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**FACULTY OF ARTS**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

**MASTERS IN STRATEGIC AND SECURITY STUDIES**

**THE INFLUENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN REFUGEES ON KENYA'S NATIONAL  
ECONOMIC SECURITY 2011-2021**

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**March , 2023**

## DECLARATION

It is hereby my declaration that the present document is solely my original project, it has not been submitted anywhere else and all references have been duly acknowledged.

**Peter Onyonyi Oguta**

Admission Number: C50/5224/2017



**Signature:**

**Date:** 30/03/2023

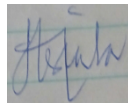
This is to confirm that this project is being submitted for examination with my approval as the official academic supervisor.

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Supervisor,

The Department of Political Science and

Public Administration, University of Nairobi



**Signature:**

**Date:** 4/4/2023

## **DEDICATION**

This work is a special dedication to my loving family, particularly my wife and daughters, friends, colleagues and associates.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

It is indeed a great privilege to acknowledge my Supervisor and academic advisor Dr. Henry Amadi for his guidance, support, great insight and value addition into this research project and for his motivation and enthusiasm throughout this research. A special mention goes to my Director for appointing and fully sponsoring me to undertake this noble research. I also wish to acknowledge my superiors in the office and all the personnel, colleagues for offering me the opportunity and time to pursue further studies. In addition, my appreciation goes to the University of Nairobi for providing a conducive environment for this research. I finally take this opportunity to thank all my friends, associates and those who participated in this study to make it a success.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>Coop Bank</b>	Cooperative Bank
<b>CPA</b>	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organizations
<b>DRA</b>	Department for Refugees Affairs
<b>EA</b>	East Africa
<b>EAC</b>	East African Community
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>FRELIMO</b>	Mozambique Liberation Front
<b>GoK</b>	Government of Kenya
<b>HoA</b>	Horn of Africa
<b>IDPs</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>IGAD</b>	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
<b>IR</b>	International Relations
<b>IT</b>	Information Technology
<b>CAA</b>	Kenya Airports Authority
<b>KRA</b>	Kenya Revenue Authority
<b>LAPSSET</b>	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>RSD</b>	Refugee Status Determination
<b>R-TGoNU</b>	Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity
<b>SPLM</b>	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement
<b>SPLM-IG</b>	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-In-Government
<b>SPLM-IO</b>	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement-In-Opposition
<b>TGoNU</b>	Transitional Government of National Unity
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UNMISS</b>	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>UoN</b>	University of Nairobi
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>VE</b>	Violent Extremism

## ABSTRACT

In the twenty-first century, it is crucial to acknowledge that migration stands on top of the policy agenda of many countries in the world, aside from its intrinsic importance, migration matters have become one critical facet of International Relations. Migration has social, political, economic and environmental impact on any given State. The general research objective was to examine the economic impact of South Sudan refugee (immigrants) in Kenya. This study was guided by the following research questions; what is the influence of the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya on Kenya's economic security? To what extent is Kenya's treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees compatible with its economic interests in South Sudan? How far have the relief activities regarding South Sudan immigrant refugees been compatible with Kenya's economic security? This paper intends to enlighten policy on emerging trends associated with migration. This paper aimed to address the following hypotheses; the high proportion of South Sudan immigrant refugees is linked to increasing levels of economic insecurity in Kenya. Kenya's preferential treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees undermines its economic interests in South Sudan. The emergency relief activities relating to the South Sudan immigrant refugees have impacted negatively on Kenya's economic security. This research study applied securitization theory and globalization theory as issues of migration have lately become more of security than a humanitarian affair. The research employed longitudinal descriptive research design where the researcher examined the same situation to detect any changes that might occur over a period of time. Thus, the research was within Kenya and South Sudan and the period of study covered was 2011 and 2021. This research employed purposive sampling to get the main target population which included; United Nations, the Kenya National Intelligence Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The South Sudan embassy, The International Organization for Migration, Academia, County Governments, Kenya National Police Service, The Judiciary, Kenya Prison Service, Kenya Tourism Board, The Directorate of Immigration Services, State Law Office, Kenya Defence Forces, Security Practitioners and Kituo Cha Sheria. This paper employed the use of primary and secondary data. The main primary data sources comprised of an interview guided self-administered questionnaire while, secondary data was captured from journals, books, periodicals, magazines and articles on the subject matter. A pilot study was undertaken in order to test the effectiveness of the research tool and to unravel any unforeseen challenges. The field data extracted was sorted and meticulously analyzed using document and content analysis for the emerging themes of the economic security impact of South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya. The final results were then presented in form of bar graphs, pie charts, narrative and frequency tables. This study adhered to the best practice research procedures; supervisor instructions. The impact of emergency relief activities on Kenya's economic security however remained indeterminate. The study found that, on the one hand these activities leverage Kenya's leverage the international arena as they also reduce pressure on the local resources. The research recommends further exploration of the impact of relief activities on economic security, strengthening the regional economic blocs such as IGAD and EAC, increasing the number of serving UN military troops in UNMISS, the inking of bilateral pacts on outstanding issues between the two states and ultimately taking cognizance of the UN standardization of relief activities. The study concludes that borders are no longer controlled by authorities approving who comes in and goes out but in conjunction with neighboring countries. Finally, it recommends the update of migration policies that articulate issues relating to influence of migration on national economic security in general with a bias on the Kenyan situation.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the twenty-first century system, despite evidence of increased number of migrants in the world over the years, there is still little research on the economic security implications. Many countries have experienced increased levels of economic insecurity due to refugee inflows from warring countries, conflict areas, unstable regions and loss of the respective markets.

### 1.1 Background to the Study

The twenty-first century has brought to the fore the subject of migration that is starting to be viewed from different angles depending on one's thoughts, ideas, background or biases towards the issue. Sirkeci, Cohen & Yazgan, (2016) defines immigration as "the relocation of people to a given state. Conversely, migration denotes the movement of a large population from one region to another usually within a state or across national borders." Nowadays migration is viewed from a point of securitization, nationally or internationally.

The topic of immigration has an impact on political, economic, environmental and security dimensions. Migration can be detrimental to the national interests of some countries. Weiner, (2017) states that refugees are people who move great distances to other countries in search of sanctuary and often face the prospect of not being able to go back home. International immigration can therefore be defined as the permanent mass or individual movement of persons from one state to another. It is prudent to note that asylum seekers are people who have been forced by dire circumstances to move to other countries and apply for sanctuary.

According to Sirkeci, Cohen & Yazgan, (2016), the volatility in world situations is forcing people to move to more stable areas of the world. A good example is during the collapse of the Soviet Union, the largest mass migration was witnessed in the world since the end of the Second World War in Europe. The United Nations, (2020) posits that refugee camps that are militarized experience the worst forms of human rights abuses. Examples of these include the refugee camps that were in Afghanistan and Cambodia in the 1980s. For a decade between the years of 1981 to 1991 a guerilla war was launched by the Khmer rouge against the Cambodian government and its Vietnam allies. This pushed hundreds of thousands of people into refugee camps in Thailand. In these camps, a lot of atrocities and squalid living

conditions diminished the quality of life of the refugees. It took the intervention of the international community to resettle as many as 260,000 of these refugees in safer countries, mainly the United States (US). Between 1981 and 1991, a significant number of Cambodians were displaced and remained in refugee camps situated in Thailand or on the Thai-Cambodian border, as a result of the ongoing guerrilla warfare between the Cambodian government and Vietnamese forces. During this period, over half of these refugees were resettled in the United States, with approximately 260,000 individuals finding asylum there. 360,000 Cambodians were repatriated between 1991 and 1993 when brokered peace talk by the UN became successful. Many of these abuses in the camps were ignored by the international community due to cold war politics. Many of these refugee camps became militarized because of the host nation's support for liberation causes such as the Mozambican Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) in Tanzania, the South African National Congress (ANC) and Zimbabwean liberation forces (ZAPU) in Zambia.

The migration issues are complicated by economic, social, security and political issues of the main recipient country. Therefore, insecurity attributable to refugees remains a problem in Africa since the continent hosts the greatest number of refugees in the world. According to Loescher & Loescher, (2014) "approximately half of all major conflicts around the globe happened in Africa" owing to civil wars, ethnic hatred and violence among other factors that have influenced the influx of refugees in many African countries. Many of them do not fit international standards to be classified so. Loescher & Loescher, (2014) highlights that Africa's conflicts stem from civil wars, ethnic hatred and violence among other factors that have played such a substantial role in generating refugees and IDPs. Shaw, (2016) argues that "the movement of persons within and from the sub-Saharan region can be characterized along four main routes." The routes include: The Horn of Africa (HoA), Northern Africa, European and the North America. Bloom, (2014) contends that irregular migration in the East Africa (EA) spans from: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Yemen, South Sudan and Sudan, and extends all the way to Rwanda, Burundi and the Central African Republic (CAR).

According to Loescher & Loescher, (2014) movement of people, that is, refugees, occur during periods of political volatility. This prompts both countries that produce refugees and the ones receiving them develop some sort of political, security and economic interests. This portends that areas with refugees cannot be neutral in the political sense. Therefore, refugee camps are always viewed as potential national security threats. Vadean & Randazzo, (2019)

posit that migration has been going on since human beings have been on the planet. It has become a topical issue nowadays considering the mega effects it has on societies.

Shaw, (2016) asserts that irregular migration within the East African context is completely mixed and usually comprises the undocumented migrants and migrant refugees mainly driven to flee by factors such as conflicts, ethnic persecution, political instability, famine, feuds and ostracism. Kenya, apart from South Sudan, has also had immigrants from Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania though to a lower scale, as compared to those from South Sudan (Bloom, 2014). It is notable that as much as South Sudan produces refugees, it is also used as a major route by illegal migrants heading to North Africa to cross the Sea towards Europe for greener pastures (Sirkeci, Cohen & Yazgan, 2016).

The United Nations, (2020) states that the refugee situation in South Sudan is at a critical stage, with the latest data from the United Nations finding about 2.2 million of them scattered as of 2020 with Kenya hosting about 153,000 as at the end of 2020 (Kenya Refugees Response Plan for South Sudanese 2019-2020 & the Demographics of Kenya – statistics and facts, KBS report 2019-2020). The idea of economic disparities that exist between host populations and refugees usually leave refugees at vulnerable situations within their host countries (Sirkeci, Cohen & Yazgan, 2016). According to Sanght, (2016) when refugees flee their homes, poverty usually follows close behind. Atim, (2013) argues that from the onset, refugees compete with the locals for vital economic resources such as water, food, land, housing and medical services. Over time, this becomes a growing concern since their numbers will grow and lead to further demands on resources. Sirkeci, Cohen & Yazgan, (2016) posits that the presence of migrants usually leads to some fundamental changes in a country's economy, such as changes in balance of payments due to increased importation needs and may also alter a country's economic adjustment needs. The United Nations (2021) report on refugees situation globally, underscores that the civil war in South Sudan is a catastrophe of unprecedented proportion. Hence more than ten years of fighting albeit mitigated peace efforts have seen South Sudan slip into sporadic violence, famine and hunger for millions of its citizens. It is expected that a political solution needs to be found before any of the aforementioned problems can be tackled. The UN (2021) report further points out that women and children constitute a majority of the refugees, that they usually experience hunger when fleeing and the rainy season in refugee camps beset them with a myriad of problems like flooding, hunger and pestilence.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

Threats to economic security have been reevaluated in light of the region's recent experience with transformation and dynamism. During the last several decades, Kenya has experienced a dramatic growth in the number of refugees, and this phenomenon has been linked to transnational vices like organized criminal networks that engage in exploitative practices like human trafficking and smuggling.

This section points out that in a great effort to highlight the interconnected nature of economic insecurity and violence, Weiner (2017) argues that we must see migrants as both a symptom and a contributor to these problems. Many refugees have been able to find safety in Kenya because to the country's welcoming policies. This policy only allows for the repatriation of individuals to their home countries when it is deemed safe to do so, and it ensures that they retain all of their social and economic rights while abroad. refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, and Somalia are now taking refuge in Kenya. In particular, the number of South Sudanese immigrants entering Kenya has steadily increased, reaching over 114,432 by the end of 2018. This is due to South Sudan's separation from the greater Sudan in 2011.

This section takes recognition of the fact that various reports of the atrocities that are going on in South Sudan have become mundane to many people and therefore no longer a news worthy story, extreme brutal violence is a reality in this country. Providentially, the crisis in South Sudan has a regional bend: neighboring countries like Kenya are concerned about the ever growing lawlessness and warlordism going on in its neighborhood. Kenya fears that such kind of a situation may compromise its own national security thus undermine their political and economic interests. Kenya has in the recent decades experienced increased levels of insecurity in the wider definition of the term apart from terrorism (Liv, 2013). The country has also experienced increased levels of economic insecurity as a result, not only of refugee inflows from the warring countries of the Horn of Africa, but also loss of the respective markets. Atim, (2013) postulates a common view held by many that refugees are a burden economically and that they lower wages within a country by being competitors on the job market. But despite these held beliefs, few studies have been done on the impact of South Sudan immigrants on the Kenyan economy. This study looks into the influence of South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya and Kenya's economic security.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i.** What is the influence of the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya on Kenya's economic security?
- ii.** To what extent is Kenya's treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees compatible with its economic interests in South Sudan?
- iii.** How far have the relief activities regarding South Sudan immigrant refugees been compatible with Kenya's economic security?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this research was to evaluate the influence of South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's national security between 2011 and 2021. The specific objectives seek to:

- i.** Determine whether Kenya's open-door policy towards South Sudan immigrant refugees is compatible with its economic interests in South Sudan.
- ii.** Establish how far Kenya's treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees is compatible with its economic interests in South Sudan.
- iii.** Examine the influence of the relief activities in Kenya regarding the South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's economic insecurity.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

This section acts as the main rationale and final validation of the study to evaluate the influence of South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's national economic security. It is noteworthy that, "Kenya midwifed the secession of South Sudan through a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which was signed in 2005 by vote of a referendum in 2011 giving way to its independence." It is further notable that even after the independence, the influx of the South Sudan immigrant refugees into Kenya continued unabated and impacting on Kenya's economic security as it was during their war for independence where they used Kenya as a platform for agitating for their self-rule, this forms the wider concern. This research on South Sudan immigrant refugees is also justified by the fact that South Sudan's clashes have had a negative economic impact on Kenyan businesses as it hinders trade between the two countries. Kenyan businessmen/women have also been increasingly coming under attack and killed in South Sudan.



### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

The new knowledge generated in this study aims to inform academicians, scholars and researchers on strategies for countering the emerging immigration threats. The findings will also contribute and add value to the already existing body of knowledge on the subject. It will further deepen the appreciation of the impact of immigration on national economic security amongst the academia and the extent of immigrant refugee problem using Kenya and South Sudan. At the same time, it will inform of new ways and modalities of countering regional instability due to economic insecurity occasioned by immigration matters. Further, the findings will lay a foundation for future research on the subject, more so be a future reference material for discussion on the matter.

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

In the twenty-first century given evidence of the increasing number of migrants in Kenya over the years, there is still limited research on its economic security implications in assessing illegal immigration as an economic security threat. This study aims to contribute to the formulation of new policies anchored on the premise that migration is a core security issue. It will also inform policymakers on emerging migration trends, and also it will present a platform for testing the effectiveness of the existing policies and possibly be used to refine obsolete policies on the subject matter.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The migration matters are basically driven by factors that lead people to move whether it be voluntary or forced on a temporary or permanent basis. Countries in the eastern part of Africa are diverse in their character but also in some ways they are similar to each other. These differences and similarities are hinged on the local contexts of these countries. But one factor is quite clear and concise, low human and economic development runs through as a reason for all types of migration from different countries within the region. This study thus looks at South Sudan-Kenya migration issues between 2011 and 2021. Over the ten years since South Sudan became a sovereign nation through the signing of a peace agreement in 2005, the terms of the agreement were that after six years, South Sudan could have a referendum to decide its destiny.

The South Sudanese chose independence and seceded with the ten southern-most States of Sudan. This research took a keen interest on South Sudan immigrants owing to the fact that some of them as they get to their destinations in Kenya, they are often faced with a lot of

difficulties, some of which include access to health facilities, accommodation becomes difficult for them, education opportunities seem to elude most and also often they have a problem securing jobs. The same refugees with time become easy targets for extortion, mistreatment, and even abuse as a result of the lack of protection from the authorities, since most lack information and the required documents. The study also delves into the causes of the continued immigration and economic insecurity to Kenya by South Sudan immigrant refugees even after the attainment of independence.

## **1.7 Chapter Outline**

This study is presented in five chapters to guide the research. This study starts with Chapter one that at the moment comprises of introduction of the key concept under study, it is also made up of the background of the research, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, justification both academic and policy and scope of the study. Chapter two assesses the literature review and theoretical framework with an interest on Kenya's open-door policy on how South Sudan immigrant refugees pose economic insecurity in Kenya. Chapter three articulates in detail the methodology of the study on the relationship between the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya and the resultant increased economic insecurity in Kenya in recent years. Chapter four displays the data presentation, data analysis and interpretation of the final outcome, gives the role of State and non-State actors in mitigation of the economic insecurity impact and influence of South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's economic security. Chapter five presents the the final chapter of the study and it consists of a summary, conclusion and recommendations and serves as a final verdict of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The literature surveyed academic periodicals, scholarly journals, articles, books and other relevant academic sources on the subject matter. The purpose of the literature review was to compare the voice of various scholars and to compare the emerging arguments with regards to the specific objectives of the study. In addition, this chapter seeks to explore and give a detailed historical overview of migration matters relating to their influence on economic security. It elaborates the theories used from the basis of the study and its link to the subject matter and explores empirical and theoretical literature in a bid to enumerate, describe, summarize, objectively evaluate and clarify previous research on a related subject matter.

### **2.1 Empirical Review**

In this study, the empirical literature has utilized various researches from books, articles, journals and periodicals in order to explain the key phenomena under investigation and inquiry. Patterns of migration reflect the status of places on the planet, from where people are moving from to where they are going. Unfortunately, many migrants face serious violations of their human rights which include; a denial of civil and political rights such as arbitrary detention, torture, denial of health services, housing, education and employment. They make easy targets for exploitation as many governments are facing harsh economic realities and thus are not inclined to spend more resources on non-citizens.

#### **2.1.1 Migration Situation**

Menkhaus and Shapiro (2020) posit that the history of humanity is replete with a plethora of migration narratives that have resulted in significant population, cultural, and economic changes across numerous regions of the world. The authors categorize migration into two principal types: internal migration, which transpires within the boundaries of a single nation-state, and international migration, which denotes movement between distinct countries.

According to Ibrahim, (2016) internal and international migration are quite different from each other. The former is stimulated by internal socioeconomic situations and the latter is stimulated by international factors. Movement across boundaries is referred to as in-migration and out-migration, or immigration and emigration respectively. Markaki & Longhi (2010)

contends that migration is a worldwide phenomenon that is dynamic as it keeps changing in its financial and security aspects. It has become a topical issue to the international community as it is a phenomenon that profoundly affects communities at large. Jones (2016) cites that an increase in immigration is further fueled by inadequate human and economic development of the origin state, unplanned urbanizations, demographic increase, conflicts, dictatorship, social unrest and environmental degradation among others. Thus, immigration is becoming a vital topic in International Relations (IR), that is keen to establish the relationship between states.

The subject of migration has been of scholarly interest today, more than ever before, especially when it comes to the discipline of Political Science. Heisel (2011) insists that it is generally accepted that modern day transportation (logistics) has made migration easier and quicker. Adan (2019) found that the total number of asylum seekers has reached an all-time high with about an estimated two million submitted applications to the UNHCR in 2019.

The concept of migration is usually linked to the strong urge humans have to survive, meaning more often than not humans will migrate for economic reasons and or to avoid conflict. It has been shown that migration more often than not improves the plight of the migrants. People move around as individuals, families or a group. There are four major forms of migration; invasion, conquest, colonization and emigration or immigration. According to Adan (2019), a person who is compelled to move from his home due to adverse conditions affecting them may be called a displaced person and if a person is faced with this fate but still resides in their home country, they are referred to as Internally Displaced Person (IDP)

According to Sanght, (2016) a person who flees persecution of a nature that is political, religious, ethnic, gender, identity based or due to social affiliation and makes a formal appeal to the host country to be given refugee status can be described as an asylum seeker. Migration can be seen to affect sovereignty of a nation since changes in demographic and the entry of many people into a country's territory has national security implications. Heisel (2011) posits that migration is a growing challenge for countries around the world, thus affecting almost all countries in the world. It affects one way or the other the globalized system. It affects labor, cost of transportation, supply chains and even family networks. The United Nations, (2020) posited that migration can mitigate problems of declining populations, working age population decline and population ageing for countries with low birth rates but this does not mean that the trend will be reversed. For some reason, it seems developing countries are

having higher population growth rates than the developed world. It seems China's population is in the decline for the first time since the people's revolution party. This raises fears of a shrinking world economy. In European countries, senior citizens are constituting greater and significant portions of the population. These facts make it clear that for the world economy to maintain its equilibrium, migration of people from the developing world to the developed world will be necessary.

Kumssa and Jones (2014) points out that under development is one of the major causes of migration. Under development generally leads to socioeconomic manifestations such as income disparities between countries, economic instability, and population pressures. More so, international migration can lead to brain drain from source countries. Migration also boosts the destination country's economy by expanding their tax base and boosting consumption levels. Migrants spend more than four fifths of their income in destination countries, and most of these costs are being put for survival items to the point that most of the migrants sometimes are forced to live hand-to-mouth.

Jacobsen & Landau, (2013) postulates spatial considerations in migration like rural-urban migration to international migration as well as the range categories of migration like short-term migration, circular migration to permanent moves. Decisions to migrate can be made from a micro perspective which means the migrant is prompted to migrate due to factors close to his or her home or on a macro level meaning decision to migrate is determined by societal driven factors. The people have different reasons for migrating, those reasons can be such as to find work or investment opportunities, to be with family or for even academic purposes. Other people move to escape conflict or persecution, terrorism, or human rights violations. Still others are compelled to change residence due to environmental considerations or even natural disasters.

Kumssa and Jones (2014) advance that data collection is a challenge regarding issues of migration since there's a scarcity of spatial and temporal data sets especially in low income areas where many aspects of life are informal. This may result in fragmented databases involving timescales, geographies and types of migration. Kumssa and Jones (2014) spells out that it is a challenge to put out a formal definition for migration especially when it comes to defining 'environmental migration' and 'climate migration'. Since it becomes difficult to determine who are climate refugees and who are migrants specifically because of a particular

change in climate. Individuals have different reasons why they would wish to migrate. Within the context of climate change, Kumssa and Jone (2014) further refer to these decisions as the ‘vulnerability profile’ which is unique to every person..

Ganor (2014), posit that on a macro level, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country and employment figures can act as push and pull factors when it comes to migratory issues and these are dominant factors. The persons or people of working age are pushed to look for better opportunities elsewhere due to economic inequality caused by political economic models like communism, trickle-down economics, and rent seeking. Increasing rural-to-urban migration due to climate change would lead to resource rivalry or conflict between migrant and host groups, which Ibrahim (2016) argues threatens the national security of nations and potentially even regions. Levels of governance and faith in government, as well as degrees of institutionalization support and infrastructure, are other political variables that impact migration. Important in examining environmental migration are the infrastructure and intervention mechanisms provided by governmental and non-governmental groups.

The dual effects of climactic and demographic factors affecting migration have had the very adverse effects of making third world countries. The need for making money in such places has led to rapid but unplanned urban development resulting in the mushrooming of informal settlements, scant social amenities and outbreaks of contagious diseases to a pandemic level.

According to Menkhaus, and Shapiro,(2020) developed nations are facing the problem of declining populations. This has the effect of reducing migration since older people might be weary of travel but on the other hand it may also lead to ‘healthy-migrant’ effect which purports that immigrants have a health advantage over the domestic-born which vanishes with increased length of residency. What is the hypothesis behind this, you may ask, well, the so-called healthy migrant hypothesis states that migrants are generally a healthy group and that’s why they survive their transition to new communities and it’s specifically due to this good health that they have which makes them valuable to their host communities but this advantage might decrease with time, Nevertheless, immigration comes with benefits; like the enhancement of the labor force and injection of new artistry skills, the expansion of the cultural pool, elimination of shortage of labor and the boost to the economy from spending done by them is also a positive result.

According to Ibrahim (2016) the degradation of the environment leads to people abandoning such places. Menkhau, and Shapiro, (2020) adds that many environmental driving factors may not be as a result of climate change but may be due to other overlooked reasons such as socio-political factors, for instance, how land is used, urbanization, depletion of natural resources, dumping and geophysical natural hazards can be reasons for people moving.

Marchand, Roosen, Reinold & Siegel (2017), posits that international migrants are people who move from their own countries out of necessity to other countries in order to find settlement, security and livelihood and there are millions of them every year. This happens for a myriad of reasons, as aforementioned in previous paragraphs. The study of international migration is important because it enables researchers monitor the flow of population across different regions of the globe.

### **2.1.2 The Presence of Refugees from East Africa**

International migration is quite an old phenomenon in human history determined by a myriad of reasons. It happens on a grand scale that it becomes quite a huge and challenging undertaking to monitor. The twenty-first century International Relations discourse has shown millions of displaced persons across eastern Africa, who have fallen deep into hunger as the current food rations dwindle as a result of the over-stretched humanitarian resources being stretched to a great limit. Since international migration involves people crossing international boundaries, a uniform database among nations is needed which many a time is surely lacking. However, there are organizations like migration integration policy index that tries and keep tabs on migrants around the world to determine whether migrants are treated well or not. The parameters of their treatment are looked at from a point of view, whether the migrants have working rights, how long it takes them to be eligible for citizenship, family rights which entails aspects of whether a family can stay together among other issues.

Marchand, Roosen, Reinold & Siegel (2017), postulate that international migration has both direct and indirect effects on economic growth in Africa. The East African region has a long history of labor migration between and within States whether it be to plantations, such as cotton, bananas and coffee in Uganda, mining in Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda, and with pastoralist communities in Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and South Sudan. States in East Africa have significantly increased in vulnerability due to civil war by absorbing more refugee inflows from neighboring States. Adans (2019) argues that in East Africa there is a

category of migrants; some are displaced persons, some are asylum seekers, some are seeking to reunite with family while others are just looking for work or education. All of these people put a strain on a country's economic resources and compromises security. In Kenya for instance, the weapons used in conflicts in Uganda, Somalia and Sudan are now being illegally trafficked into refugee camps such as Kakuma and Dadaab (United Nations, 2020). In some of these camps, the UN report indicates that security incidences resulting into death, injury and destruction of property take place on a daily basis with resultant economic implications.

According to Weiner (2017), refugees have an impact on economic security as illustrated by the fact that political organization in refugee camps is becoming more of a militia sort of affair where the leaders form extortion and blackmail rings against those belonging to other political camps rather than the traditional representation by a council of elders. In as much as some criminal elements have voluntarily surrendered their weapons to gain refugee status, others are secretly involved in criminal or illegal activities and use the refugee situation as a cover, to the extent that they use the refugee camp as bases to organize, reorganize and strengthen their movements (United Nations, 2020). Sabates & Waite (2018) reveals that increase in border skirmishes and clashes cause cross-border conflicts, compromises the security of border communities and this may strain relations between the countries that neighbor each other. It is important to keep in mind that government action to destroy and liquidate these groups could have collateral damage on the indigenous local people.

Verdirame (2012), opines that transboundary armed groups become a threat when they are involved in gun running, where large amounts of arms, ammunitions and other weapons are transferred from conflict zones in the origin country. Therefore, the labelling of immigration as an economic security threat has serious implications in terms of norms, laws, policies and procedures. Mogire (2011) stresses that a grave concern in the East African region about immigration apart from its economic impact is that it might be the conduit for terrorism, infectious diseases and illicit arms. Migration that is not legal and above board can be considered as a factor that contributes to a country's economic insecurity and therefore undermining its national sovereignty.



Sabates and Waite (2018) assert that the economic impact of migration on East African countries remains a relatively under-researched topic due to the lack of a centralized database that can provide comprehensive information in this regard. It has been difficult to clearly estimate the economic security impact of immigration in the East African context. According to Verdirame (2012), “in order to understand economic security and how it affects refugees, scholars should focus on the various levels of security analysis in its wider definition.” Verdirame (2012) adds that many a theory postulate that States like Kenya can face internal and external economic threats to their security due to refugee movements. Sabates and Waite (2018) observe that the Horn of Africa, and Kenya in particular, has witnessed a dynamic and transformative evolution of security concerns, which has necessitated the emergence of new paradigms for assessing security risks.

Traditionally, the States in the region focused on territorial integrity as a key component of national security concerns. However, there has been a paradigm shift towards asymmetric threats, such as terrorism, which require an asymmetrical approach to analyse. Most authors contend that the economic stability of a State is also at risk from emerging security threats like refugee flows, which require close attention. Verdirame (2012) highlights that there is a dearth of understanding regarding the management of refugees, the actors involved, the strategies employed, and how these factors interact to pose a challenge to national economic security. This study aims to bridge this gap by conducting an analysis of the refugee flows into the host country, with a focus on how the key actors manage the situation, and the resultant impact on the national economic security of the asylum provider.

According to Mogire (2011), there are many studies that have been undertaken in Kenya relating to influx of refugees and the resultant security implications. However, none of these studies have examined and assessed the emerging security threats using an asymmetric approach rather than the symmetric approach that has been shown to be deficient in explaining the new national security threats. This study seeks to add to existing knowledge on threats to national security, using an asymmetric approach to examine the gaps in South Sudan refugee management, and their potential threat to economic security in Kenya.

On the flipside, academic studies find that Kenya and Sudan seem to be lucrative for irregular immigrants in the region. Sudan seems to be a conduit country where large groups of migrants from some of the southern States within the region move through heading

northwards towards the Mediterranean Sea. They are usually asylum seekers and economic migrants mostly of Eritrean nationality. Kenya hosts transients from Ethiopia, Somalia and South Sudan, Eritrea, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. Kenya is the hub of the East African region since it has extensive and developed infrastructure, mature politics and stability and this is why extensive communities of migrants are found in Kenya (Jacobsen & Landau, 2013). Meantime, the United Nations (2020) report states that, “the Refugee Act (2007) aimed to implement the 1951 United Nations Convention related to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention.” The promulgation of the act was then followed by serious lobbying by the UNHCR and many other civil societies. Crea & McFarland, (2015) found that the act categorizes refugees into two; prima facie refugees and statutory refugees and clearly outlines the conditions under which a refugee can be expelled or denied asylum. These conditions are applicable to people who have committed crimes either outside or within Kenya. "The Refugee Act also formed a Department for Refugee Affairs (DRA) which has the task for the administration, monitoring, coordination, and management of affairs connected to refugees," write Jacobsen and Landau (2013). According to the UN, the "Refugee Affairs Committee, also constituted under the Act, is responsible for advising the Commissioner for Refugees" (2020). Civil society and community leaders are required under the Act to take part in such endeavors.

Kumssa, & Jones, (2014) argue that the Act further defines and clarifies the matrices used in Refugee Status Determination (RSD) process to determine the legitimacy of applications. One of them is the requirement that refugees register within the first thirty days upon entering the country at the centers set up by the DRA. Their details will then be taken down and if they qualify, they will be issued with an asylum seeker certificate which immunizes them against charges of being in the country illegally. There is usually an interrogation of the asylum seeker on the reason they are seeking such status.

Loescher & Loescher, (2014) found that, “the refugee status very often guarantees individuals sanctuary in the country until it is safe to return to the country of origin or move on to a third country.” Akuey, (2018) further states that asylum seekers are afforded the prerogative to appeal to an appeals board in the event that they are denied asylum and if that does not

necessarily work, they have the further option of taking their cases to the high court. There can be no more recourse for refugees from here and they then have only ninety days to leave the country. Legitimate movements outside refugee camps require a movement pass which is issued by the authority of the DRA (United Nations, 2020). Loescher & Loescher (2014) observes that in Kenya, refugees undergo less scrutiny as they would have been required under the set refugee UN conventions and protocols. This has created a sort of soft underbelly for the security situation in Kenya since the emergence of radical groups in the region namely Al-Qaida and Al-Shabaab. It has forced the country to reconsider its foreign policy when it comes to such matters. Instead of hosting refugees, Kenya is considering creating safe zones within the countries of origin and from which protection will be accorded to the refugees.

According to Heisel (2011), the United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees from 1957 forbids the return of any refugee to a country where they risk persecution on account of their race, religion, nationality, or other characteristics protected by the Convention (United Nations, 2020). This is an application of the non-refoulement concept, which is now totally outdated. As a result, the issues of State security and refugee security are not mutually incompatible. Formerly, refugees were seen only as a humanitarian concern, but now they are also seen as security risks.

#### **2.1.4 Kenya's preferential treatment and the Refugees Socio-Economic Differences**

Svetlana (2012) reveals that, "the most significant threat brought about by refugees are security problems, which can include military incursions from the country of origin in pursuit of runaway dissidents, escalating crime rates and rampant acts of violence, warlordism, banditry and proliferation of organized crime." Kumssa and Jones (2014) argue that there is also an economic impact brought about by refugees and is difficult to establish the actual extent of this impact.

Kumssa and Jones, (2014) further argue that although refugees can be a burden to the resources of a hosting country, in many instances, they become an asset to the host country through their various ways of resourcefulness. According to Loescher and Loescher, (2014) it should be noted that local authorities play a more crucial role on the economic situation of refugees even more than the central government, since in many cases they are the enforcers of the rules on the ground. The challenges faced by refugees in many countries range from

difficulty to access schools, access to credit, protection against physical harassment, unlawful detention and deportation. Freudenthaler (2012) cites the probable reasons that hinder refugees from the labor market are host governments not granting them permanent stay status, restricting their movements and abuse, either physical or emotional. Loescher & Loescher (2014) posits that the current tough economic condition in the East African perspective potentially affects intergroup relationships and notably, those between majority groups and immigrants. The group conflict theory asserts that an anti-immigrant sentiment is usually heavily influenced by economic reasons.

### **2.1.5 Role of State and Non-State Actors**

According to Freudenthaler (2012), the continent of Africa has the highest number of internally displaced people (IDPs) worldwide. This has put a great deal of strain on many nations, particularly economically, as locals compete with migrants for scarce employment, and socially, as many refugees struggle to integrate into society. According to Akuey (2018), immediately after the Republic of South Sudan gained independence in 2011, it was engulfed in a bloody civil conflict, making it the youngest republic in Africa. The IGAD-led Revitalized Accord for the Settlement of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan brought stability back to the country (R-ARCSS). Peace in Sudan is a shared goal of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the Governments, State, and certain Non-State Actors.

Akuey (2018) further states that the social, political and economic challenges in South Sudan have started to spread to the rest of the East Africa region. Intervention has become necessary by neighboring States as they seek to secure their national, regional and bilateral interests. It should be noted that it is the war on economic interests and a feeling by the South Sudanese that they were being deprived of their economic resources by the Khartoum Government that catalyzed events which led to the South Sudanese people attaining their independence and self-determination. However, the nation's security has been compromised and complicated by its greatest source of wealth, Oil. Oil has made regional and non-regional as well as governmental and non-State actors, reconfigure the security matrix of the region, often with unpredictable outcomes.

Kumssa & Jones (2014) notes that it is generally taken that the key interest in this young country for the region is usually economic. Smiths (2012) insist that this has clearly been seen with interventions from Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and the US during the 2013 civil war. Kenya alone has invested in banking, construction, insurance, aviation, wholesale, hospitality, transportation, retailing and Information Technology (IT). Furthermore, “Kenya and Uganda have established infrastructure projects such as the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) corridor to link and open up the northern development corridors (Smiths, 2012).” The United Nations (2020) found that religious leaders played a key role in the pacification of South Sudan through the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) peace pact of September 2018 signed in Addis Ababa. This has increased the religious leaders influence within government cycles and it seems certain that they will feature prominently in future discussions. It emerges that UN (2020) found favor among the stakeholders mainly owing to the organization’s willingness to risk its peacekeepers lives to travel to war-torn areas and the unflinching ability of the Organization to speak truth to the powers has impressed many.

The international community appears keen to facilitate a smooth peace process as witnessed by the positive actions and resolutions the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) took. Akuey (2018), argues that the peace agreement signing in 2015 guaranteed progressive measures which if adhered to would de-escalate tensions and guarantee dialogue as a way forward. The peace agreement endeavored to be inclusive of all stakeholders through a national dialogue guided by the constitutional processes, whose main aim was to further decentralize power from Juba. However, a setback occurred in July 2016 when SPLM-IG and SPLM-IO Presidential and Vice-Presidential guards opened fire on each other within the Presidential palace precincts. Though Dr. Riek Machar retreated to his county home in Jebel Kujur, the same compound was aeri ally bombed two days later. Machar escaped with his life and fled to the DRC, and later found his way to South Africa.

According to Akuey (2018), the dream of free and fair general elections are South Sudan's only chance. There are, however, several issues that must be resolved if the elections are to be successful. Resolving the underlying problems that sparked the war, boosting the economy, fortifying the State's institutions, enhancing the quality of public services, and encouraging the return of refugees and IDPs are all crucial elements. However, while efforts at healing and reconciliation are ongoing, destructive tribalism must be criminalized.

The UN (2020) found that the Revitalized Transitional Government of National Unity (R-TGoNU) despite being in power, uneasy peace exists in South Sudan. It is feared that if the opposition walks out on government, the organization of elections will be hindered since the opposition has entrenched military positions of their own within the borders. The study thus established that in reviewing the study gaps, this research found that the UNSC still maintains an optimistic outlook and has encouraged signatories to the Agreement to finalize the establishment of the R-TGoNU and all transitional institutions including the Hybrid Court for South Sudan. The literature review shows that the subject of economic insecurity is relatively unexploited especially with reference to the refugee problem in the Kenyan context.

Ganor (2014), divulges that the AU has been dragging its feet when it comes to facilitating efforts aimed at curtailing terror financing which subsequently has grave impact on economic security on the continent because of the incompetence and distrust African governments have towards each other.. Similarly, the lack of coordinated efforts by AU member governments whereby they think that there's only one solution to the problem of terrorism and that is military action, This notion has led to intractable conflicts within the region with devastating impacts on the respective economies. Ganor (2014) further opines that there are several crucial factors that are contributing to the thriving of terror groups within the region. These in essence comprise of illicit financial flows, transnational organized crime, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, illicit trade in border areas thus the flow of contrabands at the crossing levels and remote 'ungoverned' regions coupled with illegal extraction of natural resources as separate but interlinked economic threats.

Marchand, Roosen, Reinold & Siegel (2017), posits that East African countries do not seem to have open border policies and encourages movement only for the sake of commerce. Commerce though requires human resource; migration is only permitted when the host country is in dire need of it. Migration departments are uncoordinated and red-tape bureaucracy levels create bottlenecks. More so, there are not many policies in host countries to ensure that immigrants have enough of social security. The conflict dynamics in the Horn of Africa are characterized by a complex web of regional and international entanglements, involving multiple parties. The conflicts have spread globally, with epicenters that shift from one country to another. Kagan contends that these conflicts possess a dual nature, wherein they are primarily anchored in local and national contexts, but are also fueled by regional

conflicts. Consequently, ensuring the safety of an integrated area with unrestricted cross-border movement of people becomes challenging for any administration.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This section was keen on the support theory to anchor the research arguments. This study utilizes the securitization and globalization theories. This research explores the viewpoint that refugees in Kenya pose an economic security threat, arguing that such notions are constructed socially as a security issue.

### **2.2.1 Securitization Theory**

The Securitization theory posits that securitized entities receive more resources and consideration than a non-securitized entity, even if the latter might be more prejudiced against the State and the general public. The theory can be traced to Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde (1998). The theory was developed in Copenhagen at the Conflict and Peace Research Institute (COPRI) and has four components, the actor, that is, the securitizing agent, the existential threat, the referent object, i.e. ideal that is being threatened and the audience target of the securitization.

Buzan (2010) at the same time argues that securitization theory empowers governments to formally identify existential threats, even though there need not be one at that particular time. Since 9/11 the refugee issue has become heavily securitized by East African governments. Jacobsen & Landau (2013) shows how organs of the state including the fifth estate are all in concert in promulgating the refugee image in stark light where the refugee poses an economic security threat in all spheres of human interaction. Critics however advance that the theory can legitimize extraordinary measures on a subject that may not be really of a security threat in a bid to achieve certain ends, can cause an overreaction by State actors and can easily evoke an emotive power of nationalism (Balza 2005). It's prone to use by political leadership and can greatly be used in non-democratic environments where the people have very little say over many aspects of their lives (Vuori 2008). Juergensmeyer (2015) found that more refugees are being unnecessarily associated with belonging to radical groups. It is notable that in 2007, Kenya sent a military contingent to South Sudan to augment the efforts by the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) to drive for peace so as to thwart the continued influx of the South Sudan immigrant refugees to Kenya.

The events of 9/11 made immigration fall within the purview of national security organs not only in the United States but far and wide to include many countries of the world. This has meant refugee resettlement programs have had to be reviewed and security based precautions are now used in processing refugees rather than using humanitarian considerations. Border security has been tightened by many countries and it is not a far stretch to say that many governments have been successful in making their citizens find synonymy between the words refugee and terrorist. There had already been a cautious mood against refugees due to real economic realities on the ground before even 9/11 happened but the attacks tipped the hand of government to approach the issue with a much sterner approach.

Ibrahim, (2016) posit the usual reasons why refugees exist in the Horn of Africa. He quotes them as “instability, insecurity and conflict.” He also castigated the region’s governments for their failure to have a coherent comprehensive policy to offer humanitarian care for these people. Akuey (2018) further advances that care for refugees was one-dimensional and did not consider other aspects of the refugee, like mental and emotional well-being but rather just focused on their physical needs.

It is often said that refugees while in the process of escaping their homes are forcefully separated from some of their material wealth and this leaves them vulnerable to many aspects of modern day life. They are sometimes forced to go without food or water for days, they lack proper clothing for particular weather and this leaves them susceptible to either freezing or having sun stroke. They lack proper hygiene products and this further exposes them to sickness. Ryu (2005) underscores that there is a consensus in Kenya between the organs of state and the fifth estate to securitize the issue of refugees. Odhiambo (2014) adds that such a stance by the Kenyan government could lead to refugees facing abuses against their human rights. This could happen through policies that might encourage refolement, arbitrary arrests, and detention without trial.

According to Innes, (2011), Muslim communities have suffered stereotyping and ridicule due to the ongoing terrorist attacks. This ridicule has impacted on them economically as locals tend to shun their products on sale especially mobile phones and other electronic wares This has been exacerbated by the government’s aggressive stance towards threats and vulnerabilities. The problem with this approach is that it is usually mainly a reactionary measure which means government reacts when the danger is pertinent and viable. This leaves



the general public feeling scared and thus volatile. So, for the government to become proactive it would be best if the threat of terrorism was a multi-agency, multi organization and multi government approach.

Monty, (2019) posit that the state of war has changed forever. Now wars have simultaneous devastating effects on the economy and humanity at large, the environment and infrastructure. Juergensmeyer (2015) points out that many countries' legislation does not adequately cater for migrant worker rights. Many of them are subject to lack of access to education, union representation, minimum wage caps, unsafe working conditions and lack of health insurance.

The other refugee camps in Kenya hosting other refugees apart from the South Sudanese are in Dadaab, Liboi, Ifo, Waida and Utange in Mombasa. Although initially intended as a temporary measure, the encampment policy has continued to date; Somali and South Sudanese have lived in the camps for years on end. It is worth noting that the individual formulation of this theoretical framework found that the feelings of migrants as an economic threat develops among those who perceive themselves as individually exposed to economic competition from these immigrants.

Siegel, (2021) notes that the national government in Kenya together with various county governments, and other international, local organizations and security organs, in a bid to upscale efforts aimed at stopping the slide to economic insecurity have adopted various counterterrorism strategies possibly precipitated by persons masquerading as refugees. For example, in 2015 alone, al-Shabaab killed 836 people, an 18 per cent decline from 2014 (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016). In 2019, terrorists' attacks in Kenya killed 59 people and injured 29 more people, all these came with devastating economic impacts. (Menkhaus, and Shapiro, 2020). However, the counterterrorism strategies do not seem to effectively achieve the intended results as economic insecurity due to terror threats, violence and conflicts are still rising steadily especially in the Nairobi County, Mombasa, Wajir and Lamu West Sub County. These areas still continue to persistently experience waves of security fluidity with impacts on their economic stability.

The county government of Lamu continues to struggle with an upsurge of terrorism activities hence languishes at the lowest ebb of economic stability, some of the areas most affected

include, Mpeketoni, Manda Island, Ngongoro locality and Dodori forest among other areas (locality). Consequently, the question among scholars is what the level of effectiveness of anti-terrorism strategies is available in Kenya. On the Kenyan front, the terror attack on the Westgate mall coupled with the various kidnapping of both tourists, the Cuban doctors and other humanitarian workers has made Kenya security agents to rethink the role played by refugees in acts of terror, especially those who sneak to the urban areas like Nairobi and Mombasa and are recruited by terror groups.

Kenya got involved in the world wide war against terror when the US embassy in Kenya got attacked using explosives in 1998. Shortly after, about four years later, a plane carrying tourists from Israel which was about to land in Mombasa was fired upon using a hand held rocket grenade launcher. Luckily the attack was not successful. From then on after, Kenya has faced numerous attacks, many unbeknown to the public since a considerable number of them were foiled. Most recently, large attacks occurred in September 2013 during the siege of Westgate shopping mall, then a mega economic hub in the country that left at least 67 people dead and on the April 2015, an attack on Nairobi's Garissa University in North Eastern Kenya killed 148 people. While security agents responded swiftly in the last two terror attacks, it has been largely argued that the response was hindered by poor coordination between security organs (Papale, 2021). Kenya, in east Africa is perhaps the single largest host of refugees. In Dadaab camp alone there are over 350,000 people.

### **2.2.2 Globalization Theory**

According to the Globalization thesis, globalization is the establishment of intergovernmental organizations. It goes on to define global institutions as those that function globally. In most contexts, the word "deterritorialization" is used only in the academic contexts. According to Lechner and Boli, (2000), this phrase emerged in the mid to late 1990s to characterize the intertwined development of international politics and economics in the postmodernist, late capitalism period of information technology, free trade marketplaces, and the dominance of multinational businesses.

Economic participation is often seen as a solution to the underlying adaptation challenges in the development arena in Africa. Along with McFarland (2015). The theory, as outlined by Freudenthaler (2012), posits that as the internet becomes more widely used, nationalistic competition and conflict will decrease. It also suggests that the internet's transparent yet anonymous nature will aid in ushering in a new era of self-reflexive accountability and

facilitating a greater "flow" of money, images, and ideas. According to Harper (2010), the approach to economic engagement is driven primarily by a desire to advance national development interests abroad via the employment of foreign policy's economic tools. Refugee economic engagement is the strategic cultivation of economic ties with an opponent state with the aim of altering that state's behavior and fostering better bilateral ties.

According to Freudenthaler,(2012), many people are drawn to the Globalization thesis because of its intuitive appeal, while others are ready to jump on the bandwagon or use its buzzword qualities to draw connections to other topics. Heisel (2011) argues that this trend may be traced back to globalization, with the result that more and more countries are dependent on global circumstances in areas like communication, the international financial system, and commerce.

### **2.3 Hypotheses of the Study**

This study was guided by the following research hypotheses:

- i.** The high proportion of South Sudanese immigrant refugees are linked to increasing levels of economic insecurity in Kenya.
- ii.** Kenya's preferential treatment of the South Sudanese immigrant refugees undermines its economic interest in South Sudan.
- iii.** The emergency relief activities relating to the South Sudan immigrant refugees have impacted negatively on Kenya's economic security.

### **2.4 The Definition and Operationalization of Key Concepts**

This section purposed to operationalize some key concepts:

Economic insecurity refers to economic security discord arising within a group due to the beliefs or actions of one or more members in this case South Sudan immigrant refugees.

Immigration policy refers to the set of rules and regulations that a country has on issues concerning immigration. The study focuses on South Sudan immigrant refugees.

Practice refers to security actions taken to maintain quality of service based on self-assessment or benchmarking.

Actors refer to key players, agency directing and coordinating authority, particularly in setting norms, standards and policies in conflict management.

National economic security refers to the legal and economic basis for ensuring national economic security condition in the State. The context is directly related to sovereignty, protection of the national interests and understanding the possible threats affecting the state of national economic performance.

## **2.5 Literature Knowledge Gaps**

This chapter found that empirical studies have been done to determine the consequences of migration on the economies of East African countries and this is due to a lack of a repository for data concerning migration issues. It has been difficult to clearly estimate the economic security impact of immigration in the South Sudan and Kenyan context.

It is notable that this work found among other issues that due to economic challenges sometimes refugees are willing to risk their lives to search for greener pastures elsewhere. In the case of South Sudan, the international community appears keen to facilitate a smooth peace process as witnessed by the positive actions and resolutions the UN Security Council took. This section also found that the local authorities play a role on the economic situation of refugees even more than the central government, since in many cases they are the enforcers of the rules on the ground. Challenges faced by refugees in many countries range from difficulty to access schools, access to credit, protection against physical harassment, unlawful detention and deportation.

This section established that in reviewing the study gaps, the UNSC still maintains an optimistic outlook and has encouraged the members of the signatories to the agreement to finalize the establishment of the R-TGoNU and all transitional institutions including the Hybrid Court for South Sudan. The literature review on the gaps established that the subject of economic insecurity is relatively unexploited especially with reference to the refugee problem in the Kenyan context.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section highlights the specific procedures or techniques that were used to identify, process, select and analyze respective data of the topic under study. It discusses the study design, sample site, sample frame and target population. It includes data collection, validity/reliability and ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

#### **3.1 Study Design**

The concept of research design denotes a framework or methodology that is used to collect, review and then analyze data based on the variables in a given research problem. This research is a longitudinal descriptive research design (Kothari, 1990). It involves collecting data on behavior of variables without influencing their behavior. It is a study that only involves observation of the subject being researched over dedicated periods of time. It could take years to conduct this kind of study and sometimes the researcher will observe the individual and sometimes they will observe the group.

This section acknowledges that the benefits of the longitudinal studies are enormous, including the fact that the study is often able to detect early developments and changes in the characteristics of a given target population, in addition this types of studies often extend beyond a single moment in time, and another major advantage is the fact that in a longitudinal research, it is easy to repeatedly collect data from the same sample population over a prolonged period. Its applicability is anchored on the continued immigration of South Sudan immigrant refugees into Kenya even after the country attained independence in 2011.

#### **3.2 Study Site**

This study was guided by the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees that identified given areas with a very high prevalence of South Sudan refugees' influx and as a result, the research was undertaken within Kenya (Nairobi County) by interviewing subject matter experts. The Country enjoys a lot of peace and prosperity within the region. The Republic of Kenya is a state within East Africa blessed with Coastline on the Indian Ocean Realm. The country encompasses the savannah, the Great Rift Valley and mountain highlands.

### **3.3 Sample Frame**

The concept of sample is taken as a group of persons or individuals that usually participate in a given study. The sampling frame is an important list of the said individuals or research participants that the sample intended to draw from. Sampling is therefore the selection of a given population of interest for a given research study.

The purposeful sampling was utilized to get data from the intended demographic of industry professionals. Key stakeholders including the UNHCR, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the South Sudan Embassy, the State Law Office, the National Intelligence Service, the Central Organization of Trade Union (Kenya), the International Organization for Migration, the Judiciary, the Kenya Trade Network Agency, the Directorate of Immigration Services, and the Kenya Department of Refugee Affairs were asked to fill out a structured, self-administered questionnaire.

### 3.3.1 Sample Size

The the total sample size was extracted from the pre-existing population within the targeted institutions and departments as indicated in the Table 3.1 below:

**Table 3.1:** Targeted sample frame

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Departments</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Kenya Revenue Authority	Tax Collection department	19
	Economics department	15
	Enforcement department	8
	Investigations department	12
Directorate of Immigration Services	Prosecution department	1
	Investigations department	15
	The entry and exit control	10
National Police Service	Serious crime	6
	Investigations bureau	8
	Forensics	20
	Border patrol unit	5
Kenya International Boundaries Office	General department	9
Kenya Defense Forces	Border patrol	8
	Defense patrol	2
National Intelligence Service	Intelligence Service	8
South Sudan Embassy	Consular Section	6
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Economics department	8
	Diaspora and Consular Affairs department	10
Kenya Airports Authority (KAA)	Border department	8
National Council of Churches	Church Relief department	10
<b>Total</b>		<b>188</b>

**Source:** Author (2021)

### **3.4 Data Collection**

This study combined both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data was acquired by use of self-administered questionnaires. Secondary data was sourced from books, journals, magazines, periodicals, articles and other overt sources available of the subject matter. A focus group is thought to have the advantage of the fact that it can instantly measure the reaction of a given set of respondents or study participants, and in the process it is able to provide immediate feedback to a given situation under research. Therefore initially, General Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was used as a tool, then later research questionnaires were used to collect data from the targeted subject matter experts through virtual interviews; mainly telephone, social media and zoom interviews, which can be effective methods of accessing respondents from far flung areas. The administered questionnaires contained both open-ended and closed questions. It is notable that owing to the Covid-19 outbreak, health measures especially sanitization and masking were observed.

### **3.5 Ethical Consideration**

The conducting of a research requires both scientific and ethical practices (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). This study was carried out in an integral manner where all formal procedures were followed. At the onset, a letter of approval was sought from the University of Nairobi (UoN) which facilitated the researcher to obtain a permit from the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI), which enabled the researcher to access respondents from some sensitive institutions like the South Sudan Embassy in Nairobi, the Kenya Defense Forces and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was ensured that the respondents did not undergo any psychological harm or distress of whatever form. Further, all sources of information were acknowledged by the researcher. This study observed confidentiality of the respondents and all the information collected only go further the study at hand.

### **3.6 Validity**

The research had a pilot study program where a sample of respondents were given questionnaires to fill and for use as a feel out tool to determine if the questions are appropriate and if they can be easily understood. The research validity generally refers to what extent or the degree to which the study measures the intention of what it had set out to investigate. The concept of validity is broadly split into two, which is internal validity and external validity. It is a small scale research conducted before the final full scale study and is



crucial in the process of conducting research as it allows the researcher to address some of the challenges and refine the tools as it also gives a general overview of the research (Ismail et al., 2018). In this case, the researcher conducted a Pilot study using the five correspondents namely, Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), National Intelligence Service (NIS), National Police Service (NPS), South Sudan Embassy and South Sudan Immigration officials based in Nairobi. This helped the researcher to estimate the population of the study and appropriateness of the questions.

### **3.7 Reliability**

The logic behind reliability in the context of research methodology is to ensure consistency from the beginning to the end of a given study. Therefore reliability relates to the accuracy and precision of a measurement and represents consistency of a measure by giving consistent results across time. The concept of reliability denotes the level of consistency a given tool measures something, that is if the given research outcomes can be successfully achieved through the same methods, and under similar circumstances, then the study is automatically considered to be reliable, as it relates to the replicability of a measure as was achieved in the pilot study. In order to achieve reliability in this study, data collection tools were standardized to ensure that each respondent is asked the same questions in a similar manner.

### **3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The final data from the field was processed through sorting before being thematically analyzed and presented in prose. The data analysis process in this study involved thorough inspection of the raw data, followed by the cleansing of the data with the aim of removing any incomplete, incorrect and even inaccurate questionnaires. This was then followed by transformation of the data and finally modeling the data with the intention of extracting useful information. Therefore this study employed content analysis and document analysis techniques, based on the emerging themes from the objectives of the study. This study employed content data analysis because it was easy to implement, particularly where the findings were reviewed, analyzed and interpreted in the light of the general and specific objectives under study.

### **3.9 Limitations of the Study**

The study faced inadequate data, owing to the scant information on the subject matter from the Kenyan perspective. The study also encountered challenges in the verification of self-reported data from the questionnaires. The sensitivity of the information being sought from the government sectors presented a challenge to the study. Similarly, inadequate resources particularly finances and time were experienced, the study sort funding.

Initially, the study faced challenges in finding vast subject matter experts, owing to the complex and technical nature of the study. The researcher ensured that there was proper orientation of all the study participants, before undertaking any data collection exercise. It is worth mentioning that considering that the research was being undertaken during the COVID-19 period, many respondents were pessimistic in touching papers hence there was widespread use of digital data collection tool, some of which include, the sue of *WhatsApp* platform, phone calls, emails and insistence of a Corona test certificate and sanitizers for use.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In this section field data was thoroughly analyzed. The issues within the data that will be looked into are things like response time, demography, and determine if the objectives have been met. Data presentation will be done where different data sets will be put to comparison by use of visual aids like graphs, spread sheets and pie charts.

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the findings of the study, analyses and interprets collected data; giving meaning and attempting to answer the research questions. Additionally, the study creates a discussion and compares the findings with the existing body of literature, with a view of establishing the nexus between the variables of the study. Before presenting the findings and answering the research questions, the researcher first presents the characteristics of the respondents.

#### 4.2 Respondents Profile and Return Rate

This section purposed to find answers to the research questions from the research participants, also known as respondents. This section purposed to find answers to the research questions from the research participants, also known as respondents. This specifically refers to the individuals who successfully completed the interview of the study (those who participated in the research) to provide the necessary data that was analyzed for the research study. It is worth noting that the participants can be of any social-demographic background, but was determined by the scope of the research and must agree to the informed consent to participate in the study. It is worth noting that due to diversity of migration, classifying migrants proved to be a challenge. “What is to be sorted are the drivers and the routes of immigration in this particular study.”

##### 4.2.1 Respondent Return Rate

This section shows that for this kind of study a 50% response rate is satisfactory. Here we capture data for a respondent reflected on Table 4.1. The overarching objective is to find out whether South Sudanese citizens who are in Kenya from the year 2011 and 2021 have affected Kenya’s national security. There were mixed migration flows. From forcefully

displaced persons to asylum seekers, all were represented. They generally seem to have used the same route.

**Table 4.1:** A Representation of Respondents who participated in the Study

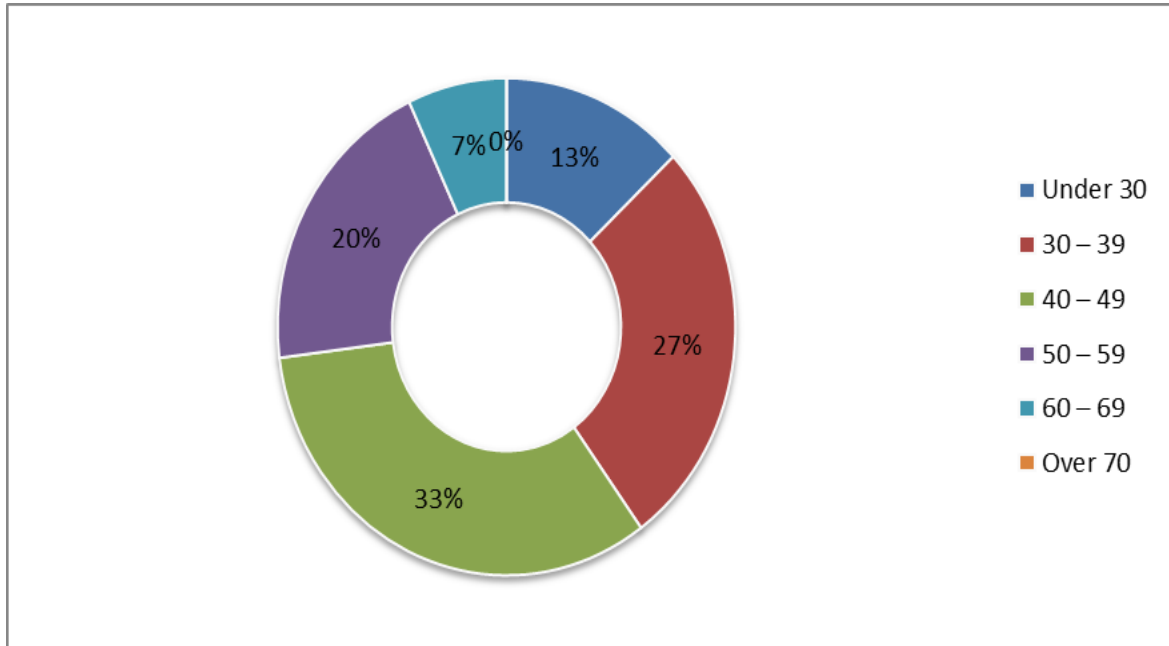
<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Departments</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Kenya Revenue Authority	Tax Collection department	9
	Economics department	15
	Enforcement department	8
	Investigations department	2
Immigration Department	Prosecution department	1
	Investigations department	5
	The entry and exit control	10
National Police	Serious crime	6
	Investigations bureau	8
	Forensics	10
	Border patrol unit	5
South Sudan Embassy	Consular Section	6
Kenya International Boundaries Office	General department	9
Kenya Defense Forces	Border patrol	8
	Defense patrol	2
National Intelligence Service	Intelligence Service	10
Ministry Of Foreign Affairs	Economics department	8
	Diaspora and consular affairs department	10
Kenya Airports Authority	Border department	8
National Council of Churches	Church relive department	10
<b>Total</b>		<b>150</b>

**Source:** Author (2021)

In this research the response rate showed that out of the 200 respondents initially targeted, the study was able to successfully capture 150 respondents, giving a total of 75% as the number of people who successfully answered the survey.

### 4.2.2 Respondents Distribution by Age

The research respondents were rated based on their age distribution to determine their maturity in understanding the subject matter since matters of economics are complex in nature.



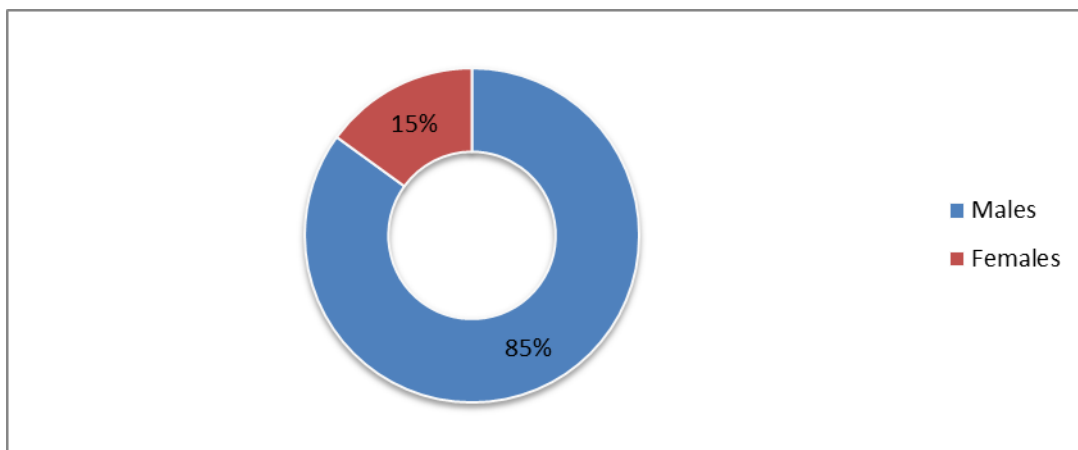
Source: Author (2021)

### Figure 4.2.2: Respondents Distribution by Age

Figure 4.2.2 indicates that the age distribution was higher among the respondents in the age group 40-49 years at 33%, an indication that most were mature and reliable informants with a good grasp of the subject under research.

### 4.2.3 Respondents Distribution by Gender

The respondents were rated based on their gender distribution.



Source: Author (2021)

### Figure 4.2: 3 Respondents Distribution by Gender

Figure 4.2.3 above shows that the highest number of respondents were male (85%) compared to females (15%), indicating that males were more accessible at the time of study. Thus, more men than women formed the subject matter experts interviewed.

### 4.2.4 Respondents Distribution by Occupation

The respondents were also rated based on their occupation distribution.

**Table 4.2: 4 Respondents Distribution by Occupation**

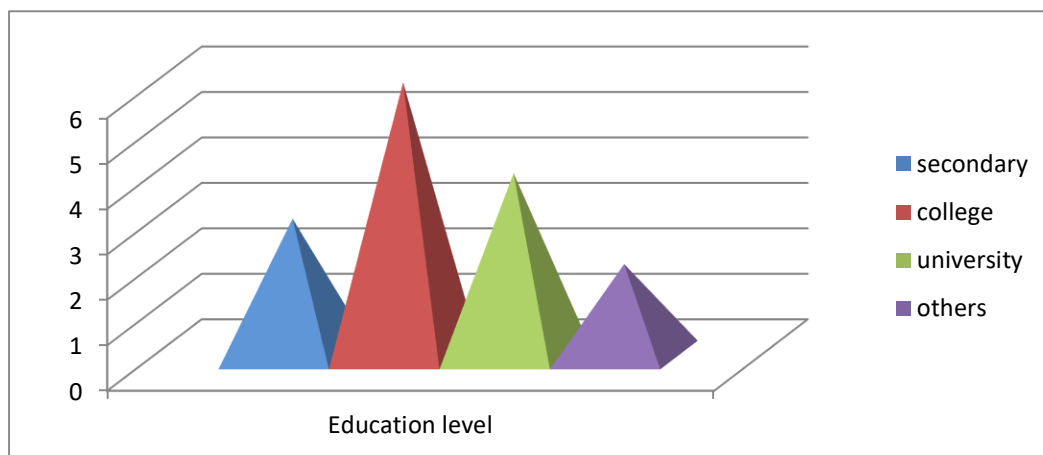
Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Academia	30	20
Advocacy	40	27
Defence	30	20
Intelligence	10	6
Others	40	27
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author (2021)

The study found a wide variety of respondents from diverse backgrounds to present their views on South Sudanese immigrant refugees on the national economic security with reference to Kenya. Other than the subject matter experts mostly from Government departments, experts from non-State actors like churches formed 27% of the return rate.

### 4.2.5 Respondents Distribution by Education

The respondents were rated based on their level of education, as demonstrated in figure 4.3.



Source: Author (2021)

## **Figure 4.2: 5 Respondents Distribution by Education Level**

The study demonstrated education level of respondents in Figure 4.3, that majority of the participant's education level was college (60), university (40), secondary (30) and others (20) respectively, indicating that they were all fairly exposed to some degree on the topic of study.

### **4.3 Findings of the Study**

This section presents the findings of the study, answering the research questions as follows:

#### **4.3.1 Effects of the South Sudan immigrant refugees and Kenya's Economic Security**

From the gathered data, the study established that the continuous influx of high numbers of South Sudan immigrant refugees into Kenya increased pressure on the resources of the host communities. This influx was proven to be propelled by the open-door policy Kenya has regarding refugees and immigrants especially from the neighboring countries. Kenya is a signatory to the 1951 UN convention on refugees, the 1967 protocol and the 1969 OAU refugee convention, all that oblige the country to embrace refugees.

Similarly, Kenya is a member of the East Africa Community (EAC), to which South Sudan is a member too, thus it is bound to host fleeing citizens of the EAC Partner States. Jacobsen and Laudau (2013) point out that the Kenyan Refugees Act, 2007 created the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) responsible for the Administration, supervision, coordination and management of issues related to immigrant refugees. However, as projected by the various respondents, the open-door policy is the weakest link in matters national security and more specifically economic interest of the locals. This came out clearly in the discussion with some of the Key informants. For instance, a Kenyan Principal Immigration Officer based at Nyayo House Headquarters while being interviewed observed that the South Sudan immigrant refugees cite the open door policy and market protocol of the East African Community to gain entry into Kenya.

Another respondent, a Kenya Revenue Authority official at the tax collection department, indicated that the South Sudan immigrant refugees often complain when asked to pay taxes upon arrival with personal consignments, which are taxable by the Kenyan government. This rigid and uncompromising positions by South Sudan immigrant refugees is an indication that they pose an economic burden to Kenya since the tax revenues generated thereof should be

critical to the government's successful delivery of essential services (Mogire, 2011). It is indeed noteworthy that they strive to outwit the Kenya government immigration officers, especially where expenditures are involved, thereby impacting negatively on Kenya's economic base as a host country. The Government of Kenya restricted movement at the Somali/Kenya/South Sudan border because of the volatile situation in Mogadishu where flare ups had begun and the retreating Islamic courts unions posed a threat to Kenya if they retreated into Kenya's sovereign territory.

Siegel, (2021) posits that modern living conditions produce a complex effect on society while trying to explain migration in a social or economic context. Complexities arise from things like being able to tell the difference between origin, transit and destinations of labor migration. Poor and richer countries have one thing in common; they produce a relatively high number of migrants. In this, there does not seem to be a theory to explain which countries would uniquely produce a high number of human resource. Economic, political and social and environmental drivers offer empirical facts that shed light on reasons for migration. There is no coordinated effort on the continent of Africa to deal with challenges arising from migration. Especially there is no comprehensive legal framework to deal with cross border migration and deal with the issue of inter-agency coordination. Another senior immigration officer formerly deployed at Busia border but currently at Nyayo house observed that South Sudan immigrant refugees are comfortable and 'feel at home' in Kenya. This illustrates the fact that the immigrants have assimilated into the Kenyan environment.

The study established that upon arrival in Kenya, the South Sudanese enroll their children in Kenyan schools and colleges, and even have established enclaves within the various Kenyan residential areas. Notably, these South Sudan immigrant refugees have settled in areas such as Kasarani and Roysambu (Nairobi County) and Kapsoya (Uasin Gishu County). These immigrants often have an external source of income from relatives abroad, to support their stay in Kenya. Open-door policy has been abused by the South Sudan immigrant refugees who exploit the country's resources, overstressing the government mechanisms and are detrimental to Kenya's economic security with reference to both the originating State and the receiving State (Atim, 2013). The presence of these immigrants in Kenya puts a strain on the country's social amenities. The public schools in the above areas have witnessed increased enrollment, thus putting pressure on the available amenities and resources.



In East Africa, most migration is taking place due to economic drivers. Pre independence times most labor came from Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire to Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Consequently, a lot of migration happened as workers had to follow their work. For example in Kenya workers had to move with the construction of the railway. Tanzanians went to work in sisal estates. The rise of urban areas also attracted people in search of work. One key respondent from the academia reiterated that some of the academic institutions have been overstretched by these immigrants, making teaching difficult owing to: language barriers, culture shock and disrupting harmony by changing a country's demographics. Residential houses have also become inadequate and expensive at the same time. The instances of landlords increasing the rent owing to the presence of the South Sudan immigrant refugees are common in Kenya. Subsequently, a conflict arises between the local residents and the immigrants. Therefore, there is need to review the open-door policy so that the interests of the immigrants should not supersede the economic interests of the local nationals (Odhiambo, 2014). At the same time, a key respondent from the Ministry of Interior and National Coordination, provincial administration, acknowledged that;

*“...while I admit that Kenya midwifed the secession of South Sudan, we never expected them to keep on flowing into Kenya after they gained independence in 2011, hence the need for the government to systematically review the policy.”*

#### **4.3.2 Effects of Preferential Treatment of South Sudan Immigrant refugees by the Kenyan authorities on Kenya's Economic Security**

It is worth noting that having a coordinated response to the issue of migration is always an advantage to all parties involved. Migrants can be processed rapidly, partly due to avoiding duplication of roles and the authorities also get to do all this at a minimal cost. The African Union (AU) has constantly been promoting economic regional integration and free movement of Africans within the continent but there are also three other institutions that have been working on the migration issue in the Horn of Africa. They are IGAD, the EAC and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Nevertheless, even though there seems to be a political willingness to embrace economic integration and free movement of citizens within the region, the capacity to cooperate on such issues is hampered by the diminishing capacities of States. This compounds an already challenging situation by not

effectively being able to engage in an inter-regional framework. It has made people of the region be prone to suffer from human trafficking and sex trafficking among other violations of their human rights. A case in point, in the recent months, IOM in conjunction with UNICEF has assisted two teens return to their families after being trafficked to South Sudan.

In the maiden case of the organization, these two teenagers had been tricked that they will find gainful employment in South Sudan as domestic servants only to get there and be forced to become teen wives in forced marriages. They later escaped and contacted the IOM organization who contacted UNICEF for assistance in repatriating the two teens. Technical assistance will also be greatly appreciated by the South Sudan government in matters involving resolving human trafficking of any kind. The IOM urges the government of Kenya and South Sudan to promulgate the issue so that their general public can be aware and vigilant against such violations happening in many of their communities.

Kenya midwived the birth of South Sudan in 2011 from the larger Sudan. Similarly, South Sudan heavily relies on Kenya for its imports, especially foodstuffs and other consumer goods. In addition, Kenyan banks notably Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB), Equity bank and Cooperative bank, are prominent in the South Sudan market. Additionally, Kenyan insurance companies have been established in South Sudan, namely UAP, Jubilee and Old Mutual. UAP has a fourteen storey building in central Juba rented by various business enterprises, including embassies. Moreover, M-Pesa has gained prominence and has eased financial transactions within and without the country despite the fragile security situation. Therefore, Kenyan businessmen have established presence in the country.

Kenyans are engaged in the construction industry and have won tenders to build South Sudan's government premises. Meantime, in IT, Kenya has engaged Kenyan engineers in the establishment of IT networks in both private and government entities in South Sudan. Nevertheless, the immigrants too pose a security threat to Kenya's economy especially with the possible influx of contrabands notably in the refugee camp of Kakuma in Turkana County. These contrabands deny Kenyan businessmen and the government revenue, thus negatively impacting on the country's economic wellbeing. Based on this close relation with South Sudan, Kenya often accords South Sudan immigrant refugees preferential treatment.

The Kenyan informants that were interviewed noted that the preferential treatment accorded to South Sudanese provides a cordial working bilateral relation with the State of South Sudan with notable impacts on the economy as it ensures the unfettered flow of goods and manpower. One respondent, from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, who in the past was deployed at the Kenya-South Sudan border of Lokichogio but currently stationed at Harambee house Nairobi, confided that;

:

*“...Some of the South Sudan immigrant refugees have provided credible information to assist in thwarting the unprecedented inflow of contraband goods that would otherwise dilute the Kenyan market.”*

This illicit flow of contrabands was affirmed by a senior officer from the National Police Service who noted that;

*“...when I was working in Lodwar, we used to cooperate with the South Sudan border security to contain smugglers of illegal goods both ways to and from South Sudan and our efforts yielded fruits when our cooperation was even enhanced in 2018 after the signing of the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS)”*

Similarly, as noted by one key informant in the statistics department in KRA;

*“...we have managed to arrest most of the contraband goods from South Sudan infiltrating Kenya through Busia border especially cigarettes.”*

Talat (2014) contends that immigrant refugees can easily be used as couriers and traffickers of outlawed goods and consignments hence compromising the economic base of the receiving State. Most of these couriers use high concealment methods. Paradoxically, the existing government framework is riddled with corruption that facilitates contrabands and counterfeits to flood Kenyan market maiming the already struggling economy.

A respondent from the civil society who participated in the focus group discussion pointed out that it is no longer secret that Police are collecting bribes to allow people and untaxed goods into Kenya. This is a serious setback for the country's economic security given that

corruption is one of the biggest constraints to economic progress in Kenya. Another key respondent working in the Consular section of the South Sudan Embassy in Nairobi has argued that the preferential treatment of South Sudan immigrant refugees has provided a lucrative market for Kenyan goods both within and without since it has led to the generation of revenue by both Kenyan and the South Sudanese governments. This is because Kenyan products are not only consumed by the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya but are also sold within the South Sudan territory.

Bloom (2014) states, that the immigrants provide markets within their host states as level of consumption increases and utilization of the otherwise dormant resources. This vital link between the two countries was confirmed by a key respondent from the South Sudan embassy in Nairobi, who remarked that;

*“...apart from the other neighboring states, the South Sudanese regard Kenya very highly for having agreed to make Lokichoggio the base of operation lifeline Sudan during the mid-90s when all the food supplies to South Sudan was being channeled through Kenya-Lokichoggio to Juba to mitigate the devastating humanitarian situation then.”*

This section notes that at the same time, the NGOs and other humanitarian agencies, charged with facilitating and assisting the refugees, are prone to misuse by their workers to carry unwanted goods. A high-profile respondent, from the UNHCR, posed thus;

*“.... sometimes the refugees transport goods by way of concealing them into the hosting State without the consent of the hosting State. Although this is unlawful, it does happen intermittently. Some of these activities are sometimes aided by unscrupulous workers in the NGOs and IGOs including ours.”*

The UNHCR report (2020) underscores the presence of contrabands in refugee camps including other consignments that dilute markets in those camps. It was also gathered from a respondent working with the Refugees Status Determination (RSD) office in Nairobi who decried high levels of corruption within the Kenya Refugee camp in Kakuma, Turkana County.

The participant asserted that;

*“...there is ongoing trade in goods and other consignments including foodstuffs within the camp due to corruption issues that have been embraced within the camp because of the huge inflow of money from their relatives living outside the camp.”*

It is worth noting that despite this positive gesture, most of the South Sudan immigrant refugees arriving in Nairobi have very little if any economic power, save for the high-ranking personalities who could be running away due to differences with the leadership. But even these may not have had time to carry with them all their finances in the course of their flight from insecurity in South Sudan. The Kenyan Constitution (2010) does not envisage the Department of Immigration Services being mandated with security prerogatives but rather it is looked upon as a facilitation facility, the point of first contact for whoever comes in peace.

#### **4.3.3 The effects of Emergency Relief Activities related to the South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya’s Economic Security**

Provision of emergency relief services to the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya has often undermined Kenya’s economic security. Akuey (2018), posits that Kenya has been very instrumental in the supply of humanitarian consignments in South Sudan and has equally benefited from establishing itself in the world economic map and hosting of foreign supplies destined for the Juba government. The Kenyan government’s application of unreserved service delivery to all the locals within its territory regardless of their places of origin appears to have outstretched the available resources to an extent that some Kenyan families have had to live from hand to mouth. As Loescher and Loescher (2018) have noted, poverty follows immigrants wherever they go since they offer competition to the local labor market thereby reducing the wage levels intended for the locals. It is thus prudent that the admission of the immigrants into the receiving State be subjected to certain bench marks and the labor requirements of the receiving State.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The findings largely depict a pessimistic economic situation over the South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya. First, it is worth noting that Kenya hosts one of the highest numbers of South Sudanese, many of these refugees are protected under the open-door policy. Moreover, the weak frameworks of State and non-State actors have significantly injured Kenyan

economic security (particularly the economic security). This is because the weak frameworks have resulted in the contraband goods infiltrating into the country seriously flooding the market. The contrabands are of questionable quality and are not taxed by KRA. Moreover, they are competing against the local products.

On the flip side, the preferential treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees appears to offer a reprieve to Kenya's economy. The findings of this study depict that a majority of South Sudan immigrant refugees, who have opened shops within the country, are running transport businesses, purchasing Kenyan products and sending them back home in South Sudan. This has contributed to the improvement of Kenya's economy. Additionally, most of the rich and powerful military and government officials live in Kenya, because of the country's stability, and have seriously invested in real estate business and employed a considerable number of Kenyans. The study established that indeed the increased numbers of South Sudan immigrant refugees into Kenya contributes to Kenya's economic insecurity.

The immigrants have increased pressure to existing resources especially the public schools/universities and residential houses, which they compete for with the local Kenyan population often creating conflicts. However, the study did not reveal xenophobic fears arising from the presence of South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya. Moreover, the presence of South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya has overstretched the security apparatus in its provision of security. The increased numbers translate to one police officer providing security to a larger number of residents, including the immigrants. Moreover, the police vehicles use more fuel to undertake patrols, in addition, to extension of patrol hours to cover the increased number of households and business premises.

The upsurge of contrabands and subsequent loss of revenue for the Kenyan government has been confirmed by the study. The lucrative nature of the contraband business coupled with the endemic corruption within Kenya has provided the immigrants with a constant alternative source of cheap consumer goods at the expense of the locally-produced products such as sugar and cigarettes. Meantime, the study disapproved the hypothesis that the preferential treatment accorded to South Sudan immigrant refugees undermines Kenya's economic interests in South Sudan. On the contrary, the study established that the preferential treatment

of South Sudan immigrants in Kenya promoted advancement of Kenyan businesses and national economic interest in South Sudan. By hosting refugees from South Sudan fleeing the conflict, Kenyan banks, corporates and export industry continue to thrive from increased demand for consumer goods in South Sudan. Notably, Kenya continues to impact its education curriculum to South Sudanese within its territorial boundaries. Lastly, the study did not approve that emergency relief activities related to South Sudan immigrant refugees impacted negatively on Kenya's economic security. On the contrary, the study established that the relief services provided alleviated pressure on the existing resources available for the local Kenyan population. As a result, provision of for instance education by the UN eased pressure on the local public schools not to mention the opportunity accorded to the local population to acquire education especially in the Turkana County where such resources are scarce. It is notable that the food relief services benefit both the South Sudan immigrants as well as the local Kenyan populations. Theoretically, the study established that the securitization theory is most applicable for the issue of immigrants is no longer a humanitarian matter but rather a security affair. Thus given the modern definition of security which encompasses economic issues as part of national security, the South Sudan immigrant refugees' phenomenon remains a key national security issue for Kenya.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

In this chapter, the study will draw its conclusions in a summarized manner , generalizations will be made and recommendations will be offered from the deciphered facts.

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the researcher wraps-up and summarizes the findings of the study, pulling strings together, to evaluate the influence of South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's economic security 2011 - 2021. Additionally, the chapter proposes both policy and academic recommendation to be explored by future researchers.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

This study found that migratory challenges are many and continuous, as well as the driving factors on migration issues. Some of these factors may be social, economic, health, religious or political. These drivers point to failures in the way the region has been carrying out its affairs. From no adequate infrastructure to allow free movement of goods and people, to lack of social amenities, no jobs, no money and no stable society, migration is the only way for people to survive but it comes with its challenges as well. Some of them take shape of, lack of food and clean water, lack of any government assistance whether from the receiving or hosting state, government security concerns, appropriate healthcare, assault on women and children and the risk of being trafficked into slavery, prostitution and trading on human organs. There had been a political willingness to embrace economic integration and free movement of goods and people in the region and every day more measures are being taken to ensure this is a reality.

This section further found and fully acknowledged that due to diversity of migration, classifying migrants proved to be a challenge. These sections aimed to know what is to be sorted are the drivers and the routes of immigration in this particular study. Additionally, in this chapter the research wanted to draw conclusions in a summarized manner, so as to allow generalizations to be made and recommendations to be offered in order to decipher the results outcomes. The chapter found that refugees suffer a lot, by virtue of the fact that they are often



force to leave everything behind in one life and subsequently start another life in a totally different country; which has diverse laws, different education system, cultural diversity, language barriers, communication differences, and a different healthcare system, from what most refugees might have been used to.

The open-door policy has been good for the refugees because they can move freely within Kenya and engage in economic activities so as to sustain themselves. However, this policy has subjected Kenya to a lot of risks. The policy is not well securitised; it doesn't take care of the security perspectives, exposing the country to many risks. On July 7<sup>th</sup> 2019 The AU Summit held in Niger was the venue for the ratification of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). It's one of the fastest treaties to be ratified as it only took about one calendar year from start to finish. It has been ratified by more than two dozen African countries to date which include Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa and Ghana.

Extraordinarily, at the summit the protocol for the free movement of persons was for some reason absent from the agenda of the day yet it was imperative that it be ratified with the free trade treaty since one cannot be reasonably applied without the other. The larger countries on the continent seem to be weary of this protocol because of protectionism policies that they have implemented in order not to be faced with cheap imports from the continent. The countries guilty of this protectionist stance are Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia. The statistics from African Development Bank (2018) shows that, more than half of African citizens who are eligible to travel need a visa to travel within the continent. A quarter of this group will be asked for visas upon arrival at their destinations. Only one out of four Africans are eligible to travel for free. It is disheartening that nearly seven decades after the first African continent broke away from the colonial cloak Africans are still imposing travel restrictions amongst themselves while the European Union has grown leaps and bounds and have liberalized. Mostly it can be attributed to the lack of visionary leadership that had been coddled by the west during the cold war. Another school of thought states that Africa is such a heterogeneous continent without a clear African hegemony power that can give common directives to all.

This section notes that persons who legally seek asylum and refugee states sometimes face difficulty as a result of the circumstances under which they depart from their home country, for instance the South Sudanese's are most often forced to flee from conflict, famine, disease, prosecution and wars, as they seek help and accommodation in neighbouring countries such as Kenya. It is sometimes worse for young persons and particularly women with children, as most carry the scars of war, trauma, discrimination, violence, abuse, and displacement fears with them. The findings of the study also demonstrated that Kenya's economy has benefited because of the preferential treatment Kenya is according South Sudan immigrant refugees.

The South Sudan immigrant refugees participate in economic activities, including operating businesses within Kenya. South Sudan immigrant refugees have partnered with Kenyans to establish businesses such as the Cee Express Kenya/South Sudan Ltd located on Pan Africa Life House and Juba Errands located on Njengi House, Tom Mboya street, involved in courier services between Kenya and South Sudan. Similarly, South Sudan immigrant refugees have established clearing and forwarding companies dealing in cargo transportation to South Sudan. Such companies include: Emerled Freight Limited based at the JKIA and Aflodep Enterprises located in Mbatia House, Nairobi. The two States have benefited from each other in terms of trade, especially banking and insurance as well as real estate investment.

The study also found that the frameworks of relief activities in Kenya regarding the South Sudan immigrant refugees has a weaker link in compromising the economic pillar of Kenya's national security. Interestingly, as much as the UNHCR was handed over the control of refugees by the Kenyan government in 2015, the Refugee Act, 2007 remained relevant in handling of the distribution of relief services and determination of refugee status. The basic entities involved in this processes are the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) and Refugee Status Determination (RSD). Further, the distribution of relief services is also complimented by the individual efforts of South Sudanese family units who engage in agricultural activities in some parts of Kenya.

On the other hand, Kenyan authorities dealing with refugees are prone to corruption cases and usually end up compromising the country's national security-including the economic pillars. The findings of the study depict that Kenya has suffered seriously from the infiltration of untaxed contraband goods of questionable quality flooding the market. For example, sometimes refugees have a challenge accessing medical services which is one of the most crucial components for refugees. It is worth noting that all refugees are in desperate need of healthcare. In some countries refugee-hosting states are not always giving much attention to refugees' general health. The influx of contraband goods gives unfair competition in the local market edging out Kenyan products. This is in addition to the proliferation of illegal arms that come with the refugees. Finally, the findings ascertained that relief activities in Kenya targeting South Sudan immigrant refugees provided a relief to the pressure put on available resources for the local Kenyan population. This in turn assisted in mitigating resource-based conflicts between the locals and the South Sudan immigrant refugees.

### 5.3 Conclusion

This section notes that the conclusions drawn from this study largely points out that displacement of people in Africa is a major problem that has made many countries to be hosts and donors of migrants. Challenges driving people to move from one place to another are wars, lawlessness, and vagaries of climate change, poverty, hopelessness, disease outbreak and different kinds of persecution. Women and children are the most vulnerable people when these drivers are present in the community. Protracted conflict exacerbates the situation by making people be constantly on the move.

The study approved hypothesis one, disapproved hypothesis two while hypothesis three remained indeterminate. Hypothesis one affirmed that presence of South Sudan immigrant refugees increased Kenya's economic insecurity by overstretching the available resources and increased threat of contrabands into the country hence competing with the locally produced commodities. Similarly, the presence of South Sudan immigrant refugees in Kenya decimates the market for Kenyan export goods in South Sudan.

The region is still not yet a bastion of ensuring refugee human rights are not violated but recent talks by governments in the region sounded promising. State capacity lets most refugees down and this sees them live in squalid conditions with little to no healthcare. In hypothesis two; Kenya's preferential treatment of the South Sudan immigrant refugees undermines its economic interest in South Sudan was disapproved. The study established that Kenya's preferential treatment of South Sudanese is actually beneficial to Kenya's economy since Kenyan investors and corporates have been able to invest in South Sudan *en masse*. Kenyan banks such as Equity, Cooperative and KCB have a heavy presence in Juba as well as in other far flung towns. KCB has 7 branches in Juba- Central Equatoria State, 2 in Wau - Northern Bahr el Ghazal, 1 in Nimule-Western Equatoria, 1 in Torit- Eastern Equatoria and 1 in Malakal- Upper Nile State. Coop Bank has 3 Branches in Juba, 1 in Nimule and also in advanced stage of opening two branches in Wau while Equity has 4 branches in Juba, and 1 in Nimule. The other financial institutions include Britam, UAP, Sanlam and CIC among others. Further, Kenyans have been involved in the establishment of IT networks in both government and private sectors. Similarly, Kenyan NGOs are operating in South Sudan and have been accommodated as a reciprocal gesture to the preferential treatment.

The third hypothesis that emergency relief activities to South Sudan immigrant refugees have impacted negatively on Kenya's economic security was indeterminate. On the one hand, the provision of relief services gives Kenya leverage and recognition in the world map, portrays Kenya as abiding by the international law of non-refoulment which prohibits the host country from repatriating the refugees before the situation in the origin State normalizes and reduces pressure on Kenya's resources. On the contrary, the relief activities deny Kenya the much needed revenue from anticipated purchase of goods and services by the immigrant refugees and encourages the overreliance on provision of free goods.

Furthermore, in the course of providing humanitarian services and reaching out to the most affected immigrant refugees, shrewd individuals exploit this situation to flood the market with contrabands and cheaper goods into Kenya which compete with the locally produced goods and services. Similarly, the immigrant refugees living outside refugee camps compete with the locals for employment hence reducing the wage base.

The above findings thus strengthen the study's securitization theory in that the South Sudan Immigrant refugees are viewed as a threat to Kenya's economic wellbeing. Theoretically, the study established that securitization theory is most applicable for immigration issue is no longer a humanitarian issue per se but has huge impacts on economic security affairs. At the same time, the globalization theory is justified by the ability of the immigrant refugees to blend with the locals and transact their businesses within and beyond the boundaries without necessarily relocating back to their origin State.

Additionally, considering the modern definition of security which encompasses economic issues as part of national security, the South Sudan immigrant refugees' phenomenon remains a key national security issue for Kenya. Subsequently, Kenya formulated the Refugees Act, 2007 which spelt out the handling of refugees' matters in the country through the DRA including their impact on Kenya's economic security.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

This section gives the final recommendations as short term, medium term and long term proposed measures based on the findings of the study. The study recommends that:

### **In the short-term;**

- There is need for further research be undertaken on the impact of emergency relief activities to South Sudan immigrant refugees on Kenya's economic security. This will possibly give an added insight and value on the implications of relief activities on Kenya's economic security.
- As a matter of immediate concern, the donor community to initiate standardized procedures for the distribution of relief services in the conflict-prone areas and the hosting states to deter the uncalled for movements of immigrants between States due to famine and starvation and contain the flow of contrabands and counterfeits during the process within the hosting states.

### **Medium term;**

- By strengthening the Peace Initiatives in South Sudan such as the R-JMEC, the CTSAMVM and the JMCC, Kenya will assist in restoring peace in South Sudan at least so as to forestall the immigrant refugees' influx into Kenya.
- Similarly, Kenya to further engage South Sudan in penning more agreements on matters of common interest like waiver of tariffs on certain commodities, vetting of companies operating in both countries, Bilateral Air Service Agreements (BASA), to further promote cordial bilateral relations.

### **Long term;**

- In the long run, Kenya may consider increasing its troops serving in the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) so that it is highly capacitated to undertake and create buffer zones between the warring communities to reduce flare-ups and refugees' influx into Kenya.
- Additionally, in the long term, Kenya to strive to strengthen the regional economic blocs such as IGAD and EAC, to formulate rules and regulations to govern the systematic flow of goods and services, determine the extent of tariffs and give concessions where and as necessary.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Letter of Data Collection



**University of Nairobi**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**Department of Political Science, Diplomacy & Public Administration**

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26/7/ 2021

#### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

#### AUTHORIZATION TO CONDUCT FIELD RESEARCH

This is to confirm that Peter Onyonyi of Registration Number (C50/5224/2017) is a bonafide student at the Department of Political Science, Diplomacy and Public Administration, University of Nairobi.

Peter is pursuing a Degree in Master of Arts in Strategic and Security Studies. He is researching on, "The Influence of South Sudan Refugees on Kenya's National Security, 2011 - 2021."

He has successfully completed the first part of his studies (Coursework) and is hereby authorized to proceed to the second part (Field Research). This shall enable the student to collect relevant data for his academic work.

It is against this background that the Department of Political Science, Diplomacy and Public Administration, University of Nairobi requests your assistance in enabling the student in collecting relevant academic data. The information obtained shall be used specifically for academic purpose.

The student is expected to abide by your regulations and the ethics that this exercise demands. In case of any clarification please feel free to contact the undersigned.

Thanking you for continued support.

Yours Sincerely,



Professor Fred Jonyo (PhD, Makerere)  
Chairman,  
Department of Political Science, Diplomacy and Public Administration

## **Appendix 2: Research Consent Form**

### **Research Consent Form**

My name is..... I am currently a Masters student at the University of Nairobi at the Department of Political Science, undertaking a Master's Degree in Strategic Security and Security Studies. This section is purely for academic purposes only and therefore, as part of my Degree course, the title of my project is the security impact of South Sudanese on Kenya. If you have read and understood this information sheet, please sign the declaration form.

### **Declaration of Consent**

I have read through the participant information sheet. I now consent voluntarily to be a respondent in this research project.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

### **Appendix 3: Data Collection Tool**

#### **Instructions**

This study is purely for academic purpose only. It is requested that you give accurate and concise information. The personal information is optional and any further clarification on each question can be made. Thank you for your interest to participate in this research project, please fill in the guide appropriately, by ticking in the boxes provided where applicable and writing a brief explanation as a follow up statement.

#### **Section A: Respondents Profile**

1. Gender?

2. Age?

3. Education level?

4. Organization and department?

.....  
.....

5. How long have you worked for this organization?

.....  
.....

6. Job specialization and designation?

.....  
.....

**Section B:** Kenya's open door policy towards Southern Sudanese immigrants compatible with its economic interests in Southern Sudan

7. Kenya has seen a huge influx of immigrants owing to persistent conflicts within the neighbouring states?  Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

8. Kenya's open-door policy towards Southern Sudanese immigrants is linked to its increasing economic insecurity in recent years?  Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

9. Kenya's open-door policy on migrants poses a threat to the national economic security condition in the state?

Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

10. Kenya's open-door policy on migrants still has existing gaps in the way refugee are economically managed?

Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

11. Kenya ought to revise the open-door policy on the free movement of refugees?

Yes  No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**Section C:** The relationship between the South Sudanese in Kenya and the increased potential for economic insecurity in Kenya in recent years

**12.** Kenya’s preferential treatment of the Southern Sudanese immigrants undermines its economic interest in Southern Sudan?  Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

**13.** Kenya has had an unusually large influx of South Sudanese immigrant refugees in recent times?

Yes  No please explain your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

**14.** A direct relationship exist between South Sudanese and in Kenya and the increased potential for economic insecurity in Kenya in recent years?

Yes  No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**15.** Illegal migration is a major economic security threat between Kenya and South Sudan?

Yes  No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....

**16.** There is a negative linkage between Kenya’s economic sovereignty and South Sudanese due to the socio-economic differences with the host communities?

Yes  No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....

**Section D:** The role of state and non-state actors in mitigation of the security impact of South Sudanese on Kenya.

**17.** It is generally accepted that there many actors and mechanisms for prevention of economic security migration issues in Kenya?  Yes No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**18.** The non-state and state actors work with weak framework in mitigation of the economic security impact of South Sudanese in Kenya?  Yes No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**19.** Migration issues in Kenya seem to be highly taken up by one actor instead of a multi-sectored approach?  Yes No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....

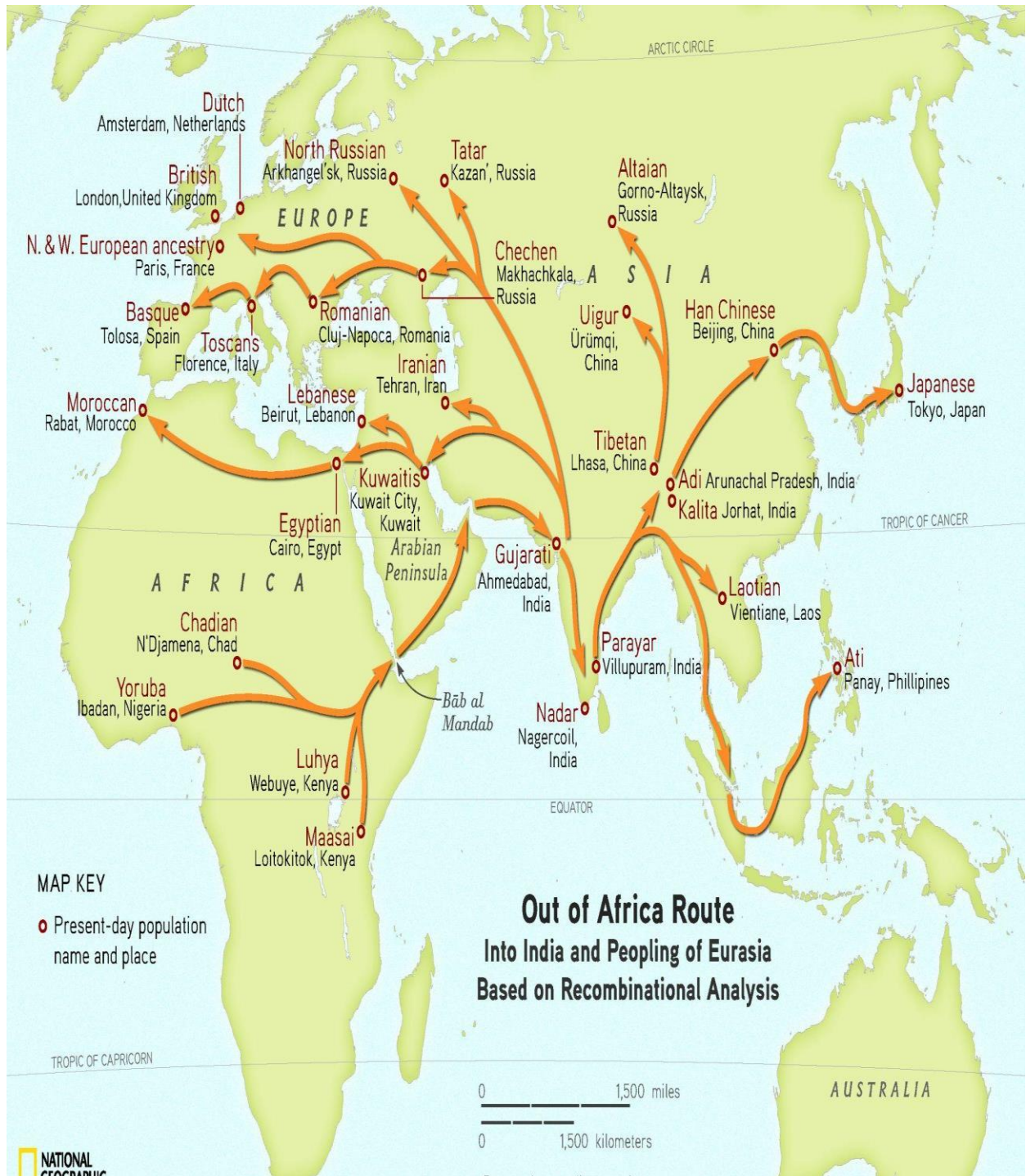
**20.** There is a lack of clear coordination between non-state and state actors actors in addressing impact in South Sudan on Kenya?  Yes No If Yes, please explain?

.....  
.....  
.....

**21.** Please comment on the current situation in mitigation of the economic security impact of South Sudanese on Kenya.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

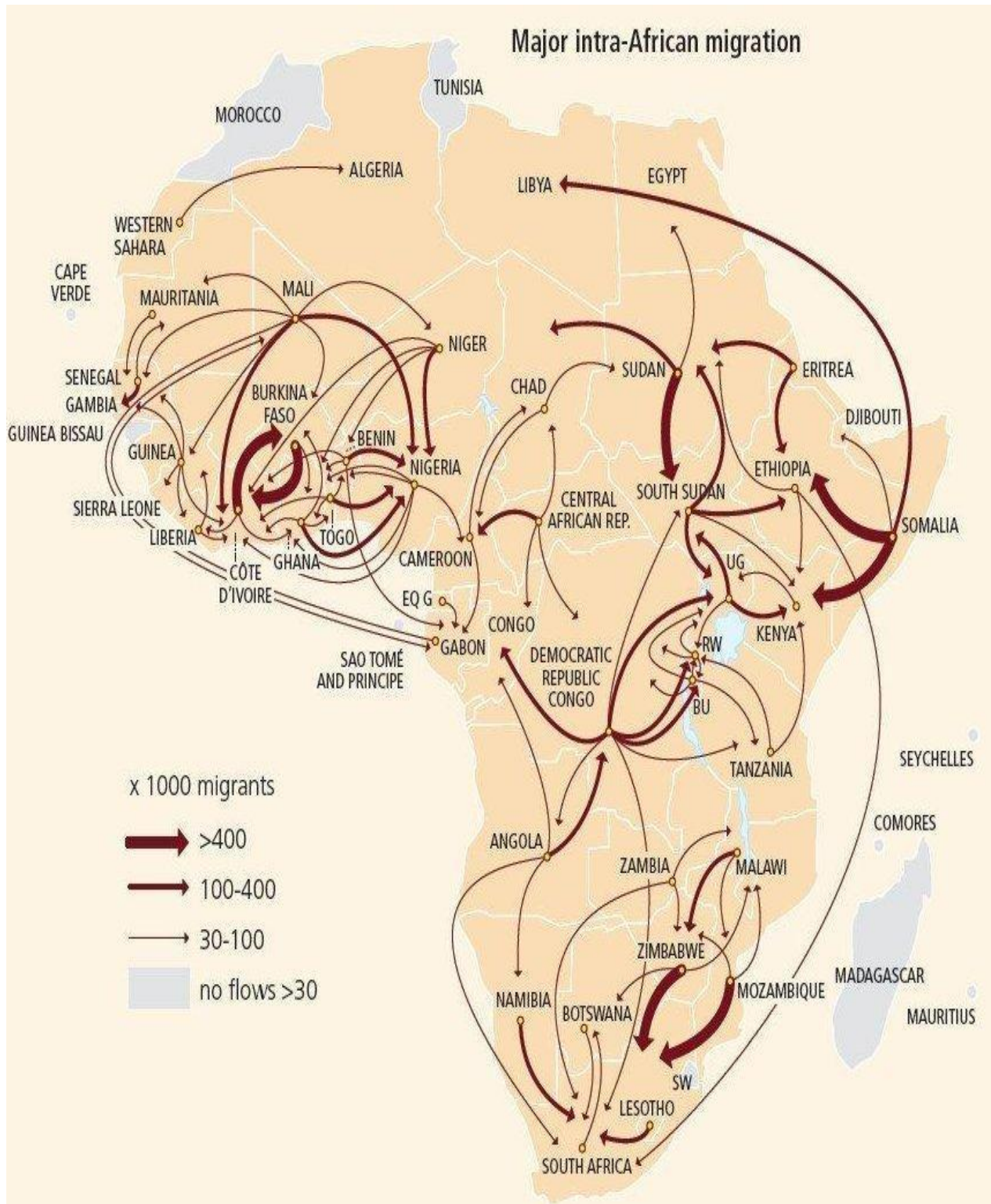
**Appendix 4: Map One of Study Area - Global Migration Routes**



**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*. University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.



**Appendix 5: Map Two of Study Area - Migration Situation within East Africa**



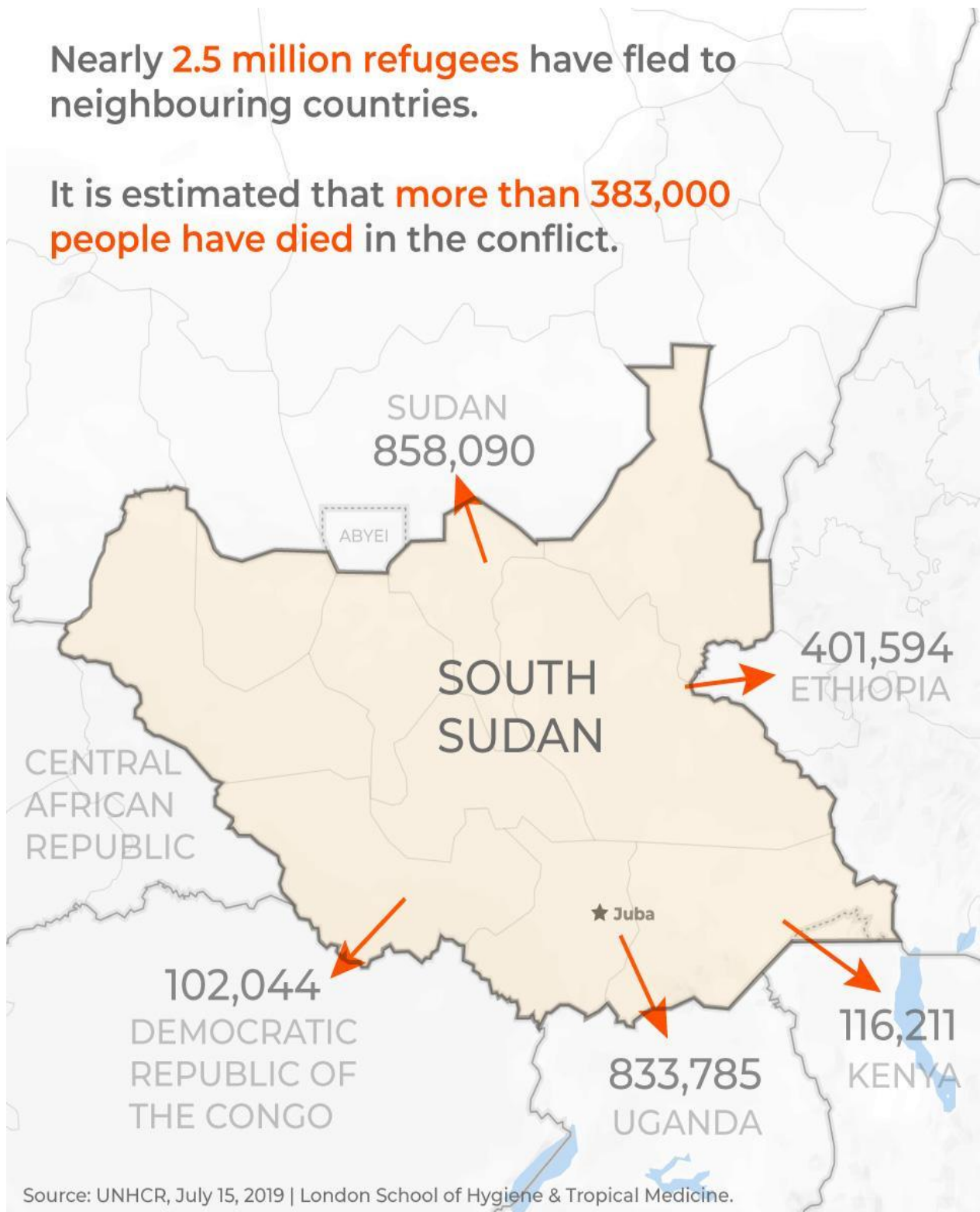
**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*. University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.



**Appendix 6: Migration Pattern from South Sudan**

Nearly **2.5 million refugees** have fled to neighbouring countries.

It is estimated that **more than 383,000 people have died** in the conflict.



**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*. University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.

## Appendix 7: South Sudan Situation

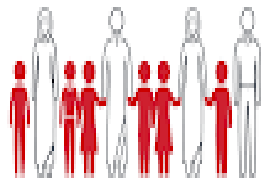
# CRISIS IN SOUTH SUDAN New Nation Torn Apart

Conflict in the world's newest country has spread across the nation, creating a severe humanitarian crisis. South Sudan has the third largest refugee crisis, after Syria and Afghanistan.

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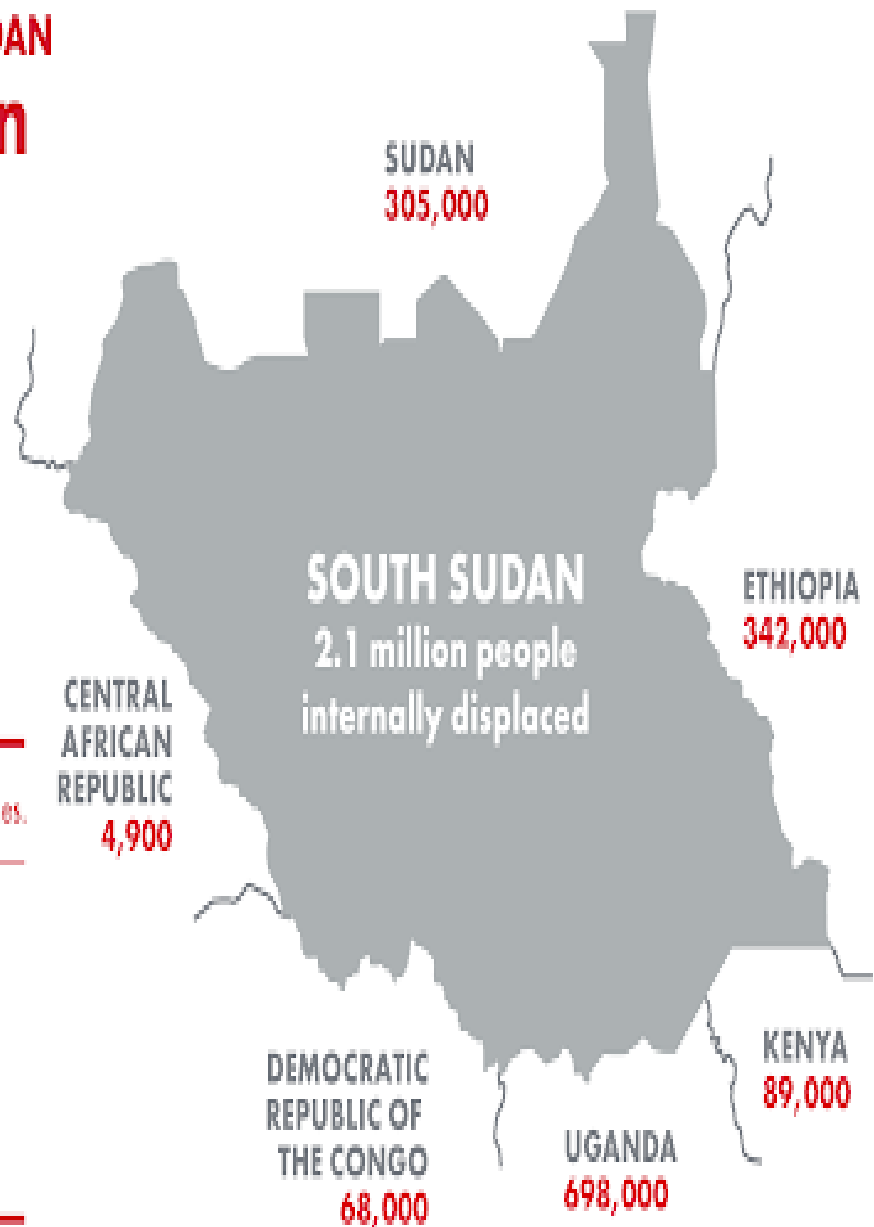
**3.6 million** have fled their homes.

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**6 out of 10** South Sudanese refugees are children.

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As of February 10, 2017

Sources: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2017/2/589d82834/solution-right-refugee-numbers-south-sudan-cross-15-million-mark.html>



**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*.

University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.

## Appendix 8: Refugee Status in South Sudan

# SOUTH SUDAN SITUATION

## Regional overview of population of concern

as of 30 September 2017



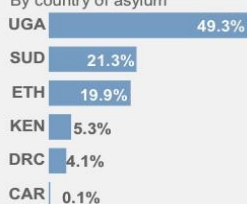
### KEY FIGURES



**4.24 MILLION**  
population of concern

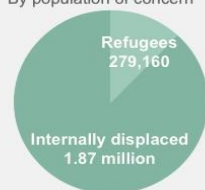
**2.09 million**  
total refugees  
from South Sudan

By country of asylum



**2.15 million**  
pop. of concern  
in South Sudan

By population of concern



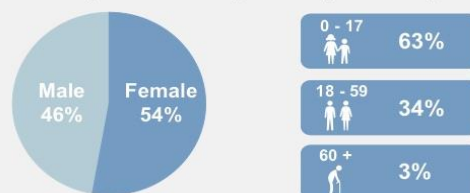
**USD 883.5 million requested**

**USD 277.8 million received (31%)**

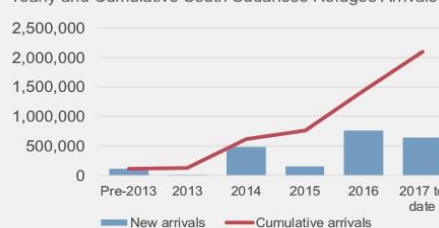
by UNHCR in 2017 for the South Sudan situation (as of 2 Oct)

### SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES

Sex and age breakdown of registered refugees in the region



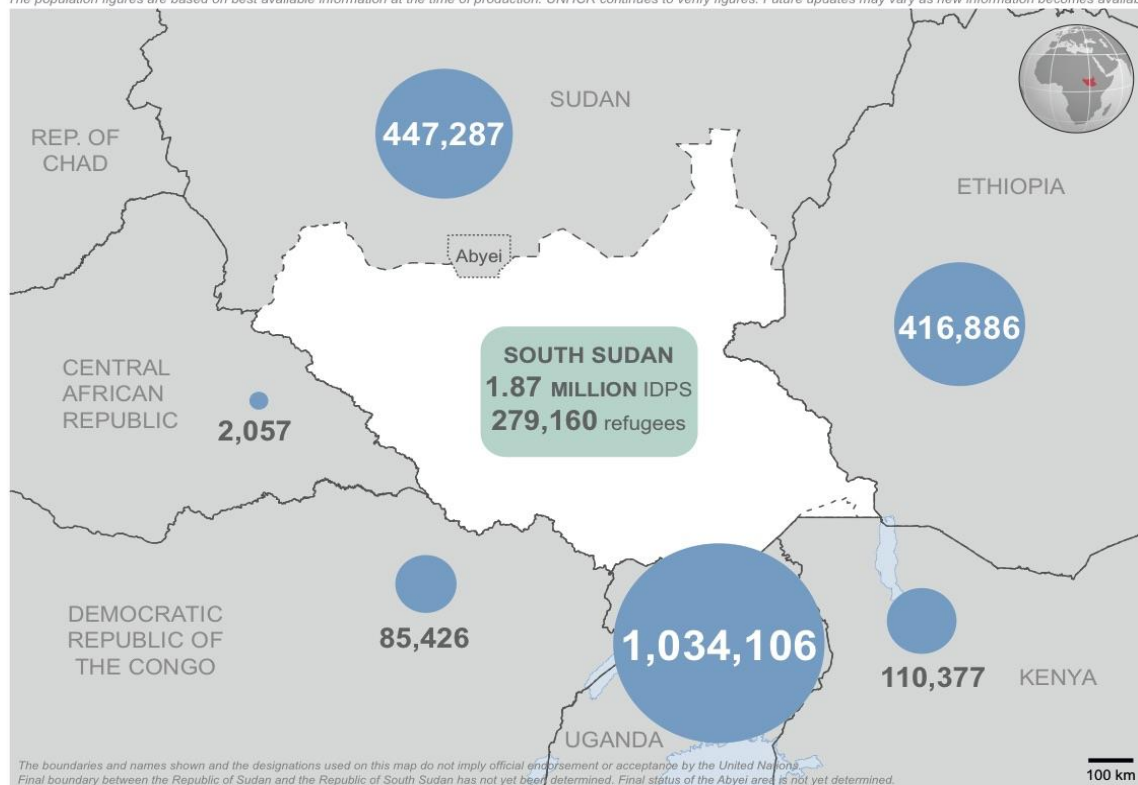
Yearly and Cumulative South Sudanese Refugee Arrivals



**2017 arrivals (1 Jan - 30 Sept): 637,445**

based on field reports, UNHCR and Government registration

The population figures are based on best available information at the time of production. UNHCR continues to verify figures. Future updates may vary as new information becomes available.



The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations. Final boundary between the Republic of Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan has not yet been determined. Final status of the Abyei area is not yet determined.

Date: 30 September 2017 Source: UNHCR, OCHA, Governments, Partners Feedback: swanson@unhcr.org

Source: Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*. University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.

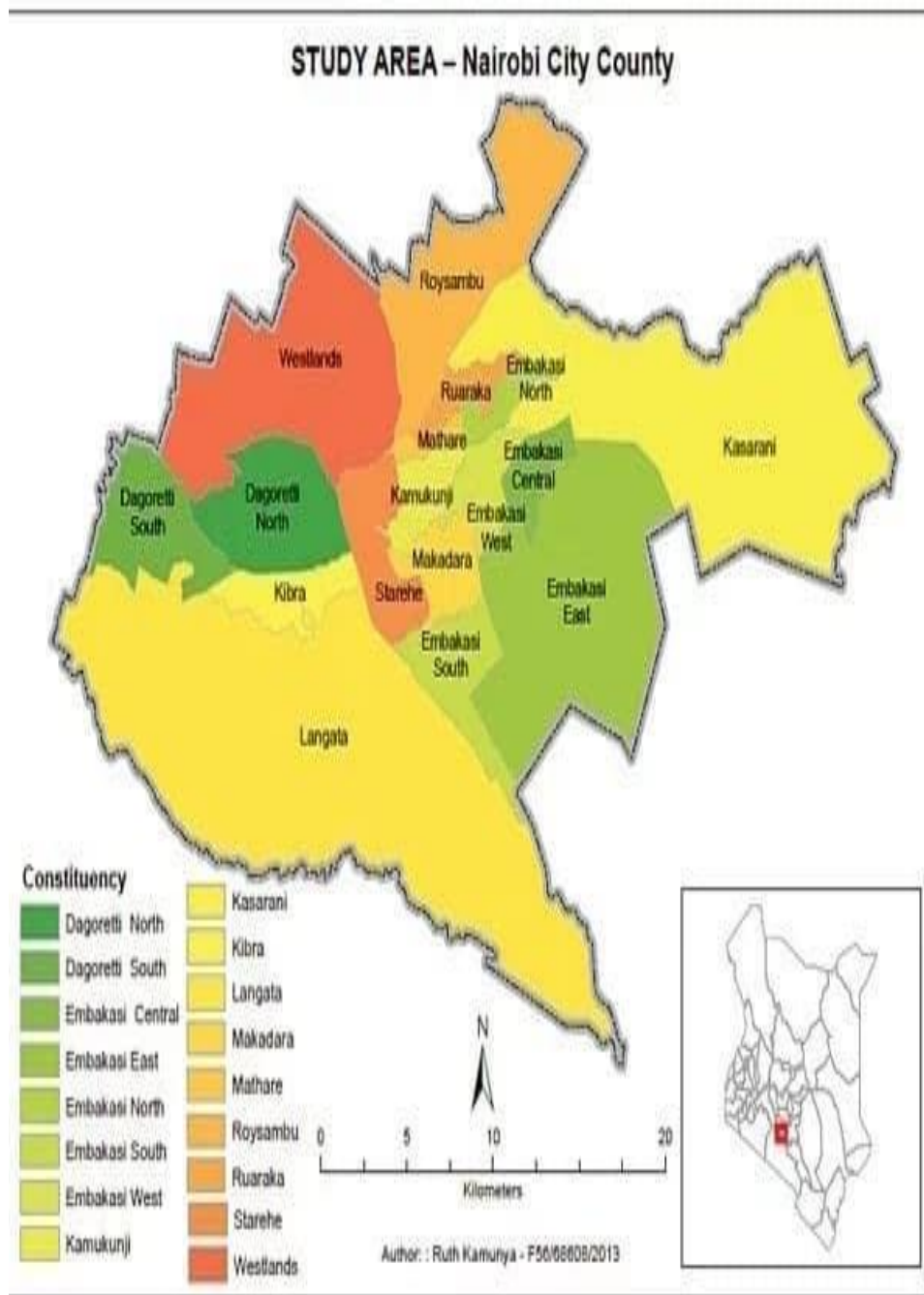
## Appendix 9: Press Release



**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*.  
University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.



**Appendix 10: Map of the Study Area**



**Source:** Sabates, W., & Waite, M. (2018), *Migration and social protection: a concept paper*. University of Sussex, London, United Kingdom.

**End.**