

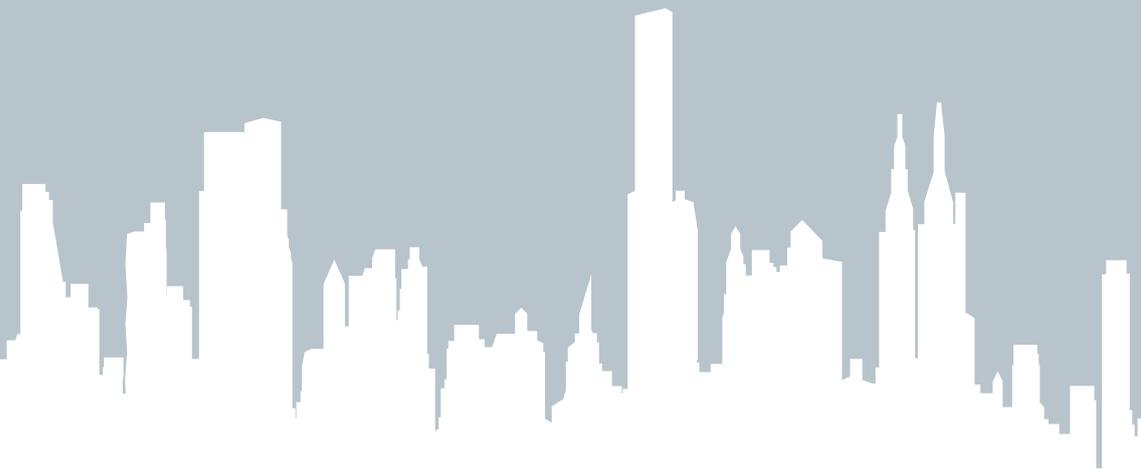
2014

Nairobi, Kenya

a case study from:

Migrant and Refugee Integration in Global Cities
The Role of Cities and Businesses

| Georgina Sturge |



The Hague Process
on Refugees and Migration



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Introduction of the Project and How to Read the Report

In collaboration with Maastricht University's Graduate School of Governance, The Hague Process on Refugees and Migration (THP) initiated a research project related to the economic and social integration of migrants and refugees in cities, focusing specifically on efforts undertaken by the private sector and city governments – both separately and in partnership – to provide protections and create greater opportunities in employment markets and communities.

The aim of this project is to ascertain how businesses and governments in eight global cities are contributing towards the integration of migrant and refugee populations, either through specialized outreach programmes, the provision of services or targeted funding of non-governmental organizations, and to what extent these contributions can be deepened or expanded. Perhaps a more important goal is to determine whether and how business and cities are currently working together to create opportunities for migrants and refugees and deepen their integration into society. If collaboration between the private and public sectors does not currently exist, the research identifies barriers and opportunities for potential partnerships.

The project consists of a number of components including a literature review highlighting the importance of urban migration flows, as well as the reality that it is at the local – increasingly city level - whereby migrants interact and experience the process of integration. In this context integration is defined at its most pragmatic, as a process in which migrants are empowered to thrive within the context of their destination – in part - with the help of a number of different local stakeholders. In addition to the literature review, fieldwork in eight countries was carried out to identify relevant stakeholders for qualitative semi-structured interviews. In total 56 interviews were conducted.

The results of the research will be released in a number of different formats. Firstly the main report - 'Migrant and Refugee Integration in Global Cities' presents an overview of the research process and draws together the key findings of the project using data gathered from all cities. It is also intended to be a repository of information for interested parties and thus the good practices and partnerships identified are presented in accordance to the policy dimension to which they are most applicable. For example, if a reader is interested in looking at what stakeholders in other cities are doing to facilitate the cultural integration of migrants, the reader can check this section for clear examples of what is happening in the cities of study.

If the reader requires further information about a good practice or wishes to understand if there are enough similarities between cities to be a viable option to consider for policy transfer, then they can consult the accompanying case study reports. These are intended to act as stand-alone reports for an audience interested in the particular case of a city. For ease of reference, the cities included in the study are: Auckland (New Zealand), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Chicago (United States), Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), Lisbon (Portugal), Nairobi (Kenya), Rotterdam (The Netherlands), and São Paulo (Brazil).

Introduction

Nairobi is both the political capital and the financial hub of Kenya. The largest city in the country, it hosts a variety of migrant populations, which is not surprising given its history as a destination for traders and itinerant peoples. Currently, the migration flows to Kenya, and more specifically Nairobi, are a mixture of different groups, ranging from refugees, to economic migrants and those migrating for family reunification. In an effort to fight the growing phenomenon of urban refugees, since the early 1990s, Kenyan policy focuses on trying to restrict the housing of refugees to camps. One of these being Dadaab, near Kenya's border with Somalia is the largest refugee camp in the world.

Table 1: Key Statistics: Nairobi and Kenya

	Nairobi	Kenya
Size (km²)	695	580,367
Population	3,138,369	44,037,656
Migrants in Population (%)	1.75%	2.0%
Refugees	46,000 Up to 100,000	547,612

Sources: CRA, 2012; Kenya Open Data, 2009; RMMS, 2013; UNHCR, 2010; RCK, 2008; CIA Factbook, 2013; Worldbank, 2010.

Migration History

Kenya is host to a variety of different migrant populations and has, like other countries in the region, historically been a destination for migrant traders and itinerant peoples. Post-colonial conflict in the Horn of Africa led to significant waves of mixed migration into Kenya. High rural unemployment, horizontal inequality, environmental factors such as drought and rainfall unpredictability, high population growth and political instability all contribute to the flow of migrants across Kenya's borders (Ghai, 2004). Kenya is characterized as having mixed migration flows of refugees, economic migrants and those migrating for family reunification.

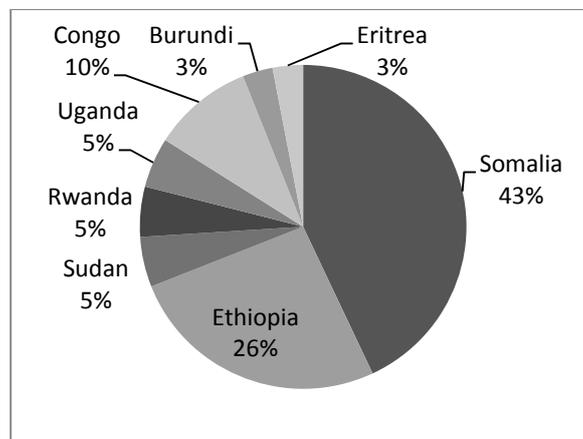
Main migrant groups and trends: Refugees

The World Bank estimates the total migrant stock in Kenya at 817,747 (based on 2010 data from UNDESA). According to the Migration DRC's Global Migrant Origin Database¹, and UNDP data, the largest stocks of migrants in Kenya are from Nigeria, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, the DRC, and Somalia (Nguvulu, 2010). It is likely however that these figures fail to take into account the large population of refugees in Kenya, the large majority of whom are Somali. According to the UNHCR's most recent estimate, the number of refugees in Kenya stands at 547,612 with, by far, the largest share originating from Somalia (492,105) (RMMS, 2013).

The UNHCR also estimates the number of urban refugees in Nairobi at 46,000, although other estimates have placed the figure much higher, at up to 100,000 (RCK, 2008). As of 2010 there were 20,111 Somali refugees registered as living in Nairobi, although another estimate suggested that the figure is closer to 60,000 (Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano, 2010: p. 15). The next largest stocks of refugees in Nairobi, according to UNHCR registration data, are indicated in

Figure 1.

Figure 1: States of origin of refugees in Nairobi



Source: UNHCR (2009) in Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano (2010).

Highly skilled

¹ The Migration Development Research Centre (DRC) was a project based at the University of Sussex, UK, measuring migration flows (2003-2010).

There are no verifiable figures on the number of highly skilled migrants, or ‘expats’ in Kenya or Nairobi. One source placed the number of (working) highly skilled at 30,000², of which substantial numbers come from the UK, the USA, and the Netherlands, as well as Uganda, Tanzania and Nigeria. There is a great abundance of international NGOs and transnational corporations in Nairobi which ‘import’ highly-skilled workers rather than recruit from the Kenyan population. Skilled workers with a job offer in Kenya may bring their spouse and dependents although spouses are not automatically entitled to a work permit, although this can be arranged if they obtain a job offer of their own.

Policy framework

National level institutions

The central government department responsible for the registration of migrants and the issuing of visas is the Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons (MIRP). Within MIRP, the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) has responsibility for the administration, coordination and management of issues related to refugees although refugee status determination (RSD) is the responsibility of the UNHCR. A Refugee Affairs Committee, also established under the Act, is responsible for advising the Commissioner for Refugees. Also on a national level and with a mandate covering migration issues are the Ministry of the East African Community and the National Council for Population and Development, a semi-autonomous government agency under the Ministry of Planning and Social Development (Oucho, Oucho, and Ong’ayo, 2013). Tables 2 and 3 provides an overview of the Kenyan national policy framework regarding migration and refuge.

Table 2. Institutional framework at the national level in Kenya

Government Institution	Mandate
Ministry of State for Immigration and Registration of Persons (MIRP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All immigration and population related issues
Department of Immigration Services (within MIRP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central department responsible for border control and visa issuance.
Department of Refugee Affairs (within MIRP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Administration, coordination and management of refugee matters. Refugee Act 2006 allows DRA to issue temporary

² Interview respondent.

	<p>Movement Passes to refugees or asylum seekers for a specific reason.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Since March 2011 the DRA has been registering and documenting refugees in urban areas, implying recognition of their legitimacy (RMMS, 2013, p.37)
Refugee Affairs Committee (reports to Commissioner for Refugees)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprises a range of government officials, including provincial administrators, police officers and representatives of the MIRP, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Local Government, the Office of the Attorney-General, the Ministry of Finance, the Immigration Service, the Ministry of Internal Security, the National Security Intelligence Service and the National Registration Bureau
National Council for Population and Development (within Ministry of Planning and Social Development)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-autonomous body recording data on citizens and residents (Oucho, Oucho, and Ong'ayo, 2013).
Ministry of the East African Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managing Kenya's relations within the EAC.

Table 3. Normative legal framework at the national level in Kenya

Law	Content
1963 Kenyan Constitution (updated 2010)	Subsection 25: Free movement within Kenya to all Kenyans and foreign citizens. However matters of public security may justify the removal of this right.
1999 East African Community (EAC) Treaty	Article 104 refers to “free movement of persons, labour and services” between partner states. Kenya still has to amend its national legislation to comply with the protocol.
2006 Refugee Act	Implemented the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention. The Act also established a Department for Refugee Affairs (DRA)
2010 The Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community (EAC) Common	Free movement of citizens as well as goods between Member States. Thus far only Rwandans enjoy such a privilege in Kenya.

Market

2011 Citizenship and Immigration Act	Citizenship, visa, and border control issues. Section 56 of the Act grants that in a time of war or emergency the Kenyan government may place movement restrictions on certain foreign nationals or restrict their entry.
2011 Refugees Bill	Currently in drafting stages.
2012 Citizenship and Immigration Regulations	New ban on work permits for foreigners in jobs that pay less than KES168,000 per month or KES2 million per year. Work permits no longer issued to persons or 35 years age or younger.

Local level institutions

The local authority for Nairobi is the City Council which has competencies over policy-making within the city. Nairobi is the financial hub of Kenya as well as its political capital. The city's police force has on numerous occasions been accused of brutality and maintains a tough stance on irregular migrants. In the Summer of 2012 the Nairobi police force carried out the Fagia Wageni ('Do away with/ Get rid of foreigners) campaign which resulted in the arrest and trial of 100 or so irregular migrants (RMMS, 2013: p. 31)

Encampment and urban refugee policy

Since the early 1990s refugees in Kenya have been accommodated in camps and unofficially required to remain in these areas, a policy which is reinforced by the UNHCR's inability to provide sustenance and housing to those who leave the camps. The four camps in Kenya are home to 88 percent of its refugee population (Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano, 2010). Dadaab, near Kenya's border with Somalia is the largest refugee camp in the world.

Between 2000 and 2010 the numbers of Somali refugees increased dramatically as a result of famine and conflict in Somalia. This led to over-crowding within the camps and exacerbated the dangers within the camps – disease, malnutrition and gender-based violence. Many Somalis moved to urban areas, in particular Nairobi, in pursuit of wider opportunities and work in the informal sector. However, in October 2010, the Department of Refugee Affairs stopped registering new arrivals at the Dadaab refugee camp. Without registration, individuals have no Refugee Identification Pass or Alien ID Card and thus no right to a Work Permit or Movement Pass to legally leave the camps (RMMS, 2013).

In December 2012, the Government of Kenya passed a Directive ordering all refugees in urban areas to relocate to the camps. Following the passage of the Directive registration and service

provision to refugees in urban areas ceased with immediate effect (RMMS, 2013). Kituo cha Sheria, an NGO providing legal assistance to disempowered communities filed a petition against the Directive and succeeded in July 2013 in having it overturned in a High Court ruling which pointed out the unconstitutionality of the Directive's breach of refugees' rights of free movement.

Employment, education, integration

Kenyan labour law does not allow refugees working in the camps to earn salaries; instead, they are only permitted to receive 'incentives' from UN agencies and NGOs which are well below the norm for an equivalent Kenyan member of staff's salary (UNHCR et al. 2012). Additionally, urban refugees who are not in possession of their Refugee Identification Pass have no right to work and therefore seek employment in the informal economy. For the highly skilled, a work permit can be obtained upon the presentation of a valid job offer. Spouses and dependents are not permitted to work unless they obtain a job offer of their own.

Most of Nairobi's refugees, particularly Somalis, live in informal settlements such as the Kibera slum and ad hoc accommodation in the Eastleigh suburb (Metcalf, Pavanello, and Mishra, 2011). Refugees used to living in urban areas in their countries of origin may also be more reluctant to stay in the camps, while city life offers greater independence and a consequent sense of self-worth and dignity despite the reality of meagre job opportunities. Despite the violence in Nairobi, one study found that Oromos and Amharas felt more secure in the relative anonymity of Nairobi (Wagacha and Guiney, 2008).

However, a study of female urban refugees in Nairobi's Eastleigh suburb found higher rates of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) among this population than in the refugee camps (RCK, 2008). Lack of livelihood security, precarious legal status, lack of information about services and entitlements, and the lack of public planning in the informal settlements where most refugees live contributes to these high levels of SGBV. According to another study, between November 2012 and January 2013 over 1,000 refugees in the Eastleigh suburb experienced persecution by the Kenyan police force, including rape, assault, extortion and arbitrary detention (HRW, 2013).

Refugee policy implementation

The UNHCR plays a major role in refugee resettlement in Kenya; although since the 2006 Refugee Act some refugee status determination and other activities have been transferred to the newly-created Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA). Prior to around 2002, the UNHCR did not officially register refugees in Nairobi and a tacit agreement was in place with the Kenyan authorities that to do so would invite more refugees to leave the camps for urban areas. However, official services have been put in place following an overhaul of the Nairobi UNHCR office as part of the Nairobi Initiative, and the creation of the UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in

urban areas in 2009. UNHCR initially partnered with the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (an NGO) in an inter-agency urban refugee workshop and engaged urban refugees in participatory consultation workshops (Campbell, Crisp & Kiragu, 2011)

Some of the UNHCR's achievements in Nairobi have been the publication of information booklets for refugees, cooperation with the City Council's Health Department on refugee access to healthcare, the establishment of a micro-grant refugee programme, training police in refugee rights and working with civil society and community organizations on integration services (Campbell, Crisp & Kiragu, 2011).

The DRA, the Ministry of Local Government and the Mayor of Nairobi have engaged in collaboration with the UNHCR at various stages. In August 2010, the DRA held a 90-day 'Rapid Results Initiative' intended to issue government identity papers to 85 percent of the refugees in Nairobi who were already registered with UNHCR. However the outcome fell far short of this target. The DRA and the government of Kenya have not facilitated the registration of urban refugees, particularly since the passage of the now-overturned encampment directive.

The NGO Kituo Cha Sheria (the law centre) operates in Nairobi advocating for refugees' legal rights. The mere presence and reputation of Kituo Cha Sheria has been credited with having reduced the level of police harassment of refugees (Campbell, Crisp & Kiragu, 2011). The IOM has a strong presence in Nairobi, being also a partner of government in implementing national and urban health policy (IOM, 2012). Many other refugee-related NGOs operate in Nairobi, among them the Danish Refugee Council, the Red Cross and the International Rescue Committee.

Highly-skilled migrant and investor policy

The Government of Kenya does not offer integration services for highly-skilled migrants, thus the responsibility of integrating expatriates and their families into Kenyan life is largely carried out by the firm hiring the principal migrant. Several specialist companies also provide relocation services for expatriates.

Methodology

Academic literature, web-based resources, and news sources were consulted to determine the initial layout of integration policy in Nairobi and the actors involved. To identify organizations working with highly skilled migrants, an Internet search was performed and snowballing sampling used after initial contacts were made. A list of relevant contacts was drawn up from this material and use was made of existing connections in order to recruit respondents. In total six qualitative interviews took place, the majority of which were with international organizations.

Table 4: Sample size by category in Nairobi

Respondent Type	Number of Interviews
Policy Maker/Municipal Administrator	0
Practitioner	4 (UNHCR representatives) 1 (IOM)
Businesses	1 (Expat relocation service)
Civil Society	0
Total	6

Table 5. Response rate for Nairobi

City	Contacted	Replies	Rejections	Non-replies	Interviewed	Interview response rate
Nairobi	18	12	0	7	6	50%

Findings

Integration challenges to different migrant groups

Refugees

The problem that prevents many migrants from integrating into the labour market is that many do not have an Alien ID card, issued upon legal migration as an economic migrant into Kenya or Refugee Identification Pass which is issued upon acquisition of refugee status. The government of Kenya has ceased to distribute these to refugees since the start of 2013. For refugees the lack of a Refugee Identification Pass means that a work permit cannot be obtained without a substantial bribe that most cannot afford. Since the Encampment Directive of 2012 refugees in urban areas have not been registered and prior to this many arriving in the camps were not issued with the appropriate documentation, meaning that a whole multitude of refugees is unable to work or travel legally. One respondent from the UNHCR noted that it was also difficult for refugees to become self-employed

since business permits are only available to individuals with an Alien ID Card or Refugee Identification Pass.

Refugees experience other barriers to employment besides their legal status – their own poverty and discrimination from Nairobi residents means that most Somali refugees are segregated in the Eastleigh suburb which lacks safe and direct transport links to areas of work. One respondent noted that immigration has, in recent years, become a political issue, with immigrants being cast as ‘stealing Kenyan jobs’ and employers being pressured to employ Kenyan workers ahead of foreigners. Many refugees, particularly Somalis, face hostility and mistrust from Kenyans due to the association of some Somalis with the terrorists activities of Islamist organization Al Shabaab (substantiated by a study by HRW, 2013).

One respondent also identified LGBTI³ refugees as a particular vulnerable group in Nairobi, indicating that it was much harder for them to find work and that nothing was being done by the authorities to protect them from harm.

The IOM’s work with urban refugees in Nairobi was initially based around preparing refugees for repatriation or relocation to the camps. Part of this task involved health screening and it was noted that the government was experiencing two problems in this area: namely that many urban refugees were not registered and that health facilities were inaccessible to many due to their reluctance to take public transport for fear of arrest.

Expatriates

Another migrant group with its own culture and its own barriers to integration is expatriates or ‘expats’ – highly-skilled workers relocated to Nairobi usually to work for a multinational firm or NGO – and their families. Two respondents from a company offering relocation services to expats indicated that a significant barrier to integration for these individuals and their families is that work permits are issued for two years at a time and that their certainty of renewal is somewhat precarious, meaning that an expat’s stay “will always have an end to it”. Obtaining a work permit can be difficult and financial exploitation is common when the expat approaches the immigration services directly.

The sense was also conveyed that the new government under President Uhuru Kenyatta does not attach any great level of importance to attracting businesses to Kenya or in maintaining favourable conditions for the UNHCR to carry out its work. It was also noted that the situation for expats has been precarious in the past; an example being given of the immediate expulsion of all Norwegian immigrants under President Moi after Norway granted refuge to the dissident Kenyan journalist Koigi wa Wamwere.

³ Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex

Cultural barriers also hinder integration in some areas. Due to the large wealth disparity between many expats and Kenyan locals, resentment and animosity are felt towards expats. White foreigners in particular are targeted with anti-British or anti-colonial sentiment. Cultural differences in everyday and workplace interactions were also perceived as a source of frustration for migrants and Kenyan nationals. “Expatriate failure” was identified as a phenomenon in which a good match between a Nairobi-based company and a foreign employee came to be short-lived or ‘failed’ because the expat’s family did not integrate sufficiently and wished to return to the country of origin. Often companies spend \$40,000 or \$50,000 on relocating an employee but cannot guarantee social or cultural integration.

Obtaining a work permit or starting a business in Kenya is easier, and cheaper in terms of informal payments, if a migrant can have their case advocated for by a Kenyan national. One respondent noted that the process of starting a business in Nairobi is complex and involves much negotiation. However, once obtained, a business permit contains very generous provisions. It was also noted that the ‘flexibility’ of the Kenyan system is an advantage to businesses. A problem, however, in this flexible system is the common practice of business ideas being ‘copied’ by competitors.

Lack of trust between the Nairobi City Council and the city’s migrant population is also perceived as a significant barrier to the harmonious integration of expats and their families. Corruption is reported to be endemic within the City Council and migrant groups, as well as locals, fear of being exploited if they approach city officials.

Programmes and Services for Migrants and Refugees

The charts below depict the systematization of the main results from the policy review and interviews. Table 6 categorizes the programmes and services offered by the interviewed institutions aimed at facilitating the integration of migrants and refugees. The table follows the policy dimensions determined for this study: social, cultural and religious, legal, political, and economic. Table 7 lists and describes all of the partnerships identified throughout the interviews.

Table 6: Policies, programmes and services provided to facilitate the integration of migrants and refugees according to policy dimensions retrieved from interviews in Nairobi

Type	Stakeholder	Social	Cultural	Legal	Political	Economic	Observations
Practitioners	Refugee Affairs Committee	Advising Refugees Affairs Commissioner					
	Department of Refugee Affairs			Registering all Convention refugees	Issuing Kenyan-recognized ID to Convention refugees		Not consistent in issuing of ID documentation, work permits and travel passes.
	Department of Health/ District Health Management Team for Nairobi	Eastleigh Community Centre*. Community-based healthcare, vaccination, reproductive health.					
	Nairobi Police Force			Received refugee rights training*			Instigated by UNHCR
	City Council	School places for refugee children					
	Kenya Investment Authority			Free assistance and advocacy in obtaining work permits		Assistance and advocacy for investors and business owners	
Business	Small and medium businesses, restaurants, export companies etc.					Micro franchises for refugees* Jobs for refugees*	Third parties are involved in setting up jobs (UNHCR, Xavier project)

	Expat services, e.g. Expat-to-Expat, Karibuni	Relocation, housing, car, setting up bill payments, insurance, schooling*	Cultural orientation, advice, information	Obtaining work and business permits*		
NGOs/ Civil Society	UNHCR	Urban Refugee Protection Network.*	Radio broadcasts and programmes*	Negotiating business permits for refugees*.	Consultation, e.g. Gender policy*	Microfinance scheme. Vocational Skills Training*
	IOM	Health screening for urban refugees, vaccination, and preparation for repatriation*				
	Kituo Cha Sheria			Legal advocacy and advice; lobbying government		

* Occurs in partnership

Table 7: Partnerships for migrant and refugee integration programmes and/or services obtained from the interviews in Nairobi

Stakeholder	Partner	Typology of partner	Benefit / Service	Description of Partnership	Established
Department of Refugee Affairs	UNHCR	NGO	Refugee Status Determination.	Now allowing refugees to remain in urban areas	2010
			Data collection/ registration	Registering Convention refugees with GoK identity papers	
Ministry of Youth	UNHCR	NGO	Resources for refugee students	Has not started yet	2013

Department of Health	IOM	NGO	Eastleigh community health centre, vaccinations, primary care, reproductive health	2002(moved in 2008)
Nairobi City Council	UNHCR	NGO	School places for refugee children	
	Department of Trade and Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons	Public	Negotiating business permits and work permits	Case by case negotiation for permits
UNHCR	Ministry of Youth 50 education and training institutions	Public Business/NGOs	Resources for refugee students Vocational skills training for refugees	2013 UNHCR has 5 implementing partners (NGOs) which sponsor refugee places on these skill training programmes.
	Telecommunications provider	Business	Emergency messages to refugees	2012
	Radio network	Business	Information broadcast for refugees	2012
	Department of Health	Public	Eastleigh community health centre	2002(moved in 2008)
IOM	Matibabu Foundation, Heshima Kenya, Refuge Point, Centre for Victims of Torture	Local NGOs	Health and psycho-social services	
Expatriate services	Kenyan consultants	Business	Negotiating business permits and work permits	2010

Nairobi City Council

The city is, on the whole, not perceived as being welcoming towards migrants, both refugees and the highly-skilled and/or wealthy and their families. However, the city has made progress in the integration of refugees in two primary areas: education and health. In Nairobi the government has funded places for refugees at 205 schools with the result that 7500 refugee children (59 percent of the gross enrolment) have been able to access public school. Nairobi has free primary school education for refugee children and if any costs are required, refugees pay the same as Kenyan nationals. However, there is little funding for the secondary education of refugee children, but wealthier households do have the option of funding it privately.

One of Nairobi's District Councils has utilized the expertise and resources of UNHCR to develop a policy to keep Somali refugee children in school, with a view to reducing future recourse to street crime and other forms of social disruption.

The District Health Management Team for Nairobi, in particular the Eastleigh division, has welcomed the IOM's efforts to reach out to migrants and refugees because, as the respondent noted, vaccination and screening programmes had experienced barriers to accessing refugees who were in a sense hidden and not listed on any district records.

The respondent from the IOM reported that the city had made progressive steps towards providing healthcare for refugees. On a national level, Kenya's tuberculosis prevention programme highlights the need to reach out to refugees and migrants and the government's reproductive health strategy also mentions reaching out to refugees as a vulnerable group.

Third actors

UNHCR

The UNHCR is the principal service provider to refugees in Kenya, being responsible for refugee status determination in the camps and urban areas. At present, the city's policy towards urban refugees is comparatively tolerant and supports the efforts of UNHCR to register and provide services to these individuals.

To combat the problem of refugees being unable to apply for business permits to become self-employed, due to their not being in possession of a Refugee Identification Pass, UNHCR has acted in the past to negotiate business permits on behalf of individual refugees. These negotiations between UNHCR and the Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons and the Department of Trade are, however, reported to be ad hoc rather than systematic.

UNHCR has several projects intended to facilitate and encourage information sharing among stakeholders in refugee protection and integration. One initiative is the Urban Refugee Protection Network (URPN), a platform for collaboration between NGOs,

civil society organizations, community-based service providers and other actors. The URPN has six thematic consultation groups: legal advocacy; information monitoring of refugee corridors; education; livelihood; child protection and cyber-social support. A UNHCR respondent noted that information sharing had increased the scope of the protective network for refugees and fostered cooperation between different entities.

In the same area of service provision, UNHCR has in the past (around 2010) partnered with Safaricom, the largest communication company in Kenya, which volunteered to produce emergency information materials for distribution in the camps and to urban refugees. Safaricom's condition was that the company's logo had to be displayed on the literature. UNHCR also has a non-financial agreement with several radio stations across Kenya which broadcast refugee-related programmes and news bulletins. UNHCR worked with several radio stations in June 2013 to broadcast coverage of Refugee Day. Since 2012 UNHCR has partnered with Solinet, a Kenyan telecommunications company specializing in bulk-messaging and has an agreement whereby in case of emergency a mass text message can be sent out to all refugees who have registered their phone number with UNHCR.

A major initiative of UNHCR Kenya has been the Vocational Skills Training programme. UNHCR works with 13 refugee agencies (NGOs) in implementing its livelihoods programmes in Nairobi: two are funded by UNHCR and the others operate on their own funding. In 2012, five of the 13 agencies implemented the Vocational Skills Training programme whereby they sponsored the enrolment of refugees in around 50 higher education and training institutions, the majority of which are privately owned, but some of which are publicly-run polytechnics.

Some of those who have graduated from the UNHCR's skills training programme have gone on to be salaried workers in restaurants or as casual workers in export companies. However the difficulty remains that refugees cannot work in the formal economy if they do not have a work permit, which many in Nairobi lack. A future strategy is to partner with the Ministry of Youth to access resources for refugee students. UNHCR also gives out small business grants and loans to refugees as part of a microfinance scheme.

UNHCR promotes integration through policy consultation, for example the Department of Gender is partnered with the UNHCR for the purpose of consultation on gender policy.

IOM

The Department of Health is partnered with the IOM to provide the Eastleigh Community Healthcare facility, among other projects targeting migrants and the implementation of these is accomplished through local service providers. The clinic was set up with a view to eliminating the main barriers to refugee healthcare access (the difficulty and danger of travelling any long distance and fear of persecution), since Eastleigh is the neighbourhood with by far the largest concentration of migrants in Nairobi.

The IOM contracts and partners with local NGOs in the implementation of its activities because, as the respondent described it, this fosters trust within the community and also the sustainability of the project. Organizations involved in this work are the Matibabu Foundation, Heshima Kenya, Refuge Point and the Centre for Victims of Torture. The respondent also reported that IOM had approached private businesses in its campaign to deliver healthcare to migrant sex workers, the view being that the business sector was closely linked to the sex industry and had a stake in promoting knowledge about sex workers' rights.

Other third actors

The charity Xavier Project which helps to fund refugee children's education has begun a livelihoods project (known as the Kasirye project) with the aim of giving incentives to businesses to take on refugees – the project aims to place 100 refugees in employment over 4 years. The Catholic University of Inter Africa is a private university which has, over the last four years, implemented a policy whereby for every four refugee students that attend there is one full scholarship given for a refugee.

Business Sector

Small and medium businesses

The UNHCR's skills training is implemented in partnership with 50 private higher education institutions which have agreed to take on refugee trainees and four public polytechnic institutions. Two businesses, Kenchic and Farmer's Choice were identified by respondents as providing micro-franchising agreements with refugee businesses and individual entrepreneurs. Both operate in the food industry, more specifically in the sale of frozen meat products. Another respondent identified the retailer Amani Ya Juu as a business that actively seeks to employ refugees. Some export companies also employ refugees.

One bank, First Community Bank which is Sharia compliant, made it known that it welcomes refugee clients and Equity Bank and the Co-op Bank have savings accounts for refugees but no loan access. Only refugees with identity documents can access these services.

Expatriate relocation services

There are several relatively high-profile relocation companies in Nairobi, among them Expat to Expat, a holistic service for expatriates which organizes housing, a car, schooling, insurance, health care, and indeed every aspect of the relocation experience.

In delivering its relocation services Expat to Expat contracts Kenyan clearing agents, insurance agents and removal companies among others. In securing school places for migrant children it contracts an external consultant to achieve better leverage in negotiating places. The company works mainly with individuals who pay for the service

from their own funds but sometimes the individual's company will pay on their behalf (this happens rarely, but more commonly among corporate clients). However, Expat to Expat does occasionally provide in-company multicultural training at companies, in which case it is partnered with an outsourcing consultant. Moreover, in its interaction with the public sector and its relocation services, they try to partner with Kenyan individuals and companies. In its services to companies, it procures the services of a non-Kenyan for the reason that expat workers find them more approachable. Future plans exist to partner with a language centre, to provide language courses and to develop a travel service for expat families to experience a safari.

Migrant businesses providing relocation and orientation services to expatriates have to be wary of their exposure to public sector officials – the respondents from one such company reported that they partner with external, Kenyan consultants who approach public officials on behalf of the expat company's clients, for example, to obtain a work permit. This tactic is used for the principal reasons that 1) the informal payments expected from Kenyans are substantially lower than those demanded from (white) foreign nationals; 2) it is dangerous for a migrant-owned company to be seen obtaining a great many work permits for foreigners (in colloquial terms, 'stealing jobs from Kenyans'); 3) partnering with local firms and individuals provides work for Kenyan nationals, thereby shielding the organization against accusations of the type in point (2).

If a client is impatient for a work or business permit and is willing to pay a substantial bribe then the organization will ask their external consultant to pass the case on to third party – this is to avoid the external consultant from being associated with clients who are willing to pay large sums or else the next time he or she enters the government building they will be expected to match this fee again for the same service.

Central government

It was also mentioned by one respondent that the central government agency Kenya Investment Authority provides a representation and advocacy service aimed at securing work and business permits for foreign investors and expatriate staff. The respondent, who had benefited from this service upon arrival in Kenya, noted that the service's management appears, unlike other departments, not to tolerate corruption. The service is therefore, reportedly, free and consists of representatives from the government agency attending weekly meetings at which work permit applications are discussed and advocating on behalf of expatriates, attesting to the strength of their business plan and their prospects for expanding the Kenyan job market.

The Kenyan Department of Trade holds a yearly showcase in Nairobi of products made in Kenya and in recent years a handful of refugee groups have been given stands to advertise their wares. UNHCR has had contact with the administrative authority of the Kenyan Export Processing Zones to raise their awareness of refugee workers such that they may encourage other export businesses to hire them. UNHCR has also recently entered into a partnership with the Ministry of Youth, with a view to providing resources

to refugee students enrolling on their skills training courses, at various private and public higher education institutions.

Conclusion

Integration is not a priority for the Nairobi City Council or Kenyan Government. Moreover, immigrant workers are considered to be substitutes for Kenyan workers rather than supplementary, hence the accusation of ‘stealing jobs from Kenyans’ permeates the immigration debate. However, some headway has been made in the areas of health and education, notably the opening of school places for refugee children and the creation of a health centre in the Eastleigh suburb to enable migrant to access healthcare.

There has been some progress towards the integration of refugees into the labour force, notably the skills training programme run in partnership between the UNHCR and several public and private institutions. However, UNHCR respondents did not indicate that the skills training programme has had much success since only small numbers of refugees have been placed in paid employment subsequent to the training. Partnership between NGOs or migrant-owned businesses and Kenyan firms or individuals is identified as a good way of securing legitimacy, gaining trust, and effectively solving problems.

Some good practices have been identified for migrant and refugee integration in the Nairobi context:

- Eastleigh Community Wellness Centre.

The Eastleigh healthcare centre, jointly run by the IOM and the Department of Health is an example of effective collaboration between a government department and a third party for the purpose of integrating migrants into the healthcare system. The project is successful because it brings healthcare to the place where the most vulnerable refugees live, thereby eliminating a significant barrier to healthcare access which was the danger and difficulty of travelling long distances in the city. The free, non-discriminatory and non-judgmental clinic also eliminates the problem of refugees foregoing healthcare due to insufficient means or fear of persecution.

- UNHCR information sharing and telecommunications initiatives.

UNHCR has some innovative programmes in Nairobi (and also spanning Kenya and East Africa) in the area of information sharing. The Urban Refugee Protection Network brings together stakeholders and fosters collaboration – it does remain to be seen however whether this new project will produce meaningful outcomes. Complementary to the URPN are the UNHCR’s partnerships with radio stations and with the mass-communication specialist Solinet. This emergency mass-communication scheme delivers swift and efficient communication and also, if it is well publicized among refugees, could lead to more refugees being incentivized to own a mobile phone and give their contact details to UNHCR.

A partnership not mentioned in the interviews - but identified during the desk research - is between UNHCR and the NGO Refugees United which uses data on refugees' identifiable characteristics and contact details and links together disparate national systems, to reunite refugee families across borders. The NGO has an online platform for tracing refugee individuals who are reported missing by their families. In urban areas these combined tools could be linked with systems such as the Urban Refugee Protection Forum to contribute to 'mapping' refugee movements and preventing vulnerable individuals from falling under the radar.

- Work permits: Expat services partnering with Kenyan consultants.

Given the alleged difficulty of obtaining a work permit as a skilled migrant without having to pay a substantial bribe, the tactic used by Expat to Expat of contracting Kenyan consultants to be the 'face' of the service in dealings with public officials is highly recommendable in order to keep costs down for migrant clients. However, this does not solve the issue of mistrust between Kenyans and migrants (in particular white expatriates); if anything it confirms the adage that both parties speak a different 'language', in perhaps both the metaphorical and literal sense.

Nairobi's case is typical of a city containing a large urban refugee population but there is little to suggest that the city itself is assisting refugee and migrant integration. One development in the last decade has been the decision of the City Council to allow UNHCR to open a service branch for urban refugees and to implement its urban refugee policy in Nairobi. Without government interference the UNHCR has been able to implement several innovative programmes such as micro-grants for refugee businesses, the Urban Refugee Protection Network and agreements with telecommunications and radio providers. One respondent suggested that Kenya's ratification of the International Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families would be a positive step towards enabling migrants to better access the labour market.

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