



Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's sense of security in Kakuma refugee camp

By: Helena Nilsson
Supervisor: Lisbeth Larsson Lidén
Uppsala University, June 2013

Theological Department
NOHA Masters Program
Master's thesis 30 ECT

Abstract

This thesis aims to find out how Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women experience their security and safety in Kakuma refugee camp, which is situated in north- western part of Kenya. Sudan and South Sudan has had two civil wars since its independence from the British colonialism. The civil wars in Sudan and South Sudan have mainly been concerning the differences between northern and southern Sudan, with the northern part predominantly Muslim and the southern is predominantly Christian. The Sudanese and South Sudanese society, culture and traditions are based on a very strong patriarchal structure, with limited freedom and rights for women. This thesis therefore aims to find out whether these social structures exist in Kakuma refugee camp and what impact they have on the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's sense of security. The main research question in this thesis is: *How do Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women perceive their security and support within their community in Kakuma refugee camp?* The theoretical framework is based on the customary and Islamic law applied in Sudan and South Sudan, as well as on the proscribed gender roles of the Sudanese and South Sudanese society.

The data collection for this thesis was based on key interviews and Focus Group Discussions conducted in Kakuma refugee camp by the researcher from February 25th until the 1st of March. They were conducted with the support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency's (SIDA) Minor Field Study (MFS) Scholarship, Refugee Consortium of Kenya (which were the contact organization on sight in Kenya and Kakuma refugee camp), as well as with the supervision of Lisbeth Larsson Lidén in Sweden. Three Focus Group Discussions and eleven key interviews were conducted with women originating from tribes in Darfur, Equatoria and Dinka in Sudan and South Sudan.

Front page photo taken by Helena Nilsson on 1/3/2013 from the registration centre in Kakuma, zone three.



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET



Acronyms

CPA – Comprehensive Peace Agreement

DRA – Department of Refugee Affairs

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

GBV – Gender Based Violence

IDP – Internally Displaced people

IL – International Law

IPV – Intimate Partner Violence

JEM – Justice and Equality Movement

MFS – Minor Field Study

NGO – Non- Governmental Organization

NIF – National Islamic Front

OAU – Organization of African Union

RCK – Refugee Consortium of Kenya

RSD – Refugee Status Determination

SAF – Sudanese Armed Forces

SGBV – Sexual Gender Based Violence

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SLM/A – Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army

SPLM/A – Sudan People's Movement/Army

SSLM – Southern Sudan Liberation Movement

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees

WFP – World Food Program

Table of contents

- Abstract..... 2
- Acronyms..... 3
- Table of contents..... 4
- Preface..... 6
- 1. Introduction..... 7
 - 1.1. Background..... 8
 - 1.1.1. The conflict in Sudan and South Sudan 8
 - 1.1.2. Sudanese and South Sudanese culture 13
 - 1.1.3. Women in refugee camps..... 15
 - 1.1.4. Kakuma refugee camp 17
 - 1.2. Aim and research question..... 19
 - 1.3. Thesis outline..... 20
 - 1.4. Limitations 20
 - 1.5. The research field..... 21
 - 1.5.1. Refugee Consortium of Kenya and the research situation..... 21
 - 1.5.2. Previous research..... 22
 - 1.6. Relevance to the Humanitarian Action field..... 24
- 2. Theory and Methods 25
 - 2.1. Theory 25
 - 2.1.1. Definitions..... 25
 - 2.1.2. International Law 26
 - 2.1.3. The Kenyan government’s commitment to the protection of refugees..... 28
 - 2.2. Theoretical framework 28
 - 2.2.1. Customary law and Islamic law in Sudan and South Sudan..... 29
 - 2.2.2. Gender roles in Sudanese and South Sudanese society 32
 - 2.3. Methodology..... 34
 - 2.3.1. The interviews 34
 - 2.3.2. The interview guide 36
 - 2.3.3. The role of the researcher..... 36
 - 2.3.4. The ethical considerations 37
 - 2.3.5. Generalization, validity and reliability..... 38
 - 2.3.6. Coding and analysis..... 39
 - 2.3.7. Restrictions and difficulties experienced..... 39
- 3. Data Description 41
 - 3.1. Community support..... 41

3.2.	Community security	44
3.3.	Threats within the community	46
3.4.	Threats in and around Kakuma refugee camp	49
3.5.	Humanitarian workers approach - is it enough?.....	53
3.6.	Other actors in Kakuma refugee camp	55
3.7.	The view on Sudan and South Sudan	57
4.	Analysis.....	60
5.	Conclusion	67
6.	Recommendations	70
7.	References	71
7.1.	Published Articles.....	72
7.2.	Internet sources	73
7.3.	Conventions, Declarations, Acts	74
	Appendix 1: List of key informants.....	75
	Appendix 2. Map of Sudan and South Sudan	76
	Appendix 3: Map of Kenya and Kakuma refugee camp	77
	Appendix 4: Confidentiality Letter for the Focus group Discussion	79
	Appendix 5: Confidentiality Letter for the key interviews	80
	Appendix 6: Interview guide for the Focus Group Discussions	81
	Appendix 7: Interview guide for the key interviews.....	83

Preface

This thesis will focus on women's sense of security in Kakuma refugee camp in north western part of Kenya. The study consists of interviews from Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women. This thesis has been written as a credited part of the International Humanitarian Action Master's Program at Uppsala University, with the financial support of SIDA's MFS scholarship and has been supervised by Lisbeth Larsson- Lidén.

This study would never have been conducted without the great assistance and support from both my contact persons in Kenya, as well as from my supervisor in Uppsala. A heartfelt thank you for everyone involved with this study within the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), Riva Jalipa, Rufus Karanja and Martin Pepela, and also to Lisbeth Larsson- Lidén, the supervisor in Sweden. Most of all, I would like to thank all the women that participated in the interviews, and for sharing their stories.

A stroke of luck enabled the cooperation with RCK, which ignited the passion and interest of the focus in this study towards Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's safety within their community. Through extensive dialogue between the RCK and me (henceforth referred to as the researcher), a mutual and fruitful cooperation was established.

1. Introduction

The complex dynamics and nature of warfare is not restricted to the actual war or conflict. The underlying reasons for conducting a war or a conflict are transmitted from cultural and social structures, and make the cornerstones for the up rise of the conflict. In conflict and war, it is often the women who are affected, even worse by these social and cultural structures, as the structures are enhanced due to the key role they play in the war or conflict. For various reasons that are often founded in the cultural and social structures, women are often targets in war and conflicts. Women and children are therefore vulnerable in these settings as they make out the majority of the victims in the civilian population during war and conflict, and also the majority of internally displaced people and refugees (Callamard, 2002:147).

As during war and conflict, women and girl refugees are in a vulnerable situation as they in many times arrive without male company (a male family member or someone who can take responsibility for them). Without male presence, women and girls have very little protection in which they can rely on (Friedman, 2008:3). Despite the hard work from the humanitarian workers within refugee camps, these safety concerns for women and girls often fall short. Instead, they have to rely on the local police authorities; with many reports of the local police authorities in Kenya not showing enough interest in the safety of refugee women, together with extended reports of corruption. The Kenyan police authority has proven to provide insufficient support to those refugees that have gone to seek help from them (RCK, 2012).

Due to the unstable situation in refugee camps, the social and cultural structures exist within refugee camps as much as they do outside of them, but with more factors and dynamics which are uncontrollable to the refugees. As the population of refugees often consists of the same social groups, the cultural norms remain within the social contexts that also exist in the refugee camps. However, in a refugee camp, more specifically in refugee camps in Kenya, a refugee is more vulnerable as the space and ability to move is limited, due to regulations of the Kenyan government on movement and ability to take up a job employment (Crisp, 2003:11). The threats for a woman and a girl within a refugee camp are therefore as alive as they are outside a refugee camp. The issue of safety within a refugee camp, especially within ones community often poses a threat to a woman's wellbeing and security. With the

backdrop of insufficient research on Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women in Kenyan refugee camps the focus of the study will be on refugee women in Kakuma refugee camp's safety and within Sudanese and South Sudanese communities. This study will bring this issue to light with a focus on Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women in north-western Kenya. The main research question will be as followed:

How do Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women perceive their security and support within their community in Kakuma refugee camp?

1.1. Background

This chapter will discuss background information which is essential to understand for the purpose of this study. It will discuss the factors involved with the conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan and how it has affected the women as to why they had to flee to Kakuma, the Sudanese culture in regards to its perspective on women and also to provide information on Kakuma refugee camp. These topics have been chosen to provide the reader with a greater understanding for the interviewed women's situation in this study. In the next section, both Sudan and South Sudan will be written as Sudan, or northern and southern Sudan as illustrated in the literature. In the future sections, there will be a clear distinction and only referred to as Sudan and South Sudan. The Darfur tribes are from Sudan and the Equatoria as well as Dinka tribes are from South Sudan (see Appendix 2)

1.1.1. The conflict in Sudan and South Sudan

Today, South Sudan is an independent state, as is the Republic of Sudan. The votes were cast and counted in January of 2010, and the independence was implemented in July of 2011. The road to independence has been long, with two civil wars since the independence from the colonial power. The various conflicts in Sudan are dated since its independence from the British colonialism in 1956 and has originally involved the nomadic herders (henceforth referred to as Arabs or northerners as used extensively in previous literature) and non-Arabic farmers (henceforth referred to Africans or southerners as depicted in previous research) (Gardell, 2005:3).

During the colonial regime, the people of the north of Sudan, the Arabs, was shielded by the British power. They were offered education, promoted modernization as well as protected in their Islamic belief. The people of southern Sudan, the Africans, on the other hand lived in isolation from the outside and modern world during the colonial regime. The Africans had a history of slavery by the Arabs in northern Sudan, and was used either by themselves or

transported to other slave dealers in America. The Africans were kept separate from the Arabs in terms of education, language and dressing. This created a suspicion and resistance towards the Arabs once independence from the colonial power came. It is thought that the Arabs intentions to “Arabize and Islamize” the Africans in Sudan after the independence ignited the civil war in Sudan, and has kept the conflict between the north and south going to the present day (Petterson, 2003:10).

What is known as the first Civil War in Sudan took place between 1963- 72 and was caused by the conflicting opinions and interests of the northerners and southerners. Under the British colonization in Sudan, Egypt had been collaborating with the British regime for the control and “Islamization” of Sudan. This support from the British and Egyptian regime continued after Sudan’s independence in the form of support of the pro-unionist party, predominantly supported by northerners. The southerners on the other hand were predominantly supporting a federal government in Sudan which would allow the southerners to have more power of the southern regions. These political fractions contributed to the first Civil War, which intensified further during the establishing of Terms of Independence in 1953. During this meeting where Sudan’s future was decided, no southern Sudanese politicians were invited to participate. There was a rapid increase of northerners in the south of Sudan as administrators, police, teachers etc. In 1955 a mutiny was developed among soldiers and the police from the Equatoria State in southern Sudan. The wish of the southern politicians to create a federal constitution fell through, and a more Islamic state was created, which resulted in the armed struggle in the south Sudan. There were attempts by the Khartoum regime to convert people to Islam from Christianity in the south through various benefits and also expulsion of missionaries (Johnson, 2011:21-35).

There were increased tensions among the southerners towards the northerners and an enlarged militarization from both parts during 1960s. In 1969, coronel Gafar Numeiri took power in Sudan through a military coup (Gardell, 2005:23). The constitutional issues together with the difficulties with the guerilla movement, the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM), contributed to an unstable and violent situation in Sudan. The unstable situation finally resulted in the peace negotiations known as the Addis Ababa negotiations in February 1972. Negotiations were carried out between the Sudanese government and the most active guerilla group, SSLM, which brought peace in Sudan and ended the First Civil War. However, many exiled southerners were unhappy with the negotiation and was hoping for independence for the southern region (Johnson, 2011:36-39).

During the 1970s, the economy in Sudan got worse and the country became more indebted from foreign loaners. The badly investment in agriculture led to a decrease in exports, and the country fell deeper into poverty. Issues concerning oil, boundaries, tribal politics and water resources in the south of Sudan created animosities and the lack of trust grew between the northerners and the southerners. The discovery of oil in the south of Sudan occurred after the Addis Ababa negotiation, and was therefore not considered in the negotiation. This contributed to the north's increasing interest in the south, together with the international interest in the south, especially from the United States of America, after the peace negotiation (Johnson, 2011:50-57).

Tensions grew further between northerners and southerners during famine and dry periods as conflicting lifestyles of farmers and herders made them compete for land to harvest and graze. The conflicts between the groups intensified as the former Libyan dictator Muhammed Ghadaffi provided guns to the Arabs in an attempt to create a greater Arabic region in Africa. In 1983 the Second Civil War started, this time due to economy crises and Numeiris religious elite groups' continuation of segregation between the southern and northern Sudan in the government. In 1983 a state of war was proclaimed, the government also incorporated shar'ia laws in the civil law. The second civil war was now fought between the Khartoum regime and the south Sudanese resistance movements, now called Sudan's Liberation Movement/Army SPLM/SPLA (Gardell, 2005:24).

The regime was overthrown in 1985 and in 1986, Sadiq al-Mahadi was elected as Prime Minister of Sudan after 16 years of military power run by Numeiri (Pettersson, 2003:11). He sought to create an Arab and Muslim union. He did not however exclude non- Arabs from holding position in the government, which Omar al-Bashir did when he took the presidential position through a military coup in 1989, and has held the post until the time of writing this thesis. The government under the rule of al- Bashir trained the Arabic pastoralist and created a greater dichotomy between the Arabs and non-Arabs (Hagan et al.:2009).

The Bashir regime was Islamic-oriented and created further gaps as well as hostilities between the south and the north. During the 1990s, the Bashir regime isolated the state of Sudan by making the country a safe haven for terrorist networks, which obliged the wealthy investors to remove their interests from the country. The country fell into a deeper economic crisis than the one during 1970s, which grew worse when the United States of America put sanctions on Sudan after the 1997 terrorist bombings in Nairobi and Dar- Es- Salaam. At the same time, the struggle between the SPLA/M leader, Hassan – al – Turabi and the Sudanese

government intensified during the 1990s. Turabi attempted to overthrow Bashir, who in turn retaliated through the imprisonment of thirty Turabi followers and excluding Turabi from the National Congress. However, a sudden breakthrough in 2002 created the opportunity for new peace negotiations and was established through the Machakos negotiations in Kenya (Gardell, 2005:24-25). The Machakos negotiations were followed by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) aimed to solve all of Sudan's problems, both in the north and south; the drafting of the agreement started in 2002. The CPA allowed the leaders of SPLM/A to hold the Vice- Presidency, and the split between the staff of the transitional government was 70/30 in favor of the northerners. The agreement was considered to be in favor of the southerners as the northerners eventually capitulated more; however it was a gainful situation for the northerners as they were allowed 50% of the south's oil revenue until 2011 and had been bargained into the CPA in 2004 (Cockett, 2010:177). The CPA was finally signed in Kenya in 2005, and is known as the "Naivasha accord" (Cockett, 2010:178). In 2011 South Sudan became an independent country and kept all the oil revenues for itself, at the same time that violence was on the up rise in South Sudan, and more South Sudanese refugees are streaming into Kakuma refugee camp.

Despite the above described, it is not only the south of Sudan that has been neglected and marginalized. The members of the regime in Khartoum under the presidency of Bashir were held by people from three tribes, none of them were from the Darfur region. Just like South Sudan, Darfur has experienced a history of marginalization and discrimination (Flint, and De Waal, 2008:16). People of Darfur despised the Arab influence that was occurring around the nation. However, there were plenty of cattle and wealth in Darfur, which remained a peaceful area (Cockett, 2010:170). In the 1970s these animosities got more intense towards the Arabs as infrastructure and modernization took its start in Sudan. In the attempt of modernizing Sudan, the tribal structures in Darfur were attempted to be dismantled. Tensions were peaking during the 1990s as drought was more frequent in Sudan. This resulted in the Arab pastoralists travelling to south and central Darfur into a longer period of time because fertility in the south of Darfur was richer. Together with this immigration and the growing population strained the natural resources (Cockett, 2010:171). People in Darfur had historically managed to keep the immigration peaceful, however, with the dismantling of the tribal structures that had maintained the peace together with the straining of natural resources, further tensions resulted during the 1990s (Cockett, 2010:173). The dismantling of the tribal and traditional structures was an attempt to break down the opposing political party of the regime, the Umma party. By creating divisions in Darfur the aim was to break

down the support of the Umma party. The National Islamic Front (NIF), of which president Bashir was the leader, used the same strategy to assure his presidency. In the beginning of 1990, a low- intense conflict was fought out in Darfur. The “Arabization” and racist tone first started being noticed in Darfur in the 1980s, as the regional elections in 1981 were ethnically based during the election campaigns (Flint, and De Waal, 2008:49). It is the “Arabization” politics that segregated the various tribes in Darfur and has been mostly blamed for the killings with ethnic cleansing as a motive (Cockett, 2010:174-175).

The violent conflict in Darfur started in 2003, but the violent attacks started already in 2002. The insurgent groups in Sudan, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the SLM/A joint together in a collaboration to fight the Sudanese government. The SLM/A claimed to represent the ethnic groups of Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit in Darfur (Amnesty International, 2007). The start of the intensified violent period in the beginning of the 2000s was considered due to the release of *The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan*. This book was distributed by young men in May 2000, and it consisted of records of the power elite’s dominance in the regime and in the country’s wealth. This power elite originated from three tribes as earlier explained, and dominated Sudan since independence. The book argued that all other regions of Sudan had been historically marginalized, not just the south of Sudan, but also the eastern and western region. The book also showed how the northerners of these three tribes had been dominating the provincial, judiciary, military, development schemes etc. in all of Sudan (Flint, and De Waal, 2008:16). Around the same period the first Darfur Arab was the regional leader of Darfur, which added further pressure on Khartoum as Darfuri Arab’s historically tended to support the opposition to the government, Turabi’s party, Umma party (Flint, and De Waal, 2008:69).

The response of SLM/A and JEM to this injustice was to attack government targets and the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) to liberate the people. Together with JEM, the two groups worked and argued for more protection and freedom of the people in Darfur and Southern Sudan. The two groups argued that the peace negotiations that took place in Macksos, Kenya during 2002 left the issues of Darfur out of the negotiations. As the peace negotiations took place, there were feelings of being neglected in power and wealth sharing agreements in many areas of Sudan. There was a common understanding that without taking up arms, you would be left out of the agreements and negotiations, as well as representation in the government (Amnesty International, 2004). In April of 2003, the rebel groups made their

first attack against the Sudanese government. They attacked an airbase and consequently brought the conflict into a new and intensified phase (Cockett, 2010:177).

Much like the southern Sudanese was referred to as “Black” or “Africans” to distinguish them from the northern Sudanese, so were Darfuris. This, together with the historical background to the conflicts displays common problems and conflict with the northern Sudanese (Cockett, 2010:174).

What followed in Darfur has been horrific for the local people. The Janjaweed, the Arab militia in Sudan, has been terrorizing the population since mid- 2003 in an attempt to crush the insurgent groups explained above (Simon, 2005). The Janjaweed was deployed with the help of the Sudanese regime and was attacking villages together with the SAF. They were ordered to attack with no possibility of survival in the area. Wells were poisoned, unarmed people were killed, armed groups were ordered to kill elderly, children and women were killed first, and women and girls were raped. If a soldier or Janjaweed militia did not rape during the attacks he could face death by his colleagues (Cockett, 2010:187). Between the period of 2003 and 2005, it has been estimated that 200 000 people has been killed as a result of the conflict in Darfur and more than 2 million people has been displaced (Hagan et al.:2009). There are no estimates for the number of killed and displaced as a consequence of the civil war in southern and northern Sudan.

Countless of human rights violations have been committed in Sudan in the quest of the Sudanese government to extinguish the opposition. Villages, homes and infrastructure have been affected, but also women and girls have been exposed to a great deal of violence and sexual violence. The actual violence towards the civilian population is not the only reason as to why the women had to flee from Sudan, but also due to the fact that during the intense periods of the fighting, a lot of infrastructure, homes, and villages were destroyed. This complicated the everyday life for the men and women who did not suffer from violent acts (Couldrey and Morris, 2007). Still to the time of writing this thesis, reports are written stating that the violence in both South Sudan and Darfur is still carried out. The conflicts are still proceeding in both South Sudan and Darfur.

1.1.2. Sudanese and South Sudanese culture

It is until recently that South Sudan became an independent country, since June 2011. The long lasting conflicts have had a profound impact on the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture, to a great degree due to the Sudanese government’s attempt to break down

traditional norms and structures. The Sudanese and South Sudanese culture's patriarchy is strongly intertwined with the cultural norms and social structure of the Sudanese and South Sudanese society. South Sudan has one of the lowest indicators in the world on most measurable tools. Among these are the great gender differences in regard to access to health and educational opportunities, high maternal mortality rate etc. (Elia, 2007).

The north of Sudan (today known as merely Sudan and henceforth referred to as Sudan) is predominantly Muslim and it follows the norms of shar'ia laws, whereas southern Sudan (henceforth referred to as South Sudan) is predominantly Christian as a result of British missionary workers who were settled in the South Sudan during the end of the 19th century. Within every major tribe or clan in Sudan and South Sudan there are a vast number of sub-tribes or sub-clans. In the Dinka tribe that is concentrated in South Sudan close to the Blue Nile, there are 26 different sub-tribes alone. This social structure with various tribes and clans, and also sub-tribes and sub-clans has been a contributor to conflicts in both Sudan and South Sudan (Gardell, 2005:10),

Due to the prolonged conflict between Sudan and South Sudan, there is a lack of security forces to enable and assure women's safety in Sudan and South Sudan. According to the constitution that existed in Sudan and South Sudan in 2007, both women's and men's rights should be protected and women were equal to men in the eyes of the law. However, the reality speaks otherwise. Studies show that early and forced marriages, female genital mutilation, sexual harassment, wife inheritance, extensive domestic violence etc. are all common elements within the Sudanese and South Sudanese society (Elia, 2007). Many women and girls that have suffered from sexual violence leave the incident unreported due to the stigmatization related to the matter (Hagan et al., 2009). In a patriarchal society as described in Sudan and South Sudan, women and girls make good targets for warfare as women's position in society is low, but are at the same time strong symbols for the male status. Attacking a woman often transcends into an attack on the male part of the household, and therefore affects the community.

Sudan and South Sudan's customs and norms have been inherited by their ancestors, but also to a great deal influenced by other cultures, by such as Europeans, Arabs, Middle Easterns and other African cultures. Many traditions and customs are common and pervading among the tribes in Sudan and South Sudan, such as bride wealth, socialization among adults, socialization among married and unmarried women etc. There are also many traditions and customs that differ between the tribes. Dressing, greetings and hand shaking have different

meanings in various tribes in Sudan and South Sudan. Members of certain tribes mark and scar their bodies as a part of their culture. Sudanese and South Sudanese are expected to pay attention to the differences among the tribes, as well as respect and abide to them. It is also pervading among the Sudanese and South Sudanese tribes that men are leaders, and within many tribes in the rural are, men and women who do not share family setting do not interact with each other (Essien and Falola, 2009:147- 148).

The lineage is the backbone of the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture. To carry on the traditions and the culture of the family is crucial within the Sudanese and South Sudanese society. Therefore the children are important and have their own role within the family in which they are to carry on the tradition and values of the tribe and the family (Essien and Falola, 2009:152).

1.1.3. Women in refugee camps

Life in a refugee camp can be straining, traumatic and uncertain. Women, men, children and elders have fled their homes due to uncertainty and insecurity. What often points to a trend is that there are more women and children in a refugee camp, than there are men (Callamard, 2002:147). Men are often left behind to protect the house and land, or they are part of one of the fighting parties in cases of violent conflict. Women therefore tend to bear the burden of the family in the refugee camp. A woman's role change suddenly due to the changing context she finds herself in. Often when a woman is displaced in a refugee camp, she becomes the head of the household, with no older children or a husband/man that helps her in this role (Martin, 2004:15). At the same time, a woman in a refugee setting often has to attend to her traditional role as a wife, which often includes tending to the children, cleaning, washing and cooking. In family settings where the husband/man is present in the household, one finds that the husband's role has changed severely compared to the woman's, as the husband often has a hard time maintaining his traditional duties of collecting food, maintaining cattle, etc. The fact that women tend to continue a productive role in a refugee camp at the same time as men has a difficult time to contribute to the household can create frustration and tension, and a potential contributor to domestic violence (Martin, 2004:15).

The safety of women and children is the main focus of this thesis and it is therefore crucial to get insight in refugee women's understanding of the various risks that can exist in a refugee setting. Displaced women in a refugee setting can face violence by several actors in a refugee camp such as members of the host community, military and security personnel, humanitarian workers and other male refugees. Women and children arriving to a refugee

setting without a male company face even greater risks of sexual and physical abuse. A study made by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Red Cross revealed that children from West African nations had been exploited by male national staff working for non- governmental organizations (NGOs) by trading sexual services for humanitarian commodities with children under the age of eighteen. Reporting these incidents appeared not to be an option as the person reporting the abuse would be excluded from receiving humanitarian aid within that organization. Crowded refugee camps may force families to share a household with strangers whom they are unfamiliar to, with people they had no relation with before entering the refugee settlement. These types of settlements allow limited privacy and opened up for children to be exposed to sexual activities at an early age (Martin, 2004:48- 49). Often refugee camps are located close to the place of the violent conflict, which leaves minimal relief and refuge from the women's and girls' original problems. Again, they are at risk from the same dangers they were facing before fleeing their home. Furthermore, when refugee camps are located near a town or city, women and girls are in threat of being exposed to violence by the residents of the town or city (Women's Refugee Commission, 2009:4)

To report these sexual abuses and prosecute the perpetrators have been difficult as women who have been exposed to sexual abuse rarely report these incidents to authorities. It is a traumatic experience which sometimes can stigmatize a woman, at the same time as it can pose a threat to her to identify the perpetrator (Martin, 2004:53).

The UNHCR had developed a guideline for construction of refugee camps to ensure safety for female refugees. However, this is seldom followed when constructing a refugee camp. Some problems that still seem to exist for women within refugee camps are that they are poorly lit and far to reach communal latrines, absent staff such as security personnel during the night and absent international humanitarian agents in the refugee camps contribute to an insecure situation. The security staff is facilitated by the host state where the refugee camp is situated. Hostile feelings towards the refugees among security staff are common, making them more reluctant to provide sufficient security (Martin, 2004:50- 51).

Refugees in a refugee camp are most often completely dependent on the humanitarian aid provided by both international and national NGOs concerning their basic needs. For many refugees, they become prolonged refugees in the host country and have to rely on the country as well as on International Non- Governmental Organizations (INGOs) for their basic needs. In many host countries, refugees are restricted from taking up any jobs or land ownership,

which enforces the dependency relationship. As above described, women often bear the responsibility to assure the family's health and wellbeing, and therefore are further vulnerable due to the dependency of the basic needs provided by NGOs. Women are often exposed to violence and sexual abuse as host communities and staff of NGOs has had a history of taking advantage of a woman's vulnerable position in a refugee camp (Martin, 2004:61- 62).

Women and girls are not only in danger for various forms of violence and sexual abuse when living in the refugee camp, but also when they are leaving the camp for different reasons. In reports from Amnesty International, Darfur women living in refugee camps in Eastern Chad, face risk of harassment, threats, physical violence, sexual abuse, rape etc., which also take place within the refugee camps in Eastern Chad (2009:4).

1.1.4. Kakuma refugee camp

Kakuma town is located in the north- western part of Kenya, an area called Turkana, in a very dry and semi- arid landscape, 95 kilometers from the South Sudanese border, and about 1000 kilometers from Nairobi (Horn, 2010:162) (see Appendix 3). Temperatures rise between 35 and 40 Celsius degrees during the day, with rather harsh winds blowing in. Rainfalls are rare, occurring mostly during the winter between the months of March and June. It was in this area that the 2011 drought that struck East Africa had its hardest effect in Kenya. As a result of the drought, a large number of families became internally displaced and relied on the help from the World Food Program (WFP) for food and other basic needs. Still to the time of writing this thesis, there are internally displaced people (IDP) as a result of the 2011 drought close to Kakuma refugee camp.

Refugees in Kakuma refugee camp are restricted in their freedom of movement, as they are confined to stay in the refugee camp they do not have the freedom to take a job employment as they are not legally allowed to work according to the Kenyan law; they are not entitled either to civil and political rights as they are not allowed to take part in the political realm (Crisp, 2003:11).

The local people belong to a tribe called Turkana, known to be fierce warriors. They are a nomadic people, who depend on livestock (Horn, 2010:162). This area in Kenya has been historically insecure due to cattle rustling, banditry and conflicts between the Turkana people and the Kenyan government (Crisp, 2003:7). As the refugee camp grew, so did Kakuma town as it became attractive due to the services that the refugees were receiving.

Historically, the Turkana people have experienced violent conflicts with nearby tribes in Uganda and Kenya (the Kenyan tribe called Pokot) due to cattle rustling. This was a part of the culture in the area at the time and a means to pay for the dowry (bride wealth). Today, together with the history of cattle rustling and possession of small arms, the Turkanas have come to be known as dangerous and fierce people, committing themselves lately to banditry directed towards passing motor vehicles, but also towards the refugees (Horn, 2010:162).

Kakuma refugee camp is the only camp in the world that hosts multiple nationalities. Due to the neighboring countries' continuous conflicts, and its location in Kenya, Kakuma refugee camp has enabled the possibility to host several nationalities. The nationalities that are currently residing in Kakuma refugee camp are Burundi's, Congolese (from the Democratic Republic of Congo), Rwandans, Ugandans, South Sudanese, Sudanese, Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis (Horn, 2010:162). Kakuma refugee camp was established in 1992 to accommodate 20,000 unaccompanied South Sudanese boys that had been forcefully removed from an Ethiopian refugee camp (Jansen, 2008:571). The camp expanded during the years to be able to host a maximum of 100,000 people. UNHCR estimated in August of 2012, that there were about 101,000 refugees living in Kakuma refugee camp (UNHCR website, 2013, available at 24/02/2013). When discussing with the staff of the registration center in zone three in February 2013, they estimated that about 118,000 refugees were residing in Kakuma refugee camp at the time of the interviews. The influx of refugees has continued to grow since summer of 2012, majority of the refugees arriving to Kakuma being South Sudanese due to ignited fighting in Jonglei state. In January of 2013 alone, there were about 4,000 refugees arriving to Kakuma refugee camp (as observed by the researcher in the registration centre in Kakuma refugee camp). As a result, the housing in the registration centre does not cover for all arriving refugees and the staff has procured tents to accommodate the increasing influx of refugees (Child Protector Officer, Kakuma refugee camp, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb.).

1.2. Aim and research question

The aim of this study is to provide an understanding of how Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women experience their safety within refugee camps. There is a considerable gap in regards to research within this specific focus. In regards to Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women, there has been extensive research on the safety for the Sudanese refugee women when they leave refugee camps to e.g. collect firewood in Chad. The purpose of this study will be to document and observe Sudanese and South Sudanese women's experiences and their perceptions of safety and support in the camp as well as within their own communities in Kakuma refugee camp. Differences and similarities between the safety of a Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee woman from where she originates in Sudan, and her safety in Kakuma refugee camp will be looked into. It will also attempt to analyze the role of humanitarian actors work and support toward Sudanese and South Sudanese women's insecurities and to prevent security threats, and whether their work needs improvement from the perspective of the Sudanese and South Sudanese women. The main research question is as followed:

How do Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women perceive their security within their community in Kakuma refugee camp?

The data collected will be analyzed with the backdrop of the three following research question:

What are the main constraints as perceived by the Sudanese and South Sudanese women?

How do Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women regard humanitarian and other actors' work that operates in Kakuma refugee camp?

How safe are Sudanese and South Sudanese women in Kakuma refugee camp in comparison to where they originate from in Sudan and South Sudan?

1.3. Thesis outline

The thesis was started with an introduction, background and aim of the study for the reader to get an understanding of what the thesis aims to explore and discover along with the posed research questions. In the following sections the research field will be presented. In the second chapter the method will be discussed on an in-depth level for the reader to understand the research process in this study, as well as the theoretical framework on which this thesis will work from. In the third chapter the findings of the research will be presented together with the analysis of the data and later summarized in the conclusion, which will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework and previous research.

1.4. Limitations

This thesis is focusing on refugee women as a result of a conflict or a war. This is not to say that women who have fled due to natural catastrophes suffer less or more sense of safety within their own community. It is however the researchers understanding that different dynamics play in part when fleeing from natural catastrophes and from war and conflict. For the sake of limiting the material and span of research field into making it more manageable, refugee women due to war or conflict has been focused on.

It was originally planned to interview humanitarian workers, but due to the circumstances this was not possible to carry out. I arrived to Kenya on 26.01.2013 and to Kakuma refugee camp on 24.02.2013 in a tumultuous and tense period as the presidential election was planned to be carried out during my visit in Kenya. This complicated and burdened the work of RCK, which resulted in me receiving the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA)'s approval to access Kakuma refugee camp at a late stage of my visit. As a consequence, there was a significant time constrain, and I had to leave Kakuma refugee camp on 02.03.2013. Most of the humanitarian workers in Kakuma refugee camp had left the camp the same day as I arrived, to travel back to Nairobi in order to take part in the election, or to prepare themselves and their family for the election. Due to these circumstances, interviews with humanitarian workers were left out.

1.5. The research field

This section will look into the research setting that this study took place in by discussing the role of RCK, but also about the previous research that has been conducted within the focus of this study to provide a bigger understanding in the field of research for the reader.

1.5.1. Refugee Consortium of Kenya and the research situation

Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK) is a registered NGO operating within the Kenyan field of refugee rights and safety. They have been operating in Kenya since 1998 as a response to increasing refugee influx to Kenya from various countries in the region. RCK aims to provide protection and legal aid to internally displaced people, stateless people, and asylum seekers. They also provide psycho- social counseling, counseling together with legal aid at the same time as they commit to advocacy, researching and peace building together with civic education. At the time of writing the thesis, RCK is the only Kenyan NGO working with forced migration issues from a human rights and social justice approach. Its mission is “to protect and promote the rights and dignity of refugees and other forced migrants through enabling programmes on legal aid, advocacy and awareness creation” (Refugee Consortium of Kenya, 2013). They have their headquarters in Nairobi, but it also counts with field offices in Kakuma refugee camp and in Dadaab refugee camp.

At the time of writing, the general election was planned to take place on the 04.02.2013. During the previous general election that was held in Kenya, violent conflicts broke out, close to 650.000 people were internally displaced and 1,133 people were killed (Daily Nation website, retrieved on 20/05/2013). With these facts in memory, a very tense situation was created in Kenya at the time of conducting the study, which had become worse through numerous grenade attacks conducted by al- Shabaab (a Somali insurgent group) in Nairobi. As a result, the Kenyan government released a statement in which it was going to implement a structured encampment policy, which entailed forcefully moving all urban asylum seekers to refugee camps (Department of Refugee Affairs, 2013). This created a complex and straining situation for the staff at RCK, and thus on me as a researcher. The insecure situation at the time of the study contributed to a complicated empirical study that was conducted in straining conditions. Asylum seekers were planned to be forcefully moved which would have entailed about 55,000 asylum seekers. Reports has shown that Somali refugees were fearing for some time in fear of a breakdown in Kenya on refugee rights while thousands have returned each week to Somalia by the end of 2012 (Human Rights Watch’s website, retrieved on 16/05/2013).

As will be discussed below, there is a great deal of previous research on democratic conditions, however there are further difficulties in attaining empirical material on a grassroots level due to the instable conditions in Kenya, and of the lack of rights for refugees.

1.5.2. Previous research

Most of the reports and articles that have been published within this field of scope has been produced and printed by INGOs. Findings by the researcher of this master thesis suggest that no specific authors have conducted independent research on the focus of refugee women within East Africa, but they seem instead to have worked in cooperation with NGOs and INGOs, which influences both the research lines and the outcomes of the studies.

In terms of focus in previous research, most notably is the research of the dangers and threats that Sudanese and South Sudanese, as well as refugee women of other nationalities experience in East Africa outside of the refugee camp. Research within the scope of Gender Based Violence (GBV) has been extensive within the refugee settings in different spheres. However, little attention has been paid to violence and insecurities within the Sudanese and South Sudanese communities in the refugee camps. NGOs such as UNHCR, Human Rights Watch, Women Refugee Commission, Amnesty International and RCK have all committed themselves to extensive research on these issues, trying to advocate for better measures when dealing with refugee women. Amnesty International reported women being raped by the host community as they left the refugee camps in Eastern Chad. Women had to leave the camp in order to collect firewood and other needs that they were not able to attain in the camp, but that eventually put them in danger (Amnesty International, 2009:12). Further reports by Human Rights Watch have been made on attacks in Darfur in the internally displaced camps, where the government forces entered the camps and looted and assaulted the IDPs as they left the camps to collect firewood (Human Rights Watch, 2011:24). RCK is another organization that has provided research within this field concentrating mainly on Somali refugee women in Kenya, also displaying the dangers women face outside the refugee camp, both from the host community and from the police authorities in Kenya in forms of bribery and assaults (Refugee Consortium of Kenya, 2012).

As above described, there is extensive research carried out on the issue of GBV and Sexually Gendered Based Violence (SGBV). The risks of being exposed to such acts are greater when women arrive to a refugee camp without a male companion or relative. Men are regarded as a further safe net for women arriving to a refugee camp according to Amy Friedman (2008).

She argues in her article that women are much more vulnerable to rape and sexual violence as refugees, which has long-term implications on the woman's life and her family's life (2008:3).

Some research has focused on the experiences of refugee women within a refugee camp, what the conditions are in the refugee camp and if their original culture and norms allow for these conditions, e.g. women working more than men. A few reports and articles convey the image of more violence within a refugee camp and within family structures, as well as within the national/tribal belonging than in the originating countries before violent conflict broke out. Domestic violence has been portrayed as particularly troublesome in refugee camps. Stephanie Beswick (2006) argues in her article that violence among the same nationalities and tribal belonging increases for women in Kakuma Refugee camp. Women arriving without a male companion are more susceptible for violence by men of the same nationality within Kakuma refugee camp (2006:25). Many Sudanese and South Sudanese women arriving to Kakuma refugee camp arrive alone as their male relatives have disappeared or have been killed. This leaves many Sudanese and South Sudanese women reliant on their kinfolk from their tribe for protection in the refugee camps, which put them in a vulnerable position as the kinfolk may come to demand to marry a man of their choice (Beswick, 2006: 25.). Rebecca Horn (2009) argued in her article that trusts among communities decline in situations of war and conflicts and this mistrust is transferred among communities in Kakuma refugee camp through a violent society in Kakuma. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is considered to be the most common form of violence in Kakuma refugee camp. As members of communities are forcibly displaced, the survival of the community's response and structures to IPV disappear due to the unstable situation in a refugee camp. Men use domestic violence as a way to restore the masculinity within them as they often lose a sense of control and masculinity when residing in a refugee camp. It is displayed in her article that there is a hierarchy of response, in which a person may receive a certain level of safety assistance depending on the feedback of the operating agent. However, the assistance from the community and humanitarian actors were insufficient according to Horn's findings (2009:160-164).

1.6. Relevance to the Humanitarian Action field

As described in previous sections of this thesis, there is a lack in the research field in terms of a Sudanese and South Sudanese woman's issues in Kakuma refugee camp, but as well within her own community. The many obstacles and threatening situations that refugee women experience have been dealt in a slow pace by humanitarian actors and organizations. UNHCR established 'Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women' in 1991 and was enforced in 1995 through establishing 'Sexual Violence Guidelines'. These guidelines were meant to create better understanding of refugee women's many obstacles and what to take into account when addressing refugee women. Still as the research findings will show, the knowledge and approach by the humanitarian workers in Kakuma refugee camp according to the key informants are inadequate and points to insufficient understanding by the humanitarian actors.

Within the research field of Kenya, there is a great focus on the Somali refugee experience. There has been extensive research on Somali refugees as Somalis has in the last twenty years been the largest refugee influx nationality in Kenya. However, due to the prolonged and intensified fighting in Sudan and South Sudan, the influx of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees has increased. The lack of research of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees, their obstacles, safety issues and cultures in Kenya, more specifically in the refugee camps in Kenya, together with the issue of South Sudanese independence, contribute to a straining situation for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women. Due to the independence, South Sudanese refugees have been encouraged to return to South Sudan, but as this thesis will show, this is not always a possible option for a refugee woman.

This thesis intends to fill in some gaps that exist today within the humanitarian action field of refugee camps in Kenya, but also to shed more light on the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee woman's experience.

2. Theory and Methods

Within this section further explanation and rationalization will be provided on the choices that were made during the study. The theoretical framework will be discussed more closely and it will be used to draw the connections to this study.

2.1. Theory

Below, definitions will be presented of the terms that are frequently used in this research, as well as how they have been applied throughout this thesis. International Law, and the various declarations and conventions that have been ratified by the Kenyan government will also be presented for the reader to get an understanding on how international law operates within the research field. The theoretical framework will discuss the concepts of customary and Islamic law together with the proscribed gender roles in the Sudanese and South Sudanese society.

2.1.1. Definitions

The definitions of a refugee are numerous and can vary depending on the context. The 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status for Refugees, more specifically the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status for Refugees and the Kenyan Refugee Act of 2006 have chosen to define refugees as followed:

“A person shall be a statutory refugee [...] if such person, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for any of the [above] reasons is unwilling to return to it.” (Eriksson et al., 2008:385)

Within this thesis the definition used by the Kenyan Refugee Act 2006 and the 1967 Protocol to the Geneva Convention relating to the Status for Refugees will be used when discussing refugees.

The use of the words safety and security is recurrent in this thesis. The definition and usage of the word security within this thesis relates to achieve the freedom from danger and threats. Security assures a person’s freedom from physical danger, such as physical abuse, sexual assaults etc., and threats of physical danger. The word safety can be considered as a synonymous to security. When a person has been assured safety that means that the person is safe from dangers and threats.

In this thesis, the term community will be used extensively in the 3. Data Description section. The term community is a broad concept, but has been used and defined in this thesis as a group of people residing in Kakuma refugee camp within the same area. This group of people and community living together also entail same originating place of Sudan and South Sudan and sharing of tribal roots. More specifically, in the refugee setting in Kakuma, the definition of community entails their sub-tribe in the area where the people of same ethnicity and culture are living.

Customary law which will be discussed further down in this chapter, is defined as practices that have evolved from states and have become binding to residents of that state. For a state practice to be defined under customary law, the practice has to be relatively consistent within the particular state (Dixon, 2007:31).

2.1.2. International Law

There have been a number of treaties signed internationally which affect refugees and women. The conventions and declarations that have been chosen to discuss in this section are considered the most relevant to the research aim and questions, in which the Kenyan government has ratified.

The most well known actor within the field of refugee protection is UNHCR, who has been operating within the humanitarian field since 1950. The Geneva Convention referring to the Status of Refugees was developed and finalized in 1951. It was initially established to assist the refugees of the Second World War, but has, with the addition of the Protocol referring to the Status of Refugees in 1967 continued operating within the field of refugee rights and plights, as well as widened their mandate and definition of refugee. According to the Status of Refugees, UNHCR has two principal areas to focus on, which is to ensure the safety of refugees and assure their access to protection, as well as to assure that refugees has the right to durable solutions after flight (Loescher et al., 2008:2). The Status of Refugees entitles a refugee to live a non-discriminatory life as to race, religion or country of origin in the Contracting state (a state which has ratified an international treaty) which the person has taken refuge in. The 1967 Protocol referring to the Status of Refugees also entitles a refugee to attain equal judicial access as a citizen of the Contracting state would access, and also restricts the refugee to follow the laws of the Contracting state, as well as the right to engage in a wage-earning employment. According to article 26 of the convention, a person classified as a refugee shall enjoy the freedom of movement within the contracting state's territory,

referring not to restrict a person to a specific location due to their refugee status (Eriksson et al., 2008:385- 389). The 1967 Convention relating to the Status for Refugees expanded the definition of a refugee and scope of area, both in geographical locations, and in time. With the 1967 Convention, States parties now adhere to the 1951 Status for Refugees, with the definition of the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugee of a refugee with expanded time and geographical location from the 1951 Status for Refugees (Jastram & Achiron:10). However, this definition has excluded gender as a factor of persecution, but it is generally to be understood that gender is incorporated as a factor of persecution and a reason for taking refuge. UNHCR's "Guidelines on Gender – Related Persecution" (2002) also argue that UNHCR's definition of refugee should be understood as including gender as a factor. In the same year UNHCR released two international guidelines for gender sensitive assessment and asylum processes for state parties when assessing asylum claims, "Guidelines on International Protection No. 1 and No. 2" (Martin, 2008:142).

In 1979 the United Nations (UN) established a Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which address discrimination against women based on their sex. Article 1 state that women should enjoy equal opportunities as men in realms such as politics, economics, society, culture, and civil rights regardless of their marital or parental status. Article 2 of this convention encourages the removal of any legislation directed towards the discrimination of women, together with States parties committed to change social and cultural habits which affect and discriminate women (Eriksson et al., 2008:174-178).

The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women recognizes the need for greater measures towards women to assure their security, rights, liberty and equality. The declaration clarifies that the act of violence refers to any physical or psychological harm towards a woman, also referred to GBV. Article 4 encourages States parties to condemn any act of violence directed towards women by creating policies, legislations and penal systems that will effectively penalize offenders of violence towards women. Women affected by violence should access judicial systems together with assuring law enforcement to be sensitized on the issue of violence against women (Eriksson et al., 2008:259- 260).

The Organization of African Unity's (OAU) (today known as African Union) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa 1969 also excludes gender or sex as a reason for persecution and as a reason for non- discriminatory acts within the

definition of refugee and within the asylum process in Article 4. The convention states in Article 1 that a person should be able to take refuge in a contracting state when facing persecution from the individual's home country. This entails for many refugee women reasons based on their gender such as forced marriage, rape, female mutilation, honor killings etc. (Martin, 2008:142).

2.1.3. The Kenyan government's commitment to the protection of refugees

For many years the Kenyan government was consolidating their work with assisting refugees that entered the country with no Bill or Act. The Refugee Act was introduced to the parliament in 2002 and again in 2006 for the second time in which it was voted into law at the end of the same year. The Kenyan Refugee Act 2006 has four pillar stones which it operates within. These are: establishing authorities with legal control to manage refugee affair, to establish a framework in which institutions operate within, e.g. DRA, establish the processes of the administrative work, e.g. asylum processes and to establish the refugee management as a part of the government's function. At the time of writing this thesis, UNHCR had been provided to work within the mandate of Refugee Status Determination (RSD) (Refugee Consortium of Kenya website, retrieved on 17/4/13).

The Refugee Act is specifically concerned of the work of determining a person's refugee status, such as what factors qualify a person to receive the status of a refugee, what factors disqualify a person from not receiving the refugee and what factors can terminate the refugee status. The Refugee Act states that a person who has received his/her refugee status can enjoy the freedoms through the international treaties that the Kenyan government has ratified. The Refugee Act of 2006 also acknowledges the specific needs of women and children, and assures that women and children should be provided with the necessary measures to assure of their safety and that their needs have been met.

2.2. Theoretical framework

The focus of this study is a relatively unexplored research field, drawing on experiences from the ground rather than emanating from a specific theory. It refers to previous research conducted on humanitarian aid and GBV in refugee settings and to the specific social and cultural contexts of Sudanese and South Sudanese communities. The theoretical framework

adopted for the approach is based on an interpretation of how customary law and Islamic law in Sudan and South Sudan functions as well as on the gendered roles in Sudan and South Sudan's society, relevant to the research questions and aim of the thesis. Binaifer Nowrojee (2008) discuss in her research findings that refugee women are encouraged to primarily seek support from the community and not file a report to the police or seek assistance from humanitarian actors. Refugee women who file a report against a fellow refugee are considered to have betrayed that refugee. Instead refugees tend to rely on the customary laws of their originating state and their traditions as judiciary system. They are regarded as a "community justice system" (2008:133). It is with this research in the backdrop that the theoretical framework has been applied.

2.2.1. Customary law and Islamic law in Sudan and South Sudan

It has been estimated that more than 80 percent of the population in South Sudan are governed by the customary law. The perception of the current customary law is regarded as old fashioned that needs to be updated as well as discouraged, at the same time as it is regarded as something that needs to be preserved and further developed. Whilst in Sudan 80 percent is Muslim and follows the Islamic law (Deng, 2010:3).

The various law systems are conflicting as Sudan is predominantly Muslim and follows the Islamic laws, more specifically the Shar'ia laws, whilst South Sudan is Christian and follows the customary laws.

The customary law in South Sudan is diverse depending on the tribes, but the consistent issues will be discussed in relevance to the research questions. Within the South Sudanese society, like in many African countries, polygon exists, meaning that a man can marry several wives but a woman may marry only one man. When a man dies leaving a wife behind, this woman is married to the next of male kin in the husbands family tree. Considering that the purpose of marriage within the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture is to procreate, a woman or a girl is in the age of getting married when she is fertile and can procreate. Therefore there has never been any fixation of a woman's or a girl's age when getting married. A marriage has to be established in consent by both parties before a wedding is conducted, where the father of the groom is one consenting party and may base his consent on the reputation and diseases within the bride's family. The consent of the relevant parties within the bride's family is often given as a lot of wealth is involved when marrying a daughter to a man. The bride wealth, or more commonly referred to as dowry in this thesis, is most commonly paid in cattle. Once a payment has been made, there are few

possibilities to dissolve a marriage. The consent of a marriage or a union by the bride herself is almost never considered. When a girl or a woman refuses a marriage or to give her consent, the girl is often ostracized, beaten and scolded by her relatives. Historically the groom who had proposed to marry the girl was allowed to commit a “lawful rape” when the bride refused to marry the man, which allowed the man to consummate the woman with violence. In cases of men “eloping” with a woman or a girl that has been paid for by another man, the punishment often entails imprisonment and beating (Deng, 2010:58- 66).

A marriage can be dissolved when the wife dies, but for instance, when the husband dies first a levirate marriage occurs, that is the wife marries the next of male kin to the deceased husband. A husband may claim for a divorce, or a dissolution of the marriage based on many reasons such as bad language, adultery, habitual insults, theft, etc. Reasons for a woman to get a divorce are few and entail sterility with the man, failure to provide, insults to her relatives, desertion and cruelty. However, it is up to the male kin of her family to consent to the dissolution of the marriage which entails paying back the dowry that most often has increased from the time of the wedding. For a woman to get sympathy from her kin, the life with the husband has to be very brutal and unbearable (Deng, 2010:80-86).

The legitimacy of a child falls within the closest male kin to the child, to the person who is known as father of the child. This person does not have to be the biological father, but he is often the biological father. He can be a person who steps into the father’s role, or the man who has paid a dowry for the mother. As a woman is believed to be made to procreate in a marriage, an elopement with another man than the one who paid the dowry for her, can result in the conceived child to legally belong to the man who has paid the dowry, whether or not he is the biological father (Deng, 2010:88-90).

When determining sexual offences, the fault always falls within the woman. As it is regarded important to maintain the male lineage, the man can do no sexual offences, but only the woman as she is to secure the male lineage. Such sexual offences are adultery, seduction and abduction. When a woman has committed adultery she has to confess the person who is responsible to her pregnancy, or the woman may face death (Deng, 2010:91-96).

Within the Islamic law, and more specifically within the Shar’ia law that was enforced in Sudan in 1991, there are similarities in how the women are regarded. When the Shar’ia law was enforced in Sudan, women were more restricted in the public realm and their freedom was more limited. For a wife, this change in law entailed a stronger commitment and

obedience to her husband. The courts that dealt with family oriented questions are referred to as shar'ia courts in order to differentiate them from the civil courts. Like in the customary laws of South Sudan, the shar'ia law stipulates that the guardian of a woman has to give its consent to a marriage for it to be valid. The agreement of a marriage is thus between the husband to be and the woman's guardian, the woman's opinion is traditionally not considered in the matter. In Sudan, a woman is under the guardianship through a male kin until the day she marries, when the guardianship is transferred to the husband. Thus, a woman is never entitled to the freedom to make her own choices in any aspect of life. The guardian is therefore entitled to contract the woman's marriage without her consent. It is merely limited to not contracting marriages for minors according to the law. The only solution of a woman to get out of an unwanted marriage is by suing the guardian stating that she never gave her consent. This is however frowned upon and many women stay within their marriages in order to avoid suing the guardian (Halim, 2011:195-198).

When deciding on the partner within a marriage, it is essential to consider the suitability and compatibility. However the judgment of suitability and compatibility is within the woman's guardian, which leaves the woman to marry the man of the guardian's choice. To seal the contract of marriage, dowry is paid by the husband to the woman's relatives who is settled between the guardian of the woman and the husband to be. The purpose of the dowry is to ensure a woman's economic autonomy, security for abuse or dissolution of marriage, but also to secure that the woman will not divorce the man. In the case that a woman divorces a man, she has to pay back the dowry (Halim, 2011:195-202).

Another crucial element within the shar'ia law is the wife's obedience to the husband. Originally it was developed to assure the husband's entitlement to sexual relations with the wife, but has been extended as well for the wife to obey the husband in all realms of the marital life, such as her marital duties, staying in the house for sexual relations etc. In traditional thinking the core of the law is the total submission of the wife to the husband. This is considered her only duties as the wife and is not obliged to do any household services. A woman according to the shar'ia law in Sudan is not entitled to work; work is regarded as a privilege restricted to men as the woman has to be available for sexual relations at all hours (Halim, 2011:203).

Women and children are regarded as foolish people, unless they are obedient. A woman is only considered wise and mentally stable when she obeys her guardian or husband (Halim, 2011:204).

2.2.2. Gender roles in Sudanese and South Sudanese society

In a report prepared by the Allard K Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, the culture in South Sudan was presented as of a strong patriarchal society. Women have very few rights, and to a great extent they are unaware of their rights. The women in South Sudan experience many barriers as victims of sexual violence, such as cultural barriers, legal barriers and systematic barriers, these systematic barriers include lack of infrastructure, lack of personnel and government resources (Gross et al. 2010:2).

Women in Sudan and South Sudan are to a great extent marginalized in the family and social setting. The family in the Sudanese and South Sudanese society is the strongest and most important pillar stone of the social structure. Women's role in the family household is to create the family relations and ties, together with taking care of the household and rearing the children. However, the man always has the last word in child rearing. The man is sole head of the household. His social status is dependent on the family and on whether he has any sons that can inherit his legacy. Even after a man's death, if he has no heirs, the woman has to produce children with a male relative to the deceased. The woman on the other hand, is available to the man to produce children as well as to provide dowry to her family, unmarried women therefore become economic burdens to their family. The dowry is also a preventive caution for divorce, as the woman's family has to pay back in the event of a divorce of what they got from the husband's family. Women who live in an abusive relationship therefore have difficulty to claim a divorce from the husband as it will strain the family relationship and the household economy (Gross et al. 2010:19).

Women being sexually violated by a man who is not their husband experience a great deal of stigmatization from the family and community. Due to the stigma, a lot of women are ostracized from the family and the community, leaving them in a more vulnerable position than before the violation. This stigmatization has led women to not reporting the crimes that they have been exposed to either to family members or to the police force (Gross et al. 2010:21). In many courts, the woman has to produce four witnesses that state that she has been raped by the perpetrator, while the court accepts that the perpetrator swears on the Qu'ran that he is innocent. However, the court does not accept that the woman swears on the Qu'ran that she has been raped as evidence (Gross et al. 2010:24).

In the Sudanese society, 60 percent of the population is made of women, but none of them hold any political or authoritative role in the public sector. There is a strong tradition in the Sudanese and South Sudanese society to respect the elders and uphold the patriarchal

structure (Essien, and Falola, 2009:135-136). To respect the elders and the patriarchal structure leaves little room for women and girls to make their own decisions, men has to respect the elder's wishes and the women and girls has to obey the wishes of both the elders and the men's wishes. In a Sudanese and South Sudanese family, men, women and children are assigned different roles, which are continued through the family traditions. A woman's role is to provide children, and if there are no children produced it is the fault of the woman. The man is responsible of assuring that women and children do not act against the traditions that he inherited from his own family. He makes the final decisions for the family and provides food and money. The eldest son decides the future of the daughters as he picks suitable husbands for the daughters. Women and girls have limited possibilities to change their condition within their family. Women are often treated as minors and their main responsibilities entail to obey the man and rearing children as well as attending the household (Essien, and Falola, 2009:137-138).

This section has presented a general depiction of the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture, but as previously described, there are a lot of tribes and clans within Sudan and South Sudan, with different norms and traditions. However, the above described is what the various tribes and clans have in common in regard to women's position and views on women within the Sudanese and South Sudanese society. They all entail very limited choices and freedoms for women in terms of marriage, freedom to move, sexual health and to make their own decisions. It is within this understanding of the customary law and Islamic law that this thesis will emanate from in the theoretical approach. The IL as described in the previous section provides women with more possibilities and choices to act, which is supposed to be internationally recognized. In this study, the researcher aims to provide an understanding of the key informants' views of the customs and norms within their community's perception of right and wrong. The researcher's originating point in this study will be that of the customary and Islamic law that exist in Sudan and South Sudan together with the proscribed gender roles, to provide an understanding of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's perception of security within their communities and Kakuma refugee camp.

2.3. Methodology

The methodology for this study was qualitative semi- structured interviews. In order to attain the most in- depth understanding of the women's position, a participatory interview was conducted, which involves the people the interview focuses on to take a part of the study (Temple and Moran, 2006:8). By allowing the women to take part through interview, they are invited to shape the research. However, their influence is limited to shaping the study as they are not invited to take part during the analyses and the coding. Qualitative semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to avail from the interview guide or questionnaire that he/she has designed (Bryman, 2001:300). A semi- structured interviewed is usually steered by an interview guide with various themes and questions, however the researcher is free to reformulate questions, ask them in different orders from the guide, and add questions outside of the guide if the interviewer considers this to add value to the research (Bryman, 2001:301). This methodology was chosen as it was considered important to get an in- depth understanding of why, how and what these women's insecurities are in the refugee camp and within their community. Semi- structured interviews were chosen as it was judged valuable to follow up any necessary questions depending on the replies of the interviewed women. The semi- structured interview also allowed for questions to not be asked in case it was considered unnecessary.

2.3.1. The interviews

In total twenty six women were interviewed for this study during the period of four and a half days. Three focused group discussions (FGD) were held with five women from each tribe discussing questions posed by the researcher. The tribes that were chosen during the FGDs were, Dinka, Equatorial and Darfuri. These were identified by the researcher and the staff of RCK at the Kakuma refugee camps office as they were considered the majority of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women. The women that participated were mobilized by a mobilizer (gathering women to participate in the FGDs and key interviews) that was employed at RCK. The specific criteria regarding women to be interviewed that were provided to the mobilizer by the researcher, was women above 18 years and above. Girls under the age of 18 were considered to be a vulnerable group (as they are legally considered children and therefore the responsibility of the researcher to provide necessary psycho-social support) and were therefore excluded. Before every FGD and individual interview (henceforth referred as key interviews), a confidentiality letter (see Appendix 4 and 5) was read by the translator, and had to be agreed and confirmed by the women participating before

the interview could be continued. The researcher also confirmed that the participants agreed to be recorded with a Dictaphone before each interview. The FGDs were structured by themes followed by questions that was posed by the researcher and then translated by the interpreter. The women in turn would be free to discuss the question and then translated to the researcher. The people present during the interviews except for the interviewing women were, the researcher, interpreter and one intern that was able to assist with logistical issues, such as places where the interviews could be conducted, and also for clarifications during the interviews. Five women of each tribe participated and discussed in one FGD in order to create a better flow in the discussions as they spoke the same language, whereas if the groups were to be mixed, it would create more disruption in the discussions due to the constant translation by the interpreter.

For the key interviews, the same procedure of asking permission through the confidentiality letter (see Appendix 5) and regarding the Dictaphone were conducted. The people who were present during the interviews were the researcher, the interpreter and the intern. Both the interpreter and the intern were women in their early twenties. Due to the time constraints, at least two- three women were waiting outside while the interviews were carried out in another room. This was the most convenient and manageable solution to interview the women as there were great issues with transport in the camp. In this case, the solution was to collect the women at one location and bring them where the interviews were carried out. In my experience of working as an intern in Kenya, the issue of time has been a constant problem and had to be considered during the planning of the interviews. When picking up the women, the interviews usually started about 1 1/2 hours after the agreed time, as the driver, interpreter and the women had a tendency to not be so strict on keeping time. It was concluded that a lot of time would be wasted while waiting for each woman to arrive to the place where the interviews were carried out, and therefore the driver picked up the women and dropped them at the place of the interviews. As a consequence there was a time pressure as the women had to wait a while before returning back as the driver would also drive them back to the pickup point, and all of the women had families to tend to.

Before the interviews took place, the researcher sat down with the mobilizer and interpreter to go through the questions to see whether they understood them before the interviews took place. They were also asked whether they disagreed with any of the questions or if they had any input. As both of them were from different Sudanese and South Sudanese community and resided in the camp, their opinion was considered valuable to the relevance of the

questions and purpose of the study. After the interviews, I also discussed with the interpreter on the process of the interviews if she had any inputs or disagreed to the questions along with the process. At both of these occasions the interpreter and the mobilizer were positive to the study. There was also positive feedback from the key informants as they were pleased with the focus of the study and the questions. They expressed feelings of gaps within this field of study and also humanitarian workers approach to their situation as a refugee woman in Kakuma refugee camp.

2.3.2. The interview guide

The interview guide with questions was developed based on previous knowledge of the researcher, the research questions and aim of the study. It was also developed in consolidation with the supervisor in Sweden and with the contact persons in Kenya at the RCK. For a successful interview guide, it is essential to develop questions and themes that are not too specific and narrow. It should also allow for the researcher to consider the specific circumstances for the interviewed person, at the same time as the researcher answers its research questions and address the aim of the study through his/hers questions (Bryman, 2001:305). These guidelines were considered and incorporated as much as possible when completing the interview guide for this study.

2.3.3. The role of the researcher

The researcher has had previous experience of working in Kenya, after conducting two internship positions. This has provided quite a lot of understanding and knowledge within the Kenyan culture and society, as well as the differences among the tribes in Kenya as they can distinguish from one another quite a lot. This knowledge and understanding turned out to be useful during the study to eliminate as many obstacles as possible. It also created a different dynamic between the people that were associated with this study and the women that were interviewed, as it was given a more credibility to the researcher when speaking a bit of the local language and referring to previous experiences and places in Kenya. These previous experiences of interacting with local people in vulnerable positions, speaking in local languages, was a great advantage to cope with the women that were interviewed, as the research questions touched on sensitive issues which had great effect on some of the women.

Despite of these previous experiences there were some cultural differences which affected the outcome of the study in Kakuma refugee camp. Kenya has a hierarchical culture that people act in accordance to. This put the researcher in a difficult position as it created power

and dependency relations between RCK and the researcher. RCK holds a higher power position in this collaboration and follows the cultural settings that exist in Kenya. This created a strong dependency relationship from the researcher to RCK. However, it is not to say that it is with great assistance from RCK that the study could be conducted.

Discussions of what kind of knowledge and perspective a researcher should have are frequent and many. For the sake of the validity of the research, the researcher should have a great deal of knowledge on the research topic. However with this knowledge comes an understanding and perspective on the research topic, which entails a standpoint on the research topic. For the researcher to obtain an objective perspective after creating their own understanding and perspective is complex and difficult. Two extreme positions are possible; 1), the objective point of view where the researcher should not influence the research and refugees are viewed as subjects that can influence the research which will make the research biased; 2) everyone has their perspective on the social world depending on their background and that everyone is a part of their own social world, and therefore we cannot control who influences the research, in fact we all do it (Temple and Moran, 2006:10). The researcher in this thesis holds more to the second position. The traditional research process in which the researcher is an expert, but still from another cultural background was not desired for this research. The mobilizers, interpreter, the intern and staff at RCK were asked regarding the interview guide in order to get as holistic perspective as possible. The researcher was not considered the expert in this study, but the women, interpreter, mobilizers etc. was regarded just as valuable as the researcher. However, in the interview settings, it was the researcher who held the highest power position which probably affected the women's response during the interviews. The fact that the researcher was from a different cultural background with university degree probably affected the outcome of the interviews.

2.3.4. The ethical considerations

There were many ethical issues that had to be considered for this study before embarking on the interviews. Together with the supervisor (Lisbeth Larsson- Lidén) and the contact persons at RCK they were carefully evaluated and estimated.

The first priority to reassure was the safety of the women. It was essential that the women's safety was maintained and therefore they will be anonymous in this thesis. The women were informed that any of the background information will not be displayed in a way that they can be traced back to them, and therefore jeopardize their anonymity. The interpreter, intern and

the mobilizer also agreed to maintain the women anonymous and would not circulate any further information regarding the women that can jeopardize their safety and anonymity. However, the women were mobilized in such a way that could endanger their anonymity as the mobilizer had to first talk to the community leader in order to know where he could look for the women. To avoid safety issues the mobilizer was asked to not specify what the study was about to the community leader.

During the interviews, the women were offered sodas, water and mandazi (a Kenyan pastry) as a thank you for the participation. As they were picked up and dropped off by the driver, the transport was arranged for them as well. The women seemed happy with this arrangement and never complained or asked for any kind of reimbursement for their participation. Some of the key informants had questions and insecurities that they asked for assistance with. In some of the cases there was the possibility to refer them to other agents and organizations, and in some cases the intern could assist them by referring them to RCK and Kakuma office staff of this person's personal issues. The intern was involved in the process, both to assist with the logistical arrangements, but also to assist the women if any of them had a case which they could get help from RCK with.

Some of the women were difficult to get an in- depth response from or they didn't quite understand the question, e.g. on the question of what are the main insecurities in Kakuma refugee camp. In this question the women seemed to be very limited and not understanding the question fully. In this situation, the question was rephrased and was rather leading than what was aspired to when asking the question. This was however judged as necessary to get as much information from the women as possible.

2.3.5. Generalization, validity and reliability

As discussed above, it was considered that the refugee women have the greatest knowledge and most valuable information on the research questions. However, this hierarchy of knowledge, where the "insider" knows best has been a debatable subject, which excludes other actors that are also affected in the research topic and the research questions (Temple and Moran, 2006:11). In this thesis, the study consisted of interviews with women on their experiences of security within Kakuma refugee camp and within their community. However, no interviews were made with humanitarian workers, police officers in the refugee camp, and men within their community. This is not to say that the women's knowledge is the only valuable information for this thesis, but for this study there was a time constrain and

therefore no time to conduct further interviews. As explained in the argument above by Boguisis Temple and Rhett Moran (2006), generalization is affected by the type and amount of interview partners. It is not the intent to generalize the findings of this study, merely to get a greater understanding of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's experiences.

Within the quantitative research, the use of reliability and validity is frequently used to measure the trustworthiness of the research and the researcher. Reliability entails the research process to be replicated and validity concerns how the researcher's observations can match to the theoretical conclusions that the researcher concludes, as well as to how far one can generalize these ideas (Bryman, 2001:257-258). These criterias have been considered as inappropriate for qualitative research as it becomes very subjective to the researchers own background, understanding but as well the environment and circumstances that are present at the time. Therefore, the validity and reliability have been established in this thesis through thorough and detailed description of the research process.

2.3.6. Coding and analysis

There are many ways in which transcription of interviews can be coded and analyzed, such as dividing among themes, categories, specific words etc. Steinar Kvale (1997) argues that there are many ways analyses and coding of quantitative interviews can be conducted, but depending on the material, it can be useful for the researcher to use an ad hoc of the various approaches (1997:187). The researcher can choose to read through the material, do some quantifying measures for certain opinions measured, categorize etc. (Kvale, 1997:187-188). This is the coding and analyzing approach that has been chosen for this thesis. The material for all the interviews was read through, and then categories that were common in the all interviews were established based on the researcher's observations.

2.3.7. Restrictions and difficulties experienced

Before arriving to Kakuma refugee camp, there were quite a lot of difficulties. As discussed under the section of Research Field, Kenya held a general presidential election on 04.03.2013. This brought a lot of tensions and speculations around the country between tribes and also among the expat community. There were a lot of fears that this general election would generate electoral violence as in the 2007 election.

Due to the risk of violence, there was a need to do the interviews shortly after arriving to Kenya in February. This was however complicated as it was a turmoil period in Kenya,

which resulted in the staff of RCK Nairobi office occupied with other tasks. Reports from humanitarian workers at the same time as the Kenyan government issued this order stated that the police had harassed the urban refugees using excessive violence. These circumstances put a strain on the staff of RCK, which left them limited time to assist with letter from the DRA to permit the researcher to do the study in Kakuma refugee camp. It was postponed to the last available week before the general presidential election, which left less time than hoped to conduct the interviews in Kakuma refugee camp.

The mobilizer and the interpreter were proficient and efficient, except for some instances when the mobilizer mobilized non- Arabic speaking women. These women only spoke their tribal language or classic Arabic and therefore had difficulties in understanding the interpreter. These situations were solved by one of the interviewed women translating to Arabic and the interpreter then translated to English. In regards to translation, a lot of what is said gets lost in translation. In these situations where a second person is involved in the translation, more information gets lost. These interviews were still considered valuable to the study and more questions were followed up with to attain as much information from the woman as possible. The mobilizer was told to mobilize women who spoke and understood the same languages as the interpreter speaks, but he informed that it was difficult for him to find women who understood the same Arabic as the interpreter during the amount of time that was provided for him.

It was the hope to conduct at least one hour interview with each woman, but as discussed above, there were time constrains that limited the time to interview each woman. Another factor that may have contributed to the length of the interviews is that there may have been a feeling of imbalance of power relations between the researcher and the interviewed woman. The fact that there were three people (the researcher, the interpreter and the intern) present in the room may have prohibited the woman's sense of speaking freely on the matters. The questions and issues that were discussed were of a sensitive nature, which may also affect the woman's ability to speak openly and un- prohibited about it, especially if she had been affected personally by one of the issues. All the women interviewed were unfamiliar with the interview process for a research, and were a bit insecure on how to act and respond during the interviews. This most likely affected the outcome of the interviews as the interviews would likely to have been different if an expert or a humanitarian worker would have been interviewed, due to the familiarity of the research process.

3. Data Description

In this section, the findings of the interviews will be discussed. As discussed in the methodology part, 26 women were interviewed in total for this study, divided between the ethnic groups of Dinka, Darfuri and Equatorial. There were three FGDs and eleven key interviews conducted. Within each FGD there were five women of each ethnic group discussing questions and themes provided by the researcher. The findings will be presented in the following themes: community support, community security, threats within the security, threats in Kakuma refugee camp, humanitarian workers approach- is it enough?, other actors in Kakuma refugee camp and feelings on Sudan and South Sudan. Each section will be introduced with a clarification for the reader to have a basic understanding before embarking on the findings. All of the interviews were conducted in Kakuma refugee camp, in a room on Lutheran World Federation (LWF) compound between 26.02.2013 until 01.03.2013.

3.1. Community support

As clarified in the 2.1. Theory section, community has been defined in this thesis as the group of people within Kakuma refugee camp and the originating place of Sudan and South Sudan that the people come from, that they share their tribal roots with. Within each tribe there are a numerous of “sub- tribes”, e.g. Dinka has 26 sub- tribes, e.g. of which one is called Dinka- Bora. Dinka- Bora is then one sub- tribe within Dinka, in which this definition applies to. More specifically in the refugee setting in Kakuma, the definition of community entails their sub- tribe in the area of where the people are living. As explained by a Child protector officer in Kakuma refugee camp, the Sudanese and South Sudanese people have very close bonds and relationship between each other in the various sub- tribes, and often live together in the same area (Kakuma refugee camp, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb.). In this section, the findings will highlight psychological support and source of strength that the communities provide according to the interviewed women (hereafter referred as key informants).

The results were rather mixed of whether the key informants felt that they had support from the community, and that they could rely on the community when they were in need of assistance by the community depending on the key informants the culture and experiences.

Some of the instances where the key informants felt that they had the support of the community were in cases of quarrels between people in the same community. However it

could not be solved if the quarrel was between different tribes. Most of the key informants recorded to trust their community for support in these instances and to be able to reach a solution.

“...they have support for themselves, but if the problem involves two tribes it cannot be resolved within the community, among themselves as Dinkas community, it has to be taken to the police...” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb.].

These issues that could be settled among community members are usually smaller issues and not considered to be of greater importance. This assistance also depends on whether the community members are cooperative and that there are no previous issues between the community members. However, the quarrels and issues can escalate into larger problems in cases when they are not dealt with properly by the community leaders and community members. An example that was discussed was stealing from community members and neighbors. One key informant reported quarrels that do not get resolved within the community can escalate to break-ins and stealing. Key informants expressed various degrees of support, some of them reported feeling support from the community at all times, while majority of the key informants argued that the support from the community was limited and not always valuable for their situation. The kind of assistance and support from the community that was mentioned included referring to responsible authorities for their situation, calling the police after an incident had already happened, as well as providing medicine if needed. In situations where there was a perpetrator using violence and weapons, key informants reported that the community members could simply watch and not do anything about the situation. Once the perpetrator had left the scene, three key informants acknowledge that the community members provided support to the affected person.

Another factor that affected the availability of the community members and community leaders, were the size of the tribe that they belonged to. As previously mentioned, the various tribes have sub- tribes which can vary in size. One key informant argued that depending on the size of the sub- tribes, the community members and the community leaders are in different position to influence the situation. For this key informant in particular, she felt that the community could provide her with limited support as it had a small size of community members. She argued that it would have been different if she belonged to a tribe that was bigger in numbers. Relatives were also a factor that affected the sense of support from the community. One key informant felt that if she had her relatives living in the camp she would have better support from the community as the relatives would be a source of

pressure on the community to provide help for the key informant if she were in a situation that required the support of the community.

In cases of sexual assaults towards women and girls living in Kakuma refugee camp, the community's involvement and support is not always certain. The key informants described that depending on the situation the likelihood for the community's support varies quite drastically. It also depends whether your husband, community members, family relatives are strong and outspoken people. This will increase the likelihood for people around the affected woman or girl to turn to the police authorities and place a police report of the incident. However, it is common that the woman or girl is not in a position to submit a police report or to receive support from the community. The key informant who had experienced a rape from the host community and key informants who knew of people who had experienced sexual violence reported no help or support from the community and the police.

“...in the community they cannot settle those issues, you have some communities, you have parents that are very strong and energetic parents, [they] can inform the person whoever has done this, but in the other community they cannot interfere just because that girl has been raped...”[FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

“...she says no there is no support at all from the community...”[Key informant 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

The biggest issue that was reported by the majority of the key informants was the lack of support and assistance from the community members and leaders to women who were living in a bad marriage or relationship. As described earlier in section 2.2.1. Customary and Islamic law in Sudan and South Sudan, there is an issue of forced marriage in Sudan and South Sudan, which was clearly evident in the interviews with the key informants. In cases when forced marriage, physical and mental abuse was reported by the key informants' clear frustration was shown towards the community and the community members due to lack of support. The support by the community leaders and the community members, were in the form of discussion with the husband as well as providing advice to him on how to change his behavior. However several key informants reported no help from the community in cases of domestic issues. Issues within a marriage are considered to be a matter between the partners of that marriage, and nothing to do with community. It was discussed by all the key informants that as soon as the woman decides to leave a husband (despite the woman seeking help from the community and other actors), the community ostracizes and excludes the woman from the community. After that point, the woman cannot seek help from neither family members nor community members.

...”in that situation they won’t support you they will just see you to be beaten by that husband (...) from there the relatives plus the rest of the people in the community they won’t defend you...” [FGD 3, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

Five key informants stressed the fact that they never experienced any kind of trust, reliance and support from the community. They continuously expressed feelings of having no one in the camp that they could turn to in case they need the support and assistance from the community. All of the five key informants reported that they had never once felt any kind of support or interest from the community members.

3.2. Community security

Within this section, the security that is provided for Sudanese and South Sudanese women by the community will be presented. This is differentiated from the previous section of community support, in the sense that community security is focused on the kind of action and response by the community in a situation when a woman’s health, life, family and belongings are affected. Within Kakuma refugee camp the community security make out of members of the community assisting and being available if a threatening situation will arise in the camp towards the members of that community.

“people have agreed to sleep daily because most of them (referring to the Turkanas) come during the night, especially the Darfurians... we used to agree to make some groups when they come in and we used to go to the police, but the police let them go, we do not know what is going on” [Key informant 9, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March].

Most of the key informants replied that they believed to get some help from the community security depended on the situation they find themselves in. One key informant gave an example of such an action, such as when a man beats a woman, the community security can take you to Gender office (an institution within Kakuma refugee camp that deals with cases related to gender issues). However this was not common as the community believed that husband and wife should not separate or divorce and the Gender office could advice for this action. The community security is also supposed to be available for assisting people to reach the hospitals when necessary, and to bring medicine for people in need. Two key informants confirmed the community security could assist with issues such as taking women to the hospital and calling the police in case of an emergency. One key informant also clarified that members within the community can assist by running to the police in case of an emergency if no one with a phone is available at the scene.

One key informant discussed on the issue of the Turkana (hereafter referred to as host community) awareness of the community security, the process and general time of operation. This has resulted in attacks by the host community towards the refugees and women living in Kakuma refugee camp at times outside the operating hours of the community security.

“she says that everybody, they help to give support in such cases (such cases being when the host community is attacking the refugees), but she says that the host community people they know when to time it [for] when people are not around...” [Key informant 8, 2013, pers. comm. 01 Mar].

Therefore the trust towards the community security was not entire for all the key informants. All the women agreed that community security and community members can assist with security, but that was mainly for smaller issues. When there were weapons or arms involved in a situation, none of the community members or the community security assisted with security measures other than alarming the police. At the time the police managed to arrive to the scene, the perpetrators will already have fled the scene. The help from the community security was considered to be inadequate in situations where there were arms and guns involved.

“ she says that in a certain situation when a person has a gun the community cannot help, it is only when the person can run very far distance and warn them (referring to the police) but none of the community will come closer” [Key informant 10, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March].

On the issue of how the key informants felt that the community members and the community security prohibited physical attacks from occurring, the results were mixed. Some women argued that the community security and the members of the community could stop attacks from happening within the camp; they didn't stop the physical attacks from happening outside the camp, e.g. being attacked by the host community when collecting firewood.

Two key informants also argued that women within the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture with personal problems, such as issues with the husband, they are not being provided with security from the members of the community or community security. Issues with the husband brought a lot of problems for the women and this contributed to the women being excluded from the community, and also excluded from community security and the willingness of the community to provide security to these women.

The issue of having members (especially men) of the community close by was a recurrent theme and three key informants expressed lack of trust with the community members as the problem would be that the men in the community was not always around, especially during

day time. This was regarded a flaw in the security provided by the community as it was not always certain that the male community members were close by when a situation occurred that required enhanced security measures. As a result two of the key informants and one FGD felt insecure in these situations.

“the security community is not enough sometimes even [not against] the Turkana [it] is not enough and these people are not here, they might be in various places, but all these things can happen and no one can help but such a thing happens they can...” [FGD 3, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

3.3. Threats within the community

Within this section, factors that are contributing to Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women’s insecurity in Kakuma refugee camp will be highlighted and discussed. The factors and situations that will be discussed are situations within the key informants’ own community, which is also their tribal belonging. The purpose is to see if the Sudanese and South Sudanese women’s culture within their tribe contributes to any insecurities and threats within Kakuma refugee camp, and in what way.

Eight of the key informants replied that there are, or could be threats for their and their family’s wellbeing within their own community. One of the reasons for violence in Kakuma refugee camp among the refugees according to four key informants and one FGD, were within or between the tribes. The key informants expressed issues and concerns regarding fights within their community and tribe. Three key informants provided examples of violence that had happened within their own community previously within Kakuma refugee camp.

It was expressed by all the key informants, both in the FGD and in the key interviews that Sudanese and South Sudanese women and children face insecurities and threats within Kakuma refugee camp. Some of these insecurities were according to key informants due to the culture of their community and tribe. These insecurities are both from within the community and among the community members in Kakuma refugee camp, but also from outside Kakuma refugee camp by people that belong to the same tribe as the key informants themselves. The lack of security in Kakuma refugee camp adds to the threats that they face within the community as the police authorities and security personnel do not take their responsible in securing the refugee camp from outside threats.

“as a Sudanese woman, she is also adding that people can come to the camp without assistance of the Kenyan police, they come and abduct the children, sometimes they come and beat up some women, maybe depending on the problems facing backing in Sudan, so she feels that women are at risk and children” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

When asking the key informants on the decision to flee from Sudan and South Sudan, majority of the key informants replied that the decision was based on the fighting and the war from the various areas they came from. However there were three key informants who fled due to their personal issues that were related to their previous husband. As stated in the background section 1.1.2. Sudanese and South Sudanese culture, the marriage between a woman and a husband is something that has to be respected. If the woman chooses to leave the husband who had paid a dowry, she will face repercussions. In these three key informant’s lives, these repercussions have followed them to Kakuma refugee camp and pose a threat to them and their family’s safety. All of these three key informants and family members have faced physical violence by people they believed to belong to the same tribe as themselves.

Three of the informants stated that there were also issues with the men in the community, as some of them are drinking heavily. When the men drink and are drunk they create a chaos in the community and become violent, according to one key informant. The key informant shared an experience when her neighbor forced himself into their home and attempted to steal from the key informant.

Husbands drinking alcohol and beating their wives appeared to be a common problem in Kakuma refugee camp, and one key informant reported to have this issue with her husband. In one FGD, the women were discussing how the South Sudanese men rape women in the camp and within their own community. The key informants in this FGD argued that there were extensive SGBV within the community, both within marriages and households, but as well outside of these households. This was considered to be a threat within the community. However, two key informants stated quite clearly that they trusted the men in the community and felt that they could rely on them in all situations.

As earlier described, one of the major issue and threat that key informants reported was the issue of forced marriage. This was evident among key informants from all the three major tribes that were interviewed for this study. The women expressed that they had no voice on the matter of whom they should marry or not, and the key informants said that there was no

consideration whether they already had a boyfriend which they loved. In one key informant's case, she had a boyfriend which she loved who did not have money to pay for the dowry. She was forced to marry another man who could afford the dowry. Forced marriage happened in the camp as well as outside the camp in Sudan and South Sudan. This part of the culture was as evident in Kakuma refugee camp as it was in their home country of Sudan and South Sudan.

“...they can approach the parents and they can know that this man has a lot [of wealth], it is a must to get married [for] the girl to that man, when the lady don't have that chance or is not happy or does not love that man, she is just being forced because of that man” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

“...most problems for girls is if a man has a relationship with [a] girl then there will be, then that girl doesn't want to listen to that man, then that man happens to beat that lady that's the main problem now...”[FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

The key informants described the culture and the community within Sudan and South Sudan as dowry being the most crucial part in determining a marriage. A woman was only considered to be someone's wife if the man had paid a dowry. This was considered as the major threat by the key informant within their culture as it limited their choice of husband. Often the parents or brothers chose for the women the man who could pay a large dowry. If refusing to marry a man that has paid dowry for a woman, the woman may face threats of being killed or threats from the relatives of abuse and force the woman to stay with the man. The extended family may also pose a threat as they might retaliate on behalf of the parents if they do not follow the wish of the family. Family members may follow the woman to Kakuma refugee camp in order to change her decision to stay with the man that had paid the dowry. Three key informants had been ostracized from their family as a result of refusing to marry a man that either paid dowry, or was willing to pay dowry for the woman.

Both of the quotes below illustrate the problem of women's rights, which the key informants also discussed extensively. It was only one key informant that argued that Darfur women were perceived to have good rights within the community and the tribe. That key informant argued that Darfur women had a strong voice, while the rest of the women who was asked the same question disagreed to that statement.

“...most of the problems are related to women's rights like issues of forced marriage whereby maybe a young woman is forced to a man she doesn't know, and again the issue of forced [marriage] whereby the husband can threaten to kill them [if she refuse to marry]” [FGD 3, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

“...as the [South Sudanese] culture, women are not having a voice against the men, even if they have right the men can do what they want and beat a woman, you cannot say this or disturb him on this so you follow him, if he says this you have to follow him” [key informant 7, 2013, pers. comm. 28 Feb].

One key informant stated that a man in the community has been forcing a sexual relationship with the key informant for eleven years, ever since her own husband disappeared from Kakuma refugee camp. When she refuses the man physically abuse her with little or no interference from both the police and the community. This situation illustrates the lack of women’s rights within the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture and the acceptance towards men’s behavior. One key informant said that “the community cannot recognize the right of the woman, the only thing that they recognize is men to sleep with a lady” (key informant 5, 2013, pers. comm. 28 Feb).

The key informants also expressed a woman that refuses to marry a man who has paid the dowry is not living alone with the threat, but her children poses a risk of being kidnapped by that man. Two key informants argued that within their culture, if a woman does not produce any children to the man that pays dowry, but produce a child with another man, were in danger of having her children kidnapped by the husband who had paid dowry. To have children was presented as crucial within the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture. As a consequence to this part of the culture, two key informants faced threats of their children being kidnapped by relatives. One key informant’s children had been attempted to be kidnapped by her late husband’s brother, and the other key informant argued that the family of her ex- husband’s deceased wife demanded a child from the key informant.

“...he used to come when she is not in the house, he would get the children in the house [and] tell the children in the house to wash the clothes, prepare everything if you are going to school [to] take all your clothes to school, then I will pick you up at school.” [key informant 11, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March].

3.4. Threats in and around Kakuma refugee camp

Various factors and situations will be discussed that the key informant perceived to be threatening to them and their family members inside and outside Kakuma refugee camp. These factors and situations that have been perceived as threatening for their physical and mental health are actors and factors outside of their community and tribal belonging. This section will highlight general perception of threatening situation and actors as perceived by Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women.

Most of the key informants agree that Kakuma refugee camp is safe, especially compared to where they originally come from in Sudan and South Sudan. However, all key the informants also agreed that Kakuma refugee camp used to be safer, and that there are more threatening situations in the camp today than it used to be. One concern raised by two key informants was the lack of job opportunities in the camp, as they were very limited and created difficulties for the men to attain an income for the family.

Seven of the key informants and FGDs perceived the lack of food that was provided for them by WFP to be a threat to their wellbeing. Many key informants argued that both food and firewood was badly distributed to the families and refugees in the camp. Some key informants argued that there was a lack of food supplies, and some key informants argued that there were enough food supplies, but the food consisted of the same thing, namely lentils. This put the key informants in a vulnerable position as they were not provided for a balanced diet, and forced the women in the camp to go out and look for vegetables and firewood in the bush outside of the refugee camp.

As mentioned, the key informants argued that there was a lack of firewood distributed to them by the WFP. The firewood that is distributed is meant to last for three month when the next distribution of firewood arrives. However, one key informant's experience was that the firewood only lasted for half of that period, which left the women to go out and look for firewood in the bush as well as vegetables.

“she is complaining about the food that they get in the camp, the ration that they are taking and also about the firewood, the firewood is being given once in maybe four months and then they will bring another, sometimes the firewood can get finished before the other ones come [...] sometimes they are also going out to look for vegetables in the bush there... [FGD 1, 2013, pers. comm. 25 Feb].

Not only is it a threat for the women not knowing when the next food and firewood ration arrives, but the uncertainty of whether their ration will last until the next is distributed also creates insecurity for the key informants. The fear of the host community in Kakuma refugee camp was affected by this uncertainty. The most recurrent threat that women of any nationality and tribe experienced in Kakuma refugee camp, as described by the key informants, was the threat of the host community to attack the women. For women who were living without men or husbands in their household were particularly vulnerable for attacks by the host community.

“she is saying that there is a problem of basic needs, there is a lack of basic needs in the camp they are not enough so if you ask the women we don't get sufficient food

[and] sufficient basic needs so that we can support ourselves” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

As above discussed, the key informants described the lack of food supplies and firewood. This resulted in refugee women to go out in the bush and look for food and firewood. It is during the search in the bush for vegetables and firewood that most attacks towards women occur. The key informants described how they are vulnerable for attacks when they are out looking for firewood and vegetables as the host community has frequently both beaten refugee women and raped them, and also taken their firewood or vegetables that they had collected. One key informant had experience of such attacks when they were out looking for firewood. In one FGD the key informants emphasized on the cruelty of these attacks as the attackers sometimes use knife to harm the victims further, and also inserting long (about 10 cm) thorns into the woman’s vagina after raping her.

“...the food in the camp is very insufficient, the firewood are insufficient, so most of us we go to the forest to fetch some firewood and also find some vegetables but the problem is that they also fight with us whenever they find a woman in the bush, they can rape her or they can even cut with that sharp knife...” [FGD 3, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

The attacks from the host community are however not limited to when the women are in the bush to look for vegetables and firewood. They can also happen during night when they are in their home. Five key informants reported that unknown men enter the homes of the refugees at night, and carry weapons and guns with them. They steal possessions from the homes, and sometimes rape women during these attacks. During one of these attacks one key informant’s child was beaten resulting in severe damages and one key informant was raped. However, it is hard to tell who these people are that are attacking the homes and the residents during night, the victims are not always certain whether it is people from the community or from the host community. It is also difficult for the police authorities in the camp to progress these attacks as the victim cannot identify the perpetrator. The key informants that looked for assistance in these attacks did not receive help from the police as they could not identify the perpetrator.

Kakuma is one of the few refugee camps with multiple nationalities residing in the same refugee camp. However, the majority of the key informants didn’t feel as if this was an issue and other nationalities rarely posed any threats. The key informants that expressed concerns towards other nationalities felt that other nationalities in Kakuma refugee camp posed less of a threat and was overshadowed by the fear of the host community.

However, there were some concerns raised towards the other nationalities. One key informant argued that other nationalities can create chaos in the street and cause road accidents deliberately. The same key informant also raised concerns as a fifteen year old girl had recently been raped by a Somali Bantu man at the time of the interviews. Also during joint events, such as football matches and fetching water can create conflicts between the different nationalities as tensions can occur during these joint events and communal areas.

Although concerns were expressed by key informants on the other nationalities that live in Kakuma refugee camp, it was believed by all but one key informant that the various tribes of Sudan and South Sudan posed a bigger threat to them than the other nationalities. Issues such as threats towards other tribes were common according to the key informants; again it could be while fetching water or children fighting. Another common reason for threatening situations among tribes according to the key informants was marriages between husband and wife from different tribes, marriages that resulted in a separation. This was a common reason for conflicts between communities of Sudanese and South Sudanese nationality. It was reported by the key informants that rape and violence could occur between the different communities in Kakuma refugee camp. There were also reports of stealing by the key informants, which they believed that people within and outside the tribes commits. One key informant suggested that people living in Kakuma refugee camp and passing by her house were stealing from her, as she was living along the main road close to a market.

“she says that some of these tribes within South Sudan, they can do this threatening and threaten other tribe in case they know that there is a problem somewhere, that’s when they threaten other tribes” [key informant 4, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

Another reason for insecurity among the South Sudanese key informants was the South Sudanese independence. Two of the key informants explained that they felt that they were given a lot less help from the humanitarian workers and the police authorities at the time of the interviews, than they experienced before South Sudan gained independence. They argued that they were no longer considered refugees by the humanitarian workers and therefore could not enjoy as much help as they had done previously, despite of their personal issues. As will be evident in the section on their view of South Sudan, the key informants’ attachment to South Sudan and ability to return to South Sudan is complex due to their personal issues and the continued fighting in South Sudan, despite of the independence.

Despite of these fears and threats from the various communities from Sudan and South Sudan, the major threat is still the host community. The key informants considered the

threats and threatening situations that one can experience with the host community to be worse than within the various nationalities and communities from Sudan and South Sudan.

3.5. Humanitarian workers approach - is it enough?

As evident by the title of this section, the interviews and discussion with the key informants for this section was focused on how humanitarian workers approached the key informants' insecurity issues. The focus within this section will be on the key informants' appreciation of humanitarian workers understanding of their insecurity threats, how they approach them, if the humanitarians work is adequate and how the key informants would wish to change their work to improve the humanitarian work.

All the key informants argued that there was limited help from the humanitarian workers to receive. Two of the key informants and two FGD argued that the only help they could rely on from the humanitarian workers was to receive food. However some key informants expressed that the food they received was insufficient for all the people that were dependents of the key informants. They recognized that there were some help to receive from the humanitarian workers operating in the camp, and more help to receive Kakuma refugee camp than it was to receive from where they came from in Sudan and South Sudan. However, all of the key informants expressed unease with the humanitarian workers and all key informants felt that their work was inadequate to their security threats in the camp.

During the FGD and key interviews, five of the key informants and one FGD reported that they felt ignored by the humanitarian workers. It was suggested that the humanitarian workers didn't take their issues and problems seriously when approaching them with their concerns. They felt that they had a lack of support from the humanitarian workers and said that they sometimes could get help from humanitarian agency as an ambulance could be sent out and help the person in emergency. There was an understanding and feeling of the humanitarian workers not being interested in their claim and issue. Two of the key informants explained that they felt the humanitarian officer did not pay attention to their issue and simply forwarded their case to another officer or to another humanitarian agency, arguing that they could receive better help from that office or organization. In the end they never received any help from the agencies or actors.

Three of the five key informants who argued that the humanitarian workers are not interested in their case and felt ignored, suggested that the only way to improve the work of the

humanitarian actors in their case was to exchange the staff. According to these three key informants, as humanitarian workers operating in Kakuma refugee camp are not interested in helping the refugees with their claims, it would be more proficient to change the workers into people that is truly interested in their issues and challenges.

The key informants also felt discouraged by the humanitarian workers slow process when providing help. They could approach the humanitarian workers without getting a feeling of receiving assistance from the humanitarian workers. They only felt that their case was pushed forward and taken to other agents and organization. Two of the key informants argued that the slow process could be a result of the humanitarian workers lack of interest.

“they are not doing it very fast, if you don’t have a problem you can’t come to them, you can come and explain, they have to believe that word, she would wish these people to really trust them and really respond to their cases” [key informant 9, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March].

Two of the key informants also expressed feelings of segregation between the refugee women and the humanitarian workers and that they could not approach the humanitarian workers.

On the question of how the key informants would suggest for a change in humanitarian workers approach, five of the key informants couldn’t provide a suggestion as to how that change would be. They all had complaints, but argued that they did not know the processes and structure of the humanitarian workers and therefore could not suggest a solution. After asking the question in a different way a second time, two of them suggested that humanitarian workers could be more present in the communities one key informant suggested home visits to women’s houses after approaching humanitarian workers with their issues.

Two of the key informants hesitated when being asked questions about the humanitarian workers. During the interview, both of the women said that they were afraid of the questions concerning the humanitarian workers. They said that they feared these questions of humanitarian workers and the humanitarian workers; “she says that she fears these people and can’t suggest” (key informant 10, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March).

3.6. Other actors in Kakuma refugee camp

In this section the discussions that were carried out about other actors will be presented. Questions were asked of such actors' as police authority, security forces and other staff e.g. governmental staff, however the discussion ended up being focused on police officer.

The actor discussed by the key informants was the police authority and their assistance directed toward Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women. When asked the question: who do you rely on here in Kakuma, five of the key informants replied that they relied the most on the police authority and argued that they have been the actors that has so far provided them the most assistance in their insecurity cases. One key informant maintained that she relied the most on the community. Despite of the reliance the women had towards the police authority compared to the community and the humanitarian workers, they still recognized some issues with the police authority that affected their complete confidence towards the police authority.

Two of the key informants and one FGD suggested as the case with the humanitarian workers, the police also had a slow process of working, especially when reaching to a scene of crime. In two of the key informants cases the police arrived to the scene of the crime at a late stage and the perpetrators had managed to flee. In these cases the police was incapable of processing the allegations as the perpetrators had run away and no one could identify the perpetrators. The key informant along with its family members did not know who the perpetrator was. The process of the police work depended on a number of things such as witnesses, evidence and the issue at hand. If there are a lot of evidence and witnesses together with a key issue, then the police will work in a faster pace.

“...we do report to the police station but sometimes the police men they don't do much, they don't come to the scene... they can take long after calling them, they will take time and say [you will have to wait], so most perpetrators they just end up walking” [FGD 3, 2013, pers. comm. 27 Feb].

Bribery was also discussed among the police by three of the key informants. They argued that there was a great extent of bribery and that this could push the police to process their case faster. Bribery could also assist a person in being released from jail. If a person had money to bribe the police, it meant that their case could be resolved in a faster pace, or a person could bribe the police to get out of a case if he stands prosecuted for a crime. This complicates the pace of an investigation for many refugees as they often do not have money for bribes. It also affected the key informants' sense of security as their perpetrator could easily be released from jail.

“...she says that the other problem is as a refugee if you don't have something that you can give them they can't help you, but if you have that maybe something like money they will struggle because you have given something” [key informant 10, 2013, pers. comm. 01 March].

Two of the key informants and one FGD also argued that the police worked along tribalism (favoring people belonging to the same tribe as themselves) and could not therefore always be trusted. A woman has better chances of having her case processed if the police officer belongs to the same tribe. For one key informant who argued that she belonged to a small tribe, she had a difficult time to receive help and partly blamed this on her tribal belonging.

“...sometimes they can't rely on them, but sometimes they work within tribalism and with this corruption, and if this person is from his or her tribe then the security can work very fast, but when they are not from their tribe or their group, then it is very difficult and sometime they can go several times to the police... [FGD 1, 2013, pers. comm. 25 Feb].

There was also a lack of trust in the police in some cases, based on the issue the key informants had. Four key informants argued that the police could not help in all cases that were presented to them by women as some issues might be sensitive to solve within the women's culture. Beating by a husband was such a case that the police seemed to find no solution for one of the key informants. The commitment of the police depends on what the issue concerns. One key informant felt that they can get help from the police to come to the scene of the crime when it is something serious, such as a murder. The police will not bother to reach the scene of the crime during night and if it is not a serious crime that has been committed. They will rather wait until the morning to investigate the crime according to the same key informant.

As discussed above, bribery is considered as an insecurity for the key informants as bribery was also used by perpetrators who have gone to jail to be released and have his/her case dismissed. One key informant said that the perpetrator in her case had bribed the police to be released from jail. After being released the perpetrator went back to the refugee camp and continued to harass the key informant. Key informants expressed a fear that even though a perpetrator was identified and taken to jail, they could still harass you due to corruption among the police authority.

One of the key informants also shared her issues with the lack of commitment within the police authority as a person harassed her in Kakuma refugee camp. However, this person was not a registered refugee with a ration number, therefore the police in Kakuma refugee camp could not act on this case. The person who harassed the key informant had abused and

threatened both the key informant and her husband. The key informant was finally resettled in the refugee camp by the police, next to a police station. After being resettled the key informant hasn't experienced anymore threatening situations by this man, but is still experiencing threats from the same man.

“...the policemen are saying that they can't arrest him because he is not a refugee, he doesn't have a ration card and so there is no way that they can arrest him...” [key informant 6, 2013, pers. comm. 28 Feb].

Four of the key informants and two FGDs argued that they relied the most on the police authority in Kakuma refugee camp out of all the actors' discussed in this thesis, however they didn't trust them due to lack of commitment, bribery and tribalism. They felt as if they never received any help or assistance from the police in their cases.

3.7. The view on Sudan and South Sudan

Within this section, the key informants view on Sudan and South Sudan will be reflected and presented. The aim of the researcher was to get an understanding of the key informants' view of Sudan and South Sudan as it affects their everyday life in Kakuma refugee camp, and to see how their feelings of Sudan and South Sudan have been transferred to their lives in the refugee camp.

The two reasons the key informants provided for leaving Sudan and South Sudan, is because of the war and because of their personal safety. Four of the key informants told the researcher that they had lost family members and homes as a result of the war. Therefore they had to flee their homes and eventually ended up in Kakuma refugee camp. The other reason, for their personal safety refers to their personal issues, that the key informants had issues with relatives and/or community members in Sudan and South Sudan, which resulted in them fleeing Sudan and South Sudan. They also said that they feared the safety of their children as well as their own safety, and that's why they fled to Kenya.

All of the key informants stated that they would not wish to return to Sudan and South Sudan, during the time of the interview, except for one key informant. They regarded both Sudan and South Sudan too insecure with many threats of violence. Most of the key informants agreed that Kakuma refugee camp is safer than both Sudan and South Sudan, three of the key informants argued that both Sudan and South Sudan and Kakuma refugee camps were equally unsafe. None of the key informants said that they felt less safe in Kakuma refugee camp than they did in both Sudan and South Sudan. The key informant who

argued that she would wish to return to Sudan felt that Sudan is safer for her due to her personal issues.

There is also the concern of not accessing their basic needs in both Sudan and South Sudan, especially education for children that prohibits their return:

“...if Sudan comes back to normal, the conflict is not there... they provide these school to children, because for her she has children and these children it is a must for them to get to school, so if they provide all those basic needs there and the security is there then she can go and the children can go, but if not, if Sudan is not safe, she will not go back, she will just depend on UN and the UN will provide education for her children.” [FGD 1, 2013, pers. comm. 25 Feb].

The key informants reported several reasons for not wanting to return to both Sudan and South Sudan, one of these being the fear of the war. One key informant argued that she feared that her children could be taken to fight in the conflicts. Three key informants and one FGD argued that there are better and more security measures in Kakuma refugee camp than in both Sudan and South Sudan, which make the key informants’ feel more secure.

“...UNHCR can protect you, but if you go back to Sudan, you might end up being killed because Sudan is not yet safe, they still have conflict between the southern and northern, so you can’t go back.” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

As discussed frequently during this data description, many of the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women experience problems within the community, which is described as personal issues directed to the person alone. Three of the key informants during the interviews described fear of returning back to both Sudan and South Sudan as a result of their personal issues. They described fear of being harmed or killed by their relatives or other people in the community which they would have problems with if they returned.

As a consequence to their personal problems, two key informants one FGD also expressed fears of their children to be kidnapped by the person they have issues with. As earlier described two key informants had stated that there were risks of having children kidnapped from Kakuma refugee camp, these same key informants and one FGD argued that their children could also be kidnapped by the same or different people if they returned to South Sudan.

“...because of her personal issues, they have some people that mistreat, even if Sudan has peace and equal rights and everything they cannot move because of the personal issues, if you go when you have that personal issue, the husband might get lost, the children might get killed, they might be killed by the person you have a problem.” [FGD 2, 2013, pers. comm. 26 Feb].

The fact that most of the key informants homes have been destroyed as a result of the conflicts, at the same time as they believe that most of their relatives have been killed that used to stay in the area they come from, has contributed to their lack of wish to return back to Sudan and South Sudan. Four of the key informants argued that there is nothing left for them in both Sudan and South Sudan, no relatives and no home. If they would return, they would find life hard as they have no properties and no land to either breed cattle or plant crop on. However, when asking if they believe that there would be resilience from their community towards them if returning to Sudan or South Sudan, the results were mixed. Three of the key informants argued that they would probably be accepted by the community upon their return, while six of the key informants believed that there would be resilience from the community. The key informants expressed concerns of not being accepted by the community in Sudan or South Sudan, both due to their personal issues which are not accepted within the community, but also because the community might regard returnees as people that have not fought for their right Sudan or South Sudan, and for the good of Sudan or South Sudan. Therefore the key informants felt that they would probably not be welcomed by the community in which they originate from in Sudan or South Sudan and that they would be segregated.

Another issue that was raised by three of the key informants was the fact that women's rights were very weak in both Sudan and South Sudan in comparison to Kakuma refugee camp. The three key informants argued that they felt as if they had more rights in Kakuma refugee camp, and that there were more actors and agents to assure their rights. Even though the agents and actors commitment was regarded insufficient, they were still considered to be a lot stronger than in both Sudan and South Sudan.

“She said that there is slight changes, there back in Sudan, you are beaten, you can be beaten by a man, then [the man will be] taken to the police, the police cannot do anything, they can go back and talk to the person who was beating you, but here (referring to Kakuma refugee camp) it is a bit ok, they can solve the problem and they can do a bit right.” [Key informant 5, 2013, pers. comm. 28 Feb].

4. Analysis

To consider before embarking on the analysis, is the issue of resettlement. Numerous reports have argued that some women, especially in Kenyan refugee camps use certain cases of sexual assaults for being resettled to U.S. It is however the researcher's opinion that these key informants' has been telling the truth and how they perceive their situation with no exaggeration. The purpose of the study was explained before the interviews started and the key informants were informed that none of the information provided will be used for anything but this master's thesis and perhaps some background information for RCK. Therefore the researcher estimates the validity of the interview material to be high and the information was not told for any purpose of resettlement, but merely to display these women's situation in Kakuma refugee camp.

The interviews were found to be very informative, however some of the key informants seemed uncomfortable in the interview situation. Some patterns were evident during the interviews. One of those patterns was the women belonging to various Dinka tribes seemed to have a lot of issues within their community. They all expressed unhappiness with their community, culture and the way of living for women within their community. It was understood that very few women experience a good life within a Dinka community according to the key informants. Two of the key informants expressed feelings of the Dinka tribes and communities having the harshest treatment towards women, compared to other Sudanese and South Sudanese communities. They were not happy within their community and felt constrained and prohibited by their community. They also expressed most concerns of not being able to rely on their community for support or security. The men within their community could not be relied for a woman's personal issues and safety as they were regarded to be responsible for their insecurity in certain situations.

However this pattern could depend on the fact that the key informants from the Dinka tribes all seemed to have personal issues. When discussing with the mobilizer of the mobilization process, he had the same procedure of mobilizing women within the various tribes, and that the key informants from the Dinka tribes seemed to have more personal issues was merely a coincidence. When interviewing key informants of the other tribes the results were a bit mixed. For key informants from Darfur and Equatoria communities, it was revealed that the key informants with various personal issues shared the same view and perception of their community and tribes as the key informants from the Dinka tribes had. They too felt that the Darfuri and Equatori community and culture provided limited support and security for

women. However the key informants who had no personal issues argued that there are some issues with support and security for women who had personal issues, but for the key informants who had no personal issues the community was sufficient in terms of support and security. All but one key informant seemed to have this perception, who felt that the Darfuri community provided women with good possibilities and choices in life. This key informant argued that they had good rights as women and no issues among the community. The sample chosen for interviews in this study is too small for stating that Equatorians and Darfuris have more positive feelings towards their community in terms of security and support. However, one can depict the pattern in the sample of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women in Kakuma refugee camp to have negative feelings towards their own community in terms of support and security as they have experienced various personal issues.

Some of the statements that were reported during the interviews were found to be a bit contradictory. When asking the key informants about their feelings towards the men in their own community, they replied that they could rely on the men within their own community. Some key informants argued that the men in the community did not pose a threat to them and that they could rely on them at various times depending on the situation, e.g. if they were attacked in their house by an unknown perpetrator. However, when the key informants had personal issues, then they argued that the men in the community could not help them in their case. They were unreliable. When asking the women about the threats from other communities and nationalities, they stressed Sudanese and South Sudanese men to compose most threats. One key informant argued that the men in her community were reliable for support and security, but when asking her later on threats she experience in Kakuma refugee camp, she mentions the men from her community while they were drinking. She was complaining that the men in her community were drinking, raping and misbehaving, and once tried to steal from her during the night as the men were drunk. At the same time as they are supposed to provide support and security for the women, they can also be responsible for their insecurities. This can be in forms of both physical violence from the men within the community, but also through traditional and cultural norms that are played out in Kakuma refugee camp such as forced marriage. This shows the complex nature and relationship that the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women have towards men in their community. As discussed by Susanne Beswick in 1.5.2. Previous Research section, Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women arriving to Kakuma refugee camp often arrive alone or without male companionship, which put them in a vulnerable situation as they have to rely on people from their kinfolk (2001). This was depicted and brought to this study as well. Most of the

key informants arrived to Kakuma refugee camp without their family, and therefore had to completely rely on the kinfolk and their community for support and security. Key informants argued that they would have more options and protection from the close family members if they had their family and not merely their extended family or community. Instead they had to rely on community members and extended family members for help and support, but those often paid no attention to the needs of the key informants. This was especially true according to the key informants in cases of sexual assaults. In these cases, women depended strongly on the support of close relatives and outspoken community members to attain some form of support and action in the case of sexual assaults. A woman is traditionally not able to act on her own behalf as she is considered a minor, but instead a male legal guardian act on her behalf, as argued in the theoretical framework. However, the key informants with experiences of sexual assaults argued that they had not received any support or action taken to assure the key informant's security. These key informants had no close relatives and therefore had to rely on the community members which had not provided any assistance. Instead the women had to seek agents and other actors in Kakuma refugee camp for assistance. Here as well, the help fell short and the key informant did not experience any help throughout her case. However, the women highlighted that despite of the lack of help received by the actors and organizations in their cases, they still believed that they had more rights in Kakuma refugee camp and could exercise their human rights to a greater extent than they could do in Sudan or South Sudan. In Sudan and South Sudan, they had no institutions or organizations to turn to in cases of sexual assaults and domestic violence. They could merely turn to relatives, as key informants argued that the community leaders in Kakuma refugee camp did not want to act against the family's wishes, so did not community leaders wish to do in Sudan or South Sudan either. In many ways, the key informants experienced the same insecurities as they faced back in Sudan or South Sudan as the strong traditional norms together with the customary and Islamic law was integrated in the communities in Kakuma refugee camp. The key informants found some support in other actors in Kakuma refugee camp, which often proved insufficient. As a result, the key informants argue to be in a very vulnerable situation with no assistance from the community, family, actors and authorities.

A pattern among the tribes was that key informants from the Dinka communities regarded the community itself as the greatest threat within Kakuma refugee camp. When asked about the main threats within Kakuma refugee camp, the response focused on forced marriage to a man they did not love. In the mean- time the Darfuri and Equatorian communities regarded

the host community, the Turkanas as the main threat. The threats when leaving refugee camps were depicted in previous research by organizations, such as Amnesty International, UNHCR, and Women Refugee Commission etc. As stated in section 1.5.2. Previous Research a situation was depicted of the host communities in refugee camps, with careful attention paid towards the refugee camps in Eastern Africa, attacking women and children leaving the camp for collecting firewood and such. This was true in Kakuma refugee camp as well, however the key informants feared the host community also when residing in Kakuma refugee camp. The key informants reported that the host community also attacked the refugees during night, which had happened to three of the key informants. In cases where key informants had been attacked, they screamed for help from the community security, which assistance was provided in only one of those cases. In regard to the other two cases, the key informants received very limited assistance from the community as they had personal issues. It was understood that the community is reluctant to provide support and security in cases where women have personal issues, despite of the security breach and in these two cases, leaving limited room for the community not to act in support of the key informant. As depicted in the theoretical framework, a woman who does not follow the cultural norms can be ostracized and scorned by family and community members, which some of the key informants experienced. A Sudanese or a South Sudanese refugee woman who does not act in compliance to the family's and community's wishes experience further vulnerability in Kakuma refugee camp. In such a situations, the women is restricted from the closest safety net provided in Kakuma refugee camp and therefore finds herself in an insecure and vulnerable situation.

The police turned out to be the most reliable source for security according to a significant number of key informants. This was an unexpected result in line with previous research as depicted in section 1.1.3. Women in refugee camps which argued refugee women to have difficulties when dealing with police authorities. Frequent reports of the Kenyan police authority are recorded of police brutality, harassment, bribery and sexual assaults. The fact that the majority of the key informants reported to rely the most, or primarily turn to the police authority in Kakuma refugee camp was therefore surprising. Four of the key informants argued that they had received most help from the police authority out of all the agents and actors that they had turned to, and therefore identify the police force as the most reliable source of security and help. However, the help from the police was not depicted as flawless, but had several issues. The key informants also mentioned bribery as an issue as it caused insecurity when the perpetrator bribed him/ her free from jail, as well as a slow

working process. If there was not a big emergency, or if the police didn't belong to the same tribe, then the process was according to the key informants very slow for assisting in the case. The fact that the key informants argued that this help from the police was regarded as the most efficient shows the limited opportunities that a Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee woman has for receiving assistance in Kakuma refugee camp. It shows how insecurities can be enlarged due to the lack of overall security and support in Kakuma refugee camp. Not only do Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women experience lack of security and support within their community and the police authority, but they also experience insecurities due to lack of sufficient security controls which enables the host community and members of their tribe to enter the refugee camps and their homes. This results in many women, and for two of the key informants never to enjoy the feeling of security from their issues that has haunted them from Sudan and South Sudan. The sanctuary and safety of what a refugee camp should provide has been surpassed in their situations.

Further issues with the humanitarian actors operating in the area have brought further distress in the key informants' lives. All key informants agreed that humanitarian actor's aid is insufficient concerning their security concerns and they felt segregated and mistrusted by the humanitarian actors. Two of the key informants expressed fear during the interviews on the questions on humanitarian actors, fearing humanitarian actors as such. This has been elaborated on in previous section 1.1.3. Women in refugee camps, where it is discussed that women in refugee camps experience sexual assaults and harassment from humanitarian actors as they attempt to attain the basic services. It was not considered by the key informants that humanitarian actors provided any assistance in their cases or any other kind of situation they knew of. The key informants only expressed frustration of long and slow processes that didn't leave them in any better situation that they found themselves in when starting to look for help from humanitarian actors. The only humanitarian actors the key informants expressed somewhat trust and reliance in were WFP, but again they argued that the rations of the basic needs were insufficient. Instead the key informants are forced to put themselves in dangerous situations by looking for firewood and vegetables outside of the camp as the ration has finished.

As portrayed in the section 2.1. The conflict in Sudan and South Sudan, the government in Sudan has tried for decades to establish a dichotomy between the northerners and the southerners, as well as within the tribes. The aim was to create hostile feelings and racism within Sudan to dismantle traditional structures and to control opposition parties to the

government in Khartoum. This was not depicted as an issue by the key informants during the interviews. The key informants never referred Sudanese various tribal belongings in a negative aspect. It is interpreted though that the South Sudanese seemed to refer themselves as one group, and differentiate them from the northerners. An image of the “Black Africans” was conveyed by Darfuri’s with both South Sudanese and Sudanese belonging to. They appeared to be united through the term “Black Africans” even in Kakuma refugee camp, despite that the Darfuri’s belonged to Sudan. It can be understood that Darfuri feel stronger connection to South Sudan than South Sudanese due to the common historical background and words of referring to them as a people. A differentiation that was expressed was two Darfuri key informants argued that South Sudanese could pose a threat to them in Kakuma refugee camp, but again this was a considerable smaller threat than that of the host community

In regard to the key informants’ appreciation of their human rights, they argued that they could exercise them to a greater extent in Kakuma refugee camp in comparison to where they originate from in Sudan or South Sudan. As described in the theoretical framework, the use of customary and Islamic law was preceding that of the IL. The key informants described that they could not make their own decisions and had to follow the wishes of their family. This was depicted in Kakuma refugee camp as well among the communities from Sudan and South Sudan, but instead they could take the option of turning to authorities or organizations for further help when the community’s assistance was absent. Although the key informants argued that they received some help, it was limited and not enough for them in their situation.

The women’s perception of not having enough support and security from their community in Kakuma refugee camp can be seen as a result of the social structures that exist in Sudan and South Sudan. As described in the theoretical approach, women in Sudan and South Sudan have very limited support from their family and community, but also from the customary and Islamic law. This lack of support towards Sudanese and South Sudanese women has been transcended to the conditions in Kakuma refugee camp and therefore maintains hierarchal and patriarchal structure in the communities which leaves Sudanese and South Sudanese women in a vulnerable position. The fact that the civil law enforcement in Kakuma refugee camp, and the international organizations whose purpose is to provide security and support to women with security issues is ineffective according to the majority of the key informants,

maintains the social structure that the key informants experienced in Sudan and South Sudan.

The situation for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women in Kakuma refugee camp appears quite similar to their situation they were experiencing in Sudan and South Sudan. The key informants conveyed a picture of fear from attacks by outside perpetrators, lack of support and security from the community in case of these attacks, as well as limited assistance from civil law enforcement. The key informants argued they had more rights in Kakuma refugee camp than they had in Sudan and South Sudan. The IL have more impact in Kakuma refugee camp than it has in Sudan and South Sudan according to the key informants. There are more agents abiding to the IL and therefore are available to assist refugee women if needed. However, due to bureaucracy, lack of interest from the humanitarian actors and the police authority the IL has still limited impact on the key informants' everyday life and the norms and customs of the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture as well as the customary and Islamic law, who still precedes the IL, even in Kakuma refugee camp. In Kakuma refugee camp, the work towards implementing IL in the refugees culture and norms have not received a breakthrough according to this study, despite the long existence of the camp and the many years of humanitarian actors existence in Kakuma refugee camp. This study concurs with the discussion of Binaifer Nowrojee which argues that communities in refugee camps follow the customary and religions laws before the IL. The results to this study argue that the Sudanese and South Sudanese customary laws and Islamic law has more impact on refugee women in Kakuma refugee camp and enforces their gendered roles according to the norms of the ones in Sudan and South Sudan. These circumstances therefore add to Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's insecurity and threats while residing in Kakuma refugee camp.

5. Conclusion

The conclusions that can be drawn from the experiences of the key informants are that Kakuma refugee camp is insufficient in the key informants' security concerns and has become more insecure during the last couple of years. There are many threats for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women both outside and inside the refugee camp, and these threats make a Sudanese or South Sudanese refugee woman's life more insecure as there is not adequate support and security provided from the police authority, humanitarian actors nor the community.

The main finding to the study was the structures and norms in Sudan and South Sudan is in existence in Kakuma refugee camp and that this contributes insecurity for the majority of the key informants' lives. For key informants that have experiences of personal issues and previous insecurities in Kakuma refugee camp and in Sudan and South Sudan, the response was that there was not enough security and support from the community. The key informants who argued that support and security were lacking from the community argued that they could not trust the community for future insecurities and that they rather turned to the Kenyan police authority. This was consistent with how the key informants' portrayal was of Sudan and South Sudan, but also as presented in the theoretical approach which showed lack of security and support for Sudanese and South Sudanese women and girls within the community but also within the family. For a woman or a girl who had other wishes than the one of the family and community, e.g. in the case of marriage partner, there were very few possibilities for a woman to attain support to not marry the person. It is the woman's role to act according to the wishes of the community and family, or she could be ostracized. The key informants argued that this was the case as well within their community in Kakuma refugee camp and that they received as limited support from the community as they received in Sudan and South Sudan.

The key informants identified and recognized the two major threats were attacks by the host community and lack of independence to make one's own choices as a woman in a Sudanese or South Sudanese community. Forced marriage was most evident in the Dinka tribes, but also a concern for the other key informants belonging to Darfuri and Equatori communities and tribes. The issue of unhappiness in a marriage was interpreted to be the main concern among the key informants, as the women could not act for a change in their unhappy marriages. If a Sudanese or a South Sudanese woman would leave the husband without the consent of the family and community, the woman would find herself in a lonely and

vulnerable situation. First the woman would find herself without the assistance of the community security, and secondly likely to be threatened by the community or family. The community contributes therefore to a Sudanese or South Sudanese refugee's woman's insecurity. Attacks by host communities is not a problem exclusive to the Kakuma refugee camp, but as the previous research showed, it is a problem that is visible in more countries and refugee camps in Africa. It is a problem unsolved and due to lack of security measures. The problem of forced marriage is visible in the Sudanese and South Sudanese culture, and a problem that has haunted the key informants from Sudan and South Sudan to Kakuma refugee camp. It is a problem that also is allowed to occur, not only because of the cultural structures in Sudan and South Sudan but also due to the lack of interest and effective work by both the police authority and the humanitarian workers.

However what was identified on the key informants' perception of humanitarian workers was not a positive opinion. The women seemed to fear the humanitarian workers and argued that they have not been able to assist any of the key informants in their situations. The key informants argued that they felt segregated from the humanitarian workers and that they were operating insufficiently within their mandate of the IL as presented in the theoretical approach. Humanitarian workers in Kakuma refugee camp appeared to show lack of understanding and interest. The fact that two of the key informants seemed to fear humanitarian workers is alarming and should be investigated further in order to assure no mistreatment towards Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women by humanitarian workers as depicted in section 1.2.3. Women in refugee camps, where reports of sexual abuse in refugee camps were reported.

On the last research question that was posed earlier in the thesis, *how safe are Sudanese women in Kakuma refugee camp in comparison to where you originate from in Sudan?*, the key informants agreed that Sudan was not more safe than Kakuma refugee camp, and all but one key informant argued that Kakuma refugee camp is more secure than Sudan. Despite of the feeling of lack of support from the humanitarian workers and the police authority, the key informants still maintained that they had more rights in Kakuma refugee camp. The humanitarian workers and the police authority can be regarded as operating within their mandate provided by the IL and that they produce some results, although not sufficient results. The key informants responded that they could at least turn to these actors, as opposed to Sudan and South Sudan where they had no one to turn to in cases of insecurities and threats.

In conclusion, the situation for the key informants in Kakuma refugee camp was insufficient in terms of food, job and means to provide a better life for their family. They also recognized the lack security and support in Kakuma refugee camp, not only to themselves, but also for their family. As the Kakuma refugee camp has become more permanent due to the protracted refugee influx into Kenya, these issues are of great importance to be addressed to ensure as dignified life as possible for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women and their family.

The key informants participating in this study conveyed an image of insecurities in Kakuma refugee camp as well as within their community. The community could also pose a threat to them in their lives in Kakuma refugee camp, and the main threat consisted of attacks from the host community and the traditions within one's own community in terms of the key informants' freedom to act. The lack of choices and options in the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's lives were considerable limited in Kakuma refugee camp, as they are in Sudan and South Sudan as well. The customary and Islamic laws together with the proscribed gender roles of Sudan South Sudan persisted in Kakuma refugee camp and the key informants could not enjoy the human rights in which they are entitled to. The humanitarian actors and the police authority have failed to maintain the human rights in which Kenya is a contracting state to listed declarations and conventions presented in the section 2.1. Theory. However the human rights have proven to be more consistent in Kakuma refugee camp by the key informants, but they still lack strength as many of the key informants at the time of doing the study was still leaving in fear and hopelessness with limited support and security from their community, police authority and humanitarian workers.

6. Recommendations

The results of this study shows an unbearable and complex situation for Sudanese refugee women in Kakuma refugee camp, and therefore wishes to do the following recommendations to:

- The Kenyan government to strengthen the police authority's capacity operating in Kakuma refugee camp, to establish a stronger non- corruption policy among the police officers, more sensitivity towards gender issues, as well as to implement greater knowledge among its officers on Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's security issues in Kakuma refugee camp. It is also recommended for the Kenyan government to address the security threats faced by the refugees in Kakuma refugee camp by the host community, the Turkanas through enforced security measures and overlook their policy on freedom to move and take a job employment for refugees.
- UNHCR to assist the refugees in their insecurity issues, by understanding and identifying the insecurities within the communities, to influence increased security measures among implementing partners to decrease Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's insecurities from e.g. host community. It is also recommended to the UNHCR to implement greater knowledge among its staff on Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's security issues within Kakuma refugee camp and their community in order to improve its work and approach towards refugee women.
- WFP to accommodate the basic needs of the refugees in a more comprehensive way to ensure refugee women's wellbeing and health.
- Other humanitarian actors in Kakuma refugee camp to implement greater knowledge among its staff on Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's security issues within Kakuma refugee camp and within their community. To implement projects and programs within the refugee women's communities in order for the members of the community to understand gender issues and to ensure the wellbeing of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women within their community.
- Future research to focus on the necessary implementation plans in order to advocate for greater support and security measures for Sudanese refugee women's.

7. References

- Bryman, A. 2001, *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*, Malmö: Liber
- Cockett, R. 2010, *Sudan – Darfur and the Failure of an African State*, Great Britain: Yale University Press
- Deng, F. 2010, *Customary Law in the Modern World – The crossfire of Sudan’s war of identities*, United States of America: Routledge
- Dixon, M., 2007, *Textbook on International Law*, 6th edn., United States of America: Oxford University Press
- Eriksson, M., Mårsäter, O., Åkermark, S. 2008, *Documents in Public International Law*, 2nd edn., Vällingby: Norstedts Juridik
- Essien, K., and Falola, T., 2009, *Culture and Customs of Sudan*, United States of America: Greenwood Press
- Flint, J., and De Waal, A. 2008, *Darfur – a new history of a long war*, United States of America: Zed Books
- Gardell, C., J., 2005, Sudan- Fred eller Statskollap?, *Världspolitikens Dagsfrågor*, 2005/1
- Gross, C., Kudelko, K., Purvis, C. 2010, *Gender Based violence in Southern Sudan – Justice for Women Long Overdue*, presented by Yale Law School.
- Johnson, D. 2011, *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars – Peace or Truce*, 5th edn., United States of America: Indiana University Press
- Kvale, S. 1997, *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun*, Denmark: Studentlitteratur
- Loescher, G., Betts, A., Milner, J. 2008, *UNHCR – the politics and practice of refugee protection into the 21st century*, United States of America: Routledge
- Martin, S., 2004, *Refugee Women*, 2nd edn., United States of America: Lexington Books
- Martin, S., 2008, Justice, Women’s Rights and Forced Migration, ed. Hollenbach D., In *Refugee Rights – Ethics, Advocacy and Africa*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press

- Nowrojee, B., 2008, Sexual Violence, Gender Roles and Displacement, ed. Hollenbach D., In *Refugee Rights – Ethics, Advocacy and Africa*, Washington DC: Georgetown University Press
- Petterson, D. 2003, *Inside Sudan- Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe*, 2nd edn., United States of America: Westview Press
- Templa, B., Moran, R. 2006, *Doing Research With Refugees – issues and guidelines*, Great Britain: The Policy Press

7.1. Published Articles

- Beswick, S. 2001, "If You Leave Your Country You Have No Life!" Rape, Suicide, and Violence: The Voices of Ethiopian, Somali, and Sudanese Female Refugees in Kenyan Refugee Camps, *North East African Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3.
- Callamard, A., 2002, Refugee Women: A Gendered and Political Analysis of the Refugee Experience, In *Global Changes in Asylum Regimes*, ed. Joly, D. Basingstoke: Palgrave/ MacMillan
- Couldrey, M., Morris, T. 2007, Listening to the women of Darfur, *Forced Migration Review*, no. 27, pp. 42
- Elia, L. 2007, Fighting Gender Based Violence in South Sudan, *Forced Migration Review*, ed. Couldrey, M., Morris, T., no. 27, pp. 41
- Friedman, A. 2008, Rape and Domestic Violence: The Experience of Refugee Women, *Women and Therapy*, vol. 13, no. 1-2.
- Hagan, J., Rymond- Richmond, W., Palioni, A. (2009) Racial Targeting of Sexual Violence in Darfur, *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 99, no.8, pp. 1386- 1392
- Halim, A. 2011, A Home for Obedience: Masculinity in Personal Status for Muslims Law, *Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World*, vol. 9, pp. 194-214
- Horn, R. 2009, Response to intimate partner violence in Kakuma refugee camp: refugee interactions with agency systems, *Social Science & Medicine*, no. 70, pp. 160-168.

- Jansen., B., J. 2008, *Between Vulnerability and Assertiveness: Negotiation Resettlement in Kakuma Refugee Camp Kenya*, *African Affairs*, 107/429, pp. 569-587.
- Crisp, J. 2003, *No Solutions in Sight – the problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa*, *UNHCR – Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit*, Working Paper no. 75

7.2. Internet sources

- Amnesty International, 2004, *Sudan, Darfur, Rape as a weapon of war*. Available at: www.amnesty.org [30/1/13]
- Amnesty International, 2009, *'No place for us here'- Violence against refugee women in eastern Chad*. Available at: www.amnesty.org [03/02/13]
- Department of Refugee Affairs press release on 13/01/2013 available at: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/Department%20of%20Refugee%20Affairs%20press%20statement%202013%20December%202012.pdf [16/05/2013]
- Human Rights Watch 2011, *Darfur in the shadows – the Sudanese government's ongoing attacks on civilians and human rights*. Available at: www.hrw.org [04/02/13]
- Human Rights Watch's website on forcefully resettling asylum seekers. Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/01/21/kenya-don-t-force-55000-refugees-camps> [16/05/2013]
- Jastram, K., Achiron, M. *Refuge Protection – A Guide to International Law*, UNHCR. Available at: http://www.drc.dk/fileadmin/uploads/pdf/IAPDF/relief_work/A%20Guide%20to%20International%20Refugee%20Law.pdf [14/04/13]
- Mayoyo, P., 2013, 'Kenya asks UN to end Uhuru, Ruto ICC trial' *Daily Nation*, 9 May, Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/politics/Kenya-asks-UN-to-end-Uhuru-Ruto-ICC-trial/-/1064/1846986/-/oso7wvz/-/index.html> [21/05/2013]

- Refugee Consortium of Kenya 2012, *Asylum under threat – assessing the protection of Somali Refugees in Dadaab refugee camps and along the migration corridor*. Available at: www.rckkenya.org [15/11/12]
- Refugee Consortium of Kenya's website on RCK. Available at: <http://rckkenya.org/index.php/rck-about/organisation.html>, [16/05/2013]
- Simon, C. 2005, In the misery of Darfur, *Le Monde*. Available at www.refworld.org [30/1/2013]
- United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees website on Kakuma. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483a16.html>, [24/2/2013]
- Women's Refugee Commission (2009) *Refugee Girls- The Invisible Faces of War*. Available at: www.womensrefugeecommission.org [03/01/13]

7.3. Conventions, Declarations, Acts

- The Geneva Convention relating to the Status for Refugees 1951
 - Protocol relating to the Status for Refugees 1967
- OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa 1969
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979
- The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 1993
- Kenyan Refugee Act 2006

Appendix 1: List of key informants

Focus group discussion 1 Interview date: 25.02.2013	Five women from the Equatoria communities participated.	Three women were young adults and two were adults.
Focus group discussion 2 Interview date: 26.02.2013	Five women from the Dinka communities participated.	One woman was a younger adult and four women were adults.
Focus group discussion 3 Interview date: 27.02.2013	Four women from the Darfuri community and one Dinka women participated.	Two women were young adults and three of them were adults.
Key informant 1 Interview date: 26.02.2013	Equatoria community	Young adult. Two children and married
Key informant 2 Interview date: 26.02.2013	Equatoria community	Young adult. Expecting but not married.
Key informants 3 Interview date: 27.02.2013	Equatoria community	Young adult Married and two children
Key informant 4 Interview date: 27.02.2013	Equatoria community	Adult Married but separated with seven children
Key informant 5 Interview date: 28.02.2013	Dinka community	Adult Separated with two children
Key informant 6 Interview date: 28.02.2013	Dinka community	Adult Married with one child
Key informant 7 Interview date: 28.02.2013	Dinka community	Adult Married with three children
Key informant 8 Interview date: 01.03.2013	Darfur community	Young adult Married with three children (with one child in Darfur)
Key informant 9 Interview date: 01.03.2013	Darfur community	Young adult Married with two children
Key informant 10 Interview date: 01.03.2013	Darfur community	Adult Married with six children and two foster children
Key informant 11 Interview date: 01.03.2013	Darfur community	Adult Married with five children and is expecting one child

Young adults: 18 – 25 years

Adults: 26 – 40 years

Elder adults: 41 – 60 years

Appendix 2. Map of Sudan and South Sudan



Retrieved from <http://www.sharpe-online.com>, at 25/5/2013

Appendix 3: Map of Kenya and Kakuma refugee camp



Illustration 1.1. Map of the Kenyan territory with the location of Kakuma refugee camp

Image accredited to: <http://queensjournal.ca>

Appendix 4: Confidentiality Letter for the Focus group Discussion

Letter of confidentiality

The results of this study will be used in a master's thesis which will be produced by the researcher, Helena Nilsson, and approved by Mr Lars Löfquist who holds a Ph D in Theology and who is the Director of International Humanitarian Action's master's program at Uppsala University. The study has been approved to be conducted by the Department of Theology at Uppsala University, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK). The study can be used by Uppsala University SIDA and RCK for various purposes, with the approval of the researcher.

The aim of the study is to develop an understanding of how Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women experience their safety within Kakuma refugee camp. The purpose will be to document and observe Sudanese and South Sudanese women's experiences and their perceptions of safety in the camp. This thesis will also attempt to analyze the role of humanitarian actors finding ways to prevent violence and insecurity to occur within the Sudanese communities. With the research material, the hopes are to establish an understanding of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's sense of safety and explore whether there are any gaps in humanitarian workers approach to address safety for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women.

I as a researcher have to guarantee to preserve absolute confidentiality towards you as a participant in the focus group discussion. This entails that your name will not be displayed in the final documents, and your background information will not be stated in the final thesis in a way so it can be traced back to you. I will not discuss details regarding you to an outstanding person which can be directly linked to you. The interpreter has also signed a statement in which she follows the same guideline as the researcher. In any point during this focus group discussion you can stop and choose to no longer participate in the focus group discussion. As participants in this focus group discussion, you will also sign to not disclose any information on the other women participating.

Appendix 5: Confidentiality Letter for the key interviews

Letter of confidentiality

The results of this study will be used in a master's thesis which will be produced by the researcher, Helena Nilsson, and approved by Mr Lars Löfquist who holds a Ph D in Theology and who is the Director of International Humanitarian Action's master's program at Uppsala University. The study has been approved to be conducted by the Department of Theology at Uppsala University, SIDA and RCK for various purposes, with the approval of the researcher.

The aim of the study is to develop an understanding of how Sudanese refugee women experience their safety within Kakuma refugee camp. The purpose will be to document and observe Sudanese women's experiences and their perceptions of safety in the camp. This thesis will also attempt to analyze the role of humanitarian actors finding ways to prevent violence and insecurity to occur within the Sudanese and South Sudanese communities. With the research material, the hopes are to establish an understanding of Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women's sense of safety and explore whether there are any gaps in humanitarian workers approach to address safety for Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women.

I as a researcher have to guarantee to preserve absolute confidentiality towards you as a participant in the interview. This entails that your name will not be displayed in the final documents, and your background information will not be stated in the final thesis in away so it can be traced back to you. I will not discuss details regarding you to an outstanding person which can be directly linked to you. The interpreter has also signed a statement in which she follows the same guidelines as the researcher. In any point during the interview you can stop and choose to no longer participate in the interview.

Appendix 6: Interview guide for the Focus Group Discussions

Questions for the focus group discussion

Everybody present themselves with:

- Their marital status
- Age
- If they have children and how many
- Who they are living with
- How long they have been in Kakuma

Safety in Kakuma refugee camp

- Do you perceive that Kakuma is a safe camp? If not, why not? If yes, how?
- In your experience and understanding, do Sudanese and South Sudanese women experience insecurity from other nationalities in Kakuma refugee camp? If yes, what kind?
- What kind of insecurities exists within Kakuma refugee camp for a Sudanese or a South Sudanese woman?
- On what people or authorities do you rely on in Kakuma refugee camp? Why?

Safety within the Sudanese and South Sudanese community

- Do you think that the Sudanese or South Sudanese community/culture provides good security for women?
- Do you think that the Sudanese or South Sudanese community provides good security in Kakuma refugee camp?
 - Is it any difference from the sense of security in Kakuma refugee camp and your place of origin in terms of safety within the Sudanese or South Sudanese community?
- Do you think that your community provides good security in Kakuma refugee camp for women?

Response of the humanitarian workers

- Do you feel that the humanitarian workers assist Sudanese or South Sudanese refugee women in terms of what poses as an insecurity for the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women?
- Do you feel that the humanitarian workers understand your safety issues?
- If any women agree that the humanitarian workers do not do enough, how could they improve their work in order to address your insecurity within Kakuma refugee camp better?

Returning to Sudan or South Sudan

- Would you ever wish to return to Sudan or South Sudan? For what reason? Permanently?
- Would you feel safe if you would return to Sudan or South Sudan? If no, why not?
- Under what conditions would you feel safe to return to Sudan or South Sudan?
- According to your sense of safety within Kakuma refugee camp, would you feel more or less safe in Sudan or South Sudan?

Appendix 7: Interview guide for the key interviews

Questions to the women

- What is your age?
- Which ethnic group do you belong to?
- Which church/religion do you belong to?
- How long have you been in Kakuma?
- Why did you leave Sudan or South Sudan?
- In which area of Sudan or South Sudan did you reside/live before coming here?
- What is your marital status?
- Have you given birth and how many children do you have now?
- Are you living together with your children?
- Who do you share household with in Kakuma? Why do you live with these people?
- Who were you living with before arriving to Kakuma refugee camp? If not living with the same people, why?

Security issues in Kakuma

- What do you recognize as the main insecurity in the camp? Why?
- Have you or someone you know experienced any threats or threatening situations within Kakuma refugee camp? What kind of situation?
- What kind of aid did that person/you receive in that situation from humanitarian workers?
 - Security forces?
 - From the community?
- Who do you feel that you can rely on in Kakuma refugee camp? Why?
- How do you feel about humanitarian workers approach to your security concerns, are they adequate? If not, why?
 - If not, what kind of response would you think would be appropriate?

Community

- Do you feel that you can rely on support from your community? If not why, If yes in what way?
- In what situation do you feel that you have support from your community?
- In what situation do you feel that you do not have the support of your community?

- Do you feel that your community provides security? If yes, how? If no, why not?
- Do other nationalities and communities pose a threat to you, or do you feel insecure due to the other nationalities and communities living in Kakuma refugee camp? If yes, how? If no, why not?

About returning to Sudan or South Sudan

- Do you feel more or less safe in Kakuma compared to where you come from in Sudan or South Sudan?
- Would you like to return to Sudan or South Sudan?
- Do you believe that you would come across any resistance from your community in the event you decide to return?
- Have you ever returned to Sudan or South Sudan? If so, when, for what motivations and for how long?
- Do you travel between Kenya and Sudan or South Sudan? If not, why not? If yes, for what purpose?
- Do you reckon that South Sudan or Sudan is a safe country to return to? If yes, why? if no, why not?
- Do you know of anyone who has had problems getting South Sudanese nationality when they returned? If so, what were the problems?