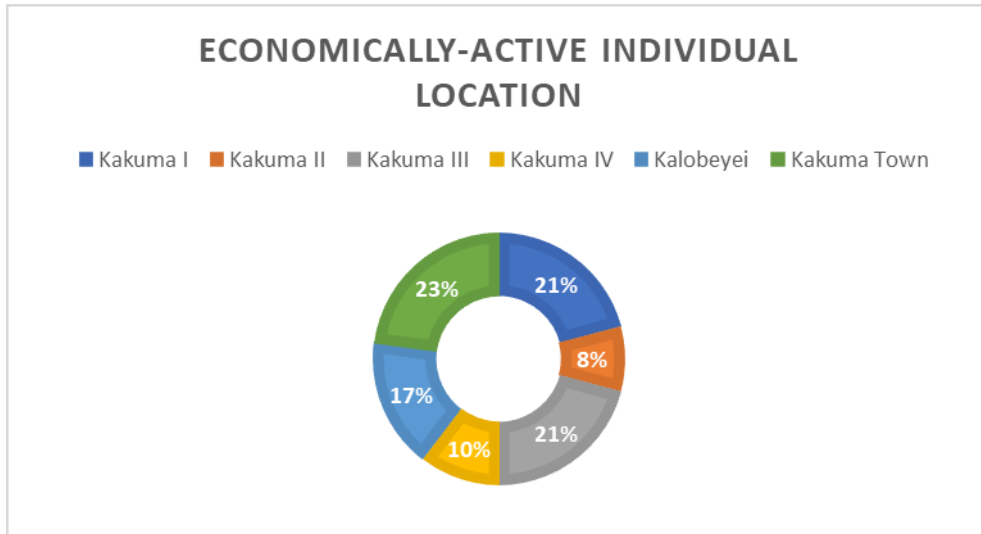
Graph 1 shows the numbers of refugees in Kakuma camp between 1994 and 2018. I created the graph on my own and was inspired from the graph in Alix-Garcia (2017).



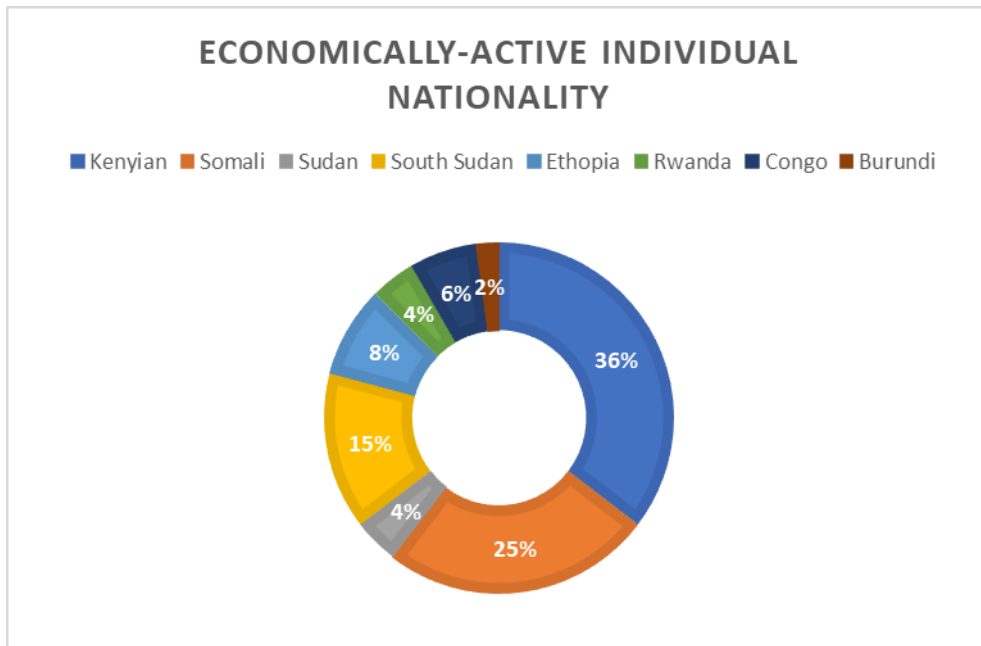
Graph 2 depicts the sequential explanator mixed method.



Graph 3 depicts the locations where the interviews took place.

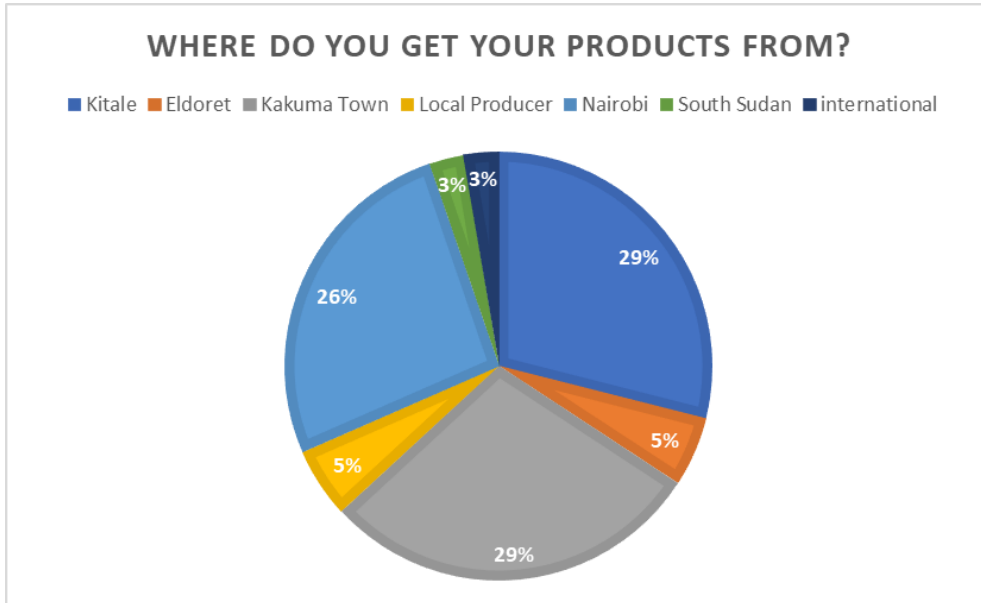


Graph 4 shows the nationality of the economically-active individuals.

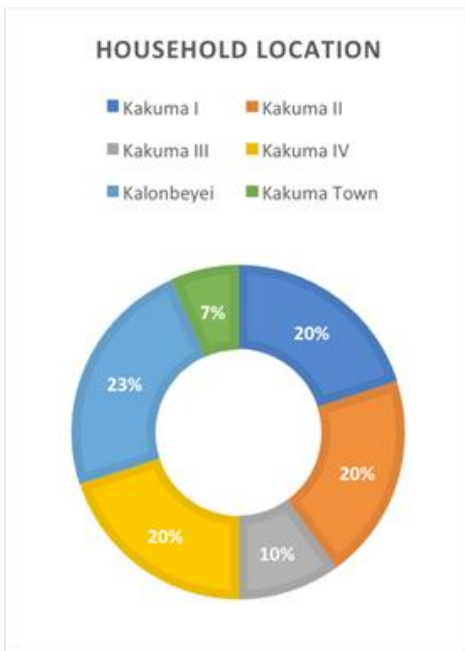


Graph 5.

depicts the trade system of the economically-active individuals.



Graph 6 shows the location of the households.



Graph 7 shows the nationality of the households.

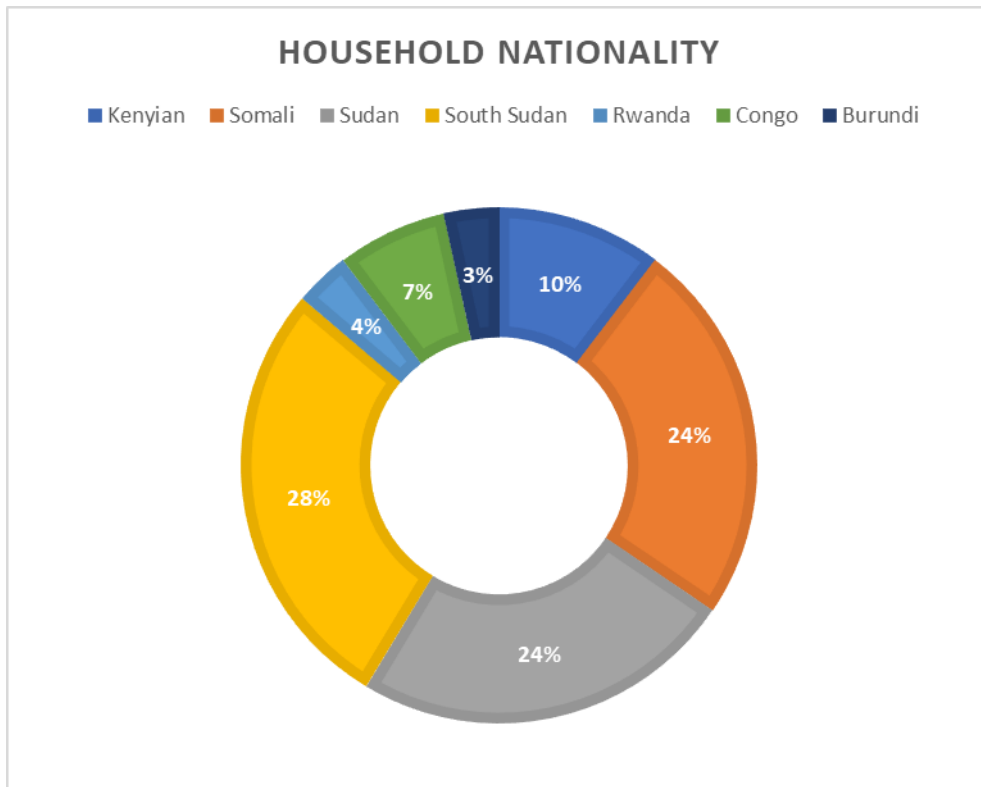
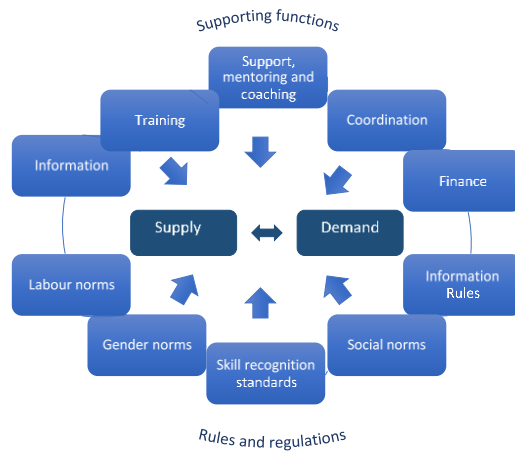


Figure 1 shows the framework of market system analysis. I adapted the figure from ILO (2017).



Appendix F: Pictures

Picture 1 shows a Turkana women with grandchildren in a nomadic shelter.



Picture 2 depicts the main road in Kakuma town.



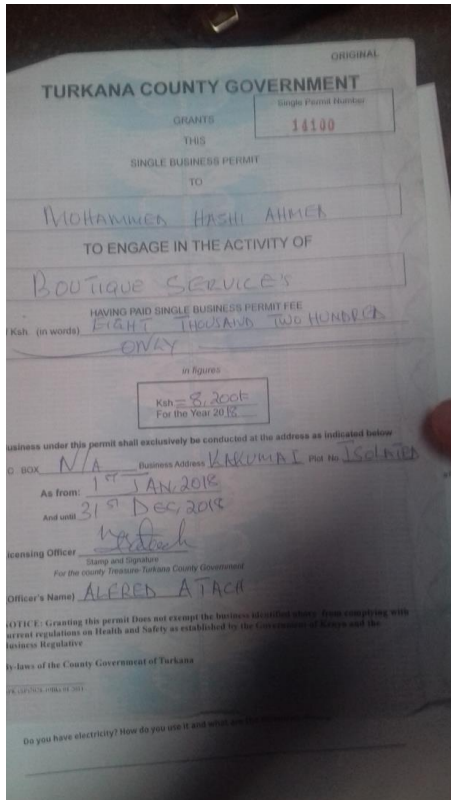
Picture 3 shows the area around Kakuma camp.



Picture 4 shows child labour in Kakuma III



Picture 5 depicts the movement pass of one refugee.



Picture 6 depicts a group interview.



Picture 7 shows a Congolese farmer.



Picture 8 shows a textile manufacturer.



Picture 9 depicts a street in Kakuma camp.



Picture 10 shows a warehouse of one economically-active individual.



Picture 11 shows the drying process of Okra.



Picture 12 shows humanitarian organizations in Kakuma.



Appendix G: Qualitative and Quantitative Questionnaires

The questionnaires are inspired by ILO (2017). Before every interview, I explained what I was doing, what the interview was about and provided a brief description of the purpose.

I. Qualitative questionnaire economically-active individuals, semi-structured

Semi-structured interviews, the questions and order can vary.

General part:

Do you have time for an interview?
Do you allow me to use the interview for my thesis?
How old are you?
What is your gender?
Where are you from?
Since when you have the economic activity?
Since when have you lived in Kakuma camp?
Do you have a mobile phone?

Main Part:

When you look at the market, what are the customers asking for the most? Which items do you sell the most? What items are in general in demand? What are the main problems in the market?
How do you make profit? On what do you mostly spend your money in the business (rent, electricity, wages)? How is the market for your products? Is there any growth expected in the near future? How is the demand and supply?
What are the main barriers that you face in your business? What are your main challenges?
When you look at the other shop owners, what do you think? What is their main challenge?
Do the customers pay in cash or in exchange?
What is your opinion about how much money is in the market?
What did you receive from NGOs? Training, loans, equipment?
What is your perspective about the humanitarian aid presence regarding competition in the market?
Would you describe yourself as independent or dependent? Why?
In your opinion, is your business likely to grow in the near future? Is their potential to expand the business?
What is your opinion about how to improve the economy in Kakuma? What products could be produced locally here in Turkana?

As a successful business owner, what piece advice do you have for young people who want to find jobs in Turkana?
What is it most necessary to know as a shop owner? Which skills are most needed in your business?
When you look back, why did you decide to open and run a shop? Are you happy with the decision?
Do you have electricity? How do you use it and what are the benefits/challenges?
Are you in an organization with other shop owners? What bargaining power do you have?
Is the market ready for solar devices? How do customers respond?
Why you decide to buy solar? Did you hear it from other people? Where did you buy it? Are you satisfied? What can be improved?

II. Qualitative questionnaire households, semi-structured

Semi-structured interviews, the questions and order can vary:

General part:

Do you have time for an interview?
Do you allow me to use the interview for my thesis?
How old are you?
What is your gender
Where are you from?
Since when have you lived in Kakuma camp?
How many children do you have?
What is your family size living in this household?
Are you the head of the household?
Do you have a mobile phone?
Do you have domestic economic activities?

Main Part:

Overall, with what are you struggling the most in the household?
Do you use charcoal, firewood or electricity source? Out of them, which do you use more?
How long does it last?
How do you cope in the remaining days? What are your strategies?
When you buy products on the market, what are the main challenges? Which products are almost impossible to find? Do the shops all have the same prices?
Do you pay anything with cash or is everything on an exchange basis?
How is the quality?

How many hours per day you need for housework per day?
There so many shops that sell the same things: how do you decide?
Do you know someone who is selling something special?
What is about the community: are they helping each other?
How many belongings have you received from UNHCR and how many have you bought?
Do you describe yourself as independent or dependant? Why?
Do you receive help from someone else? If yes, how much per month?
Do you have an income? If yes, how much money you earn per month?
How much time do you cook with firewood per day? What are the main problems with cooking?
How much money/time do you spend per month to purchase extra firewood? How large is the share of your overall income per month? When you re-sell food for firewood, how many food packages do you receive per month in kg and how many kg you sell?
Where do you get your electricity from? What do you think about that solution? For what do you use electricity the most?
Are you satisfied with the current energy situation at home? What could make it better?
Why did you choose solar energy? If you don't have it, what are the barriers for not having solar energy?
If you have solar, are you satisfied? What are the challenges? How much did you pay? Where did you get it from? Would you recommend it to others? Do you want to buy more?
Do you produce something domestically? From where do you get fertilizer/fodder? How much does it cost and what is the share of your overall income? Where do you sell the products?
Where do you deposit your waste?

III. Quantitative questionnaire economically-active individual, structured interview

All respondents answer the same questions in the predominated order, whereby the respondents have to choose one of the answer options:

General part:

Question	Answer Options
Do you have time for an interview?	Yes/No
Do you allow me to use the interview in my thesis?	Yes/No
How old are you?	Years
What is your gender?	1.Male, 2Female

Where are you from?	Country
Since when have you had the economic activity?	Years
Since when have you lived in Kakuma camp?	Years
Do you have a mobile phone?	Yes/No

Main part:

Questions	Answer Option
Since when have you had your shop?	Answers in years
Which skill is most needed on the labor market?	1. Mechanics, 2. mathematics, 3. services attitude, 4. language skills, 5. business communication, 6. family relationship, 7. nationality
Where do you get your product from?	1. Kitale, 2. Nairobi, 3. Eldoret, 4. Kakuma town, 5. local producer, 6. International, 7. origin country
Is transportation a problem?	Yes/No
Do you employ someone else? How many people?	Yes/No; Number
When you have employment opportunities, how do you share this information?	1. Friends, 2. Public, 3. Family, 4. Internet
In your opinion, is the business likely to grow in the near future?	Yes/No
Do you have electricity?	Yes/No
What are the main barriers that you face?	
Are you happy with your house condition?	Yes/No
What do you think about solar energy or wind energy?	1. Positive, 2. Somewhat positive, 3. Negative
Do you have a cell phone or laptop?	Yes/No
As you know the market what is your opinion: are there many jobs available?	1. Many opportunities, 2. Some opportunities, 3. No opportunities
If you had spare capital, how would you spend it?	1. Expand business, 2. Save, 3. Move to other camp
Which products could be produced here in the camp?	1. Meat, 2. Milk, 3. Honey, 4. Hides and skins, 5. Stones, 6. Others
Where do you sell the products?	1. Kakuma camp market, 2. Kakuma

	town, 3. Nationally, 4. Country of origin
Do you have a bank account or credit card?	Yes/No

IV. Quantitative questionnaire households: structured interview

All respondents answer the same questions in the predominated order, whereby the respondents have to choose one of the answer options:

General part:

Questions	Answer Options
Do you have time for an interview?	Yes/No
Do you allow me to use the interview in my thesis?	Yes/No
How old are you?	Years
What is your gender	1. Male, 2. Female
Where are you from?	Country
Since when have you lived in Kakuma camp?	Years
How many children do you have?	Number
What is your family size living in this household?	Size Number
Are you the head of the household?	Yes/No
Do you have a mobile phone?	Yes/No
Do you have domestic economic activities?	Yes/No

Main part:

Questions	Answer Options
Do you use charcoal and firewood as an electricity source?	Yes/No
Do you receive firewood aid?	Yes/No
How many bundles and for how many months?	Number
How long does the firewood/charcoal last?	Number
How many times do you cook with firewood per day?	Number
Do you have a cook stove?	Yes/No
Is it sufficient?	Yes/No
How do you cope in the remaining days?	

When do you buy extra firewood/charcoal from?	1. Kakuma town market, 2. Kakuma camp market, 3. Friends/family
Do you receive help from someone else?	Yes/No
Do you have an income? If so, how much money you earn per month?	Yes/No, If yes then number
How many food packages do you receive per month in kg and how much in kg do you sell?	Number in kg
How much money/time do you spend per month to purchase extra firewood?	Number
How large is the share of your overall income per month?	Number
Do you have electricity?	Yes/No
Do you rent energy?	Yes/No
For what do you use electricity the most?	1. Cooking, 2. Charging phone, 3. TV, 4. Light
How many hours of light do you have in the night?	Number
Are you satisfied with the current energy situation at home?	Yes/No
How much money to you pay for electricity?	Number
Would you be willing to pay for products and items?	Yes/No
Do you have a bank account?	Yes/No
What is your overall income?	Number
How many times do you cook?	Number
Do you have a small garden or livestock?	Yes/No
Do you purchase fertilizer/fodder?	Yes/No
What kind of energy source would you like to have?	1. Nothing, 2. Firewood, 3. Generator, 4. Solar, 5. Do not know
Where do you sell products?	1. Kakuma camp market, 2. Kakuma town, 3. Nationally, 4. Country of origin

V. Qualitative Group Interview Farmer, Semi-structured

My group interviews have no general part because it would take too much time and the farmers were busy.

Semi-structured interviews, the questions and order can vary:

Do you have time for an interview?
Do you allow me to use the interview for my thesis?
What kind of crops do you cultivate? What livestock do you have?
Why did you choose to have this kind of crop or livestock?
How many hectares do you cultivate/ How many livestock do you have?
Where do you get your livestock/fodder/fertilizer from?
How much do you pay it per month?
Which equipment do you use to farm?
Which items do you produce?
To whom are you selling your products?
How much do you earn from your products?
What is your profit per month?
Which crop is the most profitable?
What crop would you like to add?
Is this sufficient for your family?
What are the main barriers that you face on your farm/livestock?
Do you employ someone else? When employing someone, which criteria are most important?
Do you find enough people in the market specialized in ...?
What is your future perspective regarding your agriculture business?
In what would you like to invest?
Do you use electricity for the livestock or farming?
What is your electricity power source?
Do you have light in the night?
Are you satisfied with the current energy situation? What could make it better?
What do you expect from renewable energy?
Do you recognize that the amount of firewood in the bushes will change?
Is there any other environmental change you are aware of?
Do you receive any help from outside?
Which size is your family?
Is there something you want to add or talk about?

VI. Qualitative interview with government authorities was not allowed to publish.

VII. Qualitative questionnaires humanitarian organization, semi-structured

Semi-structured interviews, the questions and order can vary:

General part:

Do you have time for an interview?
Do you allow me to use the interview for my thesis?
What is your position?
What is your expertise?

Main Questions:

Themes	Questions
Awareness	How much needs to be done to create awareness? What are the arguments?
Demand/supply	How is the demand in the market inside the camp?
	How much money is in the market? How many refugees can afford these toilets?
Food market	What can be done to provide market-oriented farming?
Including market development	How can refugees can be included in the value chain?
	What could be produced here locally?
Value chain development	
	Which value chains have the most potential for the growth and inclusion of refugees?
Market-based interventions	
	As an organization, where do you get your products from? Do you buy them here?
	What are the main underlying problems when it comes to making the market working for the poor in context of Kakuma?
Private sector	How can the private sector can create livelihoods?
Prices	How do you control prices?

Household - Livelihood strategies	
	When it comes to livelihoods, in which area do refugees struggle the most and why is this the case?
	What is their main expenditure and how can the dependency be diminished?
	Firewood and food aid are emptied in one or two weeks: what can be done to improve the livelihood coping strategies in the remaining days?
	What can be done to improve the housing situation?
	In your opinion, how much cash is in the market in Kakuma camp? How much do the households have?
	What economic activities can be found inside the household and what is sold on the market?
Value chain	
	In your opinion, which business sector is most likely to grow in the near future?
	In your opinion, which value chain has the most potential?
	What kind of assets and skills would refugees need to exploit opportunities in this value chain?
	Which policies and supporting functions currently exist?
	Which opportunities/barriers do you see to integrate the refugees in this sector?
	How can be the value chain extend and be more value-added?
	How can incentives be created for the

	private sector to invest?
Agribusiness	
	What are the main barriers/challenges related to value chain development in the agriculture business?
	Is their potential to industrialize agriculture or scale up the productivity?
	Do you think that the ground water is sufficient for a large-scale irrigation system?
	How much groundwater is actually here?
Environmental changes	What can be done to avoid depletion of e.g. firewood?
	Do you see any tension arising from the rising agriculture sector in the refugee community?
Renewable energy	
	Specific question for renewable energy firms about the growth, customer behavior, trends, barriers, opportunities, challenges
Humanitarian development nexus	Do you think that refugees have the awareness, knowledge and money to switch towards renewable energy?
	What can be done to improve access to electricity and solar energy
	Do you receive help or funding from an organization?
Integration	How would you access the current situation in Kalobeyei? What do you think is most needed to improve the livelihood in Kalobeyei (in terms of agriculture, irrigation system, electricity)?

	What can be done to enhance sustainable economic growth in Turkana?
Market-based intervention	
	As an organization, where do you get your products from? Do you buy them here?
	What are the main underlying problems when it comes to making the market working for the poor in context of Kakuma?
Child labor	How can child labor be prevented in the context of market-based interventions and creating employment possibilities?
	What are the underlying challenges of creating a sustainable market solution?
	How can a break-even point be reached in the refugee camp context if the expenditure and revenues are equal?
	What is your opinion regarding structural transformation inside the camp, agriculture productivity, released labor for the industry in cooperation with private sector, service sector is already large, development path
	Which dynamics do you see as having changed in the recent years? Which are not sufficiently captured (demographics, government, assets, access to market)?
	What do you think is the stance of the government towards the permanent structure?
Entrepreneur loans	Are there other entrepreneurs who I could visit?

	What does the future of entrepreneurial and sustainable livelihood programs look like?
Waste management	Do you have a common solution for waste management? How could the private sector step in?
Add	Is there something to add or do you want to talk about another topic that I did not mention? Which other people are useful for me to interview?
	In times of donor fatigue, what are self-reliant systems? Where does the money come from?
Skills/labor market/education	
	What education is most needed for the labor market in the camp (including related to generate income)?
	What education is most needed for the labor market in Turkana (including related to generate income)?
	In what areas do refugees have a comparative advantage?
	How do you prevent a certain over-supply?
	In which direction should vocational training centers expand their service?
	You graduate 2,843 students: do you know what they do afterwards? Do they open their business or go back to the country of their origin?
	Do you have connections to the private sector or a dialog?

VIII. Qualitative questionnaire with the private sector, semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews, the questions and order can vary:

General part:

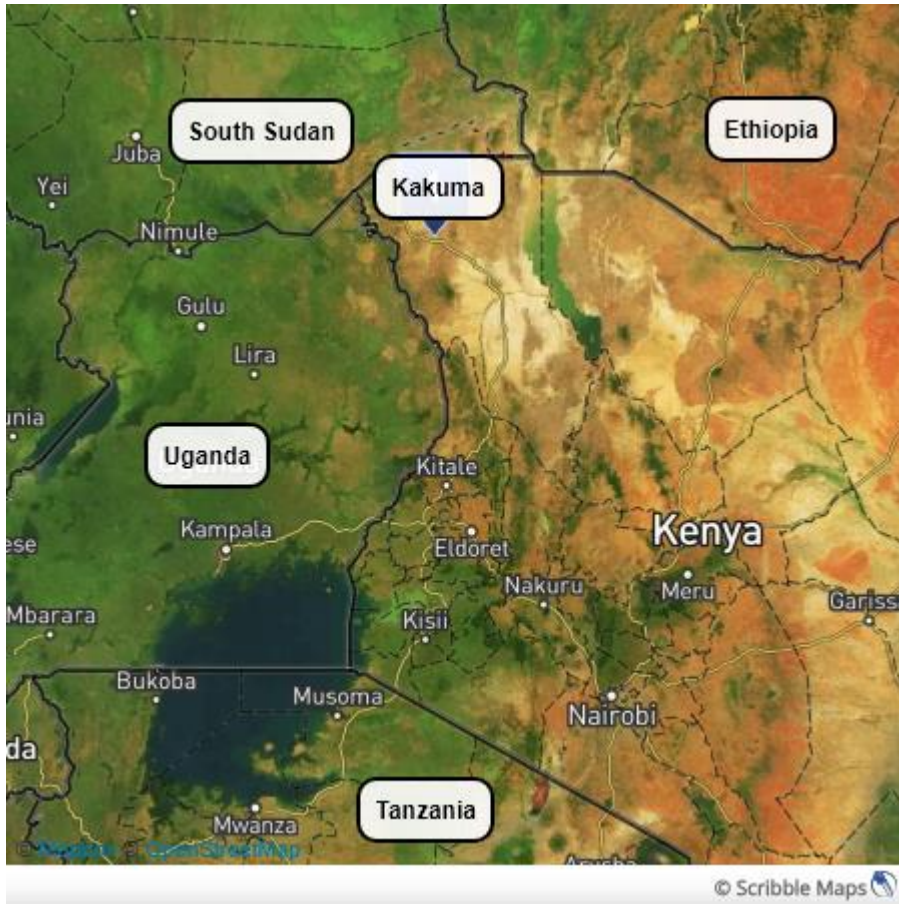
Do you have time for an interview?
Do you allow me to use the interview for my thesis?
What is your position?
What is your expertise?

Main part:

How do you interact in the Kakuma camp market?
Do you receive help or funding from organizations?
When do you reach the break-even point?
What are the main barriers and challenges of investing in Kakuma? How is it possible to attract more companies?
Do you see that the presence of humanitarian organization and their involvement is hindering private companies from coming and investing because some products are provided for free?
What do you want from the humanitarian side? How can humanitarian aid be a facilitator to build a bridge?
Do you see your company in competition with the humanitarian organizations?
What is your perception of the free-given assets, services and interventions by the humanitarian organizations?
How to do you change the mindset from “everything is given for free”?
From the legal framework?
Which skills are most needed for the labor market in the future in Kakuma?
What do you think are the comparative advantages of refugees?
How do you see the future of Kakuma town and camp? How would you like to see it?
How can the private sector create livelihoods?

Appendix H: Maps of Kakuma

Map 1 depicts Kenya. I created the map with Scribble Maps.



Map 2 shows Kakuma camp and town. I created the map with Scribble Maps.

