



**REFLECTION IN ACTION: REDUCING SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN IN KYAKA II REFUGEE SETTLEMENT, UGANDA**

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of the Degree of
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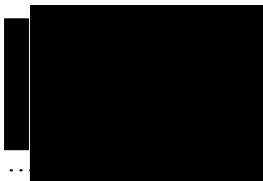
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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the women and girls in Kyaka II refugee settlement and all women in post-conflict settings who have continued to walk proud and tall in the face of adversity. I also extend this dedication to my peer educators and the members of *Mume Kwa Muke*, I couldn't have contributed to the notable change in your community without your ambition, passion and skill. May the work we began together bear much fruit and touch the lives of all those around you.

ABSTRACT

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women in post-conflict settings is prevalent, but continues to be marginalised. While humanitarian agencies and the international community have made significant progress in trying to address SGBV, it is still prevalent in many post-conflict settings, including in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda. Correspondingly, there is a dearth of scholarly research on SGBV against refugee women in post-conflict settings, specifically in refugee settlements and camps. This obscures evidence and hinders possible interventions against SGBV. As such, refugee women suffer a double jeopardy of SGBV: firstly as women and secondly as refugees. That is why the main objective of this study was to explore the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, by examining the causes of SGBV and the consequences it had on women and girl refugees. In order to achieve this objective, an action research design was applied through an intervention project that was formulated to provide sustainable solutions to SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

This research was conceived as participatory action research (AR) involving meaningful participation of both refugee women and men in formulating an empowerment project aimed at reducing SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Qualitative data collection methods were employed in a methodological triangulation framework combining focus group discussion, key informant interviews and participant observation. The study was informed by three theories: the feminism theory, the ecological theory and the conflict resolution theories. The findings showed that the female refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are exposed to four main forms of SGBV: sexual violence, physical violence, socio-economic violence and psychological violence. However, my observations during this study revealed that psychological violence is the most common (yet invisible) form of violence from which the other forms of SGBV bloom. The study also revealed that male dominance entrenched in the patriarchal cultural values of Congolese refugees underscored the aforementioned forms of violence.

The intervention project, named *Mume Kwa Muke*, was led by refugee men and women and conducted in 5 zones within Kyaka II refugee community to reduce SGBV in the refugee settlement. The action team was composed of 14 peer educators (7 women and 7 men) who used sensitization and awareness-raising mainly through drama, songs and one-on-one engagements to change community attitudes that reinforce SGBV. The action team created multiplier effects of reaching out, there are now: meaningful partnerships as a result of peer educators reaching out to others, increased women's involvement in decision making, an increase in both trust and reconciliation at family and community levels leading to peaceful co-existence.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACORD	Agency for Cooperation in research and Development
AHA	Africa Humanitarian Alliance
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAR	Central African Republic
CAR	Control of Alien Refugee Act
CEDAW	Convention of Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
DDP	Directorate of Disaster Preparedness
DFS	Department of Field Support
DoR	Department of Refugees
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Danish RC	Danish Refugee Council
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ExCom	Executive Committee
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIDA	The Uganda Association of Women Lawyers
FIDH	International Federation for Human Rights
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GHB	Gamma Hydroxy Butyrate
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IPs	Implementing Partners
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IR	International Relations
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
Isis WICCE	Isis Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army

LWF	Lutheran-World-Federation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NDA	National Development Agenda
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OC	Officer in Charge
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OTR	Office of the Registrar
PADEAP	The Pan African Development Education and Advocacy Programme
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PO	Participatory observation
RLP	Refugee-Law-Project
RWCs	Refugee Welfare Councils
SASA	Start Awareness Support Action
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SPRAAs	Special Programmes for Refugees in Affected Areas
SRH	Sexual Reproductive Health
SRP/S	Self-Reliance Programme/ Strategy
STA	Settlement Transformation Agenda
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNDHR	United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
VHTs	Village Health Teams
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WCRWC	Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation

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PART I

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background and synopsis of the entire thesis. This study sought to identify the underlying causes of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda, and to generate possible solutions to the violence. It employed participatory action research methods through creating an intervention project that could potentially help to provide long-lasting solutions to the problem of SGBV. The research project was entrenched in the fact that if peaceful and egalitarian communities are to be achieved in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, both refugee women and men are key change agents and are valuable resources in finding solutions to the SGBV problem. Evaluation of the research intervention was carried out in order to measure its effectiveness in ending, or at least reducing, SGBV. This study was conceptualized against two sustainable development goals: reducing gender inequality (Goal 5) and promoting peaceful co-existence (Goal 16). This thesis is presented in nine (9) chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study that is the subject of this thesis and includes the background to the study, a statement of the research problem, and the research objectives and questions. Chapters 2 to 4 present a detailed review of relevant literature, whilst Chapter 5 focuses on the research design and methodology adopted for this study. In Chapter 6, the data collected is presented and analysed, whilst Chapter 7 evaluates the action research process that guided the study. Chapter 8 attempts to co-relate data analysis and evaluation. The final chapter, Chapter 9, presents a summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study focused on refugee women and sought to empirically analyse the nature, extent and causes of SGBV against refugee women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in order to develop an intervention strategy to address the problem. According to Pratt and Werchick (2004), SGBV is an integral aspect of armed conflict, constituting a major challenge for women in conflict-related zones. In many refugee camps and settlements throughout Africa, women continue to experience SGBV in the form of rape, sexual harassment, battering, prostitution and a host of other human rights abuses as a result of the breakdown of social norms which tend to accompany armed conflicts (Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 11).

Post-conflict situations often create dynamic changes which cause women to resort to negative coping mechanisms such as prostitution and sex in return for favours, whilst making men and boys feel disenfranchised because they can no longer be providers of their families as customarily expected. Such

shifts in societal dynamics often cause an increase in SGBV prevalence. Therefore, as Uganda's refugee situation becomes increasingly protracted, sustainable solutions must be sought for these refugees.

Despite the relatively high levels of SGBV in refugee settlements and camps (Lewis 2006), scholars have not comprehensively tackled this topic. This study was conceived and undertaken in the frameworks of feminism, the ecological theory and the concept of conflict transformation. While feminist theorists focus on masculinity as the main cause of violence, the ecological theory conceptualises violence as a multifaceted phenomenon encapsulated in the interplay of personal, situational and social cultural factors (Heise 1998: 1). The conflict transformation model explores relationships through a systematic change in perceptions at these various levels (Francis 2000: 8). It aims for deep and profound changes in conflict situations that transcend the limitations of traditional approaches (Ryan 2009: 304). These theories are highlighted in Sub-section 1.2 of this chapter. The conceptual perspectives of the study are defined below.

1.1.1 Definition of Key Concepts

1.1.2 Introduction

This section reviews literature on five key concepts which underpin this study: refugee, violence against women, sexual violence, gender-based violence, a refugee settlement and action research.

1.1.3 The Concept of a Refugee

According to Shasthri (2013: 159), forced displacement of people within and across national borders is one of the most tragic and persistent emergencies of our time; and yet defining a refugee is a complex task. In simple terms, a refugee is a person who flees from his or her country of origin or residence by crossing a national boundary and entering into another country (Shasthri 2013: 185). Refugees differ from displaced persons in that the latter, though displaced from their habitual areas of residence, remain within their national boundaries (Shasthri 2013: 185). Today, many scholars including Salehyan and Gleditsch (2006: 341), have adopted the United Nations definition of a refugee. According to Article 1(A) 2 of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 1951):

A refugee is a person who [...] owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (Article 1[A] 2 of the UNHCR 1951).

However, the UNHCR definition has been contested on several grounds, including habitual residence issues (persons persecuted within their countries of nationality), a person's sexual orientation, gendered persecution and on the basis of its parameters of time and boundaries (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 35).

Scholars have argued that the definition was established for the refugees who were fleeing persecution during World War II (1945) and the Holocaust, with date lines covering people who were displaced as a result of those events before the establishment of the 1951 Convention (Schafer 2003: 35; Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 35; Benz and Hasenclever 2011: 188). Subsequently, the definition was improved by the 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees, which was adopted on 4 October 1967. The Protocol maintained the same substantive definition of a refugee but only removed timelines and geographical boundaries (Schafer 2003: 35; Benz and Hasenclever 2011: 189). In order to broaden the definition, the 1969 Convention's definition was established. According to Valji, Anne de la Hunt and Moffett (2003: 64), Article 1 Sub-section II of the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa broadens the United Nations' definition by adding:

[...] the term refugee shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

- **Gender Related Persecution**

Despite the OAU's broader definition, the term refugee has been challenged on gender lines, partly because women's rights were less appreciated at the historical moment that the Refugee Convention came into effect (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 379). Scholars have argued that there is need to be cognizant of the fact that while both men and women are persecuted for similar reasons, women are also persecuted because of their gender (Sjoberg 2006; Freedman 2007). According to Bhuiyan (2013a: 53), persecution is the anchor point of the refugee law of 1951. In the same vein, Islam (2013: 223) holds that the requirements for one to qualify for "a well-founded fear of persecution" are based on a particular race, religion, nationality and membership of a particular social group, or political opinion of the person seeking refuge. Similarly, the UNHCR (2002: 2) holds that gender-related persecution is a term used to address an array of varied claims in which gender is a pertinent concern while determining the status of a refugee.

However, the 1951 UNHCR definition of a refugee is considered gender-blind because it does not explicitly recognize gender as a reason for flight, thus making it rather complex for asylum officers to recognize crimes against women as constituting persecution. Frances Weber in the book *Borderline Justice: The Fight for Refugee and Migrant Rights* observes that women asylum seekers particularly face gender-related persecutions above all normal obstacles for asylum seekers (Webber 2012: 72). In addition, female asylum seekers who flee their countries due to violence directed primarily at women may fail to obtain asylum unless their claim of fear of persecution also includes one of the reasons for flight established in the 1951 Refugee Convention (Schafer 2003: 37). Another key issue of concern,

according to Freedman (2007: 45), is that gendered persecution relating to factors such as female genital mutilation, dowry marriage, forced marriage, rape, forced sterilisation and abortion, is considered trivial or at times assigned to cultural differences that do not fall under the category of requirements for one to qualify for international asylum. Indeed, Webber asserts that the omission of sex and gender from the 1951 Refugee Convention reflects a widespread and accepted historical view of the public sphere as male and the private sphere as female (Webber 2012: 72). Moreover, although the Convention stipulates the key areas of persecution if one is to be granted asylum which include: race, sex, nationality, member of social group or political opinion, these have also been critiqued for being superfluous in relation to gender-related persecution. Of these, social group and political opinion have been hotly debated in the study of refugeeism. The three sub-section that follow highlight the main arguments in the debate.

- **Belonging to a Social Group**

The absence of persecution and gender from the 1951 Convention affects the social group qualification of the 1951 UNHCR Convention definition. This relates to how public-private relations are reinforced, posing a question on how nationalist images of a home manifest in the gendered construction of refugee settings (Giles and Hyndman 2004). As such, feminists draw attention to the myriad strategies associated with the public-private space distinction which relegates women to spheres of domestic activity, immune from scrutiny and activism, while men control and determine public power and the priorities of a society as a whole (Coomaraswamy 2005: 4729). This inequality is perpetrated by those societies whose gender roles and stratification prescribe that public spaces should be operated by men, while women should operate in private spheres. Consequently, the would-be grounds for women to operate together in social activities are curtailed by their accustomed family roles. It is envisaged that when women are applying for asylum, patriarchal societies which also condone gender-related persecution will limit the relations women have with and within the public sphere (Valji *et al.* 2003: 66).

These debates bring into focus the issue of the definition being gender-blind and its individualistic focus, thus calling for an amendment to address the women-specific needs that pertain to the above-mentioned loopholes. Valji *et al.* (2003: 66) argue that women in less gender-reconciled societies are not included in public participation fora, such as religious and political organisations, although this is the same criterion applied to establish asylum claims under the definition provided by the Geneva Convention. Patriarchy has clearly defined the confines of women to be mothers and to bear children, which is a social role leading to their exclusion from public life, this exclusion is tantamount to discrimination and it is an element cruel enough to constitute persecution in and of itself (Valji *et al.* 2003; Crawley 2012).

- **Political Opinion**

The ground of political opinion has been questioned by feminists for being narrowly defined, since it does not integrate any perspective on the state, government and society in which gender roles may be engaged (UNHCR 2002: 8; Freedman 2007: 81). Feminists argue that political action is not defined merely by belonging to a party, by standing for election to a representative body or being part of a political executive (Freedman 2007: 81). Indeed, the definition of a political refugee as that person fleeing persecution because of his or her direct association in the national activities of a state does not always correspond to the reality of the incident of women in societies with a gender hierarchy. This is mainly because cultural traditions have assigned women non-political roles while their male counterparts monopolize the political roles (UNHCR 2002: 9; Hans 2008: 69).

Freedman (2007: 81) argues that women have been engaged in political actions which have not always been recognised as such, including activism in grassroots and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), providing medical care, shelter and food to combatants during armed conflict. This implies that women's activities are considered private, a factor which reduces their chances of being approved as asylum seekers (Freedman 2007: 80). Besides their supporting roles during conflict, the UNHCR (2002: 9) maintains that women are frequently endorsed by the political opinions of their families or male relatives, and subjected to persecution because of the activities of their male counterparts. In the same vein, the UNHCR (2002: 9) report notes that a woman may be persecuted for reasons of her membership to a particular social group, her family. Consequently, women's activities should be incorporated as gender-related claims in defining what constitutes political (UNHCR 2002: 9), recognising that these types of activities are related to power relations and structures (Coomaraswamy 2005: 4729; Freedman 2007: 81).

- **State Persecution**

On the other hand, a state is seen as the source of persecution if the persecutory measures are being conducted by the state's own organs or functionaries such as security forces, law enforcers or civilian administrative personnel (General-Assembly 2006: 33; Bhuiyan 2013a: 54). State-related persecution has been of a particular concern in certain cases where the state is involved in the persecution of women during war, not only at the hands of the military or private personnel, but also state security operatives who have sometimes been reportedly involved in gruesome acts of rape (Samset 2012: 234). Scholarly studies further argue that poorly structured regulations on the prevention and castigation of violence, limited awareness and sensitivity by law enforcement officials, courts and social service providers all engender and perpetuate violence against women (General-Assembly 2006: 33; The Pan African Development Education and Advocacy Programme (PADEAP) (2010: 16). According to the General Assembly (2006: 34), examples of regulations include:

[...] those that criminalize women's consensual sexual behaviour as a means to control them; policies on forced sterilization, forced pregnancy and forced abortion; policies on protective custody of women that effectively imprisons them; policies on virginity testing and sanctioning forced marriages, that fail to recognize women's autonomy and agency and legitimize male control over women.

These automatically warrant a fear of persecution, although in such cases, the state may be unwilling to avail protection to the victim. Consequently, feminists have argued that perpetrators be made accountable for acts of violence that might otherwise be kept private and remain depoliticized (Giles and Hyndman 2004: 311).

The international tribunals for Rwanda and former Yugoslavia mobilized international conventions against torture and humanitarian laws that outlined the rules of war, each operating within the parameters of a temporally and geographically circumscribed set of events (Giles and Hyndman 2004: 311) where some of these crimes, such as rape, were state-inflicted. However, Valji *et al.* (2003: 65) argue that, often, state responsibility for sexual crimes, even in the context of war situations, is neither recognized nor acknowledged as such crimes are dismissed as personal and private crimes or random acts by individuals as opposed to state-sanctioned tactics. Similarly, when gendered persecution happens in a home or a family, it is not seen as a matter for state intervention or for national or international politics (Freedman 2007: 45). Such persecution has been normalized and frequently viewed as non-existent on the basis that there is no state culpability in cases of private abuse (Valji *et al.* 2003: 65). That is why the magnitude of such violence remains largely unknown (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013). This way, the state fails in its responsibility of respecting and protecting the rights of its citizens as per international obligatory requirements. This issue has partly been concealed by the jurisprudence surrounding SGBV as a private matter. Nonetheless, international bodies have recently recognised the face, cruelty and intention of such crimes, acknowledging that sexual violence is an abuse of power and a means to achieving a political end, and this constitutes a step forward in re-conceptualising the persecution of women (Valji *et al.* 2003: 65; Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 379).

Besides the above barriers to women's asylum claims, other issues they face as they seek asylum include the difficulty for some to explain their plight to male immigration officers. As Freedman (2007: 88) argues, a vast number of countries have admitted that women deserve being interviewed by female immigration officers if necessary, yet, in practice, this does not happen as there are less female officers to carry out the interviews given the large numbers women of asylum seekers. According to Bhuiyan (2013a: 64), in a refugee status determination, fair hearings should be applied, although Freedman (2007: 89) argues that when couples are interviewed together or privately, the man's views are considered first. Even when a woman's case is heard independently from her husband, she normally faces the barrier of having to prove her case in front of immigration officers and judges who in most

cases are sceptical about their claims. Proof is needed to substantiate their claims. While Bhuiyan (2013: 62) argues that the burden of proof lies with the applicant through providing evidence, Valji (2001: 30) argues that it is hard to prove sexual violence, a problem which leads to compromising women's chances of asylum. Following the disapproval of the operation of international legal policies regarding female asylum seekers and refugees, a few countries have introduced gender guidelines in the determination of asylum claims (Freedman 2007: 90). Similarly, the UNHCR produced several guidelines (UNHCR-1991, 1995, 1995b, 2002) over the years so as to encourage states to incorporate gender-sensitive approaches in determining asylum claims (Freedman 2015).

It is against this backdrop that researchers argue that because gender was not specifically provided for in the definition of a refugee, the convention should amend the definition to include women-specific issues such as those related to fear of persecution specific to their sex such as sexual violence (Valji, N. *et al*, 2003; Mulumba 2005). Conversely, Freedman (2007: 76) argues that this argument seems to be unfounded when the actual interpretation by nation states is considered. Freedman's opinion is supported by Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 35) according to whom the term refugee has had to be re-conceptualised, through transnational legal processes, to include gender. Freedman (2007: 76) adds that, although in theory there may be a strong argument for adding further grounds for persecution to those already mentioned in the convention, in practice asylum officers and even judges have not recognized crimes against women, including rape, as constituting persecution. In her view, whilst the Geneva Convention and other international agreements on refugees and asylum supposedly offer protection to all on a gender-neutral basis, the procedures for granting protection have largely been undermined by gendered traditions which do not offer protection to women because their persecution is not recognised (Freedman 2015).

1.1.4 The Concept of Violence against Women

Violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation, and it is perhaps the most pervasive. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. As long as it continues, we cannot claim to be making real progress towards equality, development, and peace. (Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the UN Jan. 1997– Dec. 2006)

The Human-Rights-Watch (2000) report states that violence is an act of inflicting bodily harm, causing torture, using insults, mental and emotional abuse, or the demolition of property. Frequently, it is used as a means of intimidation, dominance, vengeance or repression against an intimate partner (Human-Rights-Watch 2000). On the other hand, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines violence against women as "... any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life

(General Assembly Resolution 48/104 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993)''¹.

The above definition incorporates the roots of gender-based violence and recognizes that violence against women does not only manifest in sexual imbalances, but also depicts an imbalance of power in which women are relegated to secondary positions relative to men (Jenkins and Reardon 2007: 226; Hans 2008: 67). For instance, intimate-partner violence is often used to illustrate and underpin a man's position as a household head. In similar cases, the term sexual gender-based violence has often been used to refer to gender-based violence with sexual violence conceptualised as a form of gender-based violence.

According to the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the term gender-based violence has begun to present a new concept in understanding violence against women, that it reflects an imbalance of power between women and men in society (UNIFEM 2002: 3). However, this does not mean that all acts against women constitute violence for reasons of gender, or that all victims of violence for reasons of gender are women (Jimenez and Langholtz 2008: 121). While most women worldwide experience violence in their lifetime (one out of every three women in the world has experienced physical or sexual violence)², African women are more vulnerable especially due the recurring conflicts on the continent, poverty and the traditional African gender norms that reinforce gender inequality. According to the WHO, violence against women defies the basic human rights, and as a result, it should be eliminated through political will, and by legal and civil action in all sectors of society (WHO 2005: vii). Violence against women takes place in homes and communities, and the perpetrators are usually known to their women victims (Forbes 2004: x). As Coomaraswamy (2005: 4729) observes:

Though the family is often a site of nurture and care, it can also be a place where male power is brutally expressed and where women are socialized to accept their inferiority and vulnerability. It is the family that often first teaches women to have negative disempowering self-images and it is in a family that young men first learn about female subordination.

Coomaraswamy's observation applies equally to families in refugee settlements and camps throughout Africa. Scholars have observed that women continue to experience SGBV in the form of rape, sexual harassment, battering, trafficking, female genital mutilation (FGM), forced prostitution and a host of other human rights abuses, as a result of the disruption of social norms that accompanies armed conflicts (Manjoo and McRaith 2011; Seelinger and Wagner 2013). Moreover, they also experience violence in

¹ <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>

² <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/end-violence-against-women>

their communities at the hands of the police, aid officials, local people and other refugee men (Lewis 2006: 1).

The UNHCR (2011: 6) defines SGBV as any harmful act carried out against a person's will and based on socially constructed differences between men and women. It is a violation of human rights and it maintains the stereotyping of gender roles that undermines human dignity and stymies human development (UNHCR 2003: 7). It includes an array of violent acts committed against a person's will and is a product of culturally defined power inequalities (UNHCR 2003: 11; Ganeshpanchan 2005: 4). The SGBV equation conceptualises women as victims and men as perpetrators, thus remaining the principal approach in GBV development programming, with the percentage of women victims and survivors exceeding that of men (UNHCR 2003; Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008). Studies reveal a dearth of literature of men who experience SGBV compared to that of women victims. Various scholars have reported that women comprise approximately eighty percent of refugees and internally displaced people worldwide (Valji 2000: 4; UNHCR 2003: 12; Horn and Seelinger 2013: 21). The violence they face in conflict situations does not end there, as refugee communities are rife with acts of SGBV (Lewis 2006; Hans 2008).

1.1.5 Sexual Violence

According to Lewis (2009: 3) sexual violence is that violence inflicted through sexual avenues or by targeting sexuality. Sexual violence can be a form of GBV and it occurs in the forms of rape, sexual harassment, forced prostitution, sex trafficking, sexual exploitation and other harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation (Snyder 2009: 47). For purposes of this research however, sexual violence is isolated from GBV in order to incorporate those unusual instances when sexual violence is not automatically gender-motivated. This observation provides space for violence against women to be located within a larger societal framework, offering a valid approach to address its root causes and enabling the researcher to investigate the issue holistically.

The term sexual violence has often been associated with rape, although research reveals that sexual violence, both during war and in peace time, is a multifaceted phenomenon (Skjelsbaek 2007: 70; Hovil 2012: 5); in some instances women may be forced into prostitution to earn a living (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 6). In northern Uganda, during the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) war, some women were forced to marry rebels (Krause 2014: 34). Feminist theorists maintain that a society's risk of rape is a result of male domination over socio-political and economic affairs since it involves use of physical force against the victim. Hence, rape is not only perceived exclusively as a violent sexual act, but is also a manifestation of power imbalance (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 4; Samset 2012: 235).

Scholars have argued that rape is used strategically to terrorize civilian populations (inclusive of women, children and men), and to promote ethnic cleansing (Samset 2012). For example, it has been

reported that both combatants and non-combatants in DRC have applied acts of sexual assault as a strategy to intimidate, disgrace and terrorize civilian populations alleged to be sympathetic with their opponents (Arief 2010: 8). The perpetrator-victim relationship characterizes this power structure and is normally a male-female relationship, during and after conflict (Skjelsbaek 2007: 71), normally with females as victims and males as perpetrators. However, given the fact that men can also be victims of sexual violence (Lwambo 2013), the perpetrator-victim relationship must be considered as one related to the masculinity and femininity as opposed to strictly male and female.

Research shows that sexual violence in refugee settings, just as during conflict situations, is certainly not a new phenomenon (Vann 2002: 16; WHO 2002: 156). According to Freedman (2007: 61) this form of violence against women has been perpetrated on an unprecedented scale in the past decades. Cases in which rape has been used as a weapon of war in Africa in the past two decades include Darfur in Sudan, DRC, northern Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia, the Central African Republic (CAR), Liberia, Somalia, Nigeria and Burundi (Arief 2010; Samset 2012). According to Arief, such acts have been principally rife in eastern DRC, where rebel groups, security forces and other insurgent forces have inflicted sexual violence upon civilians on a massive scale (Arief 2010: 7). The perpetrators of these atrocities target women and girls much more than they do men (Samset 2012: 233). For instance, in the post-war Kivu and Orientale provinces of DRC, male victims did not exceed 10% of the total number of victims of sexual violence. (Eriksson and Stern 2010: 44). However, according to Bastick, Grimm and Kunz (2007: 15), given the particular stigma associated with being sexually violated as a man, underreporting may have been more common for male victims than for female victims. Samset (2012: 233) argues that both during and after the war, the perpetrators of sexual violence in eastern DRC were almost invariably men. Rape may be used as a means of dehumanizing women and of denying their femininity through the use of specific tactics designed to undermine the enemy and reinforce the power of the state or opposing forces (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz 2007: 15; Samset 2012: 237). Indeed, sexual violence against women is devastating since it erodes the fabric of a community in a way that few weapons can, due to the strong communal reaction to the violation and the pain stamped on entire families.

Scholars argue that sexual violence, just like GBV, happens at every phase of the refugee cycle: during flight; while in the country of asylum; and during repatriation (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008: 1; Snyder 2010: 145). Sexual violence in the eastern DRC during and after the 1998-2002 period went far beyond one-on-one rapes in the private sphere to the public sphere where it had a collective nature and was physically and psychologically devastating for the victims Samset (2012: 233). All the same, it must be noted that sexual violence does not happen in isolation: it exists alongside other forms of violence, such as torture and killings, making it hard to ignore the consequences

(Skjelsbaek 2007: 79; Lwambo 2013: 59). As such, the use of sexual violence alongside other violent acts worsens any conflict situation.

In refugee settings, sexual exploitation of young girls as well as women is prevalent although the actual number of cases remains unknown due to underreporting resulting from cultural interpretations that downplay the significance of such atrocities and thus create a vicious cycle of violence (Haliso 2009; Arief 2010; Govindjee and Taiwo 2013). Displacement as a result of conflict complicates the means of accessing essential needs such as clothes, healthcare facilities and food for refugee women (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 6). Refugee women and girls have few options and no separate domestic income, rendering them vulnerable to coercion into the sex industry as a source of income (Schafer 2003: 41; Ganeshpanchan 2005: 6). Worse still, refugee women who have experienced such acts of violence stand at risk of being ostracized by their communities and families (Isis WICCE 2014: 60), a fact that largely accounts for under-reporting of sexual violence cases in order to avoid stigmatization. But concealment of such cases also hinders any form of intervention (UNHCR 2002: 9; 2015: 2). As Isis WICCE (2014: 60) observed, “in most cases, survivors of sexual violence conceal such information due to the shame and stigma they may suffer from sharing their experiences”.

As highlighted in Section 2.7.2, sexual violence despite its prevalence in refugee settings has not been acknowledged as a form of serious harm under the terms of the Geneva Convention and women who have suffered from this type of violence do not receive refugee status. Freedman (2007: 80) cites the example of a report of the Black Women's Rape Action Project and Women against Rape in the United Kingdom, which indicated that women were denied asylum after being raped, on the basis that rape did not constitute persecution. The same report features accounts of a woman in Uganda who was raped by soldiers on allegations that she was supporting the rebels during the conflict in northern Uganda (ibid). According to Freedman, the Asylum Appeal Adjudicator rejected her claim on the basis that rape was an act of sexual gratification and not persecution under the terms of the Geneva Convention.

A wide range of scholars assert that sexual violence is a sensitive phenomenon associated with shame and stigma, and if it is reported at all, such reports come with a number of problems (Valji 2000: 4). According to Samset (2012: 231), if the violence is committed in the context of war and by members of armed groups, victims will often find it hard to identify the perpetrators and what group they belong to. In addition, in cases where humanitarian agency officials have been accused of indulging in sexual violence (Lewis 2006: 1; Notar 2006: 417), the victims may fear to report such cases as that may jeopardize their chances of receiving humanitarian assistance. The very nature of gender inequity, and the fact that many forms of gender subjugation are regular in countries of origin and of asylum, makes some specific forms of persecution of refugee women invisible (Sadoway 2008: 245). For example, while women fleeing FGM and other forms of violence may be considered as having a well-founded fear, those fleeing rape and domestic violence are not considered as deserving of asylum.

1.1.6 Gender-Based Violence

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW) defines GBV as that which targets a woman due to her gender and affects women disproportionately (Seelinger and Wagner 2013: 2). For purposes of this research, gender-related violence or persecution encompasses violence or persecution faced by women because they are women. Moreover, sexual and gender-based violence, which is at times known as gender-based violence, is a violation of human rights and denies women the right to enjoy fundamental freedoms, forcing them into subordinate positions in society (Okot *et al.* 2005: 1). It results from an imbalance of power between women and men and is deeply rooted in some cultural practices and intimate relationships (ACORD Uganda 2010).

Gender-based violence (GBV) against women and girls is a common worldwide phenomenon both in peacetime and during war (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007). Globally, at least one in every three women has been coerced into sex or abused in one way or another (UN Women 2012). Moreover, conflict often aggravates the violence that many girls and women already face in their daily lives (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007). GBV is particularly challenging in refugee and displacement situations that arise out of conflict, with women and children constituting 80 per cent of the victims of GBV atrocities, and forming the majority of those vulnerable to violence and exploitation (Vann 2002: 16). Various researchers argue that gender-specific violence has physical, psychological, social and legal connotations (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 4; Hans 2008: 68; Seelinger and Wagner 2013: 4). Gender-specific violence occurs in various forms, including early marriage, forced marriage, battering, dowry-related persecution and gender-based exclusion of a women from policy planning and analysis (UNHCR 2002; Freedman 2007).

Domestic violence is part of the gamut of violence arising from unequal power relations between men and women, and from dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 1). As such, domestic violence remains horrifyingly widespread and accepted as *normal* amongst many societies (WHO 2005). The reasons for which men commit these crimes and why violence is considered private are linked to the customized behaviours that constitute the norms of the society, leading to underreporting and the cycle of violence. In addition, domestic violence has often been disregarded as extraneous to asylum claims, even when the women who suffer this violence are less protected by security authorities in their countries of origin (Daenzer 2008: 232). A prime example of a country where domestic violence has been widespread is Pakistan, where it is linked to men's disappointment with the dowry they receive in exchange for their daughters, or to their displeasure regarding the behaviour of their wives (Freedman 2007: 57).

According to Pittaway (2004: 37), domestic violence is one of the most insidious threats that women face in their lives as refugees. Domestic violence in the form of wife battering has been rampant in refugee settlements and has mainly been used as a tool for disciplining women; it is disregarded by society, which has always pushed the blame on to the women (Ganeshpanchan 2005; Krause 2014). Moreover, domestic violence is considered to take place mainly within the private sphere of a family, where a husband may constantly beat his wife without facing trial (Daenzer 2008: 232; Krause 2014: 8). Therefore, most women do not seek protection from their national authorities or even international protection from another country (Daenzer 2008; Freedman 2015). As a result, a woman who is severely beaten by her husband can expect less recognition from immigration officials and judges than one who is beaten by the police in her country of origin (Freedman 2015). Domestic violence in refugee settings is clearly depicted by Pittaway (2004: 37) when he states:

One of the most significant cumulative effects that results in an increase in domestic violence is the intersection between traditional cultural values on the one hand, and the violations and hardships experienced during the refugee journey on the other. The extremity of the atrocities endured by refugees often exacerbates the culturally constructed vulnerability of women. Women's gender roles and traditional notions of masculinity are rigorously defended when cultures are threatened by strong external pressure, often resulting in greater rigidity of cultural practices and heightened gender inequality. Frequently in the refugee context, although cultural norms remain unaltered, external circumstances lead to different or more extreme consequences of cultural practices than in the traditional society.

Several authors (Abrahams, N., Mathews, S., Martin, L. J., Lombard, C. and Jewkes, R. 2013: 2) argue that the assassination of an intimate partner is one of the most extreme consequences of gender-based violence. Whilst intimate partner violence (IPV) can be perpetrated by both males and females, women are disproportionately killed by their intimate partners (Abrahams *et al.* 2013). Cases of experiencing or witnessing domestic violence in childhood result in further acceptance of violence, lower self-esteem and personality disorders, increasing risks of male perpetration of physical violence against women (Abrahams *et al.* 2013: 2). According to WHO (2002), men are more likely to be violent if they are neither employed nor educated or if they abuse substance.

Significantly, while male partners are responsible for most atrocities of physical violence against women, in some cases, women have also perpetrated partner violence, although these cases have not been widely documented (Straus 2009; Vetten 2014). This is attributed to several factors including the gender stereotypes which define women as the gentler sex, making it difficult to recognize violence by women as prevalent in any sphere of life (Straus 2009: 7). Intimate partner violence is rife because in many countries and cultures, violence against a female partner is not often perceived as an offense but rather as a private domestic issue (Abrahams *et al.* 2013: 8). However, in order to change the implicit cultural ethos of partner violence feminists raised public attention around the problem, arguing that it

could be, by far, the most prevalent form of interpersonal violence; and therefore calling for world-wide efforts to increase the awareness of partner violence and advocating for steps to combat it (Straus 2009: 10). Unfortunately, although most humanitarian organisations recognize sexual violence as a prevalent vice, and have put in place mechanisms to address it, domestic violence continues to be neglected in their priorities (Pittaway 2004: 24). As a result, domestic violence against women in refugee settings is often overlooked and ignored, a problem which heightens the victimisation of women.

1.1.7 Refugee Settlements

According to Krause (2014: 34), settlements are a type of refugee encampment, encompassing a certain geographical area that is allocated by the government of the country of asylum. Therefore, settlements constitute a type of camp although they are more permanent than camps (Krause 2014). While refugee settlements are normally located a distance away from the country's main road networks, refugee camps are linked to the nearest main road by a well-maintained feeder road, with a number of smaller roads and footpaths that link them to surrounding or nearby villages (Krause 2014). However, conditions in refugee settlements are better than those in camps. For example, camps are more crowded than settlements, their refugee inhabitants have less economic resources than their settlement counterparts, and their shelters are makeshift and temporary (Mulumba and Olema 2009). In contrast, refugee settlement programmes seek to provide opportunities for refugees to become more independent, by giving them an opportunity to be self-reliant, and integrating them within the framework of the host populations (RLP 2005a, 2006). According to the RLP (2005b), refugees in settlements live with nationals in the host settings and share the available social services provided by the government, UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP). All the same, women in refugee settlements and camps experience sexual and gender violence in similar circumstances.

Refugee settlements in Uganda were set up by the OPM in collaboration with UNHCR to enable the refugees to be self-sustaining (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 35). According to the Directorate of Refugees under the Office of the Prime Minister, the government of Uganda promotes the Refugee Self-Reliance Policy in line with the Refugee Act of 2006 (RLP 2005b, 2006). In every settlement, a given portion of land is apportioned to a specific refugee household in order to boost the refugees' economic autonomy through agriculture (Mulumba and Olema 2009). However, land is allocated for a limited period of time as the vast majority of host countries still favour voluntary repatriation instead of local integration of refugees, making settlements an interim solution (Krause 2014: 34). Today, active settlements in Uganda include Kyaka II, Kyangwali, Nakivale, Kiryandongo, Oruchinga, Paralonya, Rhino Camp, Imvepi, Bidibidi, Parolinya and Pagirinya, among others.

- **Location of Settlements**

Typically, refugee settlements in Uganda are physically isolated, hard to access and located in or near game reserves or in tsetse fly-infested areas (Mulumba and Olema 2009). For instance, the Kyangwali Refugee Settlement is adjacent to Lake Albert, whilst Kyaka 1, Kyaka II and Rhino Camp refugee settlements are all in relatively isolated areas (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 32-33). Some are located near international boundaries in relatively close proximity to the country of refugee origin; and they pose a potential risk to the refugees as they could easily be attacked by the enemies from their country of origin. Moreover, violence in the country of origin may equally easily spill over the boundary and affect the refugees. In addition, the geographical remoteness of these settlements adversely affects the refugees' capacity to engage in some economic activities for self-reliance (RLP 2005b; Mulumba and Olema 2009). That is partly why the RLP (reporting on the local settlement system, freedom of movement, and livelihood opportunities in Arua and Moyo districts of Uganda) observed that even after decades of existence, refugee settlements still do not provide the conditions for economic survival, leaving the refugees still heavily dependent on humanitarian aid (RLP 2005b: 35).

The same report also stated that the refugees complain that on top of the plots of land they are allocated in the settlements being too small to support their large families, the land has lost its fertility due to prolonged overuse, and is thus underproductive (RLP 2005b). Other settlements are located in areas of marginal soil productivity, which reduces the refugees' ability to produce enough food for self-reliance. General environmental degradation is yet another challenge that leads to low crop yields in the refugee settlements (RLP 2005b). As these testimonies affirm, while the produce that the refugees grow goes some way in helping them feed themselves, they cannot produce enough for mass consumption and sale. Consequently, the production of a significant surplus produce that would have allowed refugee farmers to do trade in market places is constrained, curtailing the refugees' chances of attaining financial independence.

- **Self-Sustainability**

The self-reliance strategy (SRS) was established in the 1990s by the Government of Uganda and UNHCR in an effort to promote more sustainable solutions to the protracted refugee problem in Uganda in the wake of dwindling international funding (RLP 2005b: 10). The strategy was initially applied to Sudanese refugees living in the West Nile districts of Arua, Adjumani and Moyo in response to their protracted situation and its associated challenges (Mulumba and Olema 2009). Self-sustainability had an overarching goal of refugee self-reliance which was aimed at integrating the services provided to refugees into regular government structures and policies, thereby shifting the focus from relief to development (RLP 2005b: 12). The strategy envisaged incorporating service delivery in agricultural

production, income-generation, community services, health and nutrition, water and sanitation, the environment and infrastructure development (RLP 2005b). SRS accentuates the dual objectives of empowerment and integration in order to improve people's living standards in Arua, Adjumani and Moyo, including refugees (RLP 2005b: 11). It further seeks to enable refugees to sustain themselves and build their self-esteem through building their capacity to sustain themselves and their families while positively impacting the communities in which they live. Despite these efforts, most refugees in settlements are still dependent on humanitarian aid (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 32-33).

While refugees would sustain themselves by tapping into other income-generating projects, the RLP (2005b: 35) argues that jobs and other income-generating opportunities for refugees are principally absent, making it hard for refugees to meet their non-food needs. This is largely because of the peripheral locations of refugee settlements in comparatively isolated, impoverished and hard-to-access areas (RLP 2005b: 35). In addition, while services for refugees are available in settlements, delivery mechanisms remain unreliable, leaving the refugees with a shortfall they cannot make up for on their own. That is why, according to the RLP (2005b), refugees argue that living in or near towns would be more advantageous. However, the same report notes that some people were of the opinion that staying in or near a town may not necessarily give refugees access to business opportunities and services in the absence of start-up capital. Arguably, while informal activities, such as making handicrafts, would be a possible source of income for some refugees, such activities would be more likely to thrive in or near a town than in an isolated rural settlement. In the mean-time, refugees, especially women, still find it difficult (if not impossible) to be self-reliant.

- **Freedom of Movement**

The Refugee Act of 2006 accords refugees all the rights stipulated in the UN and African Union Conventions, including freedom of movement and the right to work (Commission 2006a; Mulumba and Olema 2009). Nonetheless, the free movement of refugees, that is recognised by law in Uganda, is subject to national restrictions (Krause 2014) specified in the Constitution of Uganda. These restrictions were conceptualised on grounds of national security, public order, public health, public morals and the protection of the rights and freedoms of others according to Article 30 (2) of the 2006 Refugee Act (Mulumba and Olema 2009). The effect of these restrictions is that refugees have no freedom of movement. This argument is confirmed by the refugee encampment policy in which refugees are obligated to apply for and secure permission before leaving a refugee settlement (Mulumba and Olema 2009). While the Refugee Act (2006 30 (1)) grants all refugees the right to freedom of movement, all refugees residing in settlements are obliged to apply for travel permits from the Settlement Commandant in the event that they want to leave the settlement in which they are registered (Commission 2006a; Mulumba and Olema 2009). In the absence of the Settlement Commandant or his deputy, refugees are constrained to access these permits. Consequently, because refugees find it difficult to acquire valid

documents for movement, their movements are effectively curtailed. In the opinion of the RLP (2005b: 34) report, the divergence in these findings illustrates the extent to which refugees are susceptible to changes in leadership structures, and emphasizes the underlying fact that identity (ID) documents should have been issued to refugees in the first place.

1.1.8 Action Research

Action research (AR) is a vehicle for social change (Druckman 2005: 314) through which the participants' views inform the direction of the project by devising and implementing an action research plan. Chapter 5 portrays more details on AR design.

- **Reflection**

Locke defines reflection as an operation through which the mind performs, taking notice of its own mental operations, and acquiring ideas of these operations (Scharp 2008: 1). In his book, *Action Research and Reflective Practice*, Paul McIntosh states that reflection is used to create in-depth knowledge and meaning, both for self and for those practiced upon (McIntosh 2010: 2). In the lens of psychological literature, Bortolotti (2011: 301) defines reflection as a conscious, explicit and continuous search for reason occurring in deliberation or justification.

1.1.9 Summary

The above discussion not only defines key concepts but also explores the contending views pertaining to refugeeism. The section has outlined the practical barriers to asylum claims by women, the definition of a refugee as per the 1951 Convention, the essential elements of gender-specific violence, violence against women, sexual and gender-based violence and finally, the concept of a refugee settlement. The review has also demonstrated that sexual violence and gender-based violence are forms of patriarchal control over women's bodies, violating women's fundamental human rights of life, liberty, bodily integrity and dignity as a person (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 4; Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 11). As a result, the violence imposed and the threat of violence, undermine women's ability to live normally, adversely affecting their personal, family and community relations.

One can, therefore, logically conclude that although refugee communities have been internationally known to be areas of safety for refugees, they are instead (for many women) places of silent suffering because of the on-going gendered persecution they face in the form of SGBV (Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 11). This persecution or violence has been in their lives before and during conflict, during transition, in the asylum country and even during repatriation (Pratt and Werchick 2004). Moreover, the violence women experience during war time continues after conflict because conflict does not

necessarily change the already existing traditional norms and values of people, which are normally reproduced in a different form. In addition, households that are largely female-headed, after the loss of a male family member during conflict, are usually poor, making the women vulnerable to SGBV due to the sacrifices they have to make in order to provide for their families.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the theoretical underpinnings of SGBV which are grounded in cultural and social relationships, and it focuses on the feminism, ecological and conflict transformation theories of violence. Even though Chapter 2 discusses these theories in depth, a synopsis is provided in this chapter. Feminist theorists focus on male dominance as the root cause of violence through unequal power relations. Feminists provide a powerful lens with which to examine the place of women and men in society and a compelling position from which to transform relations that provoke and perpetuate violence, hate and inequality (Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008: 87), but, they fail to acknowledge factors other than masculinity in the etiology of abuse. Conversely, the ecological theory on violence offers a deeper understanding as it conceptualises SGBV as a complex phenomenon that is shaped by multiple factors that operate at different levels.

In this study, the ecological theory is used to examine the interplay of personal, situational, social and cultural factors (Heise 1998: 1) in relation to SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. However, the ecological theory does not exhaustively address SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. That is why the study also turned to the conflict transformation theory of peacebuilding (Lederach 2003) in examining the nature, causes, extent and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The transformation of gender relations is an integral part of the process of reconciliation through exploring and building relationships, and engendering healing and forgiveness between warring parties (Schirch 2004: 48). Therefore, transformation completes this framework through a shift in perceptions at the micro, macro and meso levels of society. Indeed it aims for deep and profound changes in conflict situations that transcend the limitations of traditional approaches (Ryan 2009: 304). This framework was helpful in revealing that the situation of women goes beyond the perceptions of their security as pertaining only to physical or personal safety, thereby allowing us to adopt a holistic approach to their experience (Haliso 2009: 100).

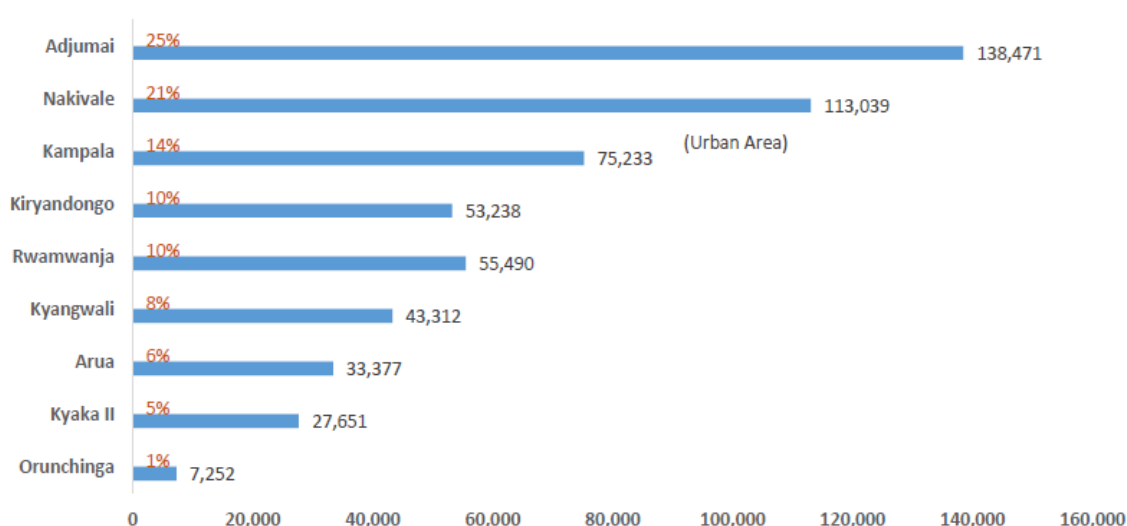
1.3 An Overview of Uganda's Refugee Settlements

Uganda is a signatory to all the principal international legal instruments for refugee protection, including the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1976 Protocol and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention. Following the gaps identified in the CAR Act of 1998, the country adopted new

refugee legislation in 2006, the Refugees Act, which reflects the international standards of refugee protection established in the three international legal instruments cited above. While the CAR Act warehoused refugees, the new Refugee Act of 2006 has given refugees some rights. As such, Uganda has been applauded for having a progressive legal policy for refugees, opening doors for refugees irrespective of their ethnicity and nationality, granting refugees relative freedom of movement and administrative permits to return or leave their designated settlement, permitting refugees to seek employment, and granting *prima facie* asylum to refugees of certain nationalities.

To date, Uganda is host to over 1,026,048 refugees and asylum seekers, 80% of them being women and children (UNHCR 2017: 1). Since achieving its independence in 1962, the country has been hosting an average of 161,000 refugees per year. Refugees are mainly hosted in nine districts located mainly in the northern, southern, and south-western regions of the country (UNHCR 2016). Refugees predominantly come from 13 countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan, with smaller populations of Rwandese, Burundians, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Somalis, Kenyans and others. Due to the latest conflict in South Sudan, the number of South Sudanese refugees in Uganda has skyrocketed and they now constitute 50% of Uganda's refugee population. Congolese refugees account for 33% while Burundians and Somalis account for 6% each, followed by Rwandese at 3% while others account for 2% (UNHCR 2016). Figure 1.1 below shows the refugee population trends of the four leading national refugee groups, from December 2015 to June 2016.

Figure 1. 1 Refugee Population Trends by State Origin (Source, Primary data)



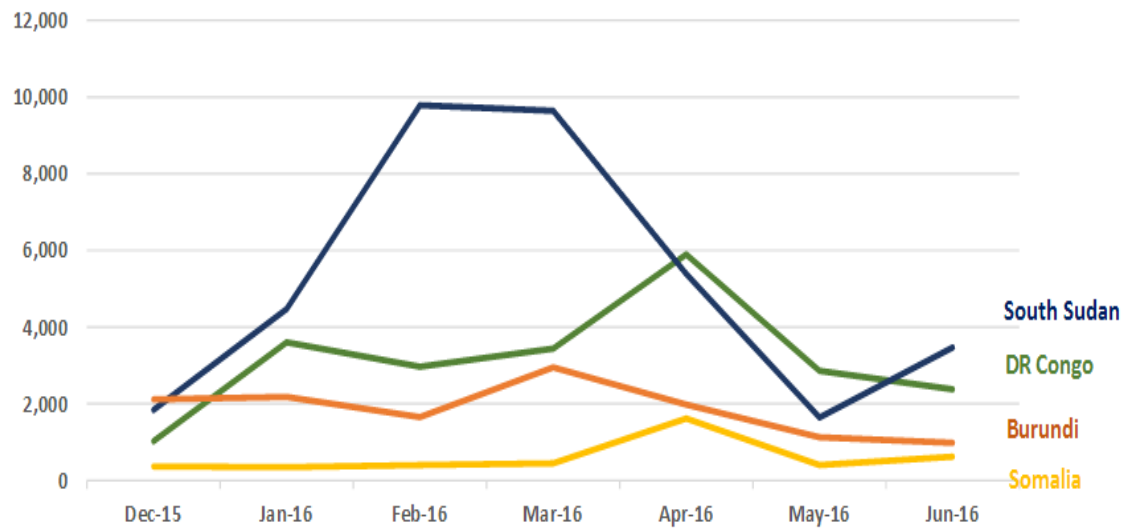
Key

Y- Axis shows the number of refugees per refugee settlement

X- Axis shows the location (Settlement)

Figure 1.2 below shows the locations of the main refugee settlements and populations in Uganda while Figure 1.3 shows a map of refugee locations.

Figure 1. 2 Refugee Populations Per Location (Source, Government of Uganda, OPM and RIMS 2016)



Total 665,040
Bio-metric registered 631,977
Pending bio-metric registration 33,063 * [1]

SOUTH SUDAN

The map displays various districts in South Sudan, including Yumbe, Adjumani, Arua/Koboko, Kinyadongo, Kyangwali, Kyaka II, Kampala, Rwamwanja, Nakivale, Oruchinga, and Matlanda. Each location is associated with a specific number of refugees and a pie chart representing their source countries.

- Yumbe:** 184,050
- Adjumani:** 184,050
- Arua / Koboko:** 44,693
- Kinyadongo:** 65,888
- Kiryandongo Settlement:** 65,888
- Kyangwali:** 42,931
- Kyangwali Settlement:** 42,931
- Kyaka II:** 28,364
- Kyaka II Settlement:** 28,364
- Kampala:** 83,092
- Rwamwanja:** 57,579
- Rwamwanja Settlement:** 57,579
- Nakivale:** 117,707
- Nakivale Settlement:** 117,707
- Oruchinga:** 7,673
- Oruchinga Settlement:** 7,673
- Matlanda TC:** 7,673
- Nyakabande TC:** 7,673

Legend:
 Refugee Center (Red house icon)
 Refugee Settlement (Red triangle icon)
 Refugee Urban Location (Red dot icon)
 International Boundary (Dashed line)
 District Boundary (Solid line)

Source countries of refugees are indicated by colors in the pie charts.

In line with the 2006 Refugee Act (Mulumba and Olema 2009), the Ugandan government promotes refugee self-reliance by providing land for agricultural production for each family in the refugee settlement. However, as Chapter 3 will reveal, this strategy is facing some challenges. Despite the

pressure occasioned by the massive influx of refugees from conflict-affected neighboring countries (especially South Sudan, DRC and Burundi), Uganda is living up to its international obligations to refugees. Moreover, despite its meagre land and social service resources, Uganda has maintained an open refugee policy.

Uganda's current National Development Plan (NDP II) uniquely integrates refugees into national development planning through a government strategy called the Settlement Transformation Agenda (STA). This is in line with the National Development Agenda (NDA) 2030 principle of not leaving anyone behind. The STA provides for provision of land to refugees where they can live and cultivate for self-reliance. While other countries still have the encampment policy, commonly dubbed "refugee warehousing"³, Uganda has set aside more than 1,000 square kilometers of land where refugees live in settlements, rather than camps, since the establishment of the 1965 Refugee Act. Uganda admits refugees irrespective of their nationality, ethnicity or religion; they enjoy security as well as legal, physical and social protection. Refugees are registered and issued with identity cards so that they can enjoy freedom of movement and services, including health and education.

1.4 Research Context

The international community started being concerned about the plight of refugees after the First World War (1919) when millions of people were thrown into the chaos of political collapse, revolutionary violence and economic ruination (Kiapi 1998: 35). Since then, refugees from within and outside Europe have been given due attention through the establishment of the UNHCR in 1951. In the past decade, the number of refugees worldwide has risen from 12.1 million in 2001 to 16.7 million in 2013 (UNHCR 2013). As Sjoberg (2006: 60) notes, women refugees constitute the majority of these refugees. In many refugee camps and settlements throughout Africa, women continue to experience SGBV in the form of rape, sexual harassment, battering and a host of other human rights abuses because of the breakdown of social norms, which tends to accompany armed conflicts (Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 11). While some researchers contend that conflict reinforces GBV and that levels of GBV will recede during a transition to places of safety, others argue that GBV during conflict situations is actually a continuation of the violence perpetrated prior to conflict (Sigsworth 2008: 5). That is why this thesis maintains that while war is accompanied by an increase in violence, especially domestic and sexual violence, the root

³ Warehousing is the practice of keeping refugees in protracted situations of restricted mobility, enforced idleness, and dependency their lives on indefinite hold—in violation of their basic rights under the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. Egregious cases are characterized by indefinite physical confinement in camps. Associated effects of warehousing refugees in camps include health defects such as easy spread of Cholera and diarrhoea and other infections diseases (see: <http://refugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Warehousing-Refugees-Campaign-Materials.pdf>)

cause of violence against women is the inequality between men and women and the accruing power differentials that exist even in absence of conflict.

Displacement is one of the most widespread and tangible consequences of violence, such as in the Great Lakes region where it has uprooted millions from their homes (Hovil 2008), as noted above, this disproportionately affects women. Between 1942 and 1944 Uganda hosted 7,000 Polish refugees, mainly women and children (Lomo, Naggaga and Hovil 2001: 3). While Uganda has ratified the International Refugee Convention of 1951 and its consequent Protocol of 1967 (RLP 2006: 3), refugees still face serious humanitarian and insecurity problems as they are inadequately protected under Uganda's existing legal system (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 3). Previous studies have shown that despite the prevalence of SGBV in refugee and internally displaced people's camps (IDPs) (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller 2002; Lewis 2006), it still remains a silent affliction (Okot, Amony and Gerald 2005). Moreover, while empirical research has been carried out on SGBV outside post-conflict settings (Stark and Ager 2011), refugee settlements have been side-lined, leading to limited scholarly work in this field. This has caused an increase in the rates of SGBV in refugee camps across Africa (Haliso 2009; Manjoo and McRaith 2011). That is why this study sought to find durable solutions for female victims of SGBV through implementing an intervention project aimed at reducing SGBV and creating a peaceful environment where both women and men can thrive.

As discussed in section 1.1.2, this study is based on the theoretical underpinnings of SGBV grounded in cultural and social relationships. It focuses on the feminism, the ecological and the conflict transformation theories of violence as discussed in the aforementioned sub-section. The appropriateness of the theories in relation to this research is measured in Chapter 8 of this thesis, in which the theories are evaluated against the findings of the study.

1.4.1 Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is a protracted refugee settlement located in central-western Uganda where a vast majority of refugees in the Great Lakes region have been settled (IGAD-UNHCR 2010; Skeels 2012a). The settlement was established in May 1983 in Kyenjojo District to provide a home for mainly Rwandese and Congolese refugees. It is located on 84 square kilometers of land. The settlement borders Kabarole District to the west, Kamwenge and Mubende districts to the east, Kibale District to the north and Kiruhura District to the south. As of 2010, the settlement had a total number of 16,548 people (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 15), made up of Rwandese, Congolese, Sudanese, Kenyans, Somalis and Burundians. The majority of the refugees in the settlement are Congolese (88%) while the Rwandese account for 13% of the population (IGAD-UNHCR 2010; UNHCR 2014). Approximately half of the population in the settlement is female (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 15). Civil unrest and war in their respective countries of origin are the main causes of flight among the residents of the settlement. The settlement is divided into ten zones and twenty eight villages, with each village governed by a Refugee

Welfare Council (RWC) which is equivalent to the Local Council in the local government system of Uganda (IGAD-UNHCR 2010; Isis WICCE 2014). Each RWC is composed of over ten people who are elected by the villagers. The OPM is mandated to coordinate these committees, and as the institution that oversees the management of refugee settlements in Uganda, OPM works alongside UNHCR and other partners that are involved in the everyday running of the committees (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 15). Kyaka II reflects the Uganda government's self-reliance and local integration policies, unlike Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania which still implement the refugee encampment policy (Skeels 2012a; Isis WICCE 2014). Refugees in settlements in Uganda are allocated land on which to build and cultivate (except for those who are considered most vulnerable and in need of sustained support) (Skeels 2012a; Isis WICCE 2014). The following two sub-sections outline the main characteristics of the majority refugee groups in the settlement, the Congolese and the Rwandese, for a better understanding of their backgrounds.

- **Congolese Refugees**

The main influx of refugees in Uganda arose from the war in the DRC, which was fundamentally between the DRC government forces and Congolese rebels (UNHCR 2005). The DRC government forces were supported by Zimbabwean, Namibian and Angolan troops while the rebels were supported by Ugandan and Rwandan troops (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 5). This followed the murder of Congolese President Laurent Kabila who was succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila, a factor that added momentum to the conflict within the country (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 5). The majority of Congolese refugees in Uganda are from the eastern DRC (UNHCR 2005: 145). By July 2004, there were about 13,000 Congolese refugees (roughly 5% of the total refugee population in Uganda) of whom more than 60 per cent were below the age of 18. Moreover, UNHCR estimated that there would be more than 14,000 registered Congolese refugees in Uganda by the end of 2004 (UNHCR 2005). Studies have shown that in 2005/6 there was an incursion of Congolese refugees, who at the time raised the population of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement from 5,000 to over 17,000 (UNHCR 2005; Skeels 2012a). Moreover, Skeels (2012a: 1) observes that as of 2012 there were 1,600 asylum seekers, mainly from the DRC, awaiting refugee status determination. The 2014 annual report of African Humanitarian Action (AHA) estimated that the population of Congolese refugees and asylum seekers was 226,880 and 7,840 respectively (AHA 2014: 43).

- **Rwandan Refugees**

Rwanda is another state that has tremendously contributed to the number of refugees in Uganda (Lomo *et al.* 2001). The year 1950 marked the first influx of Rwandese refugees in Uganda who were fleeing ethnic discrimination: the 1994 ethnic genocide of Tutsi by Hutu generated a new influx of Rwandese refugees in Uganda (IRRI and RLP 2010). Following this influx, the number of Rwandese refugees, mainly Hutu fleeing the Tutsi-dominated government that took control of the country after the genocide,

rose to 10,000. According to Karooma (2014: 12), as of July 1, 2012 the total number of refugees in Uganda was estimated to be 197,770 of whom about 20,565 were Rwandese. To date, the number of Rwandese refugees is known to have decreased mainly due to repatriation (Clark-Kazak 2011).

A study conducted by the International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI) and the Refugee Law Project (RLP) found that although a tripartite agreement on voluntary repatriation was signed by the governments of Rwanda, Uganda and UNHCR officials, the 6th meeting of the Tripartite Commission of the governments of the same parties (held in 2009) adopted a number of resolutions declaring the aim of repatriating all remaining Rwandan refugees from Uganda by 31 July 2009 (IRRI and RLP 2010: 15). However, this agreement contravenes international human rights commitments, including those within the African human rights system that refer to the rights of returning populations (IRRI and RLP 2010: 5). Article 5 of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Problems of Refugees in Africa (OAU Refugee Convention), displays a structure for voluntary repatriation and ascertains that returnees are granted equal rights and privileges as the nationals of the country (IRRI and RLP 2010), a policy that is contrary to the Cessation Clause in the UN Convention⁴.

Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is a valid example of a situation where a durable solution lies in voluntary repatriation and self-reliance (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003; Skeels 2012b). Although local integration has not been fully embraced in Uganda (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003), it is currently being considered for Rwandese refugees in Kyaka II since the 1990s due to the Cessation Clause ending their refugee status (Skeels 2012b: 8). As such, in close coordination with the Government of Uganda, UNHCR proposed a plan of action to facilitate the repatriation of the refugees. Table 1.1 below portrays the Population Statistics in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement disaggregated by Country, Sex and Age group as of 5th February 2016. Refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo are the most population (1,975) in Kyaka II refugee settlement, followed by Refugees of the Rwandan origin (6,807). During the year of assessment (2016), refugee women from DRC amounted to 9,999 compared to the total number of their male counterparts (9,750). The high number of female refugees at all age groups shows that indeed women and girls are a disproportionately displaced and disadvantaged category of asylum seekers, bearing the brunt of conflict as family heads, roles which they have to get accustomed to. In the case of Kyaka II, female headed households (HH) equal to 1,746 (more than 50% of all HHs).

⁴The Cessation Clause is provided for under Article 1C of the 1951 UN Convention and Article I (4) of the 1969 OAU Convention. Cessation of refugee status is a strategy within the refugee policy which allows for a determination that a refugee is no longer in need of international protection.

Table 1. 1 Population Statistics in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement by Country, Sex and Age group as of 5th February 2016 (Source, Primary data OPM records)



Population Statistics by Country, Sex and Age Group as of 05 February 2016

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Site: KYAKA II

Age Group			0 - 4			5 - 11			12 - 17			18 - 59			60+					
CoO	HH	Female HR	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	Total F	Total M	Total
COB	1	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	5	1	6
AFG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
BDI	286	114	93	89	182	124	143	267	82	106	188	304	312	616	12	29	41	615	670	1,294
COD	3,786	1,746	1,537	1,486	3,023	2,344	2,334	4,678	1,471	1,375	2,846	4,311	4,287	8,598	336	298	634	9,009	9,750	19,759
ERT	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	3
ETH	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	2	3	5
KEN	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	4	4	3	7	2	10	12	0	1	1	7	18	25
MLW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
OMN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
RWA	360	136	117	124	241	640	620	1,260	669	636	1,305	1,894	1,833	3,727	118	156	274	3,438	3,369	6,807
SOM	11	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	7	9	16	0	0	0	9	11	20
SSD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	4
SUD	2	0	1	0	1	28	33	61	30	47	77	150	145	295	17	19	36	228	244	470
	4,451	2,003			3,451			6,274			4,429			13,277			956	14,307	14,079	28,386

Total Sites Number: 28,388

KEY

- CoO** - Country of Origin
AFG - Afghanistan
BDI - Burundi
COD - Democratic Republic of Congo
ERT - Eritrea
ETH - Ethiopia
KEN - Kenya
MLW - Malawi
OMN - Oman
RWA - Rwanda
SOM - Somalia
SSD - South Sudan
SUD - Sudan
HH = Household **F**=Female **M**=Male

1.5 Problem Statement

SGBV is an integral aspect of armed conflict (Pratt and Werchick 2004), constituting a major challenge for women in conflict-related zones. SGBV against women and girls occurs even in their home countries, before they become refugees in settlements, camps and internally displaced people's camps (IDPCs). It continues during all phases of their refugee situation: during flight, while in the country of asylum or in a displacement camp, and during repatriation and reintegration (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 1). SGBV permeates all levels of the community and is often perpetrated by males who are, or who have been, in positions of trust, intimacy and power, including husbands, boyfriends, fathers, fathers-in-law, stepfathers, brothers, uncles, sons and other relatives (WHO 2001; UNHCR 2003).

Current studies have shown that escaping from war into “safety places”, such as refugee camps and settlements, does not necessarily ensure security for women, but may in fact lead to conflict-related SGBV (Krause 2014). The increasing rates of SGBV in complex emergencies (Stark and Ager 2011), such as within refugee settlements, imply that refugee settlements are not “safe havens”, which poses a particular challenge for women and girls. That is why the prevention and redress of SGBV remain a priority. Among the Congolese refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement the most common SGBV cases are: wife battering, denial of economic resources, sexual harassment and child marriage. Although child marriage is commonly practiced silently as a cultural norm, it is also encouraged by poverty. Indeed, most of the refugees report marrying off their daughters at an age as early as 14 years as a means of survival. To address this problem, several refugee aid agencies in refugee settlements have emerged to raise awareness of issues pertaining to SGBV; however, despite their efforts, SGBV continues to be a major challenge that calls for investigation and remedial strategies.

1.6 Research Question and Objectives

1.6.1 Research Question

What are the underlying causes of sexual and gender-based violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda, and what can be done to address this growing problem?

1.6.2 Overall Objective

The overall objective of the study was to empirically analyse the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and design an intervention strategy to reduce its prevalence.

1.6.3 Specific Objectives

The study sought to:

- Determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.
- Map the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature.
- Assess community perceptions of SGBV and generate possible intervention mechanisms.
- Use a participatory action research design to plan and implement a program aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its performance in the course of the study.

1.9 Significance of the Study

In the past decade, the numbers of refugees in Uganda have risen (UNHCR 2013), and women refugees constitute the majority of those displaced. Refugee women have continued to experience SGBV in the form of rape, sexual harassment, battering, and a host of other human rights abuses as a result of the breakdown of social norms which tend to accompany armed conflicts (Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 11). However, this kind of violence against refugee women is not matched with significant, remedial interventions given the dearth of literature available on SGBV against refugee women in refugee settings. Limited literature and research on SGBV against women refugees obscures possible interventions to solve the issue. It is within this context that this study evolved. Empirical research has been carried out on SGBV (Stark and Ager 2011), but refugee settlements have been side-lined with less scholarly work undertaken on this issue. Analogously, there have been increasing rates of SGBV in refugee camps and settlements across Africa due to armed conflicts (Haliso 2009; Manjoo and McRaith 2011). The overall goal of this research was to find durable solutions for women who face the brunt of SGBV through implementing an intervention project aimed at reducing this problem and creating a peaceful environment where both women and men can thrive.

1.8 Methodology

The methodology adopted for this research is discussed in depth in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The study was conceived as an AR project aimed at building more egalitarian relations between refugee males and females, to ensure peaceful coexistence in refugee settlements. AR was regarded against the research question which this study sought to answer: what are the underlying causes of sexual and gender-based violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda, and what can be done to address this problem? As the selected research design for this study, AR directed the selection of the study population, procedures for sampling, methods of measurement and plans for data collection and analysis (Burns and Grove 2011: 50). Stringer (2014: 24) outlines four key principles: *relationships, communication, participation and inclusion* which justify action research. These principles guided the action plan that was formulated by the participants with my guidance. At the end of the project phase, the project was evaluated to assess the worth and effectiveness of the project activities. Evaluation enabled me to measure the project impact.

Qualitative research methods were adopted for this study because, as Myers (2013: 8) states, they enable me, as the researcher, to understand the participants' experiences and perspectives as well as the broader context within which they work and live. In addition, the qualitative approach was preferred because

qualitative data collection methods, such as interviews and focus group discussion (FGD), enable me to engage in in-depth exploration of the interviewees or FGD participants' experiences, in this case the experiences of women refugees. That is why the study adopted key informant interviews, focus group discussions and observations as methods.

Thematic data analysis was used to answer the main research question as well as the specific research questions based on the specific objectives of the study. Analysis was embedded in the research design to avoid inconsistency and covert deduction, and thereby ensure the validity of the study findings (Rubin and Rubin 2012: 190).

AR was aimed at building more egalitarian relations between refugee males and females to fight against SGBV and ensure peaceful coexistence. It was conceptualized against the research question which this study sought to answer: What are the underlying causes of sexual and gender-based violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in Uganda, and what can be done to address this problem? As the selected research design for this study, AR directed the selection of the study population, the sampling procedures, the measurement methods, the data collection and analysis plans (Burns and Grove 2011: 50). The AR composed of an action team of 7 female and 7 male refugees composing the comparison /experimental team and on the other hand, the control group which was only engaged during the interviews and evaluation phase.

1.7 Delimitations of the Study

Delimitations are factors that affect a study, and over which a researcher generally has a degree of control. This research focused exclusively on Congolese refugees because they are numerically the dominant refugee nationality in the settlement. This research was delimited by several intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Intrinsically, the research design (participatory action research) and methods (interviews, FGD and observation) adopted for the study have their own limitations. A major delimitation of AR is that it is nearly impossible to demonstrate causality in AR studies unless one is willing to use experimental or quasi-experimental designs (Phillips 2000). Intrinsically, whilst action research is an effective method of research given the desirable change it creates in the community, it was costly and needed more time to create sustainable change. However, given that I have justified (in Chapter 8) why I believe that my participatory actions led to the results realized in this study, the cited limitations are of a less practical consequence. Moreover, access to primary data sources and material concerning Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, such as reports from international organisations, was quite a challenge. This was mainly because organisations had bureaucratic policies that hindered timely access to necessary information. Moreover, while this study investigated cases of SGBV against refugee women, female participation in monthly meetings was slightly lower than male participation because

of the heavier burden of domestic roles they face when compared to their male counterparts. For their part, interviews and FGDs were time-consuming and costly despite their remarkable advantages. I overcame this limitation by devoting more time and financial resources in the study than would have been necessary if questionnaire administration had been adopted as the main data collection method.

Extrinsically, Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is vast, traversing it was challenging both physically and financially. Although the study area in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement covers a total of 9 zones made of 26 villages, the study sample included only 5 zones composed of 12 villages due to the limited time frame of the study. Thus, to overcome the possible risks of ending up with an unrepresentative sample, I selected the 5 zones including Sweswe, Buliti, Bukere, Mukondo and Ntambabiniga in such a way that they were generally representative of the entire settlement. Moreover, men and women, especially those who are married in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, are traditionally taciturn about SGBV matters. However, using standard participatory methods through AR I was able to persuade the participants to open up, thus enabling me to gather sufficient data to arrive at valid and reliable conclusions. Structural impediments, such as corruption within the police establishment, also lead to underreporting of SGBV cases in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Similarly so, a lack of direct contact between UNHCR and OPM on one hand and the refugees themselves on the other, caused a gap in which valuable information was lost. Refugees preferred confiding in their local authorities, such as clan leaders and RWCs, who would instead personally mediate cases that included criminal offences, such as: rape, early marriage and defilement. This explains why such cases featured less frequently in the statistics than they do in real life and why they were less frequently reported than other forms of violence. Communication with the study participants was equally problematic on account of my limited command of Kiswahili, the language most commonly used by Congolese refugees. While I employed a Kiswahili-English translator, she was not always adept at translating my spontaneous reactions to participants' answers and in-depth questioning on areas of interest. Neither was she always conscious of subtle nuances in my questions and in the participants' responses.

1.10 Summary

This chapter has provided an introduction to the thesis by highlighting what each chapter entails:

- Chapter 1 has also presented a background of the Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, portraying the majority refugee nationalities in the settlement: the Congolese from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Rwandese from Rwanda.
- Chapters 2 - 4 discuss the theoretical framework and literature review, presenting arguments from various scholars and making inferences from them;

- Chapter 5 discusses the research Methodology;
- Chapter 6 portrays data presentation and analysis, providing themes using thematic data analysis;
- Chapter 7 discusses the evaluation of Action Research;
- Chapter 8 provides a correlation between data analysis and evaluation, highlighting the evaluation methods used and themes therein and finally
- Chapter 9 discusses the summary of the study, conclusions and recommendations.

This chapter has also provided a brief discourse on the background of the study and an overview of Uganda's nine refugee settlements. The chapter included definitions of key concepts and a discussion of the theoretical framework. The research context, with a specific focus on Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, was discussed and the research problem was stated. The problem statement was conceived against the observation that while studies have been carried out on SGBV, refugee settings have been largely marginalised, making refugee women vulnerable to SGBV, and justifying an intervention project to reduce the problem. This chapter states the research questions and objectives which guided the study. The research methodology adopted and the delimitations of the study were also underlined.

PART II

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2 Introduction

This literature review is presented in three consecutive chapters: Chapters 2, 3 and 4. These chapters review literature on SGBV against refugee women in order to better understand the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV. Chapter 2 aims to explore the theoretical framework of SGBV. The chapter explores the theoretical framework and underpinnings used to conceptualize relations for the methodological construction of this study. It focuses on the feminism, ecological and the conflict transformation theories of violence to engender an epistemological understanding of SGBV against women, and builds a more integrated approach to SGBV issues. Chapter 3 addresses three dimensions: Section 1 examines the international and national legal frameworks of SGBV; Section 2 explores Uganda's refugee policy and legal framework on SGBV whilst section 3 examines the concept of women's rights as human rights. Chapter 4 reviews literature on issues pertaining to SGBV against women in refugee settings, showing the extent to which this crime is committed. This chapter explores the continuum of SGBV including the causes of SGBV and its effects on the physical and social wellbeing of refugee women. In this chapter, section 1 examines the causes and consequences of SGBV against women in refugee settlements and section 2 explores SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

2.1 Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Women

SGBV is simply defined as a violation of human rights, which denies women their privilege to enjoy fundamental freedoms, forcing them into subordinate positions (when compared to men) in society (Ganeshpanchan 2005; Jenkins and Reardon 2007). It results from power inequalities between women and men and is founded within some cultural practices that reinforce it (ACORD Uganda 2010: 5). While the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1994) recognised physical, sexual and psychological torture of women occurring in both public and private spaces (General-Assembly 2015: 3), private lives being spaces traditionally consigned to women have received less attention from policy makers. Consequently, women have continued to face violence in the form of sexual abuse, which is also used as a tool to stigmatize and disgrace them in the aftermath of conflict (Stark and Ager 2011; Lwambo 2013). Women also encounter GBV atrocities including domestic violence, survival sex, forced prostitution and forced marriage (Watts and Zimmerman 2002; Krause 2014). It is against this backdrop that I was keen to explore the causes of SGBV against women in refugee settings and the progress made at the multinational level to address the problem. Both the

theoretical framework and the conceptual framework are guided by the research question which this study seeks to answer: what are the underlying causes of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement in Uganda and what can be done to address this problem?

SECTION I

2.2 Theoretical Framework of SGBV against Women

2.2.1 Introduction

This sub-section focuses on the theoretical underpinnings that build an understanding of SGBV. It is grounded in the cultural and social relationships in refugee settings, so as to provide a theoretical background which was used to conceptualize relations for the methodological construction of this study. It focuses on the feminist, the ecological and the conflict transformation theories of violence or abuse. The main purpose of this theoretical framework is to illustrate an epistemological understanding from findings related to SGBV against women, to build a more integrated approach to SGBV issues.

2.2.2 The Feminism Theory

As a term, feminism is complex, and it has no universally accepted definition. However, simply put, feminism is the belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities. According to Hyndman and de-Alwis (2008: 87), feminism refers to the analytical and ideological interventions that address the imbalanced and aggressive interactions among people based on genuine or alleged socio-economic, political, cultural or biological differences. Feminists also strongly assert that violence against women is a serious problem and therefore should be made a subject of political substance. While contemporary feminist debates present a plurality of theories and opinions about the origin of women's subjugation and the ways to address it, they mostly emphasise the role played by male dominance or patriarchy and gender hierarchy which lead to social, economic and political imbalances in societies. However, feminist theorists eschew the notion that gender is fixed and immutable (Steans 2013: 32) since women can also be active participants at all levels of the society. Conversely, these feminist assertions could also mean that women can also be dominant in some cases, since research shows that women are not a unitary or homogeneous category (Steans 2013); and in cases where women are situated in better positions than men, they may use their power to dominate men. Therefore, generalisations that present either women and or men as homogenous are erroneous.

According to Jenkins and Reardon (2007: 226), the feminist discourse asserts that gender inequality permeates nearly all formal and informal avenues of the global scene and the institution of war. They argue that any approach adopted to transform the patriarchal system requires considering the gendered

nature of the whole structure, including the socio-economic and political institutions. Feminist theorists recognise gender equality as an indispensable factor for peace and they view patriarchy as a platform to advance women's concerns in both theory and practice. Subsequently, the principles of the social structure and the cultural descent of gender has reinforced a more focused inquiry into the patriarchal ethos and understanding of how they manifest in various contemporary institutions, cultural practices, social behaviours and relationships (Jenkins and Reardon 2007: 227; Harders 2011: 142).

In addition, feminist theorists believe that patriarchy is a universal state of male dominance that grants men the right to control female behaviour through social interactions (Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008; O'Reilly 2013). Therefore, as I shall demonstrate in greater detail in Chapter 3, patriarchy implies male rule and privilege over female subordination (Murungi and Muriiki 2013: 118). In the same vein, Jenkins and Reardon (2007: 210) assert:

The field of gender and peace has evolved through various phases, each with a perspective based on the concerns of its time. All phases, however, found some roots in the problematic of patriarchy, a social and cultural construct that has not only privileged men over women, but can be seen as a paradigm for other forms of authoritarianism, hierarchy and inequality.

Therefore, the power vested within this arrangement deprives women of certain fundamental human rights and privileges (Kalabamu 2006; Jenkins and Reardon 2007). For example, women have been excluded from participating in public spaces including formal labor and community leadership (Kalabamu 2006: 238). With this in mind, Jenkins and Reardon (2007: 213) suggested an integration of the discourse of masculinity with human rights studies in order to understand how patriarchy operates. Similarly, feminists acknowledge the impact of gender inequalities and power hierarchies in the etiology of violence, which disproportionately affects women; and they challenge the gender inequalities that oppress and discriminate against women. They advocate the annihilation of patriarchal ideologies and the rejection of hierarchical patriarchal institutions and relationships (Morrow and Smith 2007; Babbie 2010). Given that there is more than one kind of feminism (Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008: 87), the feminism theory (as used in this thesis and research) will not focus on a singular perspective of feminism; instead it will analyse feminism as a framework to build an understanding of the etiology of violence against women. This theoretical framework considers a spectrum of feminist theories composed of the liberal, cultural, radical, postmodern and postcolonial rays. According to Charlesworth (1999: 381), when confronted with a particular challenge, no single feminist theoretical ray seems adequate. For this reason, a range of feminist theories and methods are necessary to excavate the issues concerning gender-based violence against women since they all regard masculinity as the root cause of violence.

Historically, whenever feminists would question the use of masculine pronouns and nouns whenever gender was indefinite, their stance was often viewed as petty, even silly (Babbie 2010: 39). However, this perception has not stopped feminists from challenging several accepted scholarly traditions, thereby drawing attention to aspects of social life that other paradigms do not reveal (Charlesworth 1999: 380; Babbie 2010). For example: feminist researchers expressed distress about the latent exploitation of women and about the historical failure of social science to acknowledge the existence of gender imbalances for quite some years (Morrow and Smith 2007; Babbie 2010). Consequently, feminist researchers and advocates were reluctant to approve of any theory that was not entrenched in a meticulous understanding of the role of male privilege in the reinforcement of gender-based violence. To date, social science researchers have acknowledged the feminism theory for its specific focus on gender differences and how they relate to present social structures, directing attention to the injustices women experience in many societies (Jenkins and Reardon 2007; Babbie 2010). For instance, Babbie (2010: 40) not only presents a concern about the unequal and unjust treatment of women, but also points out the epistemically significant fact that men and women perceive and understand society differently. That is why there is need for a gendered intervention.

Despite their significant contribution to research on violence against women, feminists have always faced a great deal of scepticism and ignorance from the outside world regarding gender. The sceptical and ignorant also include some women who at times question a woman's competence (as compared to a man) in preserving peace in societies (Jordan 2003), and the desirability of gender equality itself. This perception has always been accompanied by semantic ambivalence about Christian teachings on subordination of a woman to a man. In the view of Cockburn (2004: 29):

An assumption of equality and similarity should prevail except when those liable to suffer from differentiation (women in this case) say that difference should be taken into account. [...] When should women be treated as 'mothers', as 'dependents' and as 'vulnerable'? When on the contrary, should they be disinterred from 'the family', from 'women and children' [...], and seen as themselves, women- people, even? Ask the women in question. They will know.

Congruently, it would be naive to think that women behave similarly in a given situation and that women are naturally peacemakers (Schirch and Sewak 2005; United-States-Institute-of-Peace 2012). This is because the roles that both women and men take up depend, in part, on how they are socialised, what identities are important to them and their individual circumstances (United-States-Institute-of-Peace 2012: 6). Thus, women can be active or passive perpetrators of violence. Indeed, gender identity is executed differently in varied cultural contexts. As such, a conceptual generalisation of these issues leads to ad hoc solutions for peace.

2.2.3 Masculinity as the Root Cause of Violence against Women

Feminist theorists view masculinity as a system that valorises men over women, thus creating power asymmetries that largely place women at a disadvantage, leading to violence (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 104). According to Jenkins and Reardon (2007: 211), the global culture of violence is being informed by masculinity. For example: the masculinity ideology has assigned a lower status to women and rendered them vulnerable to many types of violence, including sexual violence through rape and sexual coercion (Morrow and Smith 2007: 292; Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 104). In a study on sexual violence in South Kivu, DRC, Samset (2012: 238) discovered that a crucial reason why men used rape as a weapon during war was to entrench patriarchal norms. One gets a glimpse of these patriarchal norms in the words of one of Samset's interviewees as reflected in his book chapter entitled *Sexual violence: the case of Eastern Congo* [ibid]:

During war, the woman was...considered as a thing. The woman was commodified. They found that they could play whenever, in whatever way with the woman. But according to our custom...before, if a boy liked you and wanted to marry you, and you didn't like him, the boy... would take you by force...And later the family of the boy would come...to say sorry, and they would discuss the dowry. But...what we saw during the war was that if they took you by force, if they would play with you, then afterwards they would just chase you back to where you came from...And no one will talk about you...That's why the women have said, 'no, we are not considered as persons' [anymore].

As the interviewee's testimony reveals, the sexual violence committed with gendered impunity during the war was actually only a more gruesome continuation of traditionally pre-existing and culturally endorsed sexual violence against women as a result of the masculine imperative in the traditions of the DRC (Samset 2012). This further confirms that the sexual violence experiences of refugee women in post-conflict settings are not new; instead, they are a continuation of the deep-rooted cultural norms that Morrow and Smith (2007: 292) unearthed in their study, "Cultural norms of dominance and submission, violence, maltreatment of women, denial of abuse and powerlessness of children formed the bedrock on which sexual abuse was perpetrated".

Therefore, the sexual violence women experience before, during and after wars, including within refugee camps and settlements that are supposed to be safe havens, is a result of women's cultural vulnerability in male-dominated settings. Although some feminists argue that war changes power relations, the experiences of women in refugee settings suggest the contrary. Studies have shown that even in the aftermath of conflict, avenues through which gender relations can be transformed are (re)constructed and maintained during the shift from conflict to peace within which women are consigned to a subordinate position in their new settings due to the gendered hierarchies of power (Sjoberg 2006; O' Reilly 2013). War is deeply gendered and is reliant on the construction and

reproduction of dominant masculine and submissive feminine virtues of tough men and tender women in ways that create and sustain inequalities between and among women and men (O' Reilly 2013: 58) in post-conflict settings. In addition, Francis (2004: 63) argues that the dominant models of power have made physical violence acceptable as it is ingrained in most cultures. Sexual violence has also been normalised, especially in refugees' lives, since women are viewed as helpless victims even by those who are meant to protect them. For instance: in an interview conducted by BuzzFeed News on women refugees and the problem of sexual exploitation while crossing the border (Moore 2015), Melita Šunjić, the senior public information officer for the UNHCR, Serbia Office, was quoted as saying:

I don't see how there is a gender issue here, honestly. I'm fully aware of what you're talking about, but these issues happen when you register women in refugee camps, when certain people get privileges and aid and others don't, things like that. There's not even time for that ... At the moment, this (sexual assault or exploitation) is definitely not the problem.

O'Reilly (2013: 64) asserts that often, international actors have stereotyped women as victims of violent behaviour in need of male or masculine security, as has been espoused in policies, statements and reports of organisations such as the United Nations. In O' Reilly's opinion, this exacerbates existing patriarchal relations of power. Historically, feminists adopted the strategy of challenging dominant patriarchal gender stereotypes that relegated women to subjugation during their campaigns for women's rights, advocating for the redefinition of these patriarchal meanings and values in society (Steans 2013: 14), such as traditional African society. Through sharing their experiences, women can support one another and understand the cultural environment in which they have been side-lined in for centuries. Through feminism, women's experiences and perspectives are illuminated, providing knowledge for policy-making that is based on more egalitarian relations. It is with these values in mind that the feminism theory is deemed important to this study because it conceptualises violence as a historical phenomenon integrated within the asymmetrical power relations of women and men. The theory highlights the differential impact on women's and men's lives and suggests possibilities for gendered norms to be transgressed (O'Reilly 2013: 59).

2.2.4. Paulo Freire's Feminist Pedagogy

The focus on women as victims of war and patriarchal culture (Snyder 2009: 45) has tended to portray them as passive recipients of handouts for survival, and obscured their ability as change agents to find durable solutions to their own plight. However, many women are aware of the injustices and inequalities they face, and actively seek to transform the structures and systems that perpetuate their oppression. As a report on women, peace and security by a former Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Anan (United Nations 2002: 12) reiterates:

We can no longer afford to minimise or ignore the contributions of women and girls in all stages of conflict resolutions, peacemaking, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and reconstruction process[es]. Sustainable peace will not be achieved without the full and equal participation of women and men.

This study set out to provide a platform for women to think and recreate their stories of oppression to transform their realities. As Freire (1984: 6) maintains, oppression is domesticating, thus, for one to elude its force, and be able to transform it, it is necessary to emerge from it and turn upon it through praxis, reflection and action upon the world in which one lives. Graf, Kramer and Nicolescou (2007: 129) maintain that self-reflection on the insights and knowledge of a conflict enables the conflict parties to comprehend themselves, the others and the problem which divided them. Hence, they can formulate their goals and strategies that are non-violent.

In addition, Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 104) observe that the marginalized status of women in many societies can provide them with a special opportunity for conceptualizing the factors that bring about conflict and for proposing reconciliation strategies which can lead to achieving their goal. Therefore, in Freire's perspective, women must delve into the sources of their oppression and find ways to liberate themselves from the hold of their oppressors, since oppressed women cannot detach themselves from their plight (but should be their own examples to redeem themselves). Freire (1984: 49) succinctly advances this argument when he writes, "In order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform".

Freire (2000: 40) maintains further that consciousness of, and actions upon, a reality are inseparable constituents of transforming acts in which men become social beings. As such, the cycle of the oppressed involves a dichotomy of the "oppressed consciousness" and the "oppressor consciousness", a process which Freire refers to as "conscientization", an intrinsic part of cultural action for freedom (Freire 2000: 39). Conscientization is the process where the oppressed become aware of, and reflect on, their ability to exercise their profoundly transforming action upon determining their reality (Freire 2000: 40). Transformation, therefore, must consider the behaviour of the oppressed and the oppressor, their analysis of the world, and their ethics (Freire 1984: 9). In Freire's view, the oppressor's awareness tends to change everything surrounding it into a unit of its command; to the oppressor consciousness, the humanization of others comes across not as the pursuit of complete humankind, but as subversion (Freire 1984: 11).

As earlier mentioned, Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" emphasises "praxis", which can be described as informed action derived from the process of "reflection into action" (Freire 2000: 40), enabling women to draw lessons from their plight and apply their stories as best practices, thus paving the way to their liberation. While the end of their struggle also liberates their oppressors, women can

also own their liberation, critically conscious not to become oppressors themselves. Consequently, women are given the space to make sense of their lives and experiences and create new visions of a transformed world in which they hope to live, thereby setting the scene for their liberation in oppressive situations that marginalise them. The feminist view of Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" is aimed at building durable relationships between the oppressor and the oppressed, as will later be discussed in this framework.

Freire's analysis is significant to the feminist argument that challenging the centrality of the male ethos of violence and focusing on female lives is likely to draw attention not only to the gendered aspects of social and political life, but also to other forms of structured inequalities. Hence, the epistemological views of women are valuable not just because they call attention to gender differences, but also because women represent a disenfranchised social group that is of value to the society. However, while feminists provide a significant lens through which women and men can be examined in society, and a persuasive position from which to transform relations that provoke and perpetuate violence against women (Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008: 87), they fail to acknowledge factors other than masculinity in the etiology of abuse and power relations.

According to Heise (1998: 263), feminists fail to explain why some men commit gendered atrocities, such as wife beating and rape, while others do not, despite the fact that they are all exposed to a cultural ethos that promotes male dominance and grants them the right to rule over females. Thus, Heise argues that any analysis of violence should identify the primacy of cultural ethos in relation to the power disadvantage women bring to relationships by virtue of their subordinate position (Heise 1998: 263). She reiterates that male dominance is the foundation for all theories of violence although it is inadequate in itself as a factor for the explanation of violence. Similarly, Pittaway (2004: 41) argues that the gendered nature of violence against women is rooted in male dominance structures that transcend culture, nationality and religion, thus rendering the subjugation of women a universal phenomenon.

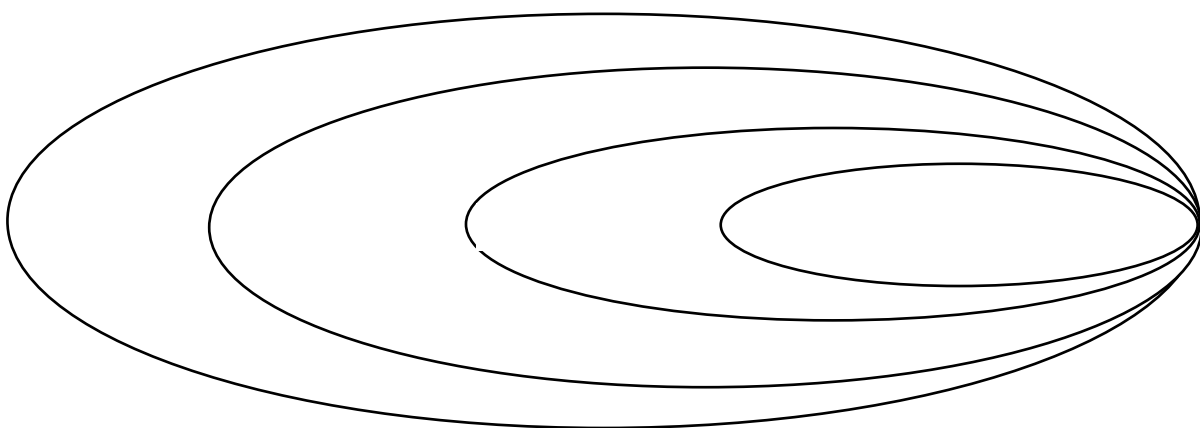
Any theory must be able to explain why individual men become violent and why women, as a class, are so often their target. This shows that there is a power of ethics or values in play which override cultural values and norms which posit men as protectors. Consequently, as discussed in the ecological theory below, factors such as alcoholism, drug abuse and witnessing violence as a child, contribute to this variation in male behaviour. Moreover, cultures which accept wife chastisement often relegate women to the status of children, such that for any perceived wrong act they do women are beaten or otherwise punished. In such cultures, it is likely that women are treated as objects rather than human beings (Isis WICCE 2014: 62). Therefore, there is need to appreciate other factors related to the agency of women subjected to countless forms of gendered violence. In addition, Hyndman and de-Alwis (2008: 87) posit that gender analysis alone is insufficient for theory, as an integrated model explains theorizing power relations, identities and experiences of men and women, especially in conflict-affected areas. Indeed,

this view is birthed by the various experiences that refugee women encounter in their families and communities. That is why it is necessary to undertake a deeper analysis of SGBV outside the confines of masculinity. Such a framework will also provide a more persuasive position from which to transform relations that perpetuate violence, discrimination, and injustice. Feminists fall short by conceptualising masculinity as the sole cause of violence against women.

2.4. The Ecological Theory of Violence

The ecological theory of violence was first advanced in the late 1970s during a study on child abuse, and was later benchmarked by other researchers on violence (WHO 2002: 9). The ecological theory of violence is still being adapted as a conceptual tool of violence. The model is used to examine factors that influence behaviour and those that increase the likelihood of being violent or being a victim of violence (WHO 2002: 9). The ecological theory of violence against women offers a deeper understanding as it conceptualises SGBV as a complex phenomenon that is shaped by multiple factors that operate at different levels including: personal, situational and social cultural factors (Heise 1998: 263). On the other hand, WHO (2002: 18) observes that there is no single factor to explain the causes of violence, for example: why some people are violent and others are not, nor why some countries are tormented by violent conflict while their neighbouring countries are peaceful. The ecological theory as an integrated model explains these factors. Its strength lies in its aptitude to distinguish between the innumerable influences on violence while at the same time creating a relationship structure or framework of their interaction. This relationship framework is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2. 1 The Ecological Framework of Violence Against Women (Source, Heise 1998: 263)



As the above illustration shows, the ecological framework overtly illustrates the interplay of personal, micro-, exo- and macrosystem factors in the etiology of abuse. According to Heise (1998: 261), the

ecological approach to abuse conceptualises violence as a multifaceted approach grounded in an interplay of personal, situational and socio-cultural factors. These factors are related to the factors that contribute to SGBV against women in refugee settings, as will later be discussed in Chapter 3. The ecological theory draws on the theoretical narratives of earlier theorists, such as feminist theorists, to illuminate factors that emerge as predictive of abuse at each level of social ecology (Heise 1998: 262). Unfortunately, although SGBV is considered an international peace and human rights issue, little consensus has been reached on the etiology of abuse. In the opinion of Heise (1998: 262), this is partly because:

The task of theory building has been severely hampered by narrowness of traditional academic disciplines and by the tendency of both academics and activists to advance single-factor theories rather than explanations that reflect the full complexity and messiness of real life (Heise 1998: 262) .

This argument is particularly true of the feminist theory which, by focusing exclusively on masculinity as the root cause of violence, ignores the vast basis of identity and social relations that are not entirely gender-biased. It is for this reason that Hyndman and de-Alwis (2008: 87) argue that there is a need to look beyond the concept of gender per se and implement a rigorous inter-feminist framework which will position gender issues and power relations within interlocking systems of caste, class, religion, sexuality, nationality and membership of social groups. The feminist theory is faulted specifically for emphasising individual explanations for violence. For instance, while explaining that men beat women because of the male impulse to control or as a result of gender-power inequalities and historical constructions of the patriarchal family, feminist theoreticians are reluctant to acknowledge other causal factors. The ecological theory provides a wider understanding of SGBV by reflecting on a complexity of issues accruing to women's real lives, including personal history, relationship, exosystem and societal factors, rather than conceptualising violence as solely attributable to masculinity (Heise 1998: 265).

2.4.1. Individual Factors

Individual factors are characteristics of an individual's developmental experience or personality that shape his or her response to microsystem and exosystem factors (Heise 1998: 265). These explain biological factors or personal factors of one's behaviour and influence his or her likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence (WHO 2002: 8). These factors are examined in selected forms below.

- **Witnessing Domestic Violence as a Child**

Witnessing violence as a child implies that young boys who grow up in violent homes may learn to be violent themselves when they grow up, their violence is learned behaviour. Scholars argue that in most cases, men may be violent to women if they witnessed violence during their childhood and/or

experienced direct violence of a similar nature as children (Chan 2007: 5; Seto and Lalimiere 2010: 529). For example: in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, domestic violence was common in the households of refugees from DRC among whom domestic violence was reported to have been normalised (Peterman, Tia and Caryn 2011; Isis WICCE 2014). In the absence of effective rule of law, women have continued to be treated as property and with disrespect (Isis WICCE 2014: 62). In such situations, Coomaraswamy (2005: 4729) argues, boys encounter their first experience of female subordination within family confines, leading them to assume their masculinity as adults. Nonetheless, because violence is a choice, under no circumstances whatsoever should men justify their gruesome acts of violence against women as acceptable in their families or societies.

- **Being Abused During Childhood**

According to Heise *et al.* (2002: 2002), sexual exploitation of children is widespread in virtually all societies. Research shows that being abused as a child is an indicator for future relationship abuse because it produces confusing and intense emotions in the child as a victim (Morrow and Smith 2007: 292). Similarly, Saffitz (2010: 86) posits that the social learning theory is key to understanding behaviour, he argues that behaviour is passed on through observing and re-enacting the behaviour of others who were role models. On the other hand, Uthman, Lawoko and Moradi (2009: 2) postulate that behaviour is learned within a larger cultural context and is passed from one generation to another, just like gender roles and social norms. This observation explains why some men perpetrate violence against women while others do not, as postulated under the feminist theory above. Indeed, various scholars observe that sexual assault and abuse in childhood has previously been linked to a likelihood of increased sexual violence among men (Whitaker *et al.* 2008: 530; Seto and Lalimiere 2010: 529). Similarly, studies on boys who are sexually abused reveal that approximately one in five formerly sexually assaulted children molest other children themselves in later life (WHO 2002). However, Heise *et al.* (2002: 6) stress that experiencing domestic violence as a child should not be regarded as a precondition for future abuse since most boys who were sexually abused in their childhood may not grow up to abuse others.

For their part, in a related study about why some men use violence against women and how to prevent it in Asia and the Pacific, Fulu *et al.* (2013: 85) observed that the perpetration of rape was associated with men's own victimisation, particularly abuse, during their childhood. Fulu *et al.* (ibid) reiterate that studies in developmental psychology reveal that exposure to childhood abuse has an impact on brain development, and results in low levels of self-esteem, insecurity and resentment. These consequences lead to a high risk of boys associating with harmful peers (especially in their teenage years) and becoming violent themselves. It is, therefore, logical to conclude that safeguarding boys from abuse as they grow is highly likely to deter them from future violence against women and girls.

- **Absent or Rejecting Father**

Research shows that boys who grow up fatherless are more prone to violent behaviour in adulthood (WHO 2002; Chan 2007). In refugee settings, most families are female-headed after losing a male family relative during conflict, thus increasing their sons' vulnerability to adopting abusive and violent behaviours as adults. This gives women an extra burden as family heads to nurture and care for these children, bringing them up as less violent adults in their communities. (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008: 1). Moreover, Snyder (2009: 47) explains:

Because their male family relatives are killed or wounded, flee or voluntarily join the military, many women become heads of households, solely responsible for feeding, clothing, finding shelter for and providing healthcare and educational services for their families, including the elderly and infirm.

The absence of a father in the family puts children at a higher risk of engaging in violent and harmful behaviour, such as sexual and gender-based violence, during their adulthood (WHO 2002: 19). Studies also reveal that lack of childhood affection increases the risk of childhood molestation because vulnerable boys are more likely to seek friendliness with adults other than their parents (Seto and Lalimiere 2010: 530). Seto and Lalimiere (2010: 530) add that apprehensive affection can also increase the likelihood of sexual abuse because victims of such affection are more likely to try and fulfil their intimacy needs in insecure relationships, which can be breeding grounds for SGBV.

2.4.2 Microsystem Factors

At the micro level, focus is directed towards social relations between a person and other people as well as to the subjective meanings that accrue from those interactions. The micro level encompasses close relationships such as: within a family, between or among intimate partners, workmates and peers; and it examines how these relationships enhance chances of being a victim or a perpetrator of violence (WHO 2002: 8). Micro level factors manifest themselves in two ways: within the family and as male dominance in extra-familial settings.

- **Family**

The most salient feature of this level is that while the family has been used as an agency and context for most abusive episodes (Heise 1998: 269), it is dismissed as a private sphere when it comes to policy and legal matters on SGBV (Steans and Ahmadi 2005: 237). Consequently, the violence that happens within the confines of households in refugee settings is usually side-lined, leaving women even more vulnerable, and engendering a cycle of violence. According to Heise (1998: 269), many of these factors at this stage are related to the escalating risk of sexual and gender-based abuse, with the key factor behind this being the structure of the traditional family. In conformity with Heise's argument, feminist

scholars posit that rights are predicated on the public/private dichotomy which leaves a large part of a woman's life outside the scope of legal jurisdiction (Steans and Ahmadi 2005: 237). Heise's argument is supported by the liberal rights theory according to which it is power relations that make women subordinate to men in their societies. According to Saffitz (2010: 89), polygamous marriages are more prone to SGBV than monogamous ones. This is true of refugee settings where many marriages are polygamous, and male-dominated ideologies normalise violence by defining women as the property of men, as well as confining women to performing only domestic roles (Pittaway 2004; Peterman, Tia and Caryn 2011). This increases the risk of domestic violence in refugee settings (Pittaway 2004).

- **Male Dominance**

Studies have shown that males raised in patriarchal families are more likely to become violent and use sexual violence against women as adults than those who are raised in more egalitarian homes (Caprioli and Boyer 2001: 509; WHO 2002: 161). Heise (1998: 277) argues that research on how masculinity promotes violence against women contains attributes associated with strength, power, forcefulness, toughness and domination. Male dominance manifests itself in males dominating family wealth and decision-making, battering and raping women. In the same vein, Francis (2004: 63) asserts that a culture of domination is a culture of violence because “violent aspects of culture make direct and structural violence look, even feel, right or at least not wrong. Similarly, socially constructed gender hierarchies create power asymmetries that normally place women at a disadvantage, leading to violence (Caprioli and Boyer 2001: 509; Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 104). This analysis relates to the feminist ideology of masculinity being the root cause of violence, and it is evidenced in refugee settings where women have been subjugated and have less say in society than men (ACORD Uganda 2010: 9). This has increased their vulnerability to SGBV.

From the above discussion, it can be deduced that most feminist discourse and theorists focus on macro-system factors such as patriarchy to explain SGBV. Notwithstanding, a nested ecological approach not only acknowledges the importance of macro-level factors, including male domination, but also emphasises the inter-relationship of patriarchal beliefs and norms with other factors within the framework. As I hope to demonstrate later in this thesis, the ecological theory leads to a deeper understanding of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

2.4.3 Exosystem Factors

Exosystem factors are economic and cultural norms and beliefs that pervade a society and inform the other layers of the social ecology. The exosystem factors are embedded in the community context in which social relationships occur such as: at places of work, schools and the community as a whole. An analysis of exosystem factors seeks to identify relevant attributes of these settings and how they increase

the risk for violence (WHO 2002: 9). Exosystem factors that have a bearing on SGBV and often translate into, or relate to, socio-economic status and peer associations.

- **Low Social Economic Status**

Heise (1998: 274) posits that poverty may breed frustration and a sense of insecurity among men as a result of their inability to live up to their culturally defined role of being a “provider”, especially after conflict. On the other hand, scholars argue that poverty is likely to increase the frequency of conflict over scarce resources, and the risk of individuals growing up in poor communities to be exposed to violence (Uthman, Lawoko and Moradi 2009). Research shows that the link between poverty and sexual violence is reconciled through forms of crisis of masculine identity (WHO 2002: 161). This analysis shows that poverty has a direct link to the perpetration of sexual abuse, and to one being sexually abused. In refugee settings, men’s inability to play their culturally defined role as heads of family accruing from their experience of war or conflict reduces their ability to protect their female charges, thereby increasing cases of violence against women (Pittaway 2004; Marsh, Purdin and Navani 2006). Moreover, in an attempt to make up for their weakness, men with a punctured ego tend to turn to violence against both women and fellow men. As Pittaway (2004: 42) observes, “The risk of domestic violence is heightened when men’s sense of self is threatened, causing some men to resort to acts of violence in order to restore their self-dignity and power”.

Pittaway’s views are supported by (Saffitz 2010: 86) according to whom a man’s inability to provide financially for himself and his family can cause feelings of inferiority and turn into a threat to his masculine identity, thus leading to his violent behaviour. For instance, in refugee settings, husbands may feel that their roles as providers have been usurped by humanitarian agencies that not only provide for their families but also for the husbands themselves. Unemployment among refugees leads to poverty, which in turn undermines their ability to fulfil their culturally defined role as providers, leading them to become violent by releasing their pent-up frustrations through SGBV against their wives (Heise 1998: 274). In addition, boredom and frustration, as a result of unemployment contribute to SGBV against women in camps and settlements. Haliso (2009: 100-110) observed that, in Angola, displaced men and women attributed increasing rates of domestic violence to boredom, frustration and alcohol consumption.

- **Delinquent Peer Associations**

In simple terms, delinquent behaviour refers to morally wrong acts or illegal behaviour normally practiced by young people. This behaviour reinforces the use of drugs or alcoholism that can cause SGBV in the community. Studies show that the high vulnerability to SGBV also stems from the abuse

of alcohol (Heise *et al.* 2002; WHO 2002) and other drugs (WHO 2002: 158). In a study carried out in Pabbo Camp in northern Uganda, Okot *et al.* (2005: 11) observe that idleness, redundancy and unemployment, coupled with high levels of frustration and boredom among people (especially the youth) led males to inflict violence, including sexual violence, on women and girls. Women and girls who consume alcohol or drugs become even more vulnerable to acts of violence, as their ability to protect themselves is reduced by inebriety (WHO 2002: 158). Men's alcohol consumption also places women in situations where their risk of encountering SGBV is high (Haliso 2009: 101; Saffitz 2010: 90). Drug and alcohol abuse in refugee settings is common, with the youth getting involved in the practice due to lack of employment, and some of them ending up engaging in such vices as rape, robbery and drunken brawls. However, while alcohol may be a catalyst and contribute to violence, it is not the causal factor; alcohol and drugs act as “releasers” only when an individual has already reached a state of mind in which he or she is apt to violence (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 42).

2.4.4 Macrosystem Factors

Macro factors are both formal and informal social structures that influence the immediate settings in which a person lives (Heise 1998: 273). According to the WHO (2002: 16), these are broad societal or cultural factors that create an environment in which violence is normalized or inhibited. Francis (2004: 63) maintains that culture has an enormous impact on people's lives and informs their behaviours and attitudes through governing the way they think and act. That is why Francis (2004: 63) affirms that culture remains a complex and important factor to be reckoned with. These cultural values and beliefs influence the other three layers of the social ecology. For example, as earlier indicated, male dominance influences the organization of power in communities as well as the distribution of decision-making authority in families, as ordained by cultural norms and values (Thornton and Whiteman 2013). These norms and values include those that prioritize parental rights over child welfare, those that give men control over family resources, depriving women of financial independence and sustainability, and those that harness male dominance over women and children. This is because culture plays a central role in defining both acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, and in determining the response to violence (WHO 2002: 19). Francis (2004: 63) adds that violent aspects of culture, such as the dominance models of power are normally accepted, making physical violence both acceptable and ingrained in our cultures. Male dominance logically leads to female subordination which in the long run leads to violence against women and girls.

The preceding account suggests that it is necessary to understand the complexity of culture in relation to other factors. Cultures, structures and actions form a mutually influential triangle. Moreover, just as political, economic, military and social structures have an enormous impact on people's lives, they also play a big part in forming or changing cultures (Francis 2004: 64). For example, country policies may reinforce the inferiority of a woman, and lead to her being deprived of her property rights, and/or to her

husband being allowed to chastise her periodically (actual violence). This encourages the husband to abuse her (direct violence), thus making it hard for her to escape from his power. Francis argues that, in so doing, this behaviour is made acceptable in some cultures as it is reinforced by the laws and policies of that country or society (Francis 2004: 63). Other macro factors include male entitlement to, or ownership of, women, rigid gender roles and approval of physical chastisement of women, which is common in refugee settings.

- **Approval of the Physical Chastisement of Women**

Violence assumes many different forms, including reprisal of an individual with whom the abuser has an intimate relationship (Human-Rights-Watch 2000). Research shows that most cultures consent to physical chastisement of women just like they do for children (Straus 2009; Crisostomo *et al.* 2012). As Straus (2009: 7) asserts, “male partner violence, just like corporal punishment of children then and now, has been an accepted part of the culture”.

Such cultures have certain regulations on who has the right to discipline who and under what conditions and to what degree, relegating women to subjugation and vulnerability to violence (Daenzer 2008: 232). Studies show that violence of this form may be justified by its perpetrators as a means of punishing errant wives who have failed to live up to male expectations (Freedman 2007: 57; Straus 2009: 7). And there is no shortage of examples of such behaviour: Coomaraswamy (2005: 4730) notes that South Asia continues to be a region where violence against women is prevalent, some say even “normalised” as an accepted pattern of behavior, and Lwambo (2013: 53) observes that, in the DRC, women are culturally assigned roles which include caring for children, being subordinate to and dependent on men, and being sexually available to men - if women fall short of these responsibilities, they are punished. In this case, if punishment is culturally acceptable, then abuse is considered justified and others may not intervene when it occurs. Such situations pose a major challenge to policy makers in trying to reduce partner violence in societies that approve of it. This partly explains why partner violence is usually under-reported. In a study on domestic violence in South Africa, Vetten (2014: 3) reports:

Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence experienced by South African women, according to the South African Stress and health (SASh) survey conducted by Johns Hopkins University and the University of Cape Town. Such violence was reported by about one in eight women (13.8%) in the study and by 1.3% of men.

Under-reporting of partner violence is also attributable to, and aggravated by, traditional societies which often disregard the concept of wrongdoing by men against women (Pittaway 2004: 24). Sometimes women reluctantly accept cultural norms, in the naive belief that domestic violence is their husband’s right and that if they were to question it they would be considered bad wives (Pittaway 2004: 24).

Furthermore, even when women try to seek outside help, the reluctance of relief agency staff and police to intervene worsens the dilemma (Human-Rights-Watch 2000). That is why, as Francis (2004: 63) argues, while this state of affairs seems to be acceptable, it is also reinforced by the behaviour of the couple (in which women are made to believe domestic violence is a right of their husbands, giving men the power over them) as well as its embodiment in the laws of the land.

The ecological theory explains how the factors at each level of the overlapping rings in Figure 2.1 above are strengthened or modified by factors at another level (WHO 2002: 10). For instance, a person who is naturally aggressive is more likely to be violent if his or her community habitually resolves conflict through violence, rather than if he or she were in a community that is peaceful. The ecological theory also takes into account the various institutional factors that reinforce gender-based violence, including discrimination, gender imbalance, gender hierarchies of power, and socio-cultural attitudes that suppress women even in peaceful times (Marsh, Purdin and Navani 2006: 139). According to WHO (2002: 10), a wide-ranging structure about the roots of violence is constructive and provides avenues for research and prevention. Nonetheless, there is often a huge difference between observing an effect and understanding how it operates. That is why policy makers must be able to guard against acting on the basis of mere assumptions or subjective evidence alone (WHO 2002: 10). To be effective, prevention approaches ought to be based on sound knowledge, backed by high-quality research on the factors that influence violence and how they interact (WHO 2002: 10).

However, while the ecological theory provides an interesting heuristic tool for conceptualising violence and its complex interactions, it is not definitive because it does not provide a solution to the ensuing conflicts caused by the aforementioned risk factors. The ecological theory framework lacks a durable solution to the risk factors that lead to violence, making it incomplete or inadequate. Therefore, for durable solutions to SGBV worldwide and in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in particular, we must turn elsewhere, specifically to Lederach's conflict transformation theory of peacebuilding (Lederach 1997; Lederach 2003). It is noteworthy that while a transformation of gender relations is integral to the process of reconciliation through exploring and building relationships, bringing about healing and forgiveness between warring parties (Schirch 2004: 48), an ecological framework is still important in understanding the complex relations of gender and power (Saffitz 2010: 85).

2.5. The Conflict Transformation Theory

Conflict transformation is defined as the outcome, process and structure-orientated sustainable peacebuilding efforts, that are oriented towards overcoming the varied forms of direct, cultural and structural violence (Reimann 2001: 13). According to Miall (2004: 4), conflict transformation theorists argue that modern conflicts entail more than just reframing positions and identifying the “win-win”

outcomes which conflict resolution is all about. Conflict transformation is therefore a process of engaging with and transforming the relations, interests, discourses and the very foundation of society that reinforces violence, thus creating constructive change processes and durable solutions to the problem (Miall 2004: 4). Conflict transformation provides opportunities to learn about patterns, and address relationship structures while providing concrete solutions to the presented issues. This process uses democratic communication to address the primary causes of conflict and construct satisfactory solutions for all parties (Lederach 2003).

As an elusive tool of change, conflict transformation keeps relationships and social structures honest, alive and dynamically responsive to human needs, aspirations and growth (Lederach 2003: 18). While Francis (2004) and Agbalajobi (2010) opine that conflict is inevitable in human interactions, Lederach (2003) observes that many times, conflict results in long-standing cycles of hurt and destruction, a situation which Galtung (2007: 14) asserts is an outcome of untransformed conflict. Galtung adds that peace depends on the transformation of relationships between the warring parties, through transcending the conflicting goals of the parties and creating a new reality (Galtung 2007: 14). For his part, Harders (2011: 146) observes that changing conflicting goals, that could be rooted in ingrained beliefs and practices, involves long-term work which can create severe tensions and conflicts. That is why the conflict transformation process requires self-reflectivity of the practitioner on these contending issues.

2.5.1 Transformation Focusing on People on the Ground

According to Miall (2004: 4), warring parties - people within a society affected by conflict, and the entire community with relevant human and material resources, all have their respective roles to play in sustainable peacebuilding. This means that conflict transformation is a comprehensive and holistic approach, emphasising support for groups within the society in conflict rather than for the mediation of outsiders (Miall 2004: 4). Therefore, the transformation process is not a smooth path (Francis 2004), but one in which conflicts are transformed gradually through various steps in which a variety of actors may play important roles (Miall 2004: 4). That is why conflict transformation views peace as being centred and entrenched in the quality of relationships rather than as a static end-state (Lederach 2003: 20). In order to achieve the goal of peace, dialogue should be incorporated as an important aspect in conflict transformation at the interpersonal and structural levels, and it should include the subjects of violence. In this regard, Lederach (1997) is right when he argues that peacebuilding approaches must target the population that typically experiences the violence and trauma associated with war.

Whilst Lederach (1997) emphasises transformation of conflict on the ground with the grassroots actors who live with the realities of a violent conflict, Atashi (2009: 46) recommends that it is pertinent to distinguish among these actors based on their asymmetric experiences of conflict. Therefore, key to this argument is that while women and men have different gendered experiences of conflict, women are

more affected by it (UNHCR 2002; Freedman 2007). This insight plays a role in the establishment of apt measures to address context-specific needs in order to transform conflict into sustainable peace (Atashi 2009: 47). And transforming conflict into sustainable peace involves building relationships which lead to a process of reconciliation and restoration between the groups affected by conflict, and is regarded as an important component in preventing future violence (Lederach 1997; Mani 2002). In addition, Atashi (2009: 45) argues that while transformation of a conflict at a national level may be done through a peace agreement, local-level problems such as: inequality, divisions, mistrust, economic deprivation, fear and violence, may persist if transformation did not include all parties and stakeholders in the society. In other words, besides the victims of conflict, other stakeholders' needs, including those of perpetrators, ought to be considered as crucial in conflict transformation to sustainable peace. This idea is also implied by Galtung (2007: 124) who posits that the goal of transformation is peace, which must involve participation of all parties involved.

2.5.2 The Process of Conflict Transformation

According to Atashi (2009: 45), the evolution from violence to peace usually starts when opposed factions negotiate and start what is often called a “peace process”. This is the beginning of the journey to building lasting and peaceful relations among groups in conflict. In what Lederach (2003: 24) calls “the relational dimension of face-to-face relationships”, the conflict transformation process analyses the whole cycle of the misunderstandings of parties involved by analysing issues of relational affectivity and interactive aspects of conflict.

Lederach (2003: 25) maintains that the process of transformation can be understood in two fundamental ways: descriptively and prescriptively across personal, relational, structural and independent cultural dimensions. Descriptively, transformation analyses the empirical impact of conflict in which patterns of communication and interaction are affected by conflict (Lederach 2003: 25; Lederach 1997: 82). Prescriptively, transformation implies deliberate intervention to effect change in order to minimise poorly functioning communication and to maximise mutual understanding (Lederach 2003: 25; Lederach 1997: 82). The “personal dimension” refers to those changes affected in, and desired for, the individual and it involves emotional, perceptual and spiritual aspects of conflict. The “relational dimension” involves incorporating the fears, hopes and goals of the people involved, in which changes effected in, and desired for, the relationship are built (Lederach 2003: 25, Lederach 1997: 82). Intervention minimises poorly functioning communication and maximises mutual understanding in bridging the gap in terms of affectivity and interdependence (Lederach 1997: 83). The “structural dimension” illustrates the fundamental causes of conflict, and the transformation it brings about in societal structures, while openly promoting nonviolent mechanisms that reduce, minimise and ultimately prevent violence. The structural dimension encompasses issues such as access to resources, basic human necessities and institutional patterns of decision-making (Lederach 1997: 83). The

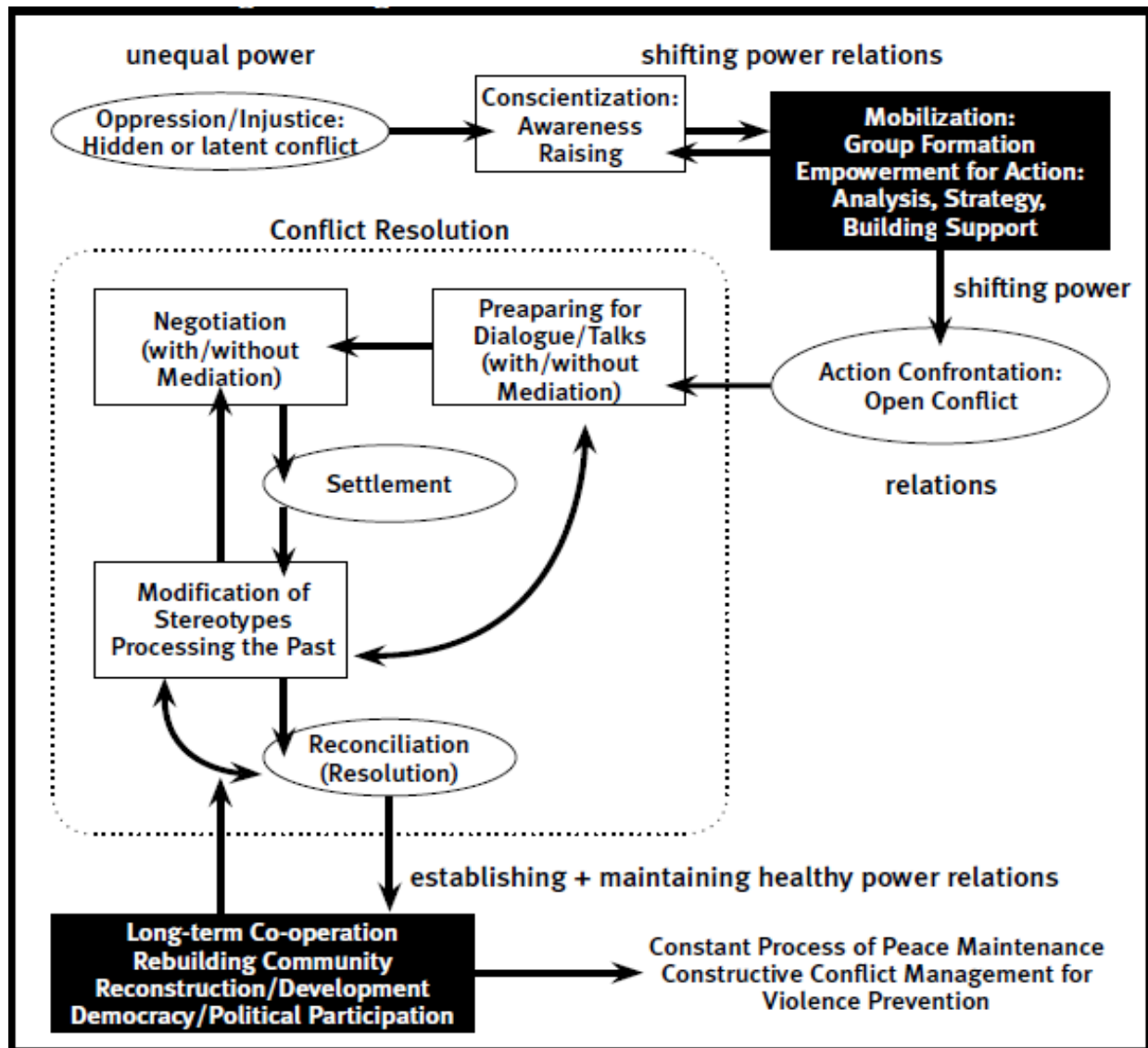
“cultural dimension” explores conflict within the cultural norms in a certain setting, and it seeks ways of solving the problem within those boundaries. On the basis of this perspective, the study established a project to address SGBV at the micro, macro and meso levels in order to create positive change.

As the above analysis demonstrates, Lederach (1997: 83-84) maintains that an integrated approach provides a standard for understanding and responding to conflict, and developing peacebuilding initiatives. He adds that, by and large, the process of conflict transformation is linked to a broader premise of reconciliation in as much as it is oriented toward transforming relationships at every level of human interaction and experience (Lederach 1997: 84). Therefore, conflict transformation highlights the problem at stake as a chance to apply a wider context and to explore and understand the system of relationships and patterns that led to the specific problem. Conflict transformation seeks to mediate issues both immediate as well as the system of relational patterns through mid- and long-term creative solutions (Lederach 2003: 30) in an integrated framework.

An integrated framework is oriented toward the building of lasting relationships which together form new patterns, processes and structures. Moreover, Lederach (1997: 85) affirms that peacebuilding through constructive transformation of conflicts is also a futurist and context-responsive approach. Hence, conflict transformation provides a complete framework through a shift in perceptions at the micro, macro and meso levels of the society, aimed at providing durable solutions to the problem of SGBV against women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Drawing lessons from a study on the “transnational bridge-building capacity” of women refugees in Burma (now Myanmar), Snyder argued that the changed perceptions of gender roles, increase in social resources, and greater informal and formal decision-making power co-existed within certain gendered cultural practices (Snyder 2011: 37).

Indeed, conflict transformation aspires to bring about profound changes in conflict situations, changes that transcend the restrictions of conventional approaches (Ryan 2009: 304). These changes seek to attain relationships of respect, cooperation and consent as well as constructive means and norms for dealing with conflict (Francis 2000: 6). Therefore, the conflict transformation framework helps us to realize that the situation of women extends beyond perceptions of their physical or personal safety security, thereby facilitating a holistic approach to their experience (Haliso 2009: 100). In so doing, the conflict transformation framework poses a challenge to gendered forms of inequality, subordination or oppression currently tolerated in post-conflict settings, and it contributes to the transformation of gendered relations of power in ways that improve the material conditions of female and male lives in the aftermath of conflict (O' Reilly 2013: 65). Figure 2.2 below illustrates the conflict transformation framework.

Figure 2. 2 A Conflict Transformation Network (Source, Francis 2000: 8)



The conflict transformational framework above assumes that violence is culturally patterned through gender differences which are important to the culture of domination. The underlying factor to this discrimination is unequal power relations which often lead to oppression and injustice (usually overt). These injustices are conceived through perceptions that men and women are naturally different from one another. According to Stephenson (2009: 123), in the past, many male political theorists argued that women were basically different from men and that due to these differences, they were seen as inferior to men and unfit for citizenship. Gender stereotypes, such as “women being weak” and “men being strong”, often trigger and justify societal arrangements that disadvantage women, while on the other hand such claims about men’s biological nature are used in an effort to excuse or tolerate male violence. From the above illustration, there is a need for a shift in power relations through

conscientization as Paulo Friere highlights in his book *the Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Through awareness raising, women (in this case the minority group) are empowered with skills and knowledge for self awareness and growth. Once the minority group is fully aware of their potential, they formulate a strategy for change of their situation. This leads to shifting of power relations of women, which may elicit conflict from their male counterparts (dominant group), because they feel that their culturally assigned role as providers, protectors and heads of families is being encroached upon. This calls for conflict resolution through community dialogues, negotiation, mediation and or reconciliation. Once a resolution is reached, this will lead to establishing peaceful and healthy power relations that are inclusive of all parties. The result of this in the long term will be reconstruction, democracy, cooperation among others, leading to sustainable peace, and constructive conflict management for violence prevention.

In other words, the compelling variation in men and women's livelihoods results from the unlike social constructions of male and female identities historically, spatially and culturally (Stephenson 2009: 125). As a result, masculinity is viewed as powerful, aggressive and controlling while femininity is perceived as weak, inferior, submissive and nurturing. All these are cultural stereotypes which foster gender-based violence against women (Francis 2000). It is such perceived differences that relegate women to private spheres, such as doing domestic work, while men are elevated to public spheres, such as participation in the labour force, leading to inequality.

Several feminist scholars therefore suggest that in the context of these differences, women and men ought to value their varied differences rather than valuing power over the so-called weaker sex, an ethos which reinforces violence. Stephenson (2009: 127) observes that much of the research on violent behaviour suggests that human beings respond to frustration either aggressively or cooperatively, depending on how they have been socialised. Women and men valuing their differences is regarded as a roadmap to achieving gender equality, which refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for males and females (DPKO and DFS 2010). According to DPKO and DFS (2010: 8-9):

[...] gender equality does not mean that men and women will become the same, but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both men and women are taken into consideration.

The above review suggests that understanding the underlying power relations in post-conflict peacebuilding is crucial to achieving sustainable peace, since post-conflict power-sharing arrangements that do not correspond to the structural base of power would face enormous implementation difficulties (Nakaya 2003). This is also because men and women do not give up power willingly, but need a valid reason to do so (ibid). That is why gender equality benefits society as a whole where both women and

men have important parts to play in changing attitudes and behaviours and transforming roles and responsibilities (DPKO and DFS 2010). This view is supported by (Nakaya 2003) according to whom, from a gender perspective, the main task of conflict transformation is to carry out structural reforms that promote inter-group and intra-group equality both institutionally and within structural power relations. It is presumed that when relationships are egalitarian and based on values of partnership, rather than domination, people cooperate with and empower each other to meet their needs and enjoy their rights (Schirch 2004: 17).

In the above framework, conflict transformation is perceived as a roadmap to peace through addressing these power asymmetries and injustices. After transformation, societies become more egalitarian and new forms of gender relations are created, enabling women to access paid employment in order to contribute to their families' welfare - and finally, sustainable peace is realised. Therefore, power relations begin to change when the oppressed become aware of their oppression and are willing to change, in what Freire (2000: 40) calls "conscientization". They then are capable of mobilising themselves into social groups and share a common vision of emancipation. Francis (2000: 8) asserts that it is not until the oppressed have acknowledged their own relative power and acquired sufficient influence to make a difference to their oppressors, that they can deal with them effectively, regardless of how the confrontation is carried out. Reconciliation, a process that leads to conflict resolution, is reached at this point through relationship building and modification of cultural stereotypes that value power over equality (*ibid*). Hence, conflict transformation is achieved through long-term cooperation and reconstruction of the society.

Research has revealed that male domination and cultures that relegate women to inferior roles have a significant effect on the individual attitudes of both men and women in order to preserve the status quo (Heise 1998: 263; Saffitz 2010: 84). In most cases, this status quo benefits men rather than their female counterparts, which justifies the promotion of a culture of egalitarianism in a sensitive and relevant manner. Conflict transformation recognises and addresses the restrictions of the resolution approaches in place; it moves beyond the immediate issues (which conflict resolution offers) to look at the wider environment within which violent conflict strikes (Lederach 1997: 82). In relation to this, Snyder (2011: 17) argues that peacebuilding training is two-pronged: it must be conceptualised as strategic capacity-building and relationship-building. It is strategic because a dynamic process must be created, involving key people who work together on the transformation of conflict; and it is relationship-building because it builds relationships both in and across lines of division in protracted conflict situations (Snyder 2011: 17). In addition, Lederach (1997) argues that local capacities for peace can be used as building blocks of political and economic relationships, and systems that ensure peace. For his part, Snyder (2011: 17) maintains that recognising and emphasising peace capacities can reinforce confidence, skill and commitment to nonviolent problem-solving. Snyder (2011: 17) adds that the goal of conflict

transformation is to develop the capacity for handling conflict peacefully and to support the transformation of relationships, systems, programmes and discourse imbedded with violence. Hence, the conflict transformation practitioner must be skilled and tactful enough to ensure not only that the transformation process does no harm, but also that it has a positive impact within the context of the conflict (Reychler and Paffenholz 2001: 14).

Most literature on refugee settlements and humanitarian aid indicates that refugees can and do develop certain capacities; but, despite their ability, women are regularly mentioned as mere participants (Snyder 2011: 15). Conversely, Lederach (1997) posits that at the heart of capacity-building is empowerment, in which a fundamental challenge lies in changing individual and community beliefs towards women in the sense that they do have the power to effect change. Lederach (2003: 20) argues that the transformation theme of conflict resolution views peace as sustainable and as developing quality relationships, rather than as a static end in itself. Therefore, this study sought durable solutions in which both female and male refugees engage in a capacity-building training project aimed at building more peaceful and egalitarian relationships and reducing (or eliminating) SGBV.

According to Snyder (2009: 45), a focus on women as victims of war and patriarchal culture disguises the transformation of women's often subordinate gender roles by long-term social turmoil due to on-going conflict. For example, after the loss of a male family member, women take up roles such as heads of households and principal income generators. Snyder (2009: 45) further argues that without analysing how conflict transforms gender relations, the policies and discourse surrounding gender equality will continue to have a limited impact. Therefore, a need for fundamental changes in perceptions (inner transformation) is considered essential to the formation of choices and to the empowerment process in which the oppressed women must be influential participants rather than simply recipients of improved outcomes (Snyder 2009: 49). This is to say that without the involvement of the oppressed party, the goal of transformation will not be achieved, and the cycle of conflict will be reinforced. As Galtung (2007: 15) asserts:

[...] an untransformed conflict is a major bellogen which becomes like a festering wound, whether visible to the untrained eye or located deeper down in the body, personality, structure or culture, like a genetically pre- programmed tumour (Galtung 2007: 15).

It follows, therefore, that conflict transformation will help in constructive efforts which include and transcend the resolution of a specific problem (Lederach 2003: 4). This is partly because conflict is normal in human relationships (Francis 2004; Agbalajobi 2010) and is a natural illustration of social differences and humanity's continuous struggle for justice (Lederach 2003: 5; Agbalajobi 2010: 236).

However, to achieve the goal of transformation, there must be a real change in the current social and economic relations of refugee women and men.

2.6. Summary

The framework discussed in this section considers three theories: feminism, the ecological theory of violence and the conflict transformation theory, which together build an integrated approach to fighting SGBV in refugee settlements. I argue that even though there is a diversity of feminist theories, feminists generally agree that the invisibility of gender issues within mainstream social theories and the inadequate inclusion of women in public spheres of human life are mainly enabled by the ethos of male dominance. Not only has feminism been a powerful tool in critiquing social science discourse that had ignored the role played by women in society, it has also brought fundamental shifts and an awakening in perception at all levels of policy implementation. It is no wonder that gender is such an important aspect of all academic discourse, although equality as advocated by feminists has not yet been achieved. However, despite the feminists' insights about masculinity as a root cause of violence against women, masculinity alone does not fully account for violence against women, as demonstrated by the ecological theory of violence, other factors contribute to violence against women.

The literature review has demonstrated that the ecological theory of violence against women provides a more holistic understanding of SGBV as a complex phenomenon that is shaped by multiple factors that operate at different stages. However, the ecological theory is not definitive because it does not provide a solution to the ensuing conflicts caused by all the factors at play. Finally, the review has shown that, by transforming cultural and structural relationships, conflict transformation becomes a necessary aspect of building sustainable peace. Moreover, the review has also shown that, besides victims of violence, other stakeholders, including perpetrators, decision-makers and cultural leaders, need to be considered as crucial agents of revolutionary change.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

(THE INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORKS)

“Home sweet home: everyone deserves one” (Martin 2000).

3 Introduction

This chapter offers an introductory overview of the refugee issue and how the international community has tried to deal with it over time. It reviews an array of scholarly publications on this issue and how the international and domestic communities have tried to curb violence against women through legislation. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to improve understanding of the legal aspects of refugees, illuminating the problems they face. The chapter seeks to examine both the international and national policies meant to address violence against women in refugee settings. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section I describes the international legal instruments on SGBV against women; Section II examines the domestic legal provisions on SGBV against women in refugee settings, and Section III discusses refugee women's rights as human rights.

SECTION I

3.1 Introduction

This section explores the international legal and institutional instruments on SGBV and their applicability to the refugee situation. These, among others, include the UNHCR, CEDAW, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and its subsequent resolutions 1820 (2008), 1860 (2009), 1888, 1889 (2009) 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013), the International Criminal Court (ICC), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993). The section discusses the weaknesses of the international legal instruments and the paradox of culture and the international legal policies in the context of refugee women.

3.1.1 International Legal and Institutional Instruments on SGBV

SGBV is prevalent in conflict-affected environments, and remains a universal scourge that is physically, psychologically, economically and emotionally torturing (Ellsberg and Lori 2005; Al-Sharmani 2010; Shteir 2014) although it is an under-recognized human rights violation in the world (Ellsberg and Lori

2005). While refugee protection is fundamental for refugees in countries of asylum, it has become one of the most contemporary challenges that have bewildered the international community that is still searching for an enduring solution (Islam and Bhuiyan 2013: 1). As such, the post-Cold War era has been experiencing a conflict-ridden world where violence is a recurrent feature in most parts of the world (Islam and Bhuiyan 2013: 1), with forced migration in many countries of the world while refugees are seen as a threat to international peace and security (Hammerstad 2011: 237; Shasthri 2013: 159). Indeed, Kiapi (1998: 36) notes that, after the second World War, six million refugees were repatriated, with the remaining 1.5 million forming Europe's first post-war population of political refugees, swelling to 2.5 million refugees.

Moreover, Castles (2003: 2) observes that the global refugee population increased vigorously in the post-Cold War period, with figures increasing from 2.4 million in 1975 to 10.5 million in 1985 and 14.9 million in 1990. The end of this period marked the peak of these migrations, with 18.2 million in 1993 (ibid). By the year 2000, the global refugee population was 12.1 million (ibid); this created great concern in the global community and an organisation to deal with this phenomenon was created. Subsequent to this, Kiapi (1998: 36) observes, in February 1921, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the League of the Red Cross societies called a joint conference on the European refugees in order to define their international status, secure their repatriation or resettlement, and coordinate measures for material assistance. Consequently, through the concerted efforts of these organizations, an office was established to address administrative procedures, operational problems and negotiating status for refugees in international law, progress that led to the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) whose role was to deal with the plight of refugees (Kiapi 1998: 36).

Despite this progress, the UNHCR (2013: 3) report reveals that the year 2013 witnessed a persistence of refugee emergencies, with numbers unknown since the Rwandan Genocide of 1994. It is during 2013 that 51.2 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide due to persecution, civil strife and human rights violations, with 16.7 million being refugees while 12 million were asylum seekers (UNHCR 2013: 3). This uprooting was mainly attributed to the war in the Syrian Arab Republic, which had then entered its third year (UNHCR 2013: 3). According to the UNHCR report, 2013 was one of the most challenging years of its history (ibid). With this dramatic increase in the number of refugees over the past years, Castles (2003: 2) observes that it is important to note that these figures only include the officially recognized refugees under the fair definition of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, which only caters for people forced to leave their countries due to individual persecution on specific grounds of race, sex, nationality, membership of a social group or political opinion. As discussed in Chapter II (2.7.2), the 1951 UNHCR definition of a refugee has been critiqued for being gender-blind because it lacks a specific provision for gender as a reason for a person's flight.

In addition, whilst conflict migrants experience diverse conflict-related forms of violence during conflict, this violence is further experienced in post-conflict settings, with civilians experiencing the most atrocities (Freedman 2007: 47; Shasthri 2013: 159). Castles (2003: 5) argues that the strategic goal of contemporary conflict is political control of the population. This explains why 90% of those killed are civilians, with both the army and the rebel groups engaging in violence which includes: torture and sexual assault as means of control, with women facing the brunt of conflict-related SGBV (Castles 2003). Freedman (2007: 108) argues that feminist networks and discourse have widely documented the issues of gender-related persecution and violence against women which are currently on the international agenda. To date, there are major advances in the international human rights law relating to SGBV (Al-Sharmani 2010) as a violation of human rights which perpetuates the stereotyping of gender roles that deny human dignity of the individual and fragments human development (UNHCR 2003). That is why SGBV is no longer viewed as an essentially domestic matter of the states, but rather as an international human rights issue and a concern for international peace and security (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz 2007; UNHCR 2011a).

Refugee women experience SGBV firstly as women and secondly as refugees. Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa (2008: 215) argue that the double bind for refugee women is that the word refugee has come to mean powerlessness and subjugation while ostensibly conveying the need for protection under international law. Once they flee their countries, refugees have no rights per se, yet, unlike IDPs who are protected in their own countries and are subject to the laws of that country, refugees are not (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008: 215). Unfortunately, as Okot *et al.* (2005: III) observed, although SGBV against women is increasingly documented, in refugee settings it is still a silent affliction. In a review entitled *Refugees as weapons of the weak*, Salehyan (2010) argues that refugee and international migration studies are a new aspect in the international relations (IR) discourse. He further argues that refugees were considered to be the unfortunate byproducts of war and political violence rather than central to the dynamics of conflict within and between states (Salehyan 2010). It can, therefore, be deduced that the gendered crimes or violations that accrue to conflict-related migration have been overlapped, perpetuating cases of conflict-related SGBV with women affected disproportionately (Marsh, Purdin and Navani 2006).

This chapter examines various responses to the plight of female refugees in post-conflict settings, focusing on SGBV as a major problem from both the international and the national legal perspectives. It seeks to analyze the extent to which international and national humanitarian responses have considered SGBV against women in refugee settings and the measures taken to reduce its escalation.

3.1.2 The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Refugee protection is a global responsibility with international organizations such as the UNHCR and WFP working besides the national agencies to achieve this goal. Established in 1950, today the UNHCR exists as the only legally binding international instrument that is specific to addressing refugee issues, such as providing their protection (Benz and Hasenclever 2011: 188). It is mandated to lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and address refugee issues, with its fundamental role being to safeguard their rights and ensure their well-being without prejudice and in harmony with international law (Oxfam 2005: 10). According to Freedman (2007: 70), the UNHCR is the only universal entity that provides refugee protection. Even in those countries that are not signatories to the Refugee/ Geneva Convention, the UNHCR uses the Convention as a basis for deciding refugee claims (Oxfam 2005: 10). It can be argued that while states have the primary responsibility to protect all people on their territory, they are mandated to protect refugees and asylum seekers too. For refugees, this protection involves providing fair and accessible asylum procedures, ensuring their equal access to basic needs and helping them to find sustainable solutions to their plight (Barnett 2001: 252; Oxfam 2005: 5). State assistance is often channelled through the Office of the UNHCR which strives to ensure that all refugees have an opportunity to access the right to seek asylum, safely reside in another State, and find a durable solution to their plight.

However, as already indicated in Chapter 2, the Convention has been critiqued for being temporally and spatially limited in the sense that it initially only applied to those people that were displaced in Europe prior to 1951 (Schafer 2003: 35; Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 35). In addition, the Convention emphasized the obligation of both refugees and international organizations to respect the principle of sovereignty of countries of asylum, thus reinforcing the inability of international organizations to look within the borders of a country of asylum (Benz and Hasenclever 2011: 189). According to Kumin (2008: 223), the UNHCR has committed itself to strengthening awareness of SGBV through staff training and by ensuring that refugees are informed of their rights. Kumin further argues that while the UNHCR has established a course of action to protect refugee women through varied policies, and has set guidelines on gender for field staff, refugee women are still not fully recognized as the productive force that they are (Kumin 2008: 226). The gap that separates rhetoric and policy on one hand, and implementation on the other remains the biggest challenge, a challenge that begs the question: To what extent is this rhetoric translated into praxis at different national policy-making programmes so that women victims of SGBV are better protected? For example, Uganda is a signatory to the international Bill of Human Rights, as codified in the 1995 Constitution (Chapter 4) to protect its citizens' rights. However, as Okot *et al.* (2005: 1) note, these policies have not been practically translated into laws to reduce SGBV. The same authors add that while domestic violence and marital rape are reflected in the Constitution as offensive violent acts, there are no valid laws to prosecute perpetrators. Worse still, in

cases where the laws are applicable, survivors themselves are hesitant to seek legal redress, either because of their ignorance regarding referral pathways for seeking redress or because of cultural ethos and traditional practices that normalize such violence (Okot *et al.* 2005: 1). Another example of this is in the DRC, in spite of being a signatory to the International Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women, the country has not domesticated this instrument, hence normalizing violence against women (Isis WICCE 2014: 62). Lwambo (2013: 53) argues that Congolese women experience conflict amidst cultural standards which expect them to follow tradition and perform their actual roles in society idealized in femininity.

Barnett (2001: 246) contends that while humanitarian organizations have been criticized for not being immune to the iron law of bureaucratization, they have become more deeply involved in state politics, and the UNHCR is not any different. According to Vayrynen (2001), the UNHCR is an agency which is dependent on donor funding, with up to 98 percent of its funds coming directly from national governments, which adversely affects the effectiveness of its performance. This is because donor states have substantial control over the UNHCR's agenda and have a tendency of earmarking the funding, thus potentially compromising the agency's ability to resist prioritizing these state's interests over those of asylum seekers and refugees (Hammerstad 2000; Vayrynen 2001). This tends to affect the crises, especially in Africa, which may remain unnoticed, while the UNHCR has to grapple with inadequate resources to provide support and protection for refugees (Vayrynen 2001: 153). Cognizant of this situation, the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan, expressed his annoyance with donor governments in these words:

Too often, when donor governments decide which of your activities to fund, there is a flagrant political *arriere-pensee*. Your humanitarian work is used, or rather abused, as a substitute for political action to address the root causes of mass displacement. You have become a part of a "containment strategy" by which this world's more fortunate and powerful countries seek to keep the problems of the poorer at arm's length. How else can one explain the disparity between the relatively generous funding for relief efforts in countries close to the frontiers of the prosperous world, and much more parsimonious efforts made for those who suffer in remote parts of the world such as Asia or Africa (Vayrynen 2001: 153).

Related to the above analysis is the issue of voluntary repatriation, which has been interrupted due to such external pressures. In this regard, Barnett (2001: 261) reports that, in an interview with the UNHCR officials from Geneva and Washington D.C., UNHCR officials admitted that states were pushing them towards repatriation measures, although they also affirm that there were preferred reasons for the UNHCR to address the exilic bias. Barnett (2001: 261) adds that while voluntary repatriation is meant to be entirely upon the refugee's own volition to return to a country that is peaceful and nonthreatening to his/her safety, this standard has been violated by the UNHCR officials who have introduced new concepts like "voluntariness". This concept in particular means that refugee consent is no longer crucial

and that as long as there is a slight improvement or a promise of improvement in the home situation, then refugees can be repatriated (Barnett 2001). This development followed the urgent conditions of the protracted nature of refugees as UNHCR officials progressively found that it was almost impracticable to establish consent from thousands of refugees, and that post-conflict situations provided a likelihood for safe repatriation in rather complex situations.

While Islam and Bhuiyan (2013: 11) argue that every human being, regardless of status, is born with the right to have a right, and Barnett (2001: 258) notes that refugee rights are part and parcel of human rights, this has not been the case for refugees. As some scholars and practitioners have argued, this is because the principle of voluntary repatriation of refugees is no longer voluntary: it has been replaced with forced repatriation which violates the refugee's traditional right to a lawful and dignified humane existence within the international community (ibid). For example, Rwandese refugees in Uganda have been forcefully repatriated since 2010 (UNHCR 2011b). Barnett (2001: 262) adds that, in an interview with one high ranking UNHCR Official from Geneva in January 2000, the official admitted that "indeed, voluntariness has been stretched to a point of violating refugee rights and consent". That is why the UNHCR has been blamed for having a conflict of interest, and finds itself in a dilemma: while on the one hand it advocates for repatriation under less than ideal circumstances, on the other hand it has to determine whether the conditions at home are safe or are improving for refugees to return (Barnett 2001: 265). Further still, Benz and Hasenclever (2011: 189-190) argue that over the decades, UNHCR has shifted from a refugee protection regime, a role which it was designed for, to a more broadly based humanitarian agency. Indeed, today, the agency focuses on security, containment, and preemptive humanitarian action and assistance which, according to Barnett (2001: 259), could become a disfigured humanitarianism if it means that states are willing to expand the humanitarian agenda because of their unwillingness to shoulder their traditional obligation of protecting refugees under the refugee law. As Barnett (2001: 259) aptly indicates, this situation has led to a paradox for the UNHCR:

The desire to get refugees back home, a fine impulse by most accounts, could lead to non-refoulment and involuntary repatriation [...] The desire to eliminate the root causes of refugee flows, a noble sentiment without doubt, could mean that individuals would be discouraged from fleeing a country that was improving and safe.

Therefore, this humanitarian action could later lead to the erosion of the initial agenda of UNHCR, which is protection of refugees and their rights. Diverting from this agenda constrains the entire purpose of the UNHCR, and this could render humanitarian assistance a foe of refugee rights.

Although the UNHCR set up key benchmarks in policy and protection⁵ developments for refugee women, and released different guidelines on the protection developments for refugee women, studies reveal that there is still a gap between the rhetoric and the implementation, leaving refugee women disproportionately affected (Buscher 2010; Siobhan 2011). Although state practice encourages high gender mainstreaming in the practice of refugee law, the law itself has not kept pace with the inclusion of violence against women in the panoply of rights and the positive commitments which are now recognized by international humanitarian law (Siobhan 2011).

Moreover, even if SGBV is slowly being accepted by the international community as a crime, that status has not yet been translated into cultural norms or legal enforcement internationally or domestically (Aoloain, Haynes and Cahn 2011). The UNHCR 2002 guidelines noted that while the UNHCR had made positive strides in establishing policies, guidelines and other tools to protect refugee women, women still face a challenge in ensuring that gender-related claims are within the range of the refugee law (Buscher 2010; Siobhan 2011). As Ganeshpanchan (2005) notes, this presents a challenge for women's social, economic and political rights in post-conflict situations associated with displacement. This leaves one wondering whether there is need for the refugee law to be amended to fill these gaps and whether states are willing to offer protection to refugee women. Mulumba and Olema (2009: 29) argue that despite the apparent shortcomings of the 1951 Convention regarding the status of refugees, it is still being used as the main policy instrument in the determination of refugee status and the protection of refugees in Uganda.

3.1.3 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1979)

CEDAW, adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly, is the pre-eminent international legal instrument, and it is considered to be the most comprehensive international tool that addresses different violations of women's rights (United-Nations and Interparliamentary-Union 2003). According to Govindjee and Taiwo (2013: 385), this convention establishes standards for states in a number of areas that are important to women refugees in relation to the disproportionate acts of violence they experience. Thus, by ratifying CEDAW states agree to all its standards, with the fundamental law being the condemnation of all forms of discrimination against women and agreeing to institute policies to eliminate this behavior (United-Nations and Interparliamentary-Union 2003). Govindjee and Taiwo

⁵According to the UNHCR report (2003), protection refers to actions aimed at ensuring equal access to, and enjoyment of the rights of women, men, girls and boys of concern to UNHCR, in respect to other relevant bodies of law (international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law).

(2013: 385) state that signatories agree to embody the principle of equality in their constitutions and to adopt laws with sanctions which prohibit discrimination against women, to create legal systems for securing equal rights and to eliminate all discriminatory practices. It is against this backdrop that CEDAW has been called the “Bill of Rights” for women across the world; this resulted in the establishment (in 1992) of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women which is in charge of interpreting the convention and supervising state implementation (United-Nations and Interparliamentary-Union 2003; Al-Sharmani 2010). To affirm the worth of this committee, the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, stated, “This ‘Women’s Bill of Rights’ stands as a milestone ... It reflects the principle of universal and indivisible rights shared by all nations, foreign to no culture and common to both genders”⁶.

Although CEDAW does not directly cite violence in its principles, the committee included in its General Recommendation No. 19 (1992) the commitment of state parties to adopt the essential procedures to exterminate violence against women in their respective countries (Al-Sharmani 2010).

3.1.4 The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995)

The Fourth World Conference on Women gave birth to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). Stephenson (2009: 130) observes that by 1995, the international system had come to recognize that for development to be realized in any country, gender issues had to be at the core of the process, alongside other services such as education, health, democracy, peace and security. During the Beijing Declaration, State parties devoted themselves to establishing the Platform for Action and ensuring that a gender perspective was highlighted in policy and programme implementation. Therefore, gender mainstreaming as a concept became a guideline for the United Nations and for other international organizations at all levels of policy planning and implementation, rather than just increasing the number of women involved (Stephenson 2009: 130). At this conference, violence against women was acknowledged as a hindrance to the advancement of women, and thus requiring explicit deliberation (Gurirab 2010: 1). Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 2) argues that sexual violence perpetrated against refugee women in flight and in asylum was revealed for the first time by the first world survey on the role of women in development (WID) at the first United Nations World conference entitled “Women, Action for Equality, Development and Peace”, held in Mexico in 1975.

In subsequent years, the establishment of the Beijing Declaration (and the Platform for Action of 1995) was the first major initiative to recognize all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls. The Declaration also reaffirmed the responsibility of states to eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls (WHO 2001; Hans 2008). While gender equality is essential to

⁶ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/news/pressop.htm>

the enjoyment of basic human rights, the United Nations 1995 Beijing Platform for Action argued that women's full participation in decision-making, conflict prevention and resolution, and all other peace initiatives is imperative in order to realize durable peace. Gurirab (2010: 1) argues that since the establishment of the Beijing Plan of Action, women's representation in parliaments and their impact on political decision-making has been a matter of focus, leading to the creation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which has engaged in research on women in parliaments and given a hand to the United Nations initiatives to achieve women's full participation in politics. Gurirab (2010: 1) observes that although articulated many times, IPU's commitment to achieving women's full participation in politics is seen in its statement in 1992: "The concept of democracy will only achieve true and dynamic significance when political policies and national legislation are decided jointly by men and women with equitable regard for the interests and aptitudes of both halves of the population".

In keeping with its mandate to ensure the realization of gender equality and gender partnership, IPU has been engaged in helping both women and men in carrying out their parliamentary roles. IPU has also been engaged in efforts to increase the number of women engaged in political decision-making, and in marshaling parliaments to participate in the elimination of all forms of violence against women (Obaid 2010: 1). It is now globally acknowledged that violence against women is not just the worst form of marginalizing women, but also has deep-reaching effects on both men and women. In relation to the UNSCR 1325, Gurirab (2010: 1) observes that women's involvement in government decision-making is necessary in giving significant political visibility to women's rights worldwide. In Gurirab's view, parliamentary democracy is essential to the political leadership of men and women to drive the desired change, with both voices of men and women recognized.

3.1.5 United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000)

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted Resolution 1325 (2000) and brought to light a long-term pervasive crime: violence against women and girls in armed conflict (Mayanja 2010: 1). It has showcased the various acts of conflict-related sexual violence with a vast number of accounts: over half a million women were raped in Rwanda during the 1994 genocide, over 60,000 women were raped in the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and from 1991 to 2001, an estimated 64,000 women and girls experienced sexual violence during the war in Sierra Leone (Mayanja 2010: 1). As a result, female bodies have symbolized battlefields for the heartless militias and armed groups, and for the opportunists who take advantage of war to inflict SGBV upon vulnerable members of their societies (Mayanja 2010: 1). It is against this backdrop that the UNSCR 1325 was introduced under the title of "Women, Peace And Security" (UNHCR 2011a: 7), and for the first time the Security Council addressed the implication of war and conflict on women, highlighting the importance of women's full and equal participation in conflict resolution and in peace-building (Obaid 2010: 1). However, although the international community has recognized the need to protect women in conflict and post-conflict settings

from vile violations of human rights and the UNSCR 1325 vowed to reverse broad exclusion of women from leadership in security and peace-building, women are still being marginalized (Sonneveld 2015).

Together with its subsequent resolutions, Security Council Resolutions (SCR) 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013), UNSCR 1325 addresses gender-related violence against women and advocates for the representation of women in conflict and post-conflict situations (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007). According to Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 114), the resolution is: simultaneously a demand for women's inclusion in peace-building, a call for broader representation in peace-building and an articulation that conflict prevention and resolution are integral to the establishment of human security in the post-Cold War era. The resolution calls for meaningful participation of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction as well as for prevention of, and protection from, violence (Thornton and Whiteman 2013). In 2015, the United Nations managed and coordinated a global review of the UNSCR 1325, which proved that when women participate in peace negotiations, agreements are reached faster and their implementation is more sustainable (Sonneveld 2015). Indeed, when women participate, peace agreements are anticipated to last at least for 2 years by 20%, and 35% probability of lasting 15 years (UN Women 2015a: 1). Most importantly, women participation creates a shift of dynamics through questioning the status quo, broadens issues and promotes community buy-in, while addressing the root issues. Case studies of women's participation in peace negotiations include those on Somalia and Burundi (UN Women 2015a: 2). The UNSCR 1325 calls upon governments and other parties to take steps to implement the eighteen actions outlined in the Resolution in conflict and post-conflict settings around the world.

A combination of UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent resolutions encompasses women, peace and security-themed agenda of the UNSC and an internationally recognized legal framework which has been domesticated by various states across the globe (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 110). An example of this is the UNSCR 1325 (2000) and its subsequent resolution 1820 (2009) which emphasize the states' mandate of ending violence, including sexual and other forms of violence against women and girls (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz 2007; Scully 2012). A combination of all these resolutions has equipped the UN with an arsenal of measures to combat sexual violence against women and other form of violence.

Gender mainstreaming, as highlighted in UNSCR 1325, is of particular interest, especially in examining the problem of refugees in the context of peace and security at national and regional levels. Member states must have a gender lens that highlights the varied experiences of women and men in armed conflict, which are in turn the result of socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity. Promoting and mainstreaming gender perspectives of conflict and peace is an imperative aspect of recognizing and addressing the power dynamics involved in all stages of the peace process. However, while the need to undertake gender mainstreaming has been articulated in international policy

pronouncements and programme guidelines by major peace-building actors, scholars argue that refugee women were not included in the Action Plan of UNSCR 1325 as partners in post-conflict reconstruction (O' Reilly 2013: 57). This suggests that women are not considered key players in plans to bring about peace, despite the ability of refugee women to participate in and even lead, peace-building efforts.

According to Snyder (2011: 14), the Action Plan of UNSCR 1325 discusses refugee women as mere passive victims in need of humanitarian assistance. In Snyder's view, this means that women's concerns and initiatives are not taken into account during the implementation of most policies, strategies and interventions, despite the presence of documented evidence of women refugees' ability to develop certain capacities and to contribute to solutions to their plight (Snyder 2011: 15). Scholars, such as Freire (1984) and Lederach (1997), dispel this view of undermining the power of the oppressed who are capable of transforming their situation. Ultimately, this implies that in order to address SGBV against women in refugee settings, refugee issues must feature in foreign policy formulation. In addition, Snyder observes that much of the literature on peace-building capacity does not address specific capacities that women must build to participate effectively in peace-building efforts; nor does that literature incorporate strengths or obstacles that refugee women face as diasporas operating across multiple borders (Snyder 2011: 4).

While UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security does not specifically include refugee women as partners in peace-making (O' Reilly 2013), refugee women are demonstrating their peace-building potential with the assistance of the international community in what Snyder calls "transnational bridge-building capacity" (Snyder 2011: 14). Snyder (2011: 17) also posits that women should be significant actors in the process, not simply recipients of improved outcomes, there is need for a shift in perceptions and attitudes for this transformation to occur. As discussed in Chapter 2, transforming structural inequality requires an environment that enables women to restore their dignity and self-worth, and rebuild their lives in a way that recognizes the continual process of transforming injustice. In this connection, Snyder (2009: 113) argues that navigating the changing situation of gender relations and women's empowerment during conflict allows for a growing understanding of the peace-building capacities of refugees and displaced persons. This reconstruction is necessary in providing peaceful environments where victims of SGBV can actively improve their conditions as well as prevent future violence.

Although there is a growing number of policies and national action plans (NAPs) across the globe to domesticate UNSCR 1325 (2000), women continue to face major challenges in their efforts to engage in formal peace processes where exclusion is often the norm (Sonneveld 2015). According to the findings of the Global Study on UNSCR 1325, Uganda, as with many other countries, lacks the political will, accountability and resources to effectively implement the resolution. Currently, Uganda is in its third generation of the National Action Plan (NAP) because of the gaps that the country experienced in

previous attempts. Since 2008, the Government of Uganda has been implementing its NAP on the UNSCR 1325, 1820 and the Goma Declaration whose aim is to strengthen women's participation in peace-building and conflict resolution. However, this has not yet transformed into full participation of women in peacebuilding initiatives and in the prevention of violence against women in conflict. Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 113) argue that without concrete changes in women's experiences, the NAP is more rhetoric than practice. Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 113) contend that since the passage of the UNSCR 1325 (2000), most peace negotiations have not included women at the peace table. This under-representation of women is illustrated by the UN Women Report (2012: 30) in which the average numbers of women participating in peace negotiations as negotiators and/or mediators, signatories or witnesses remains notably low. For example, a study that scanned 33 peace negotiations in 2008 found that only four percent (11 out of 280) participants were women (UN Women 2012). In the same vein, the UNIFEM (2009a) report indicates:

Since the UNSCR 1325 came into effect, there has been little appreciable increase in the number of women negotiators in peace processes, and no women have been appointed chief or lead peace mediators in UN-sponsored peace-talks (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 117).

This is illustrated in Syria, where women are still grappling with issues of conflict-related sexual violence, trying to find justice for the war inflicted sexual violence in DRC, and waiting for a durable solution to their plight in refugee settings across the globe due to the SGBV to which they are subjected. Therefore, sexual violence remains a challenge in peace-building efforts at various levels. That is why former Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, was correct when, at a 2009 New York meeting on peace talks and sexual violence⁷, he stated: "If sexual violence is not addressed squarely in ceasefires and peace processes, there will be no peace for women" (Migiro 2010: 1).

While UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent resolutions have made significant progress in some countries, in others it still exists only on paper. And while Uganda aspires to attain middle-to-high-income country status by 2040, ensuring that no one is left behind and that women are included in peace-building processes at all levels of the society, this aspiration cannot be realized if the government does not meaningfully implement UNSCR 1325. Thus, the most significant policy debates related to women and peace-building should focus on how to increase accountability for UNSCR 1325 implementation and ensure gender mainstreaming in peace-building. This is because conflict may lead to new beginnings for women and upend traditional gender roles, thus creating a window through which peace-building practitioners can increase women's representation in peace-building, as an important ingredient of realizing sustainable peace (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 117). An example is given of cases where

⁷ Organized by UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict.

activists have taken valid steps towards this goal, particularly in the form of new policy instruments at local, national, regional and international levels.

3.1.6 International Criminal Court (2002)

The International Criminal Court (ICC) was established on July 1st, 2002, under the auspices of the Rome Statute of 1998. The ICC is mandated to confront the challenges inherent in pursuing peace and justice and the role of the court lies in the principles in Article 5 (1) which states that the jurisdiction of the court shall be limited to the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole (Arsanjani 1999; Freedman 2007). According to UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 62), the ICC is the first permanent international judicial body proficient in prosecuting individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Amnesty International referred to the Rome Statute of 1998 as the first international treaty to explicitly identify a broad gamut of SGBV as some of the gravest crimes under international law (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 62). The 1998 Rome Statute is also one of the most important documents produced, with the role of the international community gradually increasing as violence against women became increasingly visible. Countries that ratified the Rome Statute agreed that each state should investigate the worst crimes known to humanity committed in their country or by its citizens and prosecute the people who are responsible. According to Freedman (2007), the Rome Statute grants the ICC jurisdiction over genocide crimes, crimes against humanity, war crimes and crimes of aggression.

The ICC recognizes an exceptional array of crimes of SGBV, they prohibit: rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and other crimes that constitute the same gravity as specified in the international human rights law, and are recognized fully as constituting acts of war crimes, genocide crimes and crimes against humanity⁸ (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 31). Further to these provisions, human trafficking and harassment are also cited as crimes against humanity⁹. On the other hand, the Rome Statute particularly maintains that the application and interpretation of the law ought to be without prejudice on any grounds - gender inclusive (Arsanjani 1999: 28)¹⁰.

Moreover, the ICC is constructed on the notion that justice is a roadmap for achieving sustainable peace, and not just restorative peace, because if peace is pursued over justice it is not a feasible or sustainable choice. Martin (2000:79) argues that the protection of refugees goes beyond legal recognition, due to its complexity in increasingly targeting civilians in civil conflicts. While Articles 7 and 8 of the Rome Statute maintain that rape and sexual violence are crimes against humanity and are also war crimes which occur mainly during armed conflict; they also take place both during flight and in refugee

⁸ Article 6 of the Rome Statute.

⁹ Article 7 of the Rome Statute.

¹⁰ Article 21 of the Rome Statute.

settings, in which case refugee camps are no longer considered safe zones for vulnerable women and girls (Ellis 2006; Krause 2014).

Consequently, crimes such as rape, forced impregnation, sexual slavery, mutilation and abduction of children, remain challenges to the very establishment of the ICC and women looking up to it as an alternative. Thus, women remain a fundamentally violated, abused and dehumanized category of justice seekers due to the brutal and systematic nature of the sexual violence perpetrated against them during armed conflict (Ellis 2006; Freedman 2007). The widespread sexual violence against women is more than a consequence of war; it has become an instrument of war used to destroy the cultural fabric of a targeted group. Indeed, UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 42) argue that such acts of violence against women constitute not just a sexual offenses but also gendered crimes with political intent. Therefore, there is need to establish the role of the ICC, the challenges the stakeholders face and the attitudes of the same stakeholders on gender justice for women.

The role of the ICC in the process of bringing justice to women is also unique as the ICC provides an opportunity for victims to participate in the proceedings before the court, on condition that they apply in writing to the Office of the Registrar (OTR) seeking permission to participate (Corrie 2008: 18). The registrar then sends that application to the pertinent chamber that verifies the qualifications of the applicant as a victim within incumbent jurisdiction of the statute, and whether the applicant's injuries are connected enough to the situation (or case) on which the chamber is acting (Corrie 2008). The participation of victims benefits the court and the parties through allowing significant substantiation to be brought forth, mainly in the preliminary investigation stages. Moreover, the victims' participation also provides a platform for post-conflict societies to voice their own stories.

According to Charney (2001: 122), in some circumstances a state may find it in its own interest to allow a prosecution to go forward before the ICC, considering the matter too dangerous to be handled domestically, and preferring trial before a distant international tribunal. But in other situations, the state may not be capable of properly prosecuting an international criminal matter such as conflict-related sexual violence. This perspective is in line with the Rome Statute's principle of complementarity where it was established that the court may assume jurisdiction only when national legal systems are unable or unwilling to exercise jurisdiction (Arsanjani 1999: 24). Some scholars argue that domestic courts or other procedures cannot be trusted with the effective prosecution of grave international crimes (Charney 2001: 120). In my view, punishment by ICC gives the perpetrators of sexual and other cases of violence, during and after conflict, a chance to be remorseful and to repent, and may prevent future crimes. Therefore, this kind of punishment works and is appropriate as a roadmap to a peaceful society, since a sense of justice will have been served.

Significantly, while victims of SGBV would desire to see perpetrators arrested and brought to justice, they may not regard this form of justice as adequate unless they can be assured of safe societies free from the fear of recurrent violence, free from poorly structured laws and policies that marginalized them and rendered them vulnerable to abuse in the first place - and unless they are offered the socio-psychological and health assistance they need to recover from trauma and physical pain (Pillay 2014: 154). Pillay further argues that for recurrence of violence against women to be constrained, women need to be seen not only as justice seekers, but also as active agents of peace, who can contribute to justice processes; that is why women's agency should be prioritized at all levels of peace-building (Pillay 2014: 154).

However, the ICC has been criticized by some African states such as Burundi, South Africa, Gambia and Kenya as an instrument of colonial justice which undermines the sovereignty of African states and unfairly targets only Africans (Joseph 2016). Examples of alleged exclusive targeting of Africans include the court's indictments of President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya, who was targeted for the 2007 post-election violence that led to the death of over 1,000 people and of President Omar-Al Bashir of Sudan for the Darfur attacks, whilst the Western perpetrators of the Iraq war, which led to massive deaths, have not been indicted. Given that some of the most powerful states such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom are not signatories to the Court, they have continued to perpetrate, with impunity, crimes listed in the Rome Statute. Moreover, the African continent is not a monolithic entity, and various African nations appreciate the role of the ICC as a defender of justice (Joseph 2016). Therefore, while the ICC is playing a positive role in bringing justice to victims of violence, there is a need for fairness, without which Africa must strategize and unify to have an independent African Court to try such cases or revisit the Principle of Subsidiarity which allows national governments to try these cases.

3.1.7 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993)

This declaration was established by the UN General Assembly in response to the widespread discrimination that women experience in some cultures and practices. The declaration recognizes refugee women as one of the groups vulnerable to violence, and it urges state parties to domesticate policies aimed at eliminating violence against women (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 385). As Article 1 (1967) of the Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women specifies, "Discrimination against women, denying or limiting, as it does, their equality of rights with men, is fundamentally unjust and constitutes an offence against human dignity".

In a similar analysis, Shasthri (2013) argues that while refugee camps are designed as safe havens, women and girls have continued to experience SGBV in them; he concludes by saying that it is not an exaggeration to deduce that refugee settings are not safety places for refugee women and girls, due to

the threat of violence they continue to face. For example, they face serious threats of sexual abuse as they fetch firewood. Refugee women have also been forced to provide sex in exchange for food rations for themselves and their families. Their vulnerability to abuse is heightened when their status is not documented. In some cases, only male family heads receive documentation of their status, leaving their partners vulnerable to harassment whenever they leave their homes.

3.2 Weakness of International Legal Policies

While there is a slow but positive shift detected in policy-making rhetoric regarding the gender-specific consequences of armed conflict and violence, coupled with a gradual acknowledgement of the importance of integrating a gender aspect in the establishment of peacebuilding interventions (O' Reilly 2013: 57), the process of domesticating these international norms relating to the protection of women asylum seekers is still a challenge. In addition, as Freedman (2007: 108) argues, one of the deficiencies of laws on refugee women and asylum seekers' rights is entrenched in the failure of governments to implement the policies they make or to adopt them. For instance, since the UNHCR adopted gender guidelines (1990, 1991, 1995), only a few states have incorporated them into their national asylum policies or legislations (Freedman 2015: 109). This contravenes the International Refugees Rights Intervention's tenet on the importance of state protection for all women refugees and asylum seekers across the globe (IRR1 2006: 1). Freedman (2007: 64) argues that while international organizations and international laws have made progress in recognizing rape as a war crime, this recognition still seems to have little impact on the thousands of women who are still being targeted for rape within conflicts around the world. Examples of these include: the DRC, Syria, South Sudan, Nigeria and Burundi. On the other hand, according to the UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 75), the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on sexual violence argues that, "it is the lack of political will that poses the greatest obstacle to the effective prosecution and redress of sexual slavery and sexual violence during armed conflict".

The former Special Rapporteur's opinion is based on the fact that even though human rights law contains provisions governing sexual violence, the enforcement mechanisms are weak or non-existent in many countries (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 73). Notably, states that have ratified to the UNSCR 1325 and its subsequent resolutions have portrayed a lack of commitment towards the goals of these resolutions, thereby posing a challenge to the reduction of SGBV against women in these countries. As such, Freedman (2007: 58) points out that cases such as those related to domestic violence have been considered as private matters in many countries and frequently remain invisible, or if reported to the police, often times no action is taken. Consequently, most women are reluctant to seek redress from their own national authorities and unstable to seek international protection.

Freedman (2007: 69) argues that the system of international laws and conventions, such as the Geneva Convention (1951) that offers protection to asylum seekers and refugees, supposedly offers protection to all on a gender-neutral basis. Scholars argue that these policies were established on the basis of the situation of male refugees, with their application or implementation often undermined by deeply gendered practices that do not offer protection to women because their persecution is not acknowledged as such (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 383). According to Crawley (2012: 1):

The concept of women being persecuted as women is not the same as women being persecuted because they are women. The concept of gender-specific persecution addresses forms of persecution that are specific or more likely to happen to women including, for example, sexual violence, female genital mutilation, forced abortion and sterilization and denial of access to contraception. Understanding the ways in which women are violated as women is critical to naming as persecution those forms of harm that only or mostly affect women.

Freedman further argues that such an analysis of refugee law, through the bias of the experiences of male refugees and asylum applicants and their activities, is undermined within existing gender biases among states (Freedman 2007: 69). For example, the dichotomy of private-public spaces undermines the gender neutrality of refugee law and practice by creating situations in which women's experiences of persecution are considered irrelevant to the law (Freedman 2007). Snyder (2009:45) observes that without a better understanding of how conflict transforms gender relations, the discourse underlying women's inclusion in peace efforts remains ineffective. Snyder (2011: 39) further maintains that understanding how women refugees are affected by armed conflicts may help to facilitate peace-building. This does not only address some of the needs of refugees, but also develops new theory, policy and practices necessary to address contemporary ethno-political conflicts. In addition, UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 74) states that international law should focus on the plight of women, particularly during armed conflict, alongside the legal framework through unswerving gender-responsive practices.

3.2.1 The Paradox of Culture and International Legal Policies in the Context of Refugee Women

For centuries, culture and its influence, and interaction with law, politics and gender, has preoccupied a number of scholars, particularly in those countries that have experienced waves of immigration from various parts of the globe. Questions of assimilation, culture and identity have been a perennial source of concern and inquiry (Choudhury 2014: 2). According to Raj (2001: 164), refugee movements are of great importance in improving social justice through the endorsement of human rights, and in recognizing deeply entrenched structural imbalances, and strategically reforming them to prevent SGBV and other injustices. While this section presents two paradigms, universality of rights and cultural relativism, these are competing principles which may reinforce gender discrimination if not well addressed. Proponents of human rights maintain that international legal policies are universal, approved in international agreements and conventions, and apply to all countries (Kühn 2010). For their

part, cultural relativists argue that allowing international policies to override culture norms is a violation of state sovereignty and that advocates of human rights promote an imperialist culture by imposing a westernized notion of rights on totally different cultures. Sceptics of the universality of the law argue that there are different levels of application of the law in reality, existing within different country contexts, so that the principal of universality is disregarded. This creates a paradox since the law is only as useful as the ones enforcing it and accessing it, thus, this affects refugee women, as illustrated by one refugee woman according to whom:

Women are left out of everything. We do not participate in planning or designing programs that are aimed at us. We are second class citizens when it comes to food, water and shelter distribution, we remain the world's invisible refugees (Kumin 2008: 222).

The above quotation implies that those who are able to access these policies and those enforcing them are the ones most likely in power, supported by, and supporting already dominant and powerful social structures which are largely male-dominated. Essentially, refugee women may simply not be able to access the legal protection they deserve and should have under the international legal framework, and may not be able to know their rights. Hence, one can rightfully argue that existing laws and legal frameworks constitute one reality while being able to access them or benefit from them is another, since it requires resources, time and knowledge about the law, which most refugee women do not have.

On the other hand, there is also the ironic dominance of cultural institutions of masculinity and patriarchy which have regularly circumvented these laws and policies (Choudhury 2014: 10). Culture has always been viewed as the expression or the view of the most influential in society, creating and maintaining these norms to the degree that they disenfranchise the less powerful in the society. For instance, cultural practices in a patriarchal society have often been used to maintain the inequality of women while the cultural practices in a caste-based society validate discrimination against individuals of the lower caste. Too often, cultural boundaries have superseded the international response to reform the existing standards and practices that regulate SGBV in post-conflict settings, thereby aggravating the problem. For example, when women are culturally relegated to the role of child-bearing, such that any role they play in conflict or post-conflict settings whether as: civilians, nurses, doctors, guerrillas, terrorists, soldiers or as volunteer workers is principally overlooked (Sjoberg 2006: 901). As feminists rightly argue, this marginalization is principally rooted in the ethos of male dominance that grants men the right to control female behaviour through their social interactions (Jenkins and Reardon 2007; Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008; O' Reilly 2013), depriving women of certain fundamental human rights and privileges (Jenkins and Reardon 2007; Muringi and Muriiki 2013). Against this backdrop, one may rightfully argue that international human rights practices have an ethical influence which may be universally applied, giving all people in a society the benefit of their rights. However, the universality of these laws varies from one society to another since these international legal instruments may not be

able to supersede national laws that are strongly rooted in culture. In this regard, Kühn (2010: 62) asserts:

Everyone has a right to dignity, but universality is not a “one size fits all” prescription. Variations within each society demonstrate the need for a more adaptive framework that translates to each unique language and cultural setting. Implementing human rights through force is like trying to fit a circular block into a square slot, it just will not succeed. Instead of pushing against steadfast opposition, advocates must get to the root of why universal policy conflicts with traditional ideologies in the first place. By carefully, sensitively, and honestly deconstructing cultural priorities, human rights advocates can provide tools that allow individuals to implement their own methods of change (Kühn 2010: 62).

Whilst a host of international legal norms on preventing SGBV against women have been set and are essential in conflict prevention, mitigation and recovery, cultural ethos have impeded their effective and full performance in most states. These cultural norms include polygamy, female genital mutilation, and female infanticide among others, all of which have been criticized as a contravention of international human rights policies, although they remain part of the cultures of many Third World states. According to UNHCR (2003: 7), over ninety million African women and girls are victims of female genital mutilation, whilst sixty million girls have died, especially in Asia, due to sex-selective abortion, infanticide or neglect. According to Pillay (2006: 3), these forms of violence against women are deeply rooted in some societies that discriminate against women. Moreover, these forms of violence are justified by cultural relativists who argue that rights are culturally determined, a concept that has eventually created tension between universal human rights and cultural relativism (Pillay 2006). Yet, even when these practices have been recognized as violations of human rights, they have often been unremedied due to the rigid cultural norms that pervade most societies (Kühn 2010; Simister 2012). This tension has an adverse influence on the lives of many women globally, especially those in marginalized situations such as refugee women.

Kühn (2010: 59) examines the concept of polygamy and defines it as a cultural norm that conflicts with progressive international practices. Despite the various traditional conceptualizations of polygamy, including those that justify the norm on the basis that it increases material production, provides protection for women and their children, and maintains religious values, it has posed a protracted variance between cultural relativists and human rights activists. It is legally recognized in most African countries, including: the DRC, Gabon, Gambia, Mali, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, and Kenya (Kühn 2010: 59). And yet polygamy is known to create communal problems that have had a bearing on gender imbalance, marital conflicts, poverty and HIV/AIDs. Whilst polygamy promotes the marginalization of women, many African men maintain that it is a tradition to have multiple partners, signifying a network of power and privilege that are hard to break (Kühn 2010: 60). Worse still, some African states provide legal protection to polygamous marriages instead of condemning

them. For example, in 2014, the Government of Kenya passed a law (Marriage Act 2014) in support of polygamy. According to Karimi and Leposo (2014), President Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya is reported to have said, “Marriage is the voluntary union of a man and a woman whether in a monogamous or polygamous union”.

Polygamy is also rampant in refugee settings. For instance, in Pabbo Refugee Camp of northern Uganda, men marry as many wives as they want, and engage in extra-marital relations (Okot *et al.* 2005: 16). In a report by Oxfam International on Lungufu Refugee Camp in Tanzania, Oxfam argued that:

Domestic violence is most common, often affecting women with polygamous husbands, and survivors of sexual violence. Women who were raped during flight are frequently harassed, even disowned, by their ashamed families once they reach the relative security of the camp (Okot *et al.* 2005: 63).

The culture of patriarchy also permeates policy programmes and practices across countries. Article 33 of the Uganda Constitution, spells out women's right and states that both women and men ought to have equal treatment, inclusive of equal political, social and economic opportunities, without prejudice under any given circumstances. However, this is not the case in reality because women in Uganda are not accorded equal treatment, especially when it comes to service delivery and other opportunities. For instance, while women represent 51% of Uganda's population, they occupy only 34% of Uganda's parliamentary seats (Center-for-Women-in-Government and Civil-Society 2014). Further still, Article 33 of the Constitution of Uganda states:

The State shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realise their full potential and advancement; women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities; and laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status, are prohibited by this Constitution.

Despite the above progress in policy-making, most women still grapple with issues of inequality largely because laws, norms and customs which allow the perpetration of their violence are still in place. While gender-based inequality is prevalent in Uganda, despite the good laws that stipulate gender equality, women in Uganda (especially the rural ones and those in post-conflict settings in northern Uganda, in refugee settlements and in IDP camps) are still underprivileged. Moreover, refugee women are affected primarily as women and secondly as refugees, besides the conflict-related SGBV they face. Some of the reasons for violence against refugees are ingrained in the private-public dichotomy, such that cases of SGBV in their communities have normally been dismissed as private affairs. To most refugee women, while refugee camps were thought of as safe zones, they are places of secondary tragedy in the aftermath of war due to the disparities women face (Krause 2014).

Over time, women's rights have gradually been recognized internationally, although this has been contested by a cultural ethos which regards any such progress as a setback for traditional norms and values. Therefore, the question of whether women's rights are human rights is still pertinent not only culturally but also legally in states which normalize violation of women's rights. Freedman (2007: 82) gives a valid example of this perception when he argues:

Persecutory practices which may be common in Third World countries are assigned to "cultural difference" and are thus viewed as part of the order of things. This normalization of persecutions through their ascription to cultural differences which should not be challenged by Western states feeds into debates over the possibility of defining universal women's rights, or whether these rights should be culturally sensitive.

Indeed, as human beings women are entitled to the enjoyment of these human rights which include those relating to inequality, family rights and violence against women - since these rights are universal and inalienable and should be respected by all states (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 379). The juxtaposition of culture alongside rights has raised debates in the universal rights discourse given that the two concepts had historically been seen as opposed (Cowan 2006: 9). Previously, one had been seen to declare oneself as either for rights or for culture, but today there is a possibility of being in favour of both (Cowan 2006: 9). As such, the culture-rights analogy has been critiqued by feminists who argue that it does not consider the differences amongst women, and reproduces a one-size-fits-all model of rights based on Western culture, in total disregard of Third World cultures (Freedman 2007: 82). Freedman further argues that the irony now lies in the ability to establish how far any defence of a variance of cultures is actually a defence of norms which lead to marginalization of women's rights and to their persecution (Freedman 2007: 82).

While the above argument may partly be true, one must realize that a discriminative cultural ethos has been the main reason why women in most Third World societies have been marginalized and subjugated within the domestic sphere, leading to their gendered persecution. However, Kühn (2010: 62) argues that a customary cultural practice cannot be conceptualized as a disease that needs eradication simply because cultural distinctiveness preserves the very nature of humankind. Consequently, the target is not cultural practices but harmful practices of these very cultures (Kühn 2010: 62). Henceforth, while there is need to accommodate cultural diversity, some cultural values that undermine and harm women should be re-structured. A gender analysis should consider the cultural or religious beliefs that existed long before the introduction of the international legal policies; although specific countries have their own policies in place, some issues such as human rights for all (especially on SGBV) are indisputable. Therefore, the varied national and international policies should be complementary in a way that can protect these rights.

SECTION II

3.3 Introduction

This section presents a brief background of the Ugandan refugee situation, an overview of the refugees in Uganda and a critical review of the legislative instruments pertaining to refugees in the country, including the 1995 Constitution of Uganda. In addition, the section reviews the Control of Aliens Act, the Refugee Law Act of 2006, refugee rights in Uganda, including Uganda's constitutional right to citizenship, voluntary repatriation and the freedom of movement. Finally, the section discusses SGBV against refugee women in Uganda.

3.3.1 Background to Uganda's Refugee Situation

According to Mulumba and Olema (2009: 23), Uganda's refugee policy is an outcome of the protracted nature of refugees in the Country and is influenced by international and national policies on migration. Refugees started seeking asylum in Uganda in the post-World War II period, with support from international humanitarian agencies, including the Red Cross and the All Africa Council of Churches (Gingyera-Pinyewa 1998: 9). During this period, the laws implemented were charitable in nature, under the auspices of the UNHCR which was established in Uganda in 1964 and assumed the role of refugee administration in the country. Somewhat paradoxically, while Uganda has ratified the International Refugee Convention of 1951 and its consequent protocol of 1967 (RLP 2006: 3; Omata and Kaplan 2013: 6), refugees in Uganda still face grave insecurity and humanitarian challenges as they are inadequately protected under the country's existing legal system (Lomo *et al.* 2001; RLP 2005a). Previous studies have shown that despite the fact that SGBV has been prevalent in refugee and IDP camps (Heise *et al.* 2002; Lewis 2006), it still remains a silent affliction (Okot *et al.* 2005). As a result, refugees, especially women, have remained a vulnerable group in refugee settlements and camps with cases of SGBV on the increase (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 19).

3.3.2 Uganda's Refugee Situation

Uganda hosts one of the largest numbers of refugees in the world and has been credited for being friendly to refugees (UNHCR 2011a, 2011b) since the second World War (Gingyera-Pinyewa 1998: 9). By 2016, the total number of refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda stood at 665,040 (UNICEF 2016: 2), 80% of them being women and children. The country is considered attractive to refugees due to its internationally central location in a region characterized by social and political unrest (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 3). During the Second World War, Uganda hosted 7,000 Polish refugees, mainly women and children, and a vast number of Europeans displaced by the war (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 3). Gingyera-Pinyewa (1998: 10) observed that this period was soon followed by an influx of various refugees created by social and

political unrest during the struggles for independence in neighbouring countries. For example, Kenyans fled to Uganda during the Mau Mau resistance; Sudanese fled to the country during their post-independence conflict; Rwandese escaped to Uganda during the grievous civil war of 1959; and the Congolese sought refuge after the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961. However, besides being a host to refugees, Uganda has also produced its own refugees elsewhere (Lomo *et al.* 2001). This was the case during the notorious reign of Idi Amin Dada (1971-79) and during the second reign of Milton Obote (1980-85), which led to an outflow of refugees.

As of 31st January 2017, the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Uganda stood at 1,026,043¹¹. According to reports from UNHCR and the OPMs Department of Refugees, Uganda remains a recipient of refugees from other states mainly from South Sudan (76,175), DRC (219,463) and Burundi (39,902) (UNICEF 2016: 2). This influx of refugees, coupled with donor fatigue in providing humanitarian relief support, poses a major challenge for the quest of finding a durable solution to the refugee crisis. A number of refugee settlements have been set up, including Kyaka II, Nakivale, Oruchinga, Kyangwali, Kiryandongo, Paralonya, Rhino Camp, Imvepi and Madi Okollo (UNHCR 2011b: 1). With the recent influx from South Sudan: Pagirinya, Agojo Adjumani and Bidibidi settlements have been created (UNICEF 2016: 2).

As part of its international obligation to protect the interests of refugees, the Government of Uganda has incorporated refugees into the NDP II, to be able to design strategies to support refugee projects (OPM-Uganda 2010). The national refugee policy is entrenched in the need to restructure the national response to the management of refugees in accordance with international law and best practices. The policy is aligned to the NDP II framework under the OPM, and it is required to enhance national response capacity to refugee emergency management. Section 3.3.5 of the Uganda Refugee Policy provides for gender mainstreaming and equity in refugee management, under Goal 7. It specifies that all refugee protection interventions shall promote gender equality, including the elimination of gender discrimination and violence. It aims to promote the rights of refugee women, children and those with special needs, while at the same time promoting gender awareness and equity among the various stakeholders involved in refugee protection work.

3.3.3 The Constitution of Uganda (1995)

Refugees in Uganda are protected under Article 189, Schedule 6 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, which specifies the refugee protection functions of the central government (OPM-Uganda 2010: 2). This constitutional provision authorizes the Department of Refugees (DoR) to ensure protection and coordination of the refugee programs in Uganda. In response to the preamble of the UNHCR Statute, which calls upon governments to cooperate in the performance of their functions concerning refugees,

¹¹ 3rd March UNHCR weekly updates: Infographic Flyer on the South Sudan Refugee Situation.

Uganda ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (henceforth, jointly referred to as the 1951 Convention) on 27 September 1976 (UNHCR 2011b: 1). As a result, Uganda also acceded to the regional 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa in 1987 (UNHCR 2011b: 1).

3.3.4 Control of Alien Refugees Act (CAR) (1960)

Following the ratification of the UNHCR Convention of 1955, Uganda established the CAR Act which was inaugurated in 1960. CAR Act was meant to “control” alien refugees in Uganda rather than protect them because it merely controlled refugees on Uganda's territory, with little or no emphasis on their rights as human beings. To this end, researchers argue that the legislative instrument of refugees was a measure hurriedly designed to deal with the overwhelming influx of refugees in Uganda, originating from Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC (Kiapi 1998: 42; Mulumba and Olema 2009: 28). This was because, at the time, Uganda regarded refugees as undesirable intruders rather than people in need of protection from persecution (Kiapi 1998: 42). Kiapi based his argument on the definition of an “alien” as a person who was not a citizen of Uganda or not under British rule, or not a citizen of a Commonwealth country nor of the Republic of Ireland (Kiapi 1998:43). While the UNHCR Statute stipulates that states must accord refugees in their countries at least the same treatment as that accorded to nationals, refugees in Uganda under the auspices of the CAR Act policy, were not accorded the same treatment as nationals. Neither was the law in harmony with Uganda's 1995 Constitution as amended.

3.3.5 Refugee Law Act (RLA) (2006)

The RLA (2006) repealed the CAR Act of 1960 and provided for other related matters while epitomizing Uganda's policy on refugees in the country. Fresh provisions were created in the RLA to address matters relating to refugees and corresponding with the UNHCR 1951 provisions and other international obligations of Uganda relating to the status of refugees (Mulumba and Olema 2009; Omata and Kaplan 2013). Similar to the 1951 Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention, the Act provides for durable solutions of voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement to a third country. It also provides for humanitarian service delivery through international humanitarian agencies, NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs).

The vision of this policy is to “empower refugees and host communities with opportunities to live a dignified life”, with a mission to effectively respond to the refugee situation in Uganda by assuring the welfare and protection of refugees within the framework of national policy, and international laws and standards while preserving the national interest (Both the vision and mission statements reinforce the need for government to collaboratively work with stakeholders at various levels, including development partners, civil society organizations and host communities, to create a favourable environment for the protection of asylum seekers and refugees, whilst looking for durable solutions to the refugee

phenomenon. This new policy therefore called for the re-structuring of refugee management and designated the OPM to oversee all refugee management in Uganda. At the same time, the Office of Refugees and Disaster Preparedness was established under the OPM; and the DoR was instituted, headed by a Commissioner and charged with managing refugee affairs in settlements across the country. According to Mulumba and Olema (2009: 29), the Uganda government's decision to centralize refugee administration signifies the worth Uganda attaches to the refugees within its territory. As such, Uganda has been applauded for having one of the most inclusive legal and policy frameworks governing refugees in Africa (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 2).

Despite this significant progress, there is still a gap in the law as it does not specifically dispense of the requirement of work permits for refugees (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 4). As noted earlier, most refugees are women and therefore their physical and human protection in settlements is at stake, partly because of the stringent rules under these policies. While all refugees in Uganda have been granted a *prima-facie*¹² status, the rules within the refugee settlements require that a refugee must acquire a permit allowing them to leave the settlement to look for jobs. Moreover, this requirement has certain challenges such as: delays in releasing permits from the OPM and the severely limited time granted to refugees outside the settlement (not more than two days) (Mulumba and Olema 2009). As such, this restricts the refugees' ability to acquire jobs outside the settlement and become self-reliant.

It is also worth noting that because most refugees are in poor developing countries, their rights are impossible to fulfil as most of these countries, including Uganda, suffer from land shortage, unemployment, inadequate educational facilities and services, and insufficient housing. These conditions affect refugees in Uganda, and women are disproportionately affected because most households in refugee settlements are female-headed and most refugees are women. Despite the improved awareness and understanding of the refugee women's vulnerabilities, major challenges remain in the protection and humanitarian assistance they receive (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016). For instance: protecting women from gender-based abuse, sexual harassment by armed forces, government officials, and even aid workers; and providing them with access to reproductive health services and parental care are all still challenging.

While Uganda has ratified the International Refugee Convention of 1951 and its consequent protocol of 1967, refugee protection is still not up to standard (Refugee-Law-Project 2006: 3). Most of the refugee settlements are situated in remote areas of the country where there are possibilities of attacks, especially for settlements situated close to boundaries with neighbouring countries, some of which are not politically stable, so that war or conflict in such countries could easily spill over into the refugee settlements.

¹² As provided for in the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

Additionally, the UNHCR (2011b: 7) report posits that while Uganda is commended for the application of a municipal law which recognizes persecution on the basis of gender as a crime on the grounds for asylum, the appeal process for refugees under the Crime Intelligence Office, a policy unit for refugees, is unproductive as many refugees do not have their appeals fully considered. This depicts a regrettable degree of ambiguity in the protection of refugees, especially women who are disproportionately affected. Evidence from previous studies shows that SGBV against women is still prevalent in refugee settings (Heise *et al.* 2002; Krause 2014), including those in Uganda. As Okot *et al.* (2005:1) rightly observe, the problem still remains a silent affliction. For example, women in refugee camps still face a host of humanitarian abuses in regard to acts of gender-specific violence caused by forced migration which often renders them more susceptible to different dangers (Sjoberg 2006: 901; Gozdzia 2008: 108).

3.4 Refugee Rights in Uganda

Whilst Uganda has progressed in domesticating international policies on refugee protection, refugees still face a host of security and humanitarian challenges and are insufficiently protected under Uganda's existing legal system (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 1). Most of them still live in unstable conditions, as illustrated by Mulumba and Olema (2009: 26), who argue that although the UN Declaration Charter specifies that asylum seekers should be settled in other countries, the manner in which they are treated in Uganda can be described as restraining, thereby denying them a chance to progress and live better livelihoods. In particular, the restrictive laws on freedom of movement adversely affect the refugees' ability to associate with the world outside the settlements, thereby limiting their chances of accessing markets, employment opportunities and other facilities not provided for under humanitarian care (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 1). The UNHCR and the Government of Uganda jointly introduced the SRS Programme as a joint scheme to incorporate refugee services into the government's routine social service provision agenda, in order to maximize the available resources for the wellbeing of both refugees and the host population (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 1). The mandate of the SRS is to enable refugees to sustain themselves through crop production (on land allocated to them), newly acquired skills and knowledge (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 1).

However, although the UNHCR and the Government of Uganda have established rural refugee settlements and the self-reliance programmes for refugees not expecting to return home in the near future, the conditions in these settlements are unsatisfactory, particularly on account of the severe restrictions on the movement of refugees (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 7). A study conducted by the RLP (2005a:10) in Moyo District, northern Uganda, found that most refugees had opted out of staying in settlements - mostly due to insecurity, or because they had realized that the conditions of life in the

settlements were worse than those outside the settlement. In addition, the study revealed that poor socio-economic conditions in refugee settlements lead to refugee misery, largely because of food insecurity and sub-standard health and education services, among other unsatisfactory services.

Lomo *et al.* (2001: 7) argue that although refugees are given land for agriculture, the rural poverty levels where most settlements are situated, coupled with inadequate resources and infrastructure, have undermined the SRS. Nonetheless, although the SRS has recorded some progress in some refugee settlements, especially by reducing aid dependency through the incorporation of refugee services into the social service provision agenda for the local host communities (Lomo *et al.* 2001: 7), the implementation of the strategy has been beset by insecurity and inadequate resources (United-Nations 2001: 1). Dryden-Peterson (2004) argues that while Article 7 (2) of the Refugee Act (2006) specifies that the Office of the Director of Refugees is mandated to protect refugees and manage provisions for their welfare, studies reveal that refugees are still living in a state of want and facing social, economic and health challenges.

3.4.1 The Uganda Constitution (1995) and the Right to Citizenship

According to the Ugandan Constitution (1995), Chapter 3 (Citizenship), Article 13(2), subtitled “Citizenship by naturalization”,

[...] every person who has legally and voluntarily migrated to and has been living in Uganda for at least twenty years shall upon application be registered as citizen of Uganda, as well as every person who, on the commencement of the Constitution, had lived in Uganda for at least twenty years.

However, Chapter 3 Article 12 (1) (ii) of the same Constitution states that citizenship can only be granted to an individual if none of his/her parents or grandparents was a refugee in Uganda. This effectively denies refugees, their children and grandchildren the right to Ugandan citizenship by naturalization. According to Mulumba and Olema (2009: 27), the provision is discriminatory, violates refugee rights, and effectively condemns refugees and their descendants to being refugees in perpetuity.

On the other hand, Chapter 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995) contains the Bill of Rights which preserves civil, political, economic and socio-cultural rights (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 28). Regarding the issue of equality for all and non-discrimination, Article 21 (1) states:

[...] "all people" are equal before and under the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and in every other respect and shall enjoy equal protection of the law (2) without prejudice to clause (1) above, a person shall not be discriminated against on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, creed or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 28).

Therefore, whereas the phrase “all people” suggests that even refugees are included, in reality, refugees have been deprived of certain privileges. For instance, their right to freedom of movement is curtailed as they must seek permission from the OPM to move outside a refugee settlement, although this curtailment has normally been justified as a means to ensure the safety of the refugees (Mulumba and Olema 2009; Krause 2014). On the other hand, even though refugees are supposed to have the same rights as nationals regarding access to social services such as: employment, health and education, their insufficient income restrains their capacity to access these services for self-sustainability. Although the Refugee Law Act 2006 (29) bars refugees from participating in the country's politics, even as voters, Mulumba and Olema (2009: 28) reveal that in the early 1990s, RWCs in settlements for Rwandese refugees in Uganda were used to facilitate the upheaval of the then government of Rwanda. This shows that while refugees have limited rights in Uganda, they can still be used by the Government of Uganda, sometimes against their own will, to achieve the government's political goals.

3.4.2 Voluntary Repatriation

According to the UN refugee agency submission by UNHCR for the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Compilation Report, the Ugandan government's refugee policy has discriminated against Rwandese refugees since 2009 (UNHCR 2011b: 4). Subsequent to this, in July of that same year, the government denied Rwandese refugees access to land in a bid to sway them to return home, an action that was taken subsequent to the heightened pressure from the Rwandan government which claimed that the political situation of the country had become calm (UNHCR 2011b: 4). However, the UNHCR report (UNHCR 2011b) indicated reports from human rights activists, oral statements of asylum-seekers, and the escape of high-ranking Rwandese government officials, suggesting that the situation in Rwanda was far from stable or peaceful. This explains why most Rwandese refugees refused to return home on grounds of persecution for actual and perceived opposition to the prevailing political institution in Rwanda (Karoooma 2014: 103), political persecution evidenced by arbitrary arrests, forceful subscription to political parties and ethnic discrimination (UNHCR 2011b: 5).¹³ As refugees refused to return home, women refugees faced diverse challenges due to the lack of humanitarian aid and government support. Women have been hit the hardest because they head most of the households in the refugee settlements and they continue to be providers for their kindred following the loss of a male family head (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 104). Moreover, the same women face challenges of having to labour in harsh conditions without adequate humanitarian assistance.

¹³These reasons were communicated to the Rwandan delegation during the 8th tripartite meeting held in Mbarara on 12 May 2010.

In addition, by forcefully repatriating Rwandese refugees in 2009¹⁴ the Ugandan government violated the principle of non-refoulement, a norm of customary international law, which prohibits the expulsion or return of anyone whose life or freedoms would be at risk for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (Bhuiyan 2013b). According to Bhuiyan (2013b: 102), the principle of non-refoulement is clearly spelt out in Article 33 (1) of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees which provides that:

No Contracting State shall expel or return (refouler) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a specific social group or political opinion.

3.4.3 Freedom of Movement

According to Mulumba and Olema (2009: 54), international law specifies the right to free movement by individuals. The aforementioned authors further argue that Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, to which Uganda is a signatory, provides for the right to freedom of movement and residence for all, as well as the right for an individual to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 54). On the other hand, Article 12 of International Civil and Political Rights stipulates that anyone lawfully residing within the boundaries of a State has the right to freedom of movement and the right to select his residence within that territory. Paragraph 2 of the same Article stipulates that every individual is free to leave any country, inclusive of his own, without any restriction to these rights, except for those that are provided by the national law reserved to maintain national security and public order, but are also consistent with the other rights acknowledged in the current Convention (Mulumba and Olema 2009: 54).

In spite of the above provisions, Chapter 2 (section III), of Uganda's Refugee Act of 2006 as highlighted in Section 3.3.5 curtails the movement of refugees in the country. While the Refugee Act of 2006 grants refugees all the rights stipulated in the United Nations and African Union Conventions, including free movement and the right to employment (Commission 2006a; Kaiser 2006), freedom of movement of acknowledged refugees in Uganda is subject to so-called rational restrictions as specified in the laws of Uganda (CAR Act of 1960 and the RLP of 2006) or directives issued by the Commissioner which apply to aliens (Krause 2014). This restriction curtails the refugees' efforts for self-reliance, and forces refugees to depend entirely on the often inadequate humanitarian assistance. Moreover, the same restriction impinges on the human rights of refugees as it curtails their ability to move freely to other countries. In its study of refugees living in Arua and Moyo districts of north-western Uganda, the RLP (2005b: 17) notes that it is important for refugees to create personal relations with their Ugandan hosts

¹⁴ Go home, Uganda tells Rwandan refugee. Link <http://www.irinnews.org/report/85566/rwanda-uganda-go-home-uganda-tells-rwandan-refugees>

to duly shape refugees' livelihoods, but the legal restrictions outlined above undermine the creation of such relations.

Omata and Kaplan (2013: 12) argue that although research has stimulated a universal perception of the role of social relations in refugee livelihoods, less is known of networking avenues that can enable refugees to access economic opportunities in their host country. In their opinion, this is because relatively few studies have thoroughly investigated the role of social relations in refugee livelihoods. These social relations encompass the post-conflict SGBV violence that refugees, especially women and girls, still experience, including: rape, sexual exploitation, early marriage, enforced prostitution (Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008; Krause 2014).

The attempts of the SRS to promote a free-market economy in which self-sufficiency can be achieved within the settlement structure, which is a command economy structure, have met many challenges (Dryden-Peterson 2004). In this situation, families are either strained to leave settlements occasionally to look for employment, thus opting out of humanitarian assistance, including education; or, if they remain in settlements, they are often pressed to remove their children from school in order to maximize production from the available piece of land (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 1). On the other hand, besides the restriction on freedom of movement, the inadequate funding by donors (especially for refugee women projects), has also hindered self-reliance and sustainability (Forbes 2004: 92). Moreover, existing humanitarian assistance to refugees in camp and settlement structures often does not provide sufficiently for the needs of refugee women and their kindred. For example, while free education has been provided to all refugees inclusive, secondary education is not free, which sees many girls forced into marriage after primary school due to lack of school fees. Against this backdrop, Dryden-Peterson (2004: 1) argues that while formal education is important, other sustainability measures, such as SRS, should be established for women and girls. Yet, if livelihoods are not stabilized, the goals and benefits of the SRS programme will remain a pipe-dream (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 1).

3.5 SGBV against Women in Refugee Settlements in Uganda

Uganda ratified the CEDAW in 1985 without reservations (International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH), FIDA-Uganda and FHRI 2012: 6). Uganda is also a signatory to other United Nations human rights conventions regarding women's rights, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1987), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1995) and the Convention against Torture (1986). Uganda also established the Domestic Violence Act of 2010 (FIDH, FIDA-Uganda and FHRI 2012: 6). While this reflects a positive trend in Uganda's efforts to fight SGBV, the problem still persists in most societies, especially in post-conflict settings, such as refugee settlements and camps.

In addition, the Constitution of Uganda provides several other guidelines on the law of non-discrimination and equal rights of both women and men (Commission 2006b). For example, Article 21 stipulates that all people at all levels of political, economic and social-cultural life, must enjoy equal protection of the law (Commission 2006b). At the same time, sub-section (1) of this Article specifies that a person shall not be discriminated against on the ground of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, tribe, birth, creed or religion, social or economic standing, political opinion or disability. However, refugees under the former CAR Act (1960) and the present RLP Act (2006) are still discriminated against and do not enjoy these rights fully. It is, therefore, contradictory that the same Constitution that stipulates these policies also reinforces discrimination and marginalization of refugees.

According to a study by ACORD Uganda (2010: 4), the magnitude of the problem of SGBV extends beyond war and conflict situations; the same study adds that in non-conflict situations, more than 80% of women interviewed had experienced physical, sexual or psychological abuse at some point in their marital lives or relationships. These experiences adversely affect women's social wellbeing, health, and emotional capacity, a problem which affects their dependants and the community as a whole. While women in Uganda generally face hindrances as justice seekers, especially regarding rights awareness, stigmatization, and limited responsiveness to their plight by enforcement officials (FIDH, FIDA-Uganda and FHRI 2012: 15), refugee women face additional hindrances as refugees. Access to justice for victims of violence is further complicated by a general lack of appropriate and effective referral and legal support systems. For example, as FIDH, FIDA-Uganda and FHRI (2012: 15) report, one of these challenges is police inaction. Indeed, as Krause (2014: 35) notes, refugee settlements in Uganda have been characterized as places of fear and frustration for most women refugees, implying that they are not the safe zones they are designed to be.

SECTION III

3.6 Introduction

This section discusses women's rights as human rights, and explores the UNHCR's policy recommendations on refugees and the specific influence of these recommendations on refugee women. The policies discussed include the UNHCR Policy on Refugee Women (1990), the UNHCR Guidelines on Protection of Refugee Women (1991), the Guidelines on Sexual Violence against Refugees: Prevention and Response (1995), and the International Protection and Gender- Related Guidelines (2002). The section further discusses the role of men and women in eliminating the discrimination of

women in peace-building initiatives before concluding with a discussion on the identity of refugee women.

3.6.1 Women's Rights as Human Rights

According to Stephenson (2009: 132), although equal access to civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights is clearly catered for under international law, the establishment of the CEDAW in 1979 made this even clearer. Human rights violations are one of the root causes of war, entrenched within the traditional ideologies and practices that restrict women's rights and permit violence against them (Stephenson 2009: 132). While Uganda ratified and domesticated all major treaties protecting women's rights, these rights are not fully protected and their realization has been hampered by some cultural and traditional practices among the refugee communities (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 9). This section presents a review of literature on the development of women's rights at the international and national levels. It focuses on the protection of women refugees under the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the status of refugees and other international legal instruments that accord legal protection to refugee women against all forms of violence.

While both women and men are affected by conflict, the refugee experiences of women and men are different, with women refugees bearing the brunt of conflict-related violence (Forbes 2004; Snyder 2009; Al-Sharmani 2010). For instance, despite their plight, refugee women still support their families through various income-generating activities, such as domestic work and even prostitution, in which they are exploited and subjected to sexual assault (Al-Sharmani 2010). Because refugee women have special needs, particularly as heads of households with the added responsibility of taking care of their children, they are more enmeshed in family networks than male refugees, and may lose their traditional sources of income (Forbes 2004: 87; Isis WICCE 2014: 16). As such, refugee women need sufficient income to support their families and themselves, although, as Forbes (2004: 87) indicates, their need for economic resources has often been underestimated.

Therefore, despite the significant steps taken to address the challenges of women refugees, major problems remain in protecting and assisting refugee and displaced women (Forbes 2004; Al-Sharmani 2010). They are susceptible to discrimination, mistreatment and abuse during conflict and post-conflict situations (including in refugee settings and during resettlement in a third country of protection) (Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani 2012: 90). Govindjee and Taiwo (2013) argue that this is partly because gender has not traditionally served to merit eligibility into forced migration discourse and practice; this can be attributed to the fact that during the establishment of the Refugee Convention, women's rights were underappreciated and violence against women was still unresolved (and ignored) in most communities.

According to Gozdzia (2008: 187), forced migration discourse and praxis have many benefits, including the fact that they acknowledge gender as an important part of the forced migration discourse, and emphasize refugee women's agency in order to find a solution to their plight. This is particularly important, as gender-specific vulnerabilities in disaster situations (caused by forced migration) often render women more prone to threats (Sjoberg 2006: 901), including sexual assault and increasing rates of morbidity and mortality (Gozdzia 2008: 187). Moreover, as Gozdzia (2008: 188) rightly argues, the issue of power relations is at play, even in refugee settings, and women's vulnerabilities come from socio-cultural and biological factors that define women and men's places in society.

However, the invisibility of refugee women on the international scene came to an end in 1985 when the United Nations began to discuss the need for particular protection to women refugees, creating a landmark decision on the global protection of refugee women, and setting guidelines on sexual violence against refugee women and asylum seekers (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 387). Subsequent to this achievement, international human rights and the refugee law have become increasingly interconnected, with refugee claims being increasingly fact-based, thereby providing individual remedies in a procedure that is private and confidential (Sadoway 2008: 250). This represents progress, as individual cases grouped together could lead to actions that publicize and denounce the failure of state protection, especially where the state has been involved in war crimes and crimes against humanity during conflict and through state laws (Sadoway 2008).

As a result, such cases could be brought before international human rights bodies for trial. For example, the systematic mass rape cases in the former Yugoslavia (1991-1998) and in the Rwanda Genocide (1994), which led to the creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) respectively to prosecute sexual crimes and rape as distinct war crimes (Freedman 2007; UN OCHA/IRIN 2007). Therefore, now more than ever, human rights activists, refugee advocates and the academic community have the opportunity to work together to call states to account for the injustices against women and other social groups, implying that the fabric of international human rights law can be strengthened as it is interwoven with the testimonies of women refugees (Sadoway 2008: 250).

Today, women's rights have received greater recognition as evidenced by the existence of the various international tools relating to women, such as: the CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and its subsequent resolutions, the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993). At the national level, the 1995 Uganda Constitution protects and guarantees a wide range of human rights, including women's right to equality, freedom from discrimination and economic rights (Commission 2006b). Indeed, Article 33(6) of the Uganda Constitution outlaws "any laws, customs or traditions which do not recognise the dignity, welfare or interest of women" (Lutheran-

World-Federation 2016: 9). Unfortunately, customary laws and practices have largely negated these rights due to lack of political will to confront issues of inequality and discrimination in a holistic and comprehensive manner (Lutheran World Federation 2016: 9).

SGBV perpetrated against women in the international human rights context has resulted in the emergence of a body of laws, encapsulated in the Gender Asylum Law and constituting a landmark achievement for refugee women (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 379). Although the Gender Asylum Law has not been entirely adopted by most states, it is a legally constructed instrument that guides states on how to protect refugees and asylum seekers, especially women and girls, against sexual and other forms of gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict settings, which is a positive achievement for refugee women (ibid). While various interventions are in place to protect refugee women, the latter's safety and security are still in doubt, and discrimination against women and girls is still deeply rooted in the various cultural settings within the refugee settlements. These negative cultural practices, which relegate women to private spaces and child-bearing roles, have increased the social discrimination of women refugees in the settlements (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 10).

Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 106) argue that the discourse on women in peace and security is divided between arguments that stress women's right to participate versus those that emphasize the impact and outcome of their participation. As discussed in Section I (3.2.1) above, under the theme "Culture and International Legal Policies in the Context of the Situation of Refugee Women", it is evident that patriarchy, a system of social ordering that historically placed the male as superior to the female, justifies the subordination of women to men (ACORD Uganda 2010: 5). Patriarchy not only renders refugee women economically less productive than their male counterparts, but also subjects them to the risks of SGBV. Nonetheless, in spite of the patriarchal subjugation of women to men, women are still entitled to the enjoyment of universal human rights by virtue of their being human beings, and these rights are universal, inalienable and should be respected by all states (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 379).

Human rights are cognizant of gender equality issues, meaning that they ensure that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are recognized, and that the biological differences between men and women should not in any way prevent either sex from enjoying these rights (Anderlini and El-Bushara 2004: 6). Although it may be argued that men and women experience conflict similarly, women experience gender-related violence much more than men (Goldstein 2001; Sjoberg 2006). While the international community has progressed in providing legal rights to refugees, it is paradoxical that most international instruments which protect refugees do not distinguish between male and female refugees, especially when it comes to their rights (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 382). An example of this non-separation of female and male rights is stipulated in the Article 2 of the Universal UDHR of 1948 which states, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and Freedoms set forth in this declaration without

distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion and political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”¹⁵.

Moreover, violence against women has always been downplayed, especially in patriarchal settings, a problem that has adversely affected women’s needs and protection (Forbes 2004). This lends credence to the assertion that the drafters of the various international conventions had only males in mind (as the only ones that are affected by conflict). However, Govindjee and Taiwo (2013: 383) argue that women have now been singled out as a group of persons deserving special protection, although not as beings who can change their plight. In this regard, Krause (2014: 33) argues that while the preamble of UNHCR (1951) identifies the need for immediate protection and assistance to those forcibly displaced, it also imposes a vulnerable and passive refugee identity, which is why refugees worldwide are largely regarded as needy and passive victims requiring support and protection. This kind of victimization hampers women's ability to become change agents in their communities, to break the chains of discrimination and inequality that have tied them down for so long. This situation is further aggravated for the doubly-disadvantaged women refugees: they are disadvantaged both as women and as refugees (Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 383).

Anderlini and El-Bushara (2004: 12) argue that state actors have sometimes contributed to the plight of women, especially in cases where states have disregarded existing cultural practices that marginalize women, and endorsed discriminatory policies or prompted laws and programmes that are intrinsically discriminatory against women. These laws and policies may include policies on enforced sterilization, forced pregnancy and forced abortion as well as policies on polygamy and policies that approve forced marriage and fail to recognize women’s autonomy and agency, and legitimize male control over women among others (General-Assembly 2006: 34). The complicity of states in the plight of women is well articulated by Anderlini and El-Bushara (2004: 7-8) who state:

Sometimes, human rights are overridden or ignored for the sake of state security. Human security puts people first, emphasizing that human rights are central to state security. Many nation states, including those with questionable human rights records, often describe state security as of paramount importance. But state security is often ill-defined, masking the economic or other interests of elites or other powerful groups and pretending that these interests are for the common good. Often, when the state breaches human rights and oppresses particular sectors of society, its actions prompt the emergence of armed opposition groups that in turn threaten the state’s security.

In addition, violence against women in what the state normally calls the “private sphere” (home) denies and reduces women’s access to decision-making in the public sphere. That is why there is need for transformation through dismantling the unjust structures and policies that exacerbate discrimination and gender inequality, and replacing them with mechanisms, processes and institutions that enable rights,

¹⁵ <http://watchlist.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Universal-declaration-of-human-rights.pdf>

priorities and needs of both women and men to be recognized. As the United-States-Institute-of-Peace (2012: 6) aptly concludes, a gendered perspective should not be confined to redressing the violations of the human rights of women or their social economic needs, but should represent peace-building as a process of inclusion.

3.7 UNHCR's Policy Recommendation on Refugees

Following their recognition of the adversity in refugee women's livelihoods, the UNHCR established three policy recommendations, including: the Policy on Refugee Women (1990), the Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women (1991) and the Guidelines on Sexual Violence against Refugees: Prevention and Response (1995) (Gozdziak 2008: 186; Govindjee and Taiwo 2013: 383). These three documents and the International Protection and Gender-related Persecution Guidelines (2002) are the subject of the review that follows.

3.7.1 UNHCR Policy on Refugee Women (1990)

Govindjee and Taiwo (2013:386) argue that becoming a refugee affects women and men differently, with refugee women facing the burdens of conflict on a larger scale than men. Therefore, the situation of refugee women needs to be transformed into a peaceful sustainable livelihood where they can take care of themselves and their families without fear of oppression. Freire (1984: 6) maintains that oppression is taming, to elude and transform it, one must emerge from it and turn upon it by means of praxis, reflection and action upon the world in which one lives. Therefore, refugee women should be viewed as active beings capable of impacting the world they live in, by being involved in policy planning and implementation.

According to Freedman (2007: 133), although women refugees need protection and are vulnerable in some circumstances, it should not be assumed that they are generally always vulnerable victims. As already indicated, women refugees have the capacity to transform their situation and improve their livelihoods if given a chance. However, despite their plight, refugee women have culturally specific ways of expressing their strengths and resolving the post-settlement problems they encounter, in the new context of their host country (Hayward *et al.* 2008: 196; Hovil 2012: 30). As such, gender perspective, women's participation, protection and rights are critical at all levels of the peace-building process (Snyder 2009: 49; Isis WICCE 2014: 74). In this regard, Govindjee and Taiwo (2013: 387) argue that women should be taught, informed and assisted in order to achieve their proper integration. Therefore, one can rightly say that while the participation of women refugees is used as a catalyst for them to gain access to employment, it is also a tool used to gain opportunities for self-sustainability.

3.7.2 UNHCR Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women (1991)

In 1991, the UNHCR established the Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women¹⁶(Al-Sharmani (2010). These guidelines introduced policy measures to assist the UNHCR personnel and implementing partners in filling in the gaps in the protection of women refugees, already mentioned in this chapter (Al-Sharmani 2010). According to Govindjee and Taiwo (2013: 387) these guidelines call for mainstreaming the needs and interests of refugee women at all levels of programming and implementation so as to realize equitable protection and assistance for refugee women. For their part, Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 106) argue that women's security is recognized as human security where women are free from fear and want. However, the same authors note that in most cases women have been denied these rights, for instance where their SGBV cases have been reduced to private matters which do not deserve legal protection. As such, Parashar (2013: 373) argues that a denial to access to the legal system is in contravention of relevant international law norms. Protection of refugee women under these guidelines is two-pronged because they are doubly disadvantaged: first, as victims of human rights abuses, wars and other acts of aggression; and secondly, their being away from their home countries denies them assurance of the full protection that their own governments are mandated to provide (Forbes 2004: 25). Thus, refugee women deserve both legal protection of their rights in countries of asylum and physical protection to ensure their safety and security (Forbes 2004; Haliso 2009).

While humanitarian organizations have provided humanitarian protection to refugees, other services, such as non-food items, are not fully provided. Uganda continues to grapple with providing for the basic needs of refugees, including health needs, sanitation facilities, shelter and food, which adversely affects women who are already disproportionately affected by conflict (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 10). In addition, while free primary education for refugees is provided, secondary education is not provided free of charge because it is still expensive in Uganda. And because most households in refugee settlements are headed by women, women mostly bear the burden of providing for that education (alternatively: of the consequences of not providing for it).

That is why refugee women have special protection needs, including protection against sexual assault, physical violence and discrimination (Forbes 2004: 26). In addition, these guidelines constitute a standard which the UNHCR set for refugee women and girls, and are important in raising awareness as well as by acting as programming tools for fieldwork on reproductive health and SGBV issues. However, despite the call for gender mainstreaming at all levels of policy planning, and the existence of these guidelines, women remain marginalized in most policies across the globe and even in refugee settings because they are not consulted on any projects being implemented on their behalf (Forbes 2004;

¹⁶This policy document was improved and replaced by the 2008 UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls.

Haliso 2009). As Forbes (2004: 19) observes, the inadequate inclusion of women refugees in decision-making is a barrier to the full implementation of the guidelines.

3.7.3 Guidelines on Sexual Violence against Refugees: Prevention and Response (1995)

In 1995, the UNHCR, which was mandated to provide a structure of action for the United Nations Organizations as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations that work with refugees, established *Provisions On Sexual Violence Against Refugees: Guidelines On Protection And Response* (Al-Sharmani 2010). These guidelines were updated in 2003 to render them relevant to both refugees and returnees, and to emphasize a new precautionary approach to the challenge of SGBV (Al-Sharmani 2010). Apart from providing information on the occurrence of sexual violence among refugees and on the physical, psychological and social effects of that sexual violence, these guidelines also provide measures to prevent the sexual violence. They suggest appropriate responses by emphasizing the need for education, information campaigns, and training on legal awareness, leadership guidance, life skills and education (Gozdziak 2008: 387). Although some progress has been made against SGBV, scholars highlight that the main reason that many SGBV cases are undocumented is due to the underreporting attributable to the victims' fear of stigma, shame and reprisal if they report their cases (Freedman 2007; Haliso 2009; Arief 2010; Govindjee and Taiwo 2013).

In addition, although Uganda has made strides in developing a legal and policy framework, as well as putting in place various mechanisms and institutions to tackle SGBV against women with the 2010 Domestic Violence Act (among others): aimed at punishing perpetrators of domestic violence, interventions addressing SGBV against refugee women are not exhaustive or comprehensive (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 10). Most refugee women still experience SGBV, with close to 78%¹⁷ of refugee women both in settlements and urban centres continuing to experience domestic violence, mostly at the hands of those known to them, such as: intimate partners, close relatives or even neighbours. The Police Crime Report for 2013¹⁸ shows an increase in reported cases of domestic violence nationally.

UN Women (2015b: 8) argues that the highest attainable standard of health is a fundamental right of every person. As such, sexual and reproductive health rights of refugee women are provided for under Sustainable Development Goal 3 (SDG 3) which calls upon states to “ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages” (UN Women 2015b: 8). Despite this legal provision, gender-based discrimination often violates this right. The government of Uganda has invested significantly in the health sector, through the construction of new health centres, the rehabilitation of existing health

¹⁷ Uganda: New Law on Domestic Violence Good but Attitude Change is Vital available at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201004160338.html>

¹⁸ Uganda Police Force Annual Crimes and Traffic/ Road Safety Report 2013.

facilities, and by improving medical supplies and equipment, all of which have improved the quality of, and access to, health care services in the refugee settlements (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 10). However, there still exist gaps in the health sector that limit women's full enjoyment of sexual and reproductive health rights, including limited drug supplies at the health facilities and the continued lack of adequate trained personnel, which adversely impacts on the refugees' right to access health services (Lutheran-World-Federation 2016: 10). Not only are women biologically more prone to HIV transmission, but their gendered roles and responsibilities undercut their ability to protect themselves and make empowered choices (UN Women 2015b: 8). This affects refugee women even more adversely because they suffer a double jeopardy: firstly, because they are women and secondly, because they are refugees. Their chances of attaining high-quality health services are minimized.

Overall, according to Kaiser (2006: 619), refugees within settlements in Uganda feel discriminated against when it comes to developmental activities. Indeed, Kaiser argues that while the UNHCR urges refugees to shift from humanitarian provisions to the SRS in situations of protracted asylum, the same UNHCR also admits that the strategy is fruitless in refugee settlements in Uganda (Kaiser 2006: 619). Thus, there is a need for future initiatives to find more effective and sustainable solutions to the livelihood challenges in refugee settlements.

3.7.4 International Protection and Gender-Related Persecution Guidelines (2002)

In 2002, the UNHCR restructured its Guidelines on International Protection and Gender-Related Persecution to explicitly address issues of gender when deciding whether or not an individual deserves international protection (Crawley 2012). These guidelines are meant to provide legal guidance to states, legal practitioners, decision-makers and the judiciary, as well as UNHCR staff carrying out refugee status determination in the field (UNHCR 2002; Crawley 2012). The UNHCR issued these Guidelines in a bid to fulfil its mandate, as specified in the Statute of the Office of the UNHCR, in conjunction with Article 35 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Article II of its 1967 Protocol (UNHCR 2002). These guidelines highlight the concept that women are persecuted as women as opposed to the idea that women are persecuted because they are women (Crawley 2012).

Oftentimes, and for a variety of reasons, refugee women's experiences of persecution have been excluded from the dominant interpretation of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Many of these reasons accrue from the fact that the roles of men and women in the societies from which they originate are different from those in the countries in which they seek protection (Crawley 2012). That is why these guidelines not only focus on the interpretation of the definition of a refugee, contained in Article 1 A(2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, but also propose some procedural practices in determining women's refugee status such that a range of gender-related claims are recognised (UNHCR 2002). This represents a significant step by the UNHCR in recognizing and

improving the status of women refugees and asylum seekers across the world, in the wake of the much-criticized gender-blind definition of a refugee that was contained in the 1951 Convention.

According to Freedman (2007: 90), in order to address some of the gaps in the operation of the international laws and policies regarding female asylum seekers and refugees, a few countries have domesticated these gender guidelines. Freedman (2007: 90) further argues that gendered relations are so deeply entrenched in many situations, that even those who are supposedly protecting refugees or civilian populations may become involved in sexual exploitation or violence against women. For example, members of the UN's Mission in DRC (MONUC) were accused of sexually exploiting civilian women and girls (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 75).

Whilst it is praiseworthy that actors such as United Nations organizations, alongside some states, are moving towards an all-inclusive understanding of violence against refugee women, Freedman (2007: 93) argues that these norms have had uneven adaptation into national policy arenas. He adds that where guidelines have been adopted, their implementation remains inconsistent at best (Freedman 2015). Freedman further stresses that few countries have formally incorporated these guidelines into their laws on asylum, and even where the directives have been converted into national policies and legislations, they are often not adhered to in refuge deliberations (Freedman 2007: 93). This opinion is backed by Al-Sharmani (2010) according to whom, in public spheres and discourse, structural violence against refugee women and girls is still not remedied, and is still disregarded as a minor case that does not deserve serious attention from all stakeholders.

On a positive note, Freedman (2015) notes that there has been some progress in other parts of the world. He cites the example of Canada, which became the first country to assimilate gender guidelines into its national asylum policies and legislation in 1993 when the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board issued "Guidelines on Women Refugee Claimants Fearing Gender-Related Persecution" (Freedman 2015). These guidelines stipulated that the definition of a refugee be interpreted so as to protect women who signified a well-founded fear of gender-related persecution, and further sought to guide policy makers on asylum claims to be more sensitive to the specific challenges of women's experiences of persecution (Freedman 2007: 93). Similar policies later followed in the United States, Australia, Sweden and United Kingdom among other Western countries, and most Third World countries have adopted these guidelines, thus showing a willingness by states to reduce SGBV against refugee women.

The International Protocol on Documentation and Investigation of Sexual Violence in conflict highlights the lack of accountability of those who commit sexual violence atrocities during conflict. This obscures evidence that would be used in legal protection and prosecution of those who perpetrate these actions in post-conflict settings.

3.8 The Role of Men and Women in Eliminating Discrimination of Women in Peace-Building Initiatives

Only if women play a full and equal part can we build the foundations for enduring peace. Former Secretary General, Kofi Anan (Pillay 2006: 2).

This section reviews literature on the role of men and women in peace-building initiatives in society. Generally, the literature does not assert the universal perception of women as innocent; nor does it argue that women are inherently more peaceful, or that men are more warlike. As it has already been established, patriarchy has been a major hindrance to the realization of an egalitarian society in which women and men participate equally in their societies. The literature reviewed in this section argues that men should play a role in solving the challenges of patriarchy and the exclusion of women from peace-building endeavors. Although more than 80% of women suffer from SGBV in armed and post-conflict situations (ACORD Uganda 2010: 4), they are not passive victims of war. Just like men, women are actors and victims of the endorsement and implications of conflict, implying that the representation of both men and women in mechanisms of peace is vital (Pillay 2006: 2). Women also contribute to peace as mothers, housewives, mediators, peace advocates and activists, as well as volunteer workers (Sjoberg 2006: 901), a commitment to peace that needs to be acknowledged. As the preamble of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979 indicates, "... the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields".

According to Stephenson (2009: 133) defeating the cultural ethos that paves the way for gender discrimination and violence against women can only be achieved through transforming structural socio-economic and political conditions that promote gender inequality. Raj (2001: 168) argues that specific instruments, such as the CEDAW, call for equality between women and men by imposing obligations on states to modify or abolish discriminatory laws in areas of politics, education, the work environment, marriage and legal representation. However, Raj (2001: 168) adds that the protection capabilities of CEDAW are curtailed due to heavy reservations by governments, particularly states using Sharia Law as their legal code of governance. Similarly, Anderlini and El-Bushara (2004: 6) advocate for the aspiration of achieving more egalitarian relations between men and women that are based on equality, justice and mutual respect. In a similar account, Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 103) argue that while women have made a tremendous contribution to integrated peace-building, for most of the twentieth century, women and issues of gender were largely ignored or marginalized rather than mainstreamed. The twenty-first century has not been any different: although a host of policies (as discussed above) have been established, women continue to be marginalized in most peace-building processes. Therefore, Anderlini and El-Bushara (2004: 5) are right when they observe that:

Women's profiles in peacebuilding, as in many other areas of life, have been unrealistically low and undervalued. Yet, in conflicts and war-torn countries across the world, women are often at the forefront of peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts. They are leading households, caring for the sick and the old and sustaining and ensuring the survival of their families and communities. Even in refugee camps and despite their own traumas or victimization, women shoulder the responsibilities of others.

Sixteen years after the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, women's participation in peace-building processes is still relatively low. According to the UN Women (2012: 2) report, the standard number of women participating in peace negotiations in official roles as mediators, negotiators, signatories or even witnesses remains notably low. Statistically, the same report observes that data on women in peace talks is scarce, as this information is not consistently tracked by any authority (UN Women 2012: 3). To quote the report:

A study undertaken in 2008, which scanned 33 peace negotiations, found that only 4 per cent of participants, 11 out of 280, were women, and that the average participation of women on government negotiating delegations was, at 7 per cent, higher than on the delegations of non-State armed groups. 8 own limited but reasonably representative sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011 reveals that only 4 per cent of signatories, 2.4 per cent of chief mediators, 3.7 per cent of witnesses and 9 per cent of negotiators are women. Last year's negotiations in Oslo regarding the Philippines, with 33% of female signatories and 35% of women on delegations to reach the 2011 agreement, represent a stand-out high point without which the average number of women in the cases we have tracked drops to 3% of signatories and 7.5% of negotiators (UN Women 2012: 3).

On the same issue, Thornton and Whiteman (2013: 113) argue that while the use of quotas encourages the participation of women, and is often encouraged in policy debates, women are simply recognized as one part of a complex equation. This argument is buttressed by Johnson and Rehn (2002: 81) when they state:

Certainly, quotas alone cannot guarantee the emergence of a "gender perspective" in the political process – although one is more likely to develop when a critical mass of women are in decision-making positions. We recognize that especially when numbers are small and cultural barriers enormous, quotas can only put women in power; they cannot guarantee that grass-roots concerns will be addressed (Johnson and Rehn 2002: 81).

While attempts have been made to bring women to the peace table, they are still lagging behind, especially in post-conflict settings - such as refugee settings where women are largely marginalized. Refugee women are still regarded as victims, as opposed to agents of change. For instance: the UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security does not specifically include refugee women as partners in peace-making (O' Reilly 2013). Freedman (2007: 133) argues that as much as women deserve protection and are vulnerable in certain circumstances, it is wrong to assume that they are merely vulnerable victims

who cannot help to change their situation. That is why Sonneveld (2015: 1) argues that rather than regarding women primarily as victims, it is essential that women's meaningful participation be prioritized and that they be actively present in all realms of conflict prevention, resolution, peace-building and decision-making processes in government. In the same vein, Schirch (2004: 17) asserts that while a dominated worldview creates a foundation for violence, the value of partnership is an alternative to this relationship; therefore, when relationships are egalitarian and based on values of partnership, rather than domination, people cooperate with, and empower, each other to meet mutual needs.

According to O' Reilly (2013: 58), the onus of reducing discrimination in society lies on both men and women because discrimination has mainly been created by gender hierarchies which are socially constructed, and maintained through power structures that relegate women to subordination. Many theorists therefore contend that unless societies reconcile unbalanced power relations between men and women, insecurities and conflict will persist (Thornton and Whiteman 2013: 106). For instance, feminists discourse maintains that although the aftermath of war often provides an opening in which gender relations can be changed, in many cases gendered hierarchies of power are reconstructed and espoused in the transition from war to peace (O' Reilly 2013: 58).

According to Hayward *et al.* (2008: 196), although refugee women are normal people who are forced to deal with anomalous and distressing situations, they tend to be socially constructed as victims who are needy, with no capacity to help themselves out of their situations. UN Women (2012: 26) disputes this perception by arguing that the dearth of women in peace processes cannot be justified by their alleged lack of experience in conflict resolution or negotiations, but instead, it is because of a reluctance to mainstream them in formal peace processes. In the same vein, Gozdzia (2008: 188) argues that conceptualizing gender as a relational dimension of human activity and thought allows for the acknowledgement of refugee women in varied positions within the community: as heads of refugee households, orphaned girls and rural or urban refugee women in relation to the different category of men as husbands, fathers, brothers and clan leaders among other roles. Moreover, Pillay (2006: 3) argues that the fundamental system of gender-based discrimination and violence is more severe in the traditional forms of violence such as: female genital mutilation, physical abuse, forced marriage and dowry killing. Pillay (2006: 3) concludes that there is need for men to foster women's participation at all levels of peace-building, adding that it is the role of men in every society to first accept women's capacity to contribute to peace-building efforts in conflict and post-conflict settings, and then work hand in hand with them to bring peace in communities, with each one of them having a role to play.

One can, therefore, deduce that conflict transformation can only be possible when present patriarchal gender relations are completely transformed in order to achieve egalitarian relations between men and women. In his view, Marinova (2003: 7) asserts thus:

Men and boys must be included in the search for gender equality by creating a large scale and broad social consensus on a range of issues that previously have been marginalized as issues only of importance to women when in fact they are often also issues for men; by developing effective partnerships not only between women and men, but between a range of institutions and organizations; increasingly and patiently isolate and marginalize those men working to preserve men's power and privilege; raise the next generation of boys and girls in a framework of gender equity and equality; changing the attitudes and behaviour of men and boys, improve the lives of women and girls in the home, workplace and community.

3.9 The Identity of Refugee Women

Life as a refugee or a displaced person is disempowering for men and women, boys and girls alike. Refugees live not only with a myriad of practical problems, but with the constant mental torment of their uprooting. Yet, it is important to recognize that refugee women are an extra-ordinarily constructive force (Kumin 2008: 226).

According to Atiri (2009: 273), identity is a reflection of people's experience and emphasizes issues of origin, kinship, gender, culture and history. Atiri (2009: 273) adds that the acknowledgement of women is important because women lie at the root of social reproduction in which kinship is transferred from one generation to another. For Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 20), self-identity is recognized to be a central part of who we are as humans, and it is an important aspect of mental wellbeing. Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 14) further states that the concept of identity is enormously debated in contemporary criticism so that legitimacy occupies a pivotal place in any investigation related to refugees. Indeed, for refugee women, who have been displaced, defining their identity is particularly challenging on account of their displacement experiences. For example, due to the multiple challenges they go through to fend for their families after losing a husband, brother or elder in the family who was formerly their source of livelihood: women find it hard to define themselves. According to Isis WICCE (2014: 54), the loss also creates a sense of emptiness, especially for mothers who lost their children and for families who lost heads of household.

Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 38) highlights the plight of women refugees' right after conflict, trying to explain their process of identity transformation specifically. In what he defines as "de-selving" and "re-selving", Hajdukowski-Ahmed argues that refugee women, more than men, find themselves unequally located in marginalizing structures where they are forced to confront forces of de-selving which enter a dialogical relationship with the experience of re-selving (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 38). He further argues that from the moment they are forcibly uprooted from their familiar environment, refugee women are situated within a constant process of de-selving, of deprivation of their agency in various forms, extending even to the extreme of physical annihilation (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 38). Their new location or situation challenges their sense of self, which is constantly renegotiated as they rebuild their lives, which process may open up new possibilities (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 29-30).

However, de-selving is not a loss of culture or identity, instead, it is a gradual erosion of agency imposed by the organizations, spatial configurations, laws and relationships that refugees confront in their refugee experience. Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008:38) argues that refugee women are shackled by de-selving, which is rooted within the patriarchal power relationships that affect them differently from men, but also as result of the various forms of oppression that men subject them to. Refugee women are de-selved when gender roles are affected in relocation by: interruption of status, power hierarchies, geographical dispersion of kindred networks and loss of economic support. Above all of these external pressures, refugee women also face SGBV which leads them into a form of passivity, which affects their loss of self-identity, agency and mental health. According to Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008:38), while the various forms of objectification in the form of SGBV that refugee women encounter are intended to de-selve them, the gender-specific persecution that they encounter in refugee settings is considered to be private-domain matter, which curtails intervention to solve the problem.

In addition, de-selving occurs when women's agency is curtailed by those who are meant to protect them. For example, while in refugee camps or settlements, refugee women are under the protection of states and humanitarian organizations, which, in spite of some progress, fail to include them in meaningful ways of decision-making (Haliso 2009; Krause 2014). Moreover, when war and poverty separate women and children from men, the separation reinforces the tendency to construct women and children as a single entity in popular press and scholarly works alike, although the identities and needs of each group are vastly different (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 38). Conversely, while de-selving is mainly characterized by the ill-treatment of refugee women as vulnerable beings or blank pages (as if they had no education, no occupation or life before their flight), refugee women are active agents in the construction of their identities and in exemplifying resilience amidst their multiple personal and systematic challenges (Schafer 2003).

Amidst all the frustration and hopelessness caused by tensions that arise from their daily experiences, refugee women seize new circumstances as opportunities for emancipation and self-affirmation (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 39). However, cultural norms acceptable to the domicile nations of women refugees exacerbate their situations. Such norms include acceptance of chastisement of women, relegating women to the status of children, and the subordination of women. Daenzer (2008: 232) observes that the persecution which women face is often not seen as a violation of their rights because such persecution was often part of the customs and practices of cultural groups, usually taking place in the private sphere before flight. Hence, the fate of refugee women is two-pronged: they face persecution both because they are women and because they are refugees. Often times, in what Hajdukowski-Ahmed (2008: 39) calls "strategic essentialism", refugee women assume a temporary unified position to achieve a particular goal. For example, they feign to obey the cultural norms and conventions to protect themselves and their families (Hajdukowski-Ahmed 2008: 39). Despite their efforts for self-

determination, they still struggle to have their voices heard and their needs met, in the face of setbacks of cultural norms that impede their identity transformation.

Hovil (2012: 4) argues that whilst displacement is a trademark of many of today's wars and their aftermath, legislation and mechanisms that deal with its legacies lag far behind, which partly explains why SGBV is still widespread and permeates all aspects of forced migration. That is why, as Stephenson (2009: 133) notes, efforts to attain gender balance, particularly in the sphere of women's rights, continue to be essential; while states have slowly understood the discourse of respect for women's rights, the full realization of these rights across the globe remains elusive. This in part because, humanitarian agencies have often failed to consider the fact that before their flight, refugees were entirely independent, with their own self-sufficiency networks; although, as refugees, they are totally reliant on international and national protection for survival (Haliso 2009: 98), which has led to their loss of self-confidence.

The above discussion leads to the realization that women refugees have the potential to be a constructive force to advocate for their rights through their agency. Despite this progress, the average refugee woman is unaware of the policies, guidelines and other available tools to protect herself from SGBV. For example, in the 1980s and '90s, the Working Group on Refugee Women, together with a Coalition of different NGOs pressurized the UNHCR to tackle the situation of women refugees and asylum seekers, arranging meetings to coincide with the executive committee meetings at the UNHCR, and lobbying to ensure that refugee women's issues and issues of equality were recognized (Forbes 2004). Now it is time to concentrate on translating the afore-mentioned policies into action in the field and on marshalling the contribution of refugee women to building lasting peace. As such, reducing violence against refugee women ought to be seen as a key strategy for achieving development in general, with policy awareness and support needs that focus on understanding women's own pathways in tackling the continuing plague of SGBV, principally in Third World countries (Manuh 2010: 1).

3.10 Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to discuss the international legal and institutional instruments on SGBV and their applicability to the refugee situation. I have also discussed the weaknesses of the international legal instruments and the paradox of culture and the international legal policies in the context of the situation of refugee women. I have also outlined the background to Uganda's position as a refugee-hosting country, the laws pertaining to citizenship as provided for in the 1995 Constitution of Uganda and finally, the state of refugee rights in Uganda alongside the 1951 UNHCR Convention (to which Uganda is a signatory). I have indicated that there has been a historical pitfall in the instruments Uganda has established, including the CAR Act and the RLA of 2006. Among these pitfalls, the stringent rules that curtail the refugees' freedom of movement within and beyond the country, and forced repatriation

have emerged as the main problems. I have also illuminated the issue of SGBV, showing that while it is common in conflict situations, women in refugee camps and settlements are even more vulnerable. Regarding understanding women's rights as human rights, I have noted that while both women and men experience identity transformation during war, women experience it differently because war is a gendered phenomenon (Sjoberg 2006: 901).

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW THE CONTINUUM OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

4 Introduction

Today, there are extensive accounts of SGBV against women in post-conflict settings, with refugee women more affected by this violence than any other population of women in the world (Forbes 2004). According to the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC), while SGBV traverses all societies, refugee women and girls have disproportionately been affected because they have less means of protection and are placed in situations where their human rights may be disregarded (WCRWC 2002). This is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, relegating women to subordinate positions compared to their male counterparts (Manjoo and McRaith 2011). This reinforces gender inequality, which in the long run has deep-reaching ramifications for women, especially in conflict-related situations. In the history of all human conflicts, armies have sexually abused and enslaved women and girls with complete impunity, in what some may have deemed as a natural process of war (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 8). Sex-specific violence and discrimination have not received the same attention as other human rights abuses. For example, Valji (2001) argues that if a person is murdered because of his or her political affiliation, the world responds with outrage, but if a person is beaten or allowed to die because she is female, the world disregards it as a cultural norm.

It is against this background that this chapter reviews literature on issues pertaining to SGBV against women in refugee settings, showing the extent to which this crime is committed, the causes of SGBV and its effects on the physical and social wellbeing of refugee women. Section I examines the causes and consequences of SGBV against women in refugee settlements. The section also reviews the problems women refugees face as a result of the on-going patriarchal domination in refugee settings. Section II examines the case of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, examining its causes and consequences. Section II also reviews literature on the livelihoods of the two major nationalities in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the Congolese and the Rwandese.

4.1 The Continuum of SGBV in Refugee Settings

Measuring the levels of SGBV in any community is quite complex because estimates vary from one researcher to another, depending on how they define SGBV and the research methods they adopt in

their studies. Various studies have proved that violence against women is a widespread phenomenon that pervades all countries (Forbes 2004; WHO 2005; PADEAP 2010), and that the perpetrators of SGBV are sometimes well known to their victims (UNHCR 2003; Arief 2010). Worldwide, one in every three women has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused during her lifetime (Hynes and Cardozo 2000: 819). The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development unlike the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is more ambitious, with a standalone goal on gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls: envisaging the eradication of violence against them and building peaceful, resilient, equitable and inclusive societies (UN Women 2015b: 3). Studies also reveal that despite the steps taken by various international actors to reduce SGBV in conflict and post-conflict situations, the number of SGBV incidents is increasing (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007; Manjoo and McRaith 2011). Refugees are especially vulnerable to gender-based violence during war, during flight from war, and in post-war settings such as refugee camps and settlements (Hynes and Cardozo 2000: 819). Unfortunately, in spite of the persistent increase in the number of SGBV cases, donor aid to refugees has been significantly reduced (GAO 2003; Oxfam 2005), making it difficult for anti-SGBV activists to increase their efforts proportionately.

Research findings show that the continuum of the prevalent levels of SGBV against women is complex because most estimates reflect a degree of under-reporting attributable to cultural beliefs and norms that promote silence or taciturnity regarding SGBV (Chan 2007; Amnesty-International 2010; Fulu *et al.* 2013). Ganeshpanchan (2005: 2) also argues that the breakdown of civil society caused by instability in the aftermath of armed conflict, also leads to under-reporting. In his own words:

During conflict, there is a breakdown in the extended family structures and community relationships. This takes away all informal mechanisms such as family heads, village and religious leaders who would act as arbitrators if women did not want to use the legal system. Such informal help will not be available in displacement and women have to rely only on the available service providers for assistance (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 2).

Under-reporting keeps many SGBV cases out of the public sphere, thereby allowing perpetrators to commit crimes with gendered impunity, and preventing key actors from identifying and analyzing prevalence rates, developing effective policies and improved solutions to address violence (WHO 2001: 15). This eventually reinforces the vicious cycle of SGBV in conflict-related communities. In an interview by the FIDH, assessing sexual violence conducted in Jordan, Sulzer (2012: 13) explains this sad scenario:

The social stigma attached to having been subject to sexual and other forms of gender-based violence is very strong in Syria. Conservative cultural and religious norms, particularly in rural and southern areas of Syria, forbid women and girls from talking freely about intimate and private issues such as sexual violence and other forms of violence against women.

SECTION I

4.2 Introduction

This section examines the varied causes and consequences of SGBV in refugee settings. Three major causes of SGBV have been identified: poverty, patriarchal ideology and war. According to the Women's-Refugee-Commission (2013), one of the causes of SGBV is poverty and its attendant dependence on others for survival. When people, especially women, are poor, they have to depend on others for survival, and this dependence renders them vulnerable to exploitation, including sexual exploitation by the economically stable people (Ganeshpanchan 2005). Manjoo and McRaith (2011) identify the second and third causes of SGBV as patriarchal ideology (norms), which is used to dominate, and war itself, the aggressive character of which reinforces patriarchal ideology and poverty to intensify cases of SGBV. In refugee settings, the protracted nature of refugee status may be considered as the fourth cause of SGBV because it predisposes refugees to poverty and maintains or sustains patriarchal ideologies or cultural norms. As Loescher *et al.* (2008: 15-16) explain, a protracted refugee status poses a challenge to host governments which strive to provide sustainable solutions to the problems of the ever-increasing population in refugee settlements, leaving refugees in a state of want. In such cases, refugee women have to depend on humanitarian aid, granted to them through formal international or national assistance systems, or take on new economic roles to support their families and themselves (Forbes 2004: 15). When humanitarian aid is inadequate or absent and income-generation opportunities are limited or unavailable, refugee women often find themselves having to accept material assistance in exchange for sex, if only to sustain the families many of them head. Moreover, refugee women are overtly affected by violence, as victims of both conflict-related violence in terms of sexual abuse and domestic abuse after conflict (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 1). As such, the UNHCR (2003: 25) observes that understanding the causes of SGBV provides effective actions to prevent it.

Moreover, understanding the consequences of SGBV opens avenues to develop appropriate response packages for victims and survivors. As already noted, the consequences are varied and they include: frustration as a result of poverty, emotional torture, death as a result of domestic violence, marginalization of the vulnerable and discrimination. Significantly, SGBV is cyclic and the different causes of SGBV can also manifest themselves as effects of SGBV. Therefore, ideal interventions to prevent or respond to SGBV should stem from identifying the root causes and targeting individuals, close relationships, the community and society in general (UNHCR 2003). The causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement are discussed broadly below.

4.2.1 Gender Stereotyping and Power Inequalities

According to Mulumba (2005: 175-182), gender stereotypes start from early childhood when boys and girls are socialized by learning about gender role expectations. Marinova (2003: 3) adds that while growing up, girls are associated with playing with dolls and learning how to prepare food and become nurturers while boys are associated with cars and weapons, are advised to perform different sports, and are groomed to be the “masters of the world”. Indeed, gender stereotypes are entrenched within the traditionally sanctioned roles of men and women which link men to masculinity and women to femininity, creating relationships structured in a way that asymmetrically benefits men and women. While stereotypes describe perceptions about men and women, they also prescribe how men and women ought to behave in order to fulfil their varied gender expectations (Jasmine and Wendy 2015: 115). For instance, stereotypically feminine communal traits, such as: helping others, being unassertive and selfless, are embedded within culturally constructed roles. Conversely, men are regarded as assertive, rational and strong. Nonetheless, conflict opens avenues in which gender norms and stereotypes can be debunked and discredited, although women need to be organized in order to be a part of this process as agents of change (Pillay 2006: 3).

Gender stereotyping has both social and psychological effects upon individuals and on the communities in which they belong (Jasmine and Wendy 2015: 115). For example, it may affect not only their mode of thinking and identity but also the way they relate with others, affecting their ability to perform specific tasks. In the global South, stereotypes have greater effects because women are traditionally expected to be submissive to men, thus creating power inequalities which fuel their subjectivity (Krause 2014: 41). Gender stereotyping of this nature leads to unequal power relations and discriminate against of women in public spheres. To end this jeopardy, Marinova (2003: 4) suggests that:

The engagement of men and boys in achieving gender equality requires much greater attention to gender stereotypes and expectations about men’s roles and responsibilities, and how these expectations influence male behaviour. Such stereotypes continue to place greater emphasis, as well as greater value, on the role of men and boys in public life and in the work place, as opposed to women’s role in unpaid family labour, care giving and community work.

According to Marinova (2003: 5), there is a strong belief that power is associated with physical strength. This belief has partly contributed to physical violence against women. For example, sexual violence that occurs during and after conflict is related to the stereotype of “powerful men” and “weak women” (Marinova 2003). In a study entitled *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence* in the DRC (Baaz and Stern 2010), gender principles are linked to unbalanced power relations as well as SGBV that manifests equally in peace time. In addition, gendered power imbalances are entrenched in the construction and reconstruction of gender norms, which regulate the character and behaviour of good women and good men (Baaz and Stern 2010: 42). Baaz and Stern (2010: 41) further assert that

the power of rape depends partly on gender ideologies, by arguing that some gender stereotypes are stimulated through an act of sexual violence. For instance, whilst femininity is related to a need for protection, peace and life-giving, masculinity is associated with virtues such as ability to protect and bravery; and this has rendered women and girls particularly vulnerable to the logics of rape in conflict and post-conflict settings (Baaz and Stern 2010: 41). An example of this is in DRC where sexual violence became a widespread phenomenon during the civil war which broke out in 1998, targeting mainly women and girls (Wood 2008: 348; Samset 2012: 229).

During the war, men (invariably the perpetrators) used their power to conquer and subdue the population, since a female body in many cultures represents the whole nation due to women's culturally ascribed nurturing role (Baaz and Stern 2010: 41; Samset 2012: 233-235). Atiri (2009: 274) reaffirms this by stating that rape is used to humiliate women and by extension their ethnic groups. This shows that men use their position in society (traditionally accustomed as protectors) both to violate women sexually and to satisfy their selfish, ethnic or national interests. As Samset (2012: 236) argues, sexual violence against women in the DRC constituted a symbolic attack on the community's source of continued life, as the physical and psychological effects reduced the ability of women to carry on with their traditionally ascribed roles of reproduction and nurturing. Rape was also used as a weapon of war, mainly for the entrenchment of patriarchal norms which are reinforced by gender stereotypes (Marinova 2003). Samset (2012: 236) concludes that in, believing this stereotype, we concur that indeed men should serve in public spaces, like the military while women should just stay home as mothers to reproduce and nurture children. Men use their strength in war to rape women who are purportedly believed to be the weaker sex.

Fulu *et al.* (2013: 92) argue that decades of work by activists and scholars have shown how gender inequality and masculinity have created an environment in which SGBV is prevalent and normalized. Underlying many acts of SGBV in conflict-affected environments are cultural beliefs about the subsidiary status of women alongside male dominance and power (Fulu *et al.* 2013). This argument proves that violence against women is primarily a product of gender inequality, revealing the ethos of the society in which the violence occurs. For example, perceptions of ideal femininity, which relate femininity to ideals of chastity and virginity, play a vital role of conceptualizing rape as a shameful act that leads to humiliation of the victim (Baaz and Stern 2010: 42). Further effects of this include the raped woman being rejected by her husband or family, or being labelled as unsuitable for marriage. Various scholars argue that conflict-related SGBV is linked to peace-time gender ideologies and gendered power relations (Baaz and Stern 2010; Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani 2012). Therefore, it is unequivocally true that while patriarchal culture is violent, violence is something that is learnt (Marinova 2003: 3).

On the other hand, studies reveal that sexual violence is a complex issue for victims to discuss because in some cultures sex is a taboo topic, implying that to report rape is to violate culturally ingrained norms of privacy leading to the under-reporting of cases of rape (Ganeshpanchan 2005; Sherwood and Liebling-Kalifani 2012; Krause 2014). For example, during her research on an FIDH assessment mission in Jordan, in December 2012, Sulzer found that norms, such as not talking freely about sexual violence, persist amongst Syrian refugee populations in Jordan, leading to under-reporting of such cases (Sulzer 2012: 13). Moreover, in some African traditions, it is believed that a raped woman is unclean and untouchable (Krause 2014), which discourages many raped women and girls from reporting rape cases. As a matter of fact, gender stereotyping of women, especially in the global South, negates their access to justice, thus hindering any probable efforts to overcome violence against women within refugee communities.

Ganeshpanchan (2005: 3) argues that women who are subjected to domestic violence are often reluctant to seek redress because of the pressure from their families and societies which advise them not to report the crimes, coupled with the feeling of intimidation and fear of retaliation from their abusers. Indeed, in many communities, rape is regarded as a disgraceful act to the victim's family and community. According to UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 14), in many cases, victims suffer the secondary impact of rejection by their families and communities, which forces women and girls in this predicament into prostitution as their only means of survival. In addition, myths (illustrated in Table 4.1. below) about sexual violence against women make it hard for women to access justice for the atrocities committed against them. According to WHO (2003: 10):

Prevailing myths affect the way in which society responds to rape and rape victims. When prevailing myths go unchallenged, rape is supported, justified, and even condoned. Myths tend to be victim-blaming; instead of holding the perpetrator responsible for his behaviour, the victim is blamed and held responsible for the assault, especially in cases where the victim knows the perpetrator. Often, victims of sexual violence are simply not believed. These circumstances make it much more difficult for victims to seek help and recover from their experience.

Table 4. 1 Common Myths And Facts About Sexual Violence (Source, WHO 2003: 11)

MYTH	FACT
Sex is the primary motivation for rape	Power, anger, dominance and control are the main motivating factors for rape
Only certain types of women are raped	Any woman can be a victim of rape. However, many people believe women who are of high moral character ("good girls") don't get raped and that females of low moral character ("bad girls") do get raped
Women falsely report rape	Only a very small percentage of reported rapes are thought to be false reports
Rape is perpetrated by a stranger	The vast majority of rapes are perpetrated by a known assailant
Rape involves a great deal of physical violence	Most rapes do not involve a great deal of physical force. The majority of victims report that they were afraid of receiving serious injuries or of being killed and so offered little resistance to the attack. This may also explain why little force or weapons are needed to subdue victims.
Rape leaves obvious signs of injury	Because most rapes do not involve a significant amount of force there may be no physical injuries. Just because a person has no physical injuries does not mean they were not raped. Only approximately one-third of rape victims sustain visible physical injuries
When women say "no" to sex	"No" means no; a woman's wishes in this regard should be they actually mean "yes".
Sex workers cannot be raped	Any man or woman, regardless of his/her involvement in the commercial sex industry, can be raped. Studies show that a significant proportion of male and female sex workers have been raped by their clients, the police or their partners
A man cannot rape his wife	Any forced sex or forced sexual activity constitutes rape, regardless of whether or not the woman is married to the perpetrator. Unfortunately, many jurisdictions have marital rape exemptions in their laws; although married women are subject to rape by their husbands the law does not recognize it as such.
Rape is reported immediately	The majority of rapes are never reported to the police. Of those that are reported, most are done so more than 24 hours after the incident. Victims do not report at all or delay reporting because they think nothing will be done, the perpetrator may have made threats against them or their families, they are afraid of family or community responses or they are ashamed; some victims simply feel that it is a private matter or do not know where to report the incident.

Therefore, the social stigma attached to rape creates an intense form of psychological stress caused by the victim being rejected by her family and community (Sulzer 2012). In this regard, a question that remains to be answered is whether refugee victims of rape are able to receive justice under such pressure, especially when they are often blamed by those who are supposed to help them heal and recover from this tragedy. Whilst it may occur in public contexts, SGBV is also entrenched in individual attitudes that disregard violence within the family, the community and the State (UNHCR 2003: 14).

Nonetheless, gender stereotypes do not exist in a vacuum: they are related to the socially constructed roles of men and women in society, thus excluding women and girls from the public arena, and making them vulnerable to violence. Marinova (2003: 4) argues that these stereotyped male and female roles not only curtail progress in achieving gender equality, but also reinforce inequalities and constitute hindrances to men's engagement in redressing gender inequalities. For example, the stereotypical thinking that men are responsible for heading households and making decisions while women raise

children and take care of domestic work (Krause 2014: 35) testifies to the existence of inequality and power imbalance between women and men, relegating women to positions of inequality in social and economic spaces (UNHCR 2003: 12). Therefore, it can be said that the causes of SGBV are entrenched in a society's attitudes towards women, and in practices of gender discrimination, which relegate women to places of subordination (UNHCR 2003: 21). The marginalization of women in economic spheres and their traditionally consigned gender roles reinforce the assumption that men have the right to decision-making over women. That is why Wood (2008: 344) is right in stating that there is a need to change gender norms and practices which discriminate against women if SGBV is to be reduced or eliminated. Wood's view is echoed by Marinova (2003: 4) who states:

Changing patterns of production and reproduction are also indicative of changes in gender relations which challenge traditional images and expectations associated with men's as well as women's roles, such as those of breadwinner, care giver, or head of household. Therefore, there is a need for a reassessment of the roles and responsibilities of women and men, of stereotypical and traditional gender roles, and of existing power relations between women and men.

4.2.2 Patriarchal Subjugation and Violence against Women

Patriarchy simply refers to male domination both in public and private spaces. According to Chan (2007: 21), patriarchy contributes to violence within families when men apply violence to exercise their position of dominance over their wives or children. Various studies show that patriarchy reinforces SGBV which, at times, is reinforced by the officials that are delegated to protect the victim (UNHCR 2003; UN OCHA/IRIN 2007). Violence against women is rooted in power and the structural imbalances between women and men, and it acts as a tool for keeping the status quo of male dominance (UN General-Assembly 2006). One of the ways in which to enact masculinity is through violence which is used to assert male identity, and is often resorted to when more satisfactory manifestations of masculinity, such as employment and a steady income, are lacking (UN General-Assembly 2006). Moreover, the social system maintains violence against women through supporting, facilitating and enforcing patriarchal ethos. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1948) maintains that violence against women is a demonstration of traditionally uneven power relationships between males and females, which have led to the power over and bigotry against women, thus curtailing the progress of women (PADEAP 2010: 11). Therefore, it can be rightfully argued that violence is used as a mechanism to endorse and bolster masculinity within societies where dominance over women creates an environment of normalizing the culture of violence (Fulu *et al.* 2013: 92).

Social inequality, based on patriarchal domination in refugee settlements, subjects women to male domination and suppresses the voices, feelings and thoughts of those women. Fulu *et al.* (2013: 5) argue that these acts of SGBV are interpreted as an ethos of masculinity that stimulates male dominance over women, and emphasizes aggressive masculine ideals that are significantly associated with the

perpetration of rape. These conceptions of power and dominance are clearly articulated by the World Health Organization (WHO 2003: 9):

Sexual violence is an aggressive act. The underlying factors in many sexually violent acts are power and control, not, as is widely perceived, a craving for sex. Rarely is it a crime of passion. It is rather a violent, aggressive and hostile act used to degrade, dominate, humiliate, terrorize and control women.

It is the same conceptions of power and dominance that explain why most women and girls have experienced SGBV in silence: in most African societies sexual violence against women and girls is considered normal and justified rather than criminal; and victims are often blamed and stigmatized (UNHCR 2003). For example, scholars argue that in the DRC, women and girls are subjugated by traditional values and norms which relegate them to domestic roles in society (Human-Rights-Watch 2002; Isis WICCE 2014). On the other hand, PADEAP (2010: 22) observes that patriarchy in refugee settings, just like in other communities, is entrenched in relationship structures under which men are taught to be resource managers while women are socialised to adopt reproductive roles within a family. Ganeshpanchan (2005: 2) argues that forced displacement erodes the potential prospects for women to engage in economic activities, denying them an opportunity to be self-sufficient and forcing them to remain dependent on others within the community. Such dependency makes women vulnerable to SGBV. As Ganeshpanchan (2005: 2) observes:

Many women feel that they are compelled to be silent and continue to live in violent relationships for the sake of their marriages or their children. Most women are also economically dependent on the perpetrators while there is the added burden of the stigma attached to divorce or being a single mother in many societies. The fear of not being able to support and maintain themselves and their children and the social implications are important factors that prevent women leaving violent relationships

However, as Grabska (2011) and Isis WICCE (2014) observe, although displacement of refugees from their homes to refugee settings creates unanticipated negative consequences, it also creates possibilities for re-structuring gender and social relationships, including personal identities and attitudes. These opportunities may, in turn, permit women to traverse cultural norms that originally hindered them from progressing and having economic self-sustainability (Krause 2014).

On the other hand, male violence against women could also be caused by men's perceptions of being disempowered by war or conflict and by situations in which varied socio-economic structural changes after conflict affect their perception of both their rights and roles, and those of women (Baaz and Stern 2010; Fulu *et al.* 2013). Indeed, post-conflict refugee situation depict this kind of an environment in which gendered roles of men and women change. Men also become dependent on humanitarian aid, and their role as family heads is undermined, whilst women may be emancipated from the subjugating

cultural norms they experienced back home. For example, in cases where they receive humanitarian assistance, such as food, men may feel powerless and helpless due to their inability to fulfil their traditionally consigned role of providing for and protecting their families (Vann 2002; Forbes 2004).

The transition from conflict areas to refugee camps or settlements may thus break the patriarchal systems, causing male refugees to feel that they are emasculated by the new gender paradigm. Shteir (2014: 31) argues that when men feel that their identity as providers and protectors has been abused in refugee settings, they suffer psychological stress which may lead to them performing acts of sexual harassment on women and girls. Such a situation, accruing from conflict or war (and is defined by poverty, vulnerability and dependence) forces men to release their pent-up frustrations on women through SGBV (Forbes 2004; Baaz and Stern 2010). In a study conducted by Al-Matalka (2014: 191), about 70% women are known to have been abused by their unemployed husbands (18%). In this respect, the WCRWC (2005: 8) argues that the impact of unemployment can be devastating and emasculating, causing depression among men who may be besieged by hopelessness and feelings of lost identity, which may lead to SGBV.

Similarly, Lwambo (2013: 52) argues that masculinity is an invariable endorsement of power that is defined by a man's aptitude to perform and affirm its ethos. However, WCRWC (2005) and Lwambo (2013) argue that as part of masculinity, men are culturally consigned to be leaders, providers and protectors. Therefore, by virtue of their responsibility, they ought to behave peacefully towards their kindred and community members, be dependable, good representatives and conflict-solvers. Paradoxically, though, the culture of masculinity and patriarchy in post-conflict settings, such as in refugee camps and settlements, has reinforced the problem of SGBV against women. Lwambo (2013: 55) illustrates this paradox with an example from DRC:

[...] the conflict-laden relation between idealised masculinities and actual realities noted in international gender research exists also in the Congolese context. The particularity here is that social change and the consequences of war overlap. In Congo, men have not only lost their ability to provide, but as victims of violence and in not being able to protect their families, men's physical strength and general dominance is challenged. A few men are in a process of reshaping or re-attributing their ideas of masculinity, but the majority cling to the ideal of male dominance that places pressure on both women and men. However, men's beliefs, attitudes, and practices around sex roles are part of their identity and therefore not easily disposed of.

While the above circumstances were observed in DRC, they also manifest among Congolese refugees in Uganda because wars do not change gender-power relations (Isis WICCE 2014: 63), although conflict or war, and their resultant distress, change the ideals of manhood (Lwambo 2013: 59). Moreover, while domestic and sexual violence are normalized in eastern DRC, the ideals of manhood as aggressive and powerful, are often used to justify the acts of violence (Lwambo 2013; Isis WICCE

2014). There is also a tendency to see women in conflict merely as victims, especially given the recent attention paid to gender-based violence in places such as Darfur and eastern DRC (Kulp 2009: 208). Nonetheless, Kulp argues that while they are usually victimized during civil conflict, women can also play diverse roles as peacemakers, community leaders and even active participants in violence (Kulp 2009: 208).

Patriarchy influences both women and men alike. As such, there is a need for a broad gender perception which accounts for patriarchy's deficiency, and presents avenues for a structural transformation that may lead to a just, peaceful and egalitarian environment. While a transformation of male attitudes toward women in society is essential, it is fundamental to identify how patriarchy influences gender. Feminists posit that while culture seems to have improved and to be changing in African societies, the ethos of patriarchy is still a hindrance to the role of women in society. This analysis is confirmed by the WHO (2005: 9) report which posits that the perception that home is a place of safety for women has been challenged because women are more at risk of experiencing SGBV from people that are close to them. In this case, refugee women (for whom refugee settlements are now home) are more vulnerable to the SGBV prevalent within refugee settlements (Ganeshpanchan 2005: 1). As the WHO (2005: 10) report affirms, "...each culture has its sayings and songs about the importance of home and the comfort and security to be found there. Yet, for many women, home is a place of pain and humiliation".

One can, therefore, conclude that patriarchy has caused more harm than good in societies that practice it, disproportionately and adversely affecting women and girls. Hans (2008: 71) argues that the problems women face, including domestic violence, subordination, discrimination from public spheres and rape, are as a result of centuries of patriarchal domination. That is why Hans (2008: 71) notes that there is a need to confront such cultural ethos even in refugee settlements and camps. This is possible because refugee settings provide an opportunity for change and for keeping patriarchy in abeyance; although the question of whether or not the situation changes when the women go back home is another story and another opportunity. The following accounts demonstrate that the problems refugee women and girls face are physical, economic and psychological.

- **Physical**

Rape is one of the most widespread crimes against women and girls during and after conflict, and it has been qualified as a weapon of war due to its gravity. Refugee women face rape at the hands of militias during war, and also from the humanitarian and relief workers who are supposed to protect them and provide them with the assistance that they need (Lewis 2006). For instance, according to UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 23-24), humanitarian agency officials, such as peacekeepers, have been reported to use commercial sex workers and other women in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Timor Leste, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the DRC; this is a criminal case that is tantamount to sexual assault on the part of

peacekeeping mission personnel. While cases of rape against women are rampant, finding justice for women and girls has proved to be a daunting challenge for the victims, due to the ethos of hegemonic masculinity. This is particularly true in India where cultural norms bar a victim of rape from reporting the case, and instead encourage the family and the victim to marry her off to the perpetrator, on the pretext that “if he raped her, he probably likes her” (Kristof 2015). In the same vein, Ganeshpanchan (2005: 3) argues that in most cases, women who are victims of domestic violence are usually hesitant to seek redress because they are cautioned by their families and communities not to report such cases, and they also fear retaliation from the perpetrator.

The UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 12) observes that although peace talks commenced in the DRC in 2002, the inadequate laws of eastern DRC invariably make women and girls vulnerable to sexual violence. In the same study, it is reported that during the research study conducted in South Kivu in 2005, 79% of the women who had been sexually assaulted by between two and twenty perpetrators narrated their experiences of sexual abuse. In the words of one of these women:

I was busy cutting wood, when four armed men suddenly appeared at the other end of the field. They told me to undress and to volunteer myself to one of them. I refused. Then they took me, spreading my legs out and tying them, one to the bottom of a tree, the other to another tree trunk. They stuck my head between two sticks held diagonally, so that I couldn't sit up without hurting myself. I stayed in this position and one of the attackers penetrated me forcefully from behind in the vagina, and the other pushed his penis into my mouth, right into my throat (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 15).

Often times, victims of rape suffer a secondary impact by being rejected and ostracized by their communities and families. An example of this is provided by the UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 13):

A 13-year-old girl and former "bush wife" became pregnant through rape in Sierra Leone. She was fortunate enough to return to her family after peace accords were signed, but shortly afterwards her father threw her out of the household for bringing "disgrace" to the family.

Unwanted and early pregnancies are also among the consequences of rape. For example, the UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 16) reports that in 2000, over one hundred babies conceived due to rape were born in Kosovo, although the ICRC noted that a few other cases must have been concealed due to the low rates of reporting at the time. In refugee settings, women and girls get unwanted pregnancies when they transact sex for survival (OCHA/IRIN 2007). Besides the socio-economic consequences of unwanted pregnancies, implications for the victim's health are diverse due to the complexity of the victim's situation, especially if it involves contraction of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Moreover, due to such pregnancies, school girls are forced to drop out of school to duly take care of their babies.

As already noted in Chapter 2, domestic violence traverses most literature on refugee women's problems in refugee camps and settlements. This kind of violence is sometimes referred to as intimate-partner

violence, and it is exercised through aggressive physical acts that inflict pain and torture to the victim (Watts and Zimmerman 2002). This kind of violence is a common and an insidious phenomenon in refugee settings because it may even lead to the victim's death. In his study entitled *Physical violence against women in Jordan discovered*, Al-Matalka (2014: 194) cites other reasons for domestic violence, and notes that 81 (70%) of the abused women in the study reported that the husband's family had a history of practicing violence against family members, particularly female ones. According to Forbes (2004: 75) many gender-based violence programs focus primarily on conflict-induced violence, such as rape, and do not address fully other forms of gender abuse, such as domestic violence. Worse still, apart from the physical health and psychological complications associated with domestic violence, this violence also undermines the ability of the victims to perform their roles, like taking care of their children.

- **Health**

Forbes (2004: 67) argues that the health problems refugee and displaced women and children face are mainly compounded by their experiences in the camps and settlements. For example, health problems may occur as a result of: poor nutrition, female circumcision (in some cultural settings), frustration, the loss of family members and support, rape or consensual sex associated with poverty, powerlessness and social instability (Forbes 2004: 67-73). HIV/AIDS and STI's are common among refugee women in polygamous marriages (which make them vulnerable to such diseases). In addition, since many refugee women are forced to engage in transactional sex and prostitution (Pavlish 2005; Pavlish 2007) to earn a living for themselves and their children, they risk getting such diseases as HIV/AIDS and STI's (Forbes 2004: 73). The UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 24) also observes that in a study of more than one thousand widows of the genocide in Rwanda, undertaken in 2000, 76% of rape survivors were HIV-positive. Similarly, the UN OCHA/IRIN (2007: 24) reports that during the same year, the former United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Anan, asserted that, "Armed conflicts increasingly serve as vectors for the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which follows closely on the heels of armed troops and in the corridors of conflict".

In a study on refugee women's health in Rwanda, women respondents expressed uncertainty about their control over their reproductive health, and reported having to secretly take birth control pills because their husbands were against the practice (Pavlish 2005: 889). On the other hand, Forbes (2004: 74) posits that early and unwanted pregnancies among adolescent refugee girls cause complications of pregnancy and delivery and could result in abortion or maternal mortality.

- **Economic**

Research indicates that poverty and frustration are a triggering force of violence against women (Baaz and Stern 2010: 31-32; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 12). Poverty forces refugee women into negative behaviors for survival as explained in Sub-section 4.3.2 above. Studies have also highlighted widespread early marriage and prostitution as means of survival in Uganda's refugee settlements, although these are considered unlawful within the national and international policy instruments, and are known to be harmful in the refugee communities too (PADEAP 2010; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013). In the same vein, UNHCR (2003: 74) reports:

Girl mothers are often at risk of sexual exploitation if they are unable to meet their own and their children's basic needs because of poverty. Girl mothers and girls who are pregnant as a result of sexual abuse and/or exploitation may face isolation, discrimination and stigmatization and may not have access to basic services. These factors could put them at further risk of sexual abuse and exploitation.

On the other hand, the health of refugee women and children is adversely affected by cultural norms that ordain that, as family heads, men should be fed before women and children in situations of food deficiency (Forbes 2004). Such norms render women and children even more vulnerable. Their vulnerability arises from their lack of food and other necessities, often forcing them to trade sex for food, especially when food rations are inadequate (ibid). This vulnerability is well illustrated in the experience of Marie, a Congolese refugee in Lusaka. According to WCRWC (2002: 27):

Marie, a Congolese refugee, was living in Lusaka with her children and as the head of her household, she was struggling to provide for her family with food and shelter, and went to an NGO and asked for assistance. The NGO staff said she was getting pregnant often and she confessed that she had had to trade sex to survive. Some NGO and UNHCR staff discussed her case and determined that her problem was that she had too many children and she should stop having children. They failed to recognize her situation as a protection problem. She had requested assistance with food and shelter, and explained her circumstances were urgent and dire, yet the protection risks she faced were not considered.

Therefore, transactional sex creates a situation in which sexual abuse in relationships is normalized and in which most men regard sex as a service which they can get even by use of forceful means (Human-Rights-Watch 2002: 21). In another study entitled *On Life Experiences of Refugee Women and Men*, it is reported that women worry about their daughters in refugee camps; the social pressure they face as adolescents to "look smart" exposes them to sexual exploitation and abuse because at times their parents send them to the city to look for casual jobs to get money (Pavlish 2007: 31). In the same study, one refugee woman narrates her fears:

[...] my 15-year-old daughter needs body lotion, nice shoes, and powder for her face. But when she asks for money to buy those things and I don't have money, I prefer to sell the food I get so I have money to give my daughters so they don't go

outside for sex. I don't want her to go outside like other girls and do sex to get money (Pavlish 2007: 31-32).

These experiences imply that without women participating significantly in the planning and implementation of refugee settlements, any efforts to assist them are misguided or in vain. (Isis WICCE 2014).

- **Subordination**

In their article entitled *An analysis of gender-based violence in African literature*, Muruingi and Muriiki (2013) portray the perceived purity of a traditional African woman, characteristically a sweet mother, with all-accepting fecundity and self-sacrifice, but it was a perception that relegated her to a subordinate position. She was treated as an object rather than a human being and was expected not to question power, was often battered by her husband and had no place in society, with her only role being reproduction and nurturing children (Muruingi and Muriiki 2013: 121). Just as women were fixed by such hopelessness in past traditional African societies, so are they still fixed by these stereotypes today, such that their attempts to transcend these limitations are still questioned. Muruingi and Muriiki (2013: 118) further illustrate this with an example from Achinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1986):

Women were accorded very low status. Okonkwo's wives were just among his minor achievements. They were not even mentioned by names but in numbers until later in the novel. They were recognized as subsidiary characters and their good deeds not recognized. Even when Enzinma Okwonkwo's daughter portrayed a sense of brightness, Okonkwo always wished she were a boy (page 44:45:122). Hence, the subsidiary levels at which women belonged made them silent throughout the text.

As such, Jenkins and Reardon (2007: 226) rightly observe that gender-ascribed roles and relations are a result of masculine and feminine identities that are rooted in the traditional organization. In other words, all the traits and attitudes of violence and war are formed within their socio-cultural constructs. Conversely, in a study carried out in eastern DRC on male masculinities, Lwambo (2013: 50) observes that although the experiences of male disempowerment stimulate SGBV, and although the men in the DRC may have rights to feelings of anger and frustration, they are not entitled to violence. As she rightly puts it, "Treating violence against women as a natural or understandable effect of male disempowerment risks excusing it" (Lwambo 2013: 50).

During her research, Pavlish (2005: 889) discovered that many female respondents had a feeling of constraint, illustrated in their lack of freedom to express their views. She reports that, to some women, it is easier to laugh and talk with their children, but when their husbands are around they feel more restraint. In her own words, she says:

Juxtaposed with this constraint, however, is love for their husbands. The women described deep loyalty and usually took husbands back if they had wandered or been

absent for prolonged periods. Some women accepted this circumstance as part of their culture (Pavlish 2005: 889).

Pavlish believes that prospects for sustainable peace will be enhanced by the direct engagement of women in decision-making processes, since women's voices will be represented. In a study conducted by the Women's-Refugee-Commission (2013: 12) in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, it is reported that early marriages occur because of poverty and norms that hinder young girls from making their own rightful choice on marriage. Reportedly, this often happens if parents are financially constrained and cannot afford to pay school fees for the girl, especially if they have a girl and a boy schooling: then the girl is withdrawn from school. Moreover, most refugee parents find it logical to marry off their daughter to solve their financial problems.

According to Kumin (2008: 223), the education of girls is influenced by parental attitudes, dependence on the labor of girls and early marriage, among other factors. Negative parental attitudes force young girls into child labor and early marriage, and these factors force young girls to drop out of school. As a result, young girls develop a sense of fear and loss of identity since they cannot decide for themselves what to do with their lives (Women's Refugee Commission 2013). The Women's-Refugee-Commission (2013: 12) argues that the girls' limited choice to make decisions plays a role in their exposure to such maltreatment, normalizing the culture of violence. The subordination of girls in formal education is well illustrated by Kumin (2008: 223) who reports that in Dimma, a refugee camp in Ethiopia, out of five hundred and seventy refugees attending secondary school, only six were girls, a situation that, in his view, calls for a radical transformation of attitudes to remove such hindrances towards female education. Significantly, a study by the Women's-Refugee-Commission (2013: 12) found that the refugee girls desired to study, and did not want to be married off as this often denied them a chance (and their right) to get an education. According to this study, when one group of girls in Kaborogota was asked whether they were interested in marriage, they resoundingly replied in unison, "No! We want to study".

- **Psychological Violence**

Psychological violence is not only entrenched in the conflict-related atrocities that refugees suffer during war-time, but is worsened by SGBV that is perpetrated against them in post-conflict settings in refugee settlements and camps. The risk of sexually transmitted diseases, infections or unwanted pregnancies psychologically destroys refugee women's capacity to work and undermines their social standing (Mohammed 2015). Moreover, Mohammed (2015) adds:

Denying a woman of the ability to be economically independent robs her of autonomy, and makes her dependent on family, partners or those in positions of power, a breeding ground for poverty and abuse. For women who have children, this can be a particularly devastating situation.

In addition, many women may develop a feeling of hopelessness after losing their close family members (Forbes 2004; Pavlish 2005). In a study entitled *On the experiences of woman war-torture survivors in Uganda*, out of all the women who were interviewed, 54.2% had post-traumatic stress, psychological frustration and health complications as a result of their experiences (Liebling-Kalifani *et al.* 2007: 2). With these difficulties, women are unable to perform their roles in their homes as family heads, especially if they have lost their husbands: neither can they perform their nurturing role normally. In the same study, it is reported that some women experienced physical harm and pain (Liebling-Kalifani *et al.* 2007: 2). All this tragedy has caused them to live in a state of hopelessness, fear and self-hatred. Pavlish (2007: 31) reports their experiences:

They described being “without hope” or “without a future”. Many said that improvements were “not possible”. One woman stated, “When I think of the future I ask, “what will be my life?” I’m very worried. I don’t see a future . . . there’s nothing for me in the future. I don’t have choices... I just try to be strong now for my children”. Two young women who lack parents and care for their younger siblings talked about wanting to kill themselves, but hesitated because they feel responsible for their remaining family members (Pavlish 2007: 31).

From the above analysis, it can be rightly deduced that the varied effects of women's experiences of pain are closely related and lead to feelings of helplessness and hopelessness among them (Liebling-Kalifani *et al.* 2007: 8).

4.2.3 Restricted Right to Freedom of Movement

Despite the various rights provided for in the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees, and in numerous international human rights policies, refugee rights are still not fully recognized in protracted exile, particularly the right to the freedom of movement and the right to seek paid employment (Milner and Loescher 2011). It is true that while states have adopted the UNHCR Guidelines for the Protection of Refugees, often times, the adoption is more rhetorical than operational, leaving women in vulnerable situations, especially to SGBV (Freedman 2007; Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Khanlou and Moussa 2008). For example, Loescher and Milner (2005: 159) state that refugees in Kenya and Tanzania are prohibited from moving out of camps or settlements; it is unlawful for refugees in western Tanzania to travel more than 4km from their camps. Similarly, in Uganda, the refugees’ right to freedom of movement is restricted as specified in the government policies (Mulumba and Olema 2009; Krause 2014). This has reportedly deterred refugees from accessing employment and interacting with the world outside of the refugee settlements (Mulumba 2005).

According to Kaiser (2006: 604), freedom of movement being a precondition for the enjoyment of other rights, denying it undermines refugees' socio-economic rights. The denial of the refugees' right to free movement further compounds their vulnerability, especially that of women, as they become reliant on inadequate humanitarian assistance, forcing them to live in a state of uncertainty. And yet, due to the

overwhelming numbers of refugees, humanitarian agencies are in most cases unable to provide for the refugees' needs (UNHCR 2004). Worse still, women's freedom of movement from, and outside, a settlement are more restricted due to women's socially ascribed domestic role of rearing children and cooking (Krause 2014, Mulumba 2011). For example, in his study of refugees in Uganda, Mulumba (2011) found that although the culturally consigned roles of men and women assign women the responsibility of providing food for their families, women lack the means to provide daily meals for their families. In another study, Mulumba (2005: 193) observed:

The ability to move outside of the settlement was quite significant to the well-being of women refugees. Among factors that contributed towards women's immobility was the physical and bureaucratic enclosure in which women were kept (by husbands and the system) barring them from the freedom to move as they wished. There were several explanations for this. Women were lumbered with home chores; as such, they could not easily travel.

Since their movement is restricted, women are constrained by joblessness. Therefore, to ensure that there is food on the table, most women end up compromising their bodies through transactional sex which makes them vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS and STIs. As Mulumba (2005: 194) argues, restricting the movement of refugee women on the basis of their culturally defined roles of reproduction and nurturing children is a clear case of gender stereotyping. In his own words:

Some of the men's views concerning women leaving the camp were embedded within [a] stereotypical socio-cultural gender ideology over a women's place and roles, to the extent that the men refugees felt that if women left the home, it would be empty.

Mulumba (2011: 39) adds that the confines of the daily lives of women refugees show the extent to which these domineering, gendered perceptions and practices restrain women's ability to sustain themselves. The RLP (2002: 13-14) reiterates that this restraint causes dependency as women are incarcerated, undermining their ability to sustain themselves:

While dependency was the primary factor restricting movement for settlement refugees, with lack of resources being an intrinsic component to that dependency, self-settled refugees, by contrast, were not looking to an outside source to make decisions for them, but were much more reliant on their own initiative [...] For such refugees, if movement was limited it was primarily a matter of economics rather than restrictions placed on them by the refuge assistance structures. In effect, therefore, by denying refugees freedom of movement, their socio-economic rights are being undermined (Kaiser 2006: 597).

On the other hand, the RLP (2007: 1) observes that the restriction of movement confines refugee women to depend only on subsistence farming which is not sustainable, and keeps them languishing in poverty and dependency. With this constraint comes a major challenge of pressure on the limited resources which refugees share with the locals, including: boreholes, firewood, health centers and schools

(Loescher and Milner 2005). Due to the scarcity of resources in refugee settings, there is a high risk of conflict between the locals and refugees over these resources, which often leads to violence in the community. In order to mitigate this challenge, Loescher and Milner (2005: 164-165) note that the UNHCR created a Special Programmes for Refugees in Affected Areas (SPRAAs), including: restructuring roads and water supply systems, advancing the local communication infrastructure, schools and health centers, tree planting and construction of a firewood project which has led to a secure environment in Kenya and Tanzania. This has also reduced competition between refugees and the host population over scarce resources, and mitigated conflicts between the two groups (Loescher and Milner 2005: 164-165).

4.2.4 Poverty

According to World Bank reports, poverty manifests in a range of dimensions, including: lack of revenue and resources, discrimination and marginalization in the society, and a liability to undesirable shocks of life, such as displacement (Loescher and Milner 2005). It is evident that both men and women refugees are vulnerable to all the above-listed conditions, and due to poverty, they may resort to a gamut of coping mechanisms some of which, such as prostitution, petty theft, drug abuse and alcoholism, may have an adverse impact on the host population (Loescher and Milner 2005: 165). In her study, Pavlish (2007: 32) reports that the shame and powerlessness that many men reminisced about was a result of joblessness accompanied with lack of respect from their family members because they were not “men enough” to provide the necessary clothing and food to their families. Pavlish (2007: 32) highlights one man's plight:

When my wife sees a neighbor ... has a new kitenge ... she says, “you can see you are not husband to me”. It’s very difficult for us. Sometimes we just want to remember when we could buy clothes... but they don’t understand, so they start to complain and say, “You don’t have anything to do”. When they start to complain like that... you just leave and walk around all day (Pavlish 2007: 32).

Besides the SPRAAs that the UNHCR introduced to solve the problem of poverty and scarcity of resources in refugee settings (Loescher and Milner 2005: 164-165), other interventions include the principle of local integration aimed at providing a durable solution to protracted refugee situations (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003: 2-6). This principle came up following the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which realized that recognizing refugees’ rights and dignity involved a framework that could ensure their integration into the local community, thereby also reducing clashes between refugees and the host community (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003). Indeed, local integration provides avenues that may harness development aid to mutually benefit both refugees and their hosts through the various programmes they are engaged in. It also promotes a feeling of belonging since refugees are able to freely interact and share resources, such as boreholes, roads, schools and health centers, with the local

population, without being prejudiced as was in the 1960 CAR Act where they were referred to as “aliens” (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003: 5).

Despite the progress recorded by these initiatives, Dryden-Peterson (2004: 28) argues that in countries of the global South, areas that host refugees are themselves plagued with poverty, characterized by: a lack of resources and infrastructure for social services, and by corresponding difficulties in accessing economic markets. Besides this challenge, the increasing size of refugee populations in countries of first asylum has meant that host governments have been reluctant to facilitate local integration on account of limited resources and security concerns (Dryden-Peterson 2004). This has dire effects on the refugee population (especially women) which depends on humanitarian assistance because the absence of such aid may force them to resort to unconstructive means of survival (Dryden-Peterson 2004), such as prostitution - and to be frustrated, leading to such habits as alcoholism and gambling, which are harmful to both the refugee community and the host communities.

In addition, lack of equal access to food and non-food items, such as clothes, blankets and sanitary materials, is a challenge that invariably affects refugee women (Forbes 2004: 63). Due to lack of food, water and non-food items, refugee women may suffer from malnutrition, which undermines their ability to take care of their children and themselves. Moreover, malnourished people are more susceptible to disease and are more difficult to cure of illness, which may lead to death (Forbes 2004: 62). Although the UNHCR Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women (1991) recommend that the UNCHR officials should consult with refugee women regarding all decisions about food and other distribution, and designate women as central consultants for sustainable food distribution, refugee women have not been involved in this process (WCRWC 2002; Forbes 2004). This means that their needs are not addressed since the ones who implement these decisions are mainly men, who may wrongly assume that conflict affects both women and men in a similar manner. Consequently, women are left in a state of want and are vulnerable to further violence.

Previous studies also show a wide-ranging risk of women and girls in refugee settings when collecting firewood in isolated locations outside of the camps, since the burden of cooking rests entirely on women and girls (Forbes 2004: 15; WCRWC 2006: 2-6). This vulnerability is mostly common in Africa where firewood is the main source of energy for cooking. Thus, most women and girls risk sexual assault or even murder while collecting firewood in order to cook for their families (WCRWC 2006: 1). Consequently, the domestic roles of women and girls, including fetching water and collecting firewood, place them in vulnerable situations, especially if they are not in the company of a male relative. For instance, many refugee women have reportedly been raped in Ethiopia and Zambia (Forbes 2004: 66).

Economic frustrations contribute to male violence against women in refugee settings (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz 2007). Whilst the leadership attribute of being a man seems positive and empowering to men,

several of these ideals of manhood are weakened by socio-economic stress, and they are made invisible during unfavorable economic conditions (Lwambo 2013: 52)¹⁹, triggering male aggression towards women (Bastick, Grimm and Kunz 2007; RLP 2007). In post-conflict settings, due to changing cultures and social structures, men's traditionally consigned role as providers and protectors is eroded by factors such as poverty, causing men to seek to reaffirm their identity in other ways, including SGBV (WCRWC 2005: 8).

Moreover, the increased levels of SGBV in refugee settlements and camps depict deeper frustrations of male unemployment and failure by husbands to sustain their families. This male unemployment is also caused by the curtailed freedom of movement for refugees, which reduces male refugees' chances of getting employment outside the refugee camp or settlement in which they remain trapped. Ultimately, male refugees jettison their frustrations on their female counterparts. According to Forbes (2004: 62), in addition to the pain inflicted upon them by frustrated and improvident male refugees, refugee women and their children also suffer from inadequate assistance packages, they are unable to obtain employment, and they are often denied participation in training or income-generating programs. Therefore, it can be deduced that poverty and deprivation inform the baseline of analysis between women refugees and their bodies which are abused through such practices as rape, prostitution and battering in refugee camps and settlements (Baaz and Stern 2010).

4.2.5 Protracted Nature Of Refugees

A refugee situation becomes protracted when refugees live in what Oxfam (2005: ix) describes as an enduring and obstinate state of limbo. According to Milner and Loescher (2011: 15), a protracted refugee situation is one in which refugees have been in exile for a period of five years (and above) after being displaced, and with no immediate solution to their plight. Today, the protracted nature of refugees presents momentous challenges to their human security, rights and development (Crisp 2003; UNHCR 2004; Milner and Loescher 2011). This is largely because a protracted refugee situation eventually hinders refugees from enjoying their fundamental human rights and meeting their socio-economic and psychological needs. The UNHCR observes that about twenty-five thousand people or more have lived in exile for a period of five years or longer in Third World countries (Oxfam 2005: ix). In Africa, protracted refugee situations have been, and still are, evident in the DRC (with over seventeen thousand Burundian refugees and twenty thousand Congolese refugees) and in Uganda (with fifteen thousand Rwandese refugees) (Milner and Loescher (2011: 15).

Although discussions on the protracted nature of refugees have been long overdue and are concealed by the ongoing refugee emergency situations alongside other state issues, the problem is currently given

¹⁹ (...) the military experience perceived as disempowering, since it involves harsh living conditions, erratic income, and pressure to commit acts of violence.

international recognition as an important issue to tackle (Loescher and Milner 2006; Milner and Loescher 2011). One of the major challenges pertaining to protracted refugee situations is the fact that the UNHCR is so far unable to provide adequate solutions to this problem despite its primary role of the protection refugees (Loescher *et al.* 2008; Milner and Loescher 2011). As a result, refugees face food shortages, lack shelter and other socio-economic amenities (Loescher and Milner 2006; RLP 2007; Milner and Loescher 2011). Conversely, Crisp (2003: 2) observes that protracted refugee situations arise partly from limited procedures in local integration. In his view:

The presence of so many protracted refugee situations in Africa can be linked to the fact that countries of asylum, donor states, UNHCR, and other actors have given so little attention to the solution of local integration during the past 15 years. Indeed, from the mid-1980s onwards, a consensus was forged around the notion that repatriation normally but not necessarily on a voluntary basis, was the only viable solution to refugee problems in Africa and other low-income regions.

Milner and Loescher (2011: 4) posit that the greatest challenge of protracted displacement situations lies in recognizing the human rights of refugees and IDPs. During conflict, the breakdown of civil society and family structures erodes all social outreach structures that would help in conflict resolution and finding solutions to women's problems (Ganeshpanchan 2005; Snyder 2009). In such conditions, women in refugee settings are left with no option but to rely on the available service providers, such as the UNHCR and RWCs for assistance. Although the UNHCR tried to resolve protracted refugee situations and their associated effects by establishing the Executive Committee (ExCom)²⁰ in December 2009, whose purpose is to address protection gaps, provide operational guidance and set standards of behavior for states, UNHCR and NGOs, the problem remains (Milner and Loescher 2011). Milner and Loescher (2011: 2) affirm that ExCom members are cognizant of the fact that persistent displacement deserves unrelenting dialogue with a broader range of actors both within and outside the United Nations structure, and creating a fresh approach, for example, the establishment of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission and the United Nations Development Initiative.

Ultimately, all vulnerable groups (women, children, the elderly and the disabled) in society face specific protection challenges during protracted exile, with levels of SGBV being of particular concern in refugee settlements (Crisp 2003; Milner and Loescher 2011). Al-Sharmani (2010: 1) argues that refugee women are invariably affected during protracted displacement, as they face daily challenges of structural violence, and are forced to deal with economic destitution, with meager incomes and resources. They lack proper health and educational services, face health challenges due to poor sanitation caused by inadequate housing: with parents sharing single rooms with their children, which

²⁰ <http://www.unhcr.org/excom/exconc/4b332bca9/conclusion-protracted-refugee-situations.html> Conclusion on Protracted Refugee Situations Conclusion on Protracted Refugee Situations No. 109 (LXI) – 2009. Executive Committee 61st session, Extraordinary Meeting: 8 December 2009. Contained in United Nations General Assembly document A/AC.96/1080

also subjects them to sexual violence; and most importantly, they live in a state of uncertainty (Crisp 2003; Forbes 2004; Al-Sharmani 2010).

Protracted refugee populations are a critical element in ongoing conflict and instability by obstructing peace processes and undermining attempts at economic development (Crisp 2003; Loescher and Milner 2005; Milner and Loescher 2011). For example, protracted refugee situations may lead to conflicts between refugees and the host population, especially where refugees are perceived as privileged over the local populace on account of their easier access to social services, such as education and health, which the host community finds difficult to access (Milner and Loescher 2011: 5). Loescher and Milner (2006: 8) observe that Western donor governments have reduced their support to persistent refugee situations over the years, especially where the local integration policy is being pursued. However, this policy, which enables refugees to share resources with the host community, also breeds competition between refugees and the local populace over scarce resources, such as firewood and boreholes; and this competition often culminates in conflict (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003: 7). Given their precarious situations, some refugees may be forced to pursue a gamut of survival strategies, some of which may be dangerous to the locals (Crisp 2003; Milner and Loescher 2011).

Paradoxically, Loescher *et al.* (2008: 4) argue that a protracted refugee situation symbolizes a malfunction by international human rights bodies and security rights' forces because these very security forces meant to protect refugees often raise security threats among host states, forcing them to resort to forceful repatriation of refugees. Similarly, current studies show that protracted refugee situations have been a source of international security concerns, especially when refugee settlements or camps harbor armed groups which cause havoc in neighboring states (Loescher *et al.* 2008; Milner and Loescher 2011: 5). Crisp (2003: 1) argues that most refugee situations, for instance in Africa, have dragged on mainly because of the protracted nature of armed conflicts in the refugees' own home countries, creating insecure environments for their return. As such, in some cases such as the conflicts in Rwanda and the DRC, the protracted nature of refugee situations could have been the prime source of conflict in these countries, rather than an outcome of conflict in itself (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003; Loescher *et al.* 2008).

Other security issues of concern in refugee settings include drug trafficking, arms trafficking, human trafficking for sexual purposes and the conscription of child soldiers, all of which pose a security threat to the host States (Loescher and Milner 2005, 2006; Loescher *et al.* 2008). An example of this can be found in the following scenario: Kenyan and Tanzanian governments complained about the direct security risk allegedly posed by protracted refugee populations (Loescher and Milner 2005: 160); in particular, Kenyan officials alleged that the Dadaab Camp posed a security threat to the country because the Al-Shabab, a Somali extremist group, allegedly used the camp as a planning and launching base for

attacks such as the one at Garissa University College, which killed 148 people²¹. That is why there were calls for the closure of the camp, although the camp remains in place.²² However, without valid evidence of such allegations, refugees should be accorded the necessary protection they deserve as per the 1951 Geneva Convention, without prejudice.

Building on recent developments, countries such as Tanzania, Sierra Leone and Liberia have realized that protracted refugee situations may open fresh avenues for solutions through naturalization and local integration. For example, in October 2014, Tanzania granted naturalization to 162,000 former Burundian refugees (refugees of 1972) that had spent more than forty years in the country. This was the first time in the history of the UNHCR that naturalization was granted as a durable solution to a large population of refugees in a country of first asylum (Refworld and UNHCR 2015). This step shows that refugees can be productive citizens in their country of asylum by contributing to its socio-economic development if they are given a chance. Although humanitarian agencies, such as the UNHCR, have been mandated to cater for refugees in protracted refugee situations, the UNHCR's engagement does not constitute a durable solution for protracted refugee situations as its primary role and legal mandate is refugee protection (Loescher *et al.* 2008: 5). The UNHCR's actions are also curtailed by the reluctance of state parties to embark on more serious solutions to this problem, especially if it involves local integration measures. That is why protracted refugee situations remain by far the most challenging problem facing refugee and asylum policy makers and implementers.

In response to the challenge of protracted refugee situations, UNHCR called for a new strategy focused on self-sustainability to minimize the scarcity of resources that characterizes refugee camps and settlements, and thus achieve a durable solution to the challenge of protracted refugee situations (Milner and Loescher 2011). An example of this is the SRS which was adopted in Uganda in order to provide refugees with the capacity to be self-reliant by allocating them land and equipping them with basic skills and knowledge that can help them to be productive in their host countries and even back home when they return to their own countries (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003; Dryden-Peterson 2004).

Paradoxically, the restrictive conditions in refugee settlements, especially restrictions on the freedom of movement, undermine the potential of the SRS and violate refugees' rights (Crisp 2003; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003). The rights to free movement, employment and education which would enable refugees to become productive members of the community, are often denied to them (Crisp 2003; Forbes 2004). That is why the RLP (2002: 24) proposes that, "... it is vital that the right to freedom of

²¹https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/kenya-is-threatening-to-close-the-worlds-largest-refugee-camp/2015/04/27/ab296316-e9cd-11e4-8581-633c536add4b_story.html

²² Ibid.

movement be incorporated into future refugee legislation, so that refugees are able to take responsibility for their own lives without the current restrictions placed on them”.

Dryden-Peterson (2004: 27) argues that while repatriation remains the final goal, currently local integration enables refugees to survive without having to worry about what the future may hold for them. He adds that while they are keen to provide sustainable solutions, the UNHCR and donor countries are left with no option but to consider initiatives aimed at local integration, including education, agriculture and commerce among others (Dryden-Peterson 2004: 27). Examples of this can be found in the Kyaka II and Nakivale refugee settlements where both humanitarian services and social integration are taking place simultaneously, although with some challenges (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003; Dryden-Peterson 2004). This is recognized as a positive step for Kyaka II given that the refugee settlement was sidelined in the implementation of the SRS programme by the Government of Uganda, in spite of the existence of secure surrounding communities and abundant land (Skeels 2012b; Isis WICCE 2014). Eventually, governments, humanitarian agencies and the international community must join efforts to find a durable solution to the problem of protracted refugee situations.

4.2.6 Alcoholism

Various authors argue that alcoholism is a key factor reinforcing sexual and domestic violence within the confines of forced displacement, such as refugee settings (Okot *et al.* 2005; RLP 2007; Roberts *et al.* 2011). According to the WHO reports that, for centuries alcohol has been used to conduct forceful sex and it remains by far the most accepted lethal drug in communities, especially in Africa (WHO 2002, 2003). Nonetheless, in recent years, other drugs, such as flunitrazepam (Rohypnol), benzodiazepines, gamma-hydroxybutyrate (GHB), ketamine, cocaine, methamphetamine and marijuana, have been used to instigate acts of SGBV in conflict and post-conflict settings (WHO 2003: 8). Research shows that men's low self-esteem frequently results in negative habits they learn so as to affirm their lost manhood (Forbes 2004; Lwambo 2013). Forbes (2004: 15) argues that refugee men find it difficult to come to terms with harsh economic situations that put them in the complex situation of not being able to provide for their families, a situation that may result in depression, which in turn could lead to alcoholism with its associated effects, such as sexual and domestic violence.

A RLP study of four refugee settlements in Uganda, including: Kyaka II in Kyenjojo District, Kyangwali in Hoima District, and Rhino Camp and Madi Okollo in Arua District, found that alcohol abuse was responsible for increased crime rates, wife battering, sexual harassment and even murder (RLP 2007: 15). The RLP (2007: 16) further notes that the sexually threatening atmosphere caused by alcohol has forced parents to resort to seeking marriage for their adolescent daughters as a means of protecting them from SGBV. Although such marriages are considered illegal and constitute an act of defilement, many parents consider them a practical necessity representing the lesser of two evils. As

one police officer put it, "...the only way [to prevent this] is to marry you off, so you find there is a very high rate of marriage and pregnancy of adolescents" (RLP 2007: 16).

Somewhat paradoxically, alcohol is used as a coping mechanism for stressors related to forced displacement, including: unemployment, impoverishment, poor living conditions, idleness, loss of self-esteem, and lack of education; but it ends up triggering criminality in the form of rape, robbery and fighting others in refugee settings (Roberts *et al.* 2011: 870). In a study carried out in Pabbo Camp, northern Uganda, Okot *et al.* (2005: 11) observed that being idle, redundant, frustrated and unemployed, especially among the youth, increases the likelihood of males sexually assaulting or otherwise abusing women and girls. This view is supported by Haliso (2009: 101) and Saffitz (2010: 90) according to whom men's alcohol consumption places women in situations where their risk of being abused is high, especially when it comes to domestic violence and rape. In its report, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children observed that women in Zambia and Sudan attributed domestic violence to beer brewing by local Zambians in the camps (Haliso 2009: 100).

Similarly, a study conducted by the WHO on the causes of male violence established that while alcohol is always assumed to be a one of the most common causes of violence against women, it was also a possible catalyst for rape (WHO 2003: 8). However, while giving a speech on the relationship between alcohol abuse and domestic violence, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women stated that "... although alcohol does in many cases exacerbate violence, it does not itself cause violence against women" (WCRWC 2002; Baaz and Stern 2010). In this regard, it is notable that alcohol is not the root cause of SGBV; by the time an individual gets drunk and commits this crime, he or she has already reached a state of mind in which he is determined to commit the crime (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 42). A study by PADEAP (2010: 23) indicates that while most female respondents ascribed violence to high levels of alcohol consumption, men maintained that alcoholism was used as an excuse and a catalyst to commit violence against women.

Similarly, in their research on the complexity of violence by the army in the DRC, Baaz and Stern (2010: 24) concluded that although alcoholism and drug abuse ought not to be viewed as causes of violence, they increase the risk of violence occurring. Baaz and Stern add that alcohol and other drugs damage one's sense of understanding and reduce self-consciousness, rendering an intoxicated person more likely to behave irrationally (Baaz and Stern 2010: 24). Therefore, while alcohol and drug consumption do not fully account for all the violence against women, they certainly contribute to cases of rape during armed conflict. Baaz and Stern (2010: 23) further observe that the military itself often relates sexual violence during conflict to the widespread abuse of alcohol and drugs, coupled with the frustration soldiers experience during war:

Indeed, we have found that drunk and otherwise intoxicated soldiers are a common sight in various military units, even early in the day. Soldiers explain the extensive

alcohol and drug use as being linked to the need to cope with hardships and hunger, as well as to reduce fear in combat (Baaz and Stern 2010: 23)

Despite efforts made by previous researchers to navigate SGBV in other conflict and post-conflict settings, refugee confines have been sidelined for too long. As the foregoing account demonstrates, the consequences of SGBV are devastating for the victims who endure physical pain, emotional and psychological grief as well as health problems (Sigsworth 2008: 6; Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 16).

SECTION II

4.3 Introduction

This section examines SGBV against women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, highlighting its nature and extent, although literature is limited in this scope because little research has been conducted in this settlement. The most common forms of violence include: sexual violence, physical violence and early marriages. Violence is attributed to power imbalances, alcoholism, drug abuse, and the normalisation of violence with little reprisal. While studies on SGBV highlight the existence of the problem, they do not delve into its magnitude; nor do they assess the efficacy of measures aimed at its prevention. The present study sought to fill this gap by conducting action research on the magnitude of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and the performance of past and current efforts to prevent it. This section reviews literature on SGBV against women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, highlighting the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in the settlement.

4.3.1 SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

Forced displacement results from armed conflicts which expose women and girls to a variety of problems, including SGBV: which is often perpetrated by intimate partners, relatives, and humanitarian officials entrusted to take care of refugees (UNHCR 2003; Al-Sharmani 2010). As already indicated in Chapter 3, although refugee men and boys may also suffer violence, women experience gendered and marginalizing violence (Al-Sharmani 2010). Thus, the gendered aspects of structural violence against refugee women and girls, particularly in protracted displacement, need to be recognized during policy implementation and advocacy at all levels (Al-Sharmani 2010: 1). Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is no exception when it comes to the gendered and marginalizing experiences that refugee women encounter in Uganda.

SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement falls under the auspices of the protection sector of the UNHCR, which among other duties, is responsible for responding to crimes, including SGBV (UNHCR 2014: 1). SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is also managed by the Africa Humanitarian Alliance (AHA), a non-profit organization which focuses on enhancing community capacity in the identification,

prevention and mitigation of SGBV crimes (AHA 2014: 44). AHA offers services to rape survivors in conflict and post-conflict situations, these services include: counselling, medical examination and treatment, post-exposure prophylaxis, emergency contraception and drugs against STIs (AHA 2014). AHA implements its main projects within the framework of a tripartite agreement with the OPM and the UNHCR (which predominantly funds its operations) along with the US Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, and the WFP (AHA 2014: 47). Research also shows that the main forms of SGBV experienced by women and girls in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are: early marriage, transactional sexual activity, rape, sexual harassment, wife battering and assault (IGAD-UNHCR 2010; PADEAP 2010; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013). The various forms of SGBV in Kyaka can be discussed below:

- Sexual Violence

According to the UNHCR (2003: 1), women and girls are often the most vulnerable to human rights abuses, and they suffer most from SGBV, with an 80% average of all refugee women experiencing rape and sexual exploitation. This view is echoed by the Women's Refugee Commission (2013:11) which states that SGBV, particularly sexual exploitation, is an enormous part of women's and girls' lives. Due to their vulnerability, women and girls are targeted by those in power such as male counterparts in the settlement, or humanitarian workers by transacting their bodies in exchange for food or work (IGAD-UNHCR 2010; PADEAP 2010). A study by IGAD and UNHCR reveals that in 2010 almost 50% of women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement reported forced sex during the previous twelve months, a phenomenon that had increased the levels of HIV/AIDS in the settlement (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 10). Data collected during the same study clearly suggests that a large percentage of the women in the surrounding communities, especially married ones, experienced sexual violence (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 54).

- Early marriage

Studies carried out in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement ascertain that early marriage is used as a strategy to escape poverty, especially by poverty-stricken parents who marry off their girls immediately after puberty (PADEAP 2010; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013). As a result of early marriage, most girls do not get enrolled in school at all, and those who happen to go to school do not complete primary school (PADEAP 2010). That is largely why the anti-SGBV project implemented by AHA (2014: 44) mostly targets vulnerable women and young girls in the settlement. In their study entitled *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Gender-Based Violence Prevention Programmes with Refugees in Uganda*, Holzaepfel and Doocy reported that early marriage and acceptance of violence are pervasive among refugee communities, particularly amongst new Congolese arrivals, who at the time had not yet undergone GBV sensitization (Holzaepfel and Doocy 2013: 20). Girls are married off at the age of 13

or 14 (once menstruation begins), mainly for safety and economic security (Holzaepfel and Doocy 2013: 20). Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, being mostly inhabited by Congolese, experiences this problem of early marriage.

- **Physical violence**

Physical violence is manifested mainly in the form of wife battering. Natukunda (2008: 43) argues that whilst women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement primarily depend on agriculture, in addition to the food handouts they receive from humanitarian agencies, most of the men sell off the food produce before meeting the basic needs of the family, leading to physical violence when the women complain or protest. Violence of this nature is rife in periods of food scarcity within households, including in food distribution and food harvesting seasons in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (PADEAP 2010: 26). As primary producers of food, women are expected to provide food for their children and families; but when they are unable to do so, especially during drought or delayed food distribution, they are blamed for not ensuring that there is food on the table. Although the domestic violence is common, authorities are reluctant to bring the culprits to book (Natukunda 2008).

Causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

- **Alcoholism as a cause of SGBV:** Alcohol consumption is reported to be one of the main causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Natukunda 2008: 40; Clark-Kazak 2011). A study by the PADEAP on the magnitude of GBV among refugees living in Uganda, reveals that alcohol-induced violence against women constitutes 42% of the SGBV crimes in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (PADEAP 2010: 30). Other studies attribute drunkenness to the limited mobility in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, on account of the government restrictions on refugee movement beyond the settlement (Clark-Kazak 2011: 36). Unable to move freely in search of employment, refugees remain idle and resort to drinking alcohol, which leads to SGBV (Natukunda 2008).
- **Power imbalance:** According to the PADEAP (2010: 22), SGBV among refugee populations is entrenched within the chambers of male domination and female subordination. This kind of relationship is manifested through the marginalization of women in public spaces, such as formal and informal employment, control over women's reproductive health, and through a cultural ethos that ingrains women's unequal status. Within this cultural ethos, most men are socialized into resolving any misunderstandings with women through violence rather than dialogue (PADEAP 2010: 23). Consequently, men in refugee settings tend to use their culturally given power to control financial resources even when, in some households, this rightfully belongs to women.

- Normalisation of violence: Studies also show that the aptitude for violence is largely determined by the culturally accepted norms and values of communities where violence against women is normalized, for instance, normalized violence against women in DRC is one of the contributing factors to SGBV against women in refugee settings in Uganda, including Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Isis WICCE 2014). The 2006 Constitution of DRC indicated the government's commitment to eliminate all forms of discrimination and to combat all forms of violence against women in public and private spaces, although the Penal Code and the Family Code do not mention domestic violence (Isis WICCE 2014: 63). As a result, even though the DRC government pays attention to sexual violence, other forms of violence against women, such as gender-based violence, have been largely ignored (Isis WICCE 2014). The prevalent levels of violence against women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are regarded as “normal”, since refugees come along with their culturally accepted norms which do not criminalize such cases of violence.
- Drug abuse: Research findings indicate that sexual exploitation in the form of forced sex is attributed to the use of drugs and alcohol, which is reportedly one of the major causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (IGAD-UNHCR 2010: 42). An IGAD-UNHCR (2010: 38-40) report notes that transactional sex is common in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and involves women and girls exchanging sex for money, a gift or a favor. A study in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement by the Women's Refugee Commission, found that girls exchange sex for school fees, food, and other favours (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 11). The same study found that over a quarter of the girls surveyed had had sexual intercourse while living in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, about sixty-four percent of the girls had experienced sexual assault, about a fifth of the girls had engaged in sex for assistance in some way, while a significant number of adolescents had engaged in transactional sex (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013).

4.4 Reporting Cases of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

One of the most serious challenges to date is eliminating violence against women (PADEAP 2010). According to Yohani and Hagen (2010: 208), culture influences the way SGBV victims and communities recognize and respond to rape and other traumatic experiences. For example, societies that highly value virginity, are highly likely to stigmatize a woman who has been raped, and there is a high risk of her family rejecting her (Yohani and Hagen 2010: 208). Research findings also indicate that women and girls who experience violence within their homes think that they are better off not reporting the case or seeking redress due to fear of retribution (PADEAP 2010: 35; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 13). Further still, sexual violence is underreported, mainly due to cultural norms

which hold that women must not deny their husbands sex, and which thus encourage men to force their wives into sex (PADEAP 2010).

While PADEAP (2010: 34) indicates that there is evidence that gender-based violence is widely reported, Natukunda (2008) argues that the structures meant to follow up these cases to curb SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are ineffective. PADEAP (2010) also indicates that reporting of violence is done at three levels: family structures, clan/community structures, and at the formal administrative systems, including the police and legal justice systems. However, actors in these very referral pathways, through whom victims are expected to report cases of SGBV, are more likely the very same ones that perpetrate or sustain this violence. For instance, at the family and community levels, when a girl who has been raped and reports the case, the relatives and clan heads only encourage her to marry the perpetrator as a remedy (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 13), and the girl suddenly drops out of school. For refugees from Congo, this is more of a normalised form of violence against women due to their culture (Isis WICCE 2014; Lwambo 2013). On the other hand, under-reporting can also be attributed to the ineffectiveness of police personnel who ask for bribes in order to handle cases of SGBV. Moreover, in most cases, the perpetrators bribe the police and walk away free (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 13). Pittaway (2004: 33) maintains that women refugees are often reluctant to report to the police and other law enforcement officers known to have engaged in similar acts of SGBV. In Pittaway (2004: 34) own words:

[...] these past experiences and fears lead to a reluctance to trust existing services and officials. They serve to trap women in situations of danger when there is in fact some help available. Tragically, there are reports emerging from the current Domestic Violence project being undertaken by the Centre for Refugee Research, of some male refugees deliberately exploiting the fear and ignorance and lack of English language proficiency of refugee women in order to maintain control, and to prevent their wives and female members of their communities from seeking assistance. Some men tell women that they (the women) will be deported if they report sexual and gender based violence to the police. It is also reported that some men have told their wives that it is only the man who holds the visa and that they can therefore send the wife home if they wish to (Pittaway 2004: 34).

In the same vein, in an article entitled *Why don't women report their attackers?*, Shapiro (2013) states that under-reporting is mainly due to the fact that formal operatives, like the law enforcement officers and medical personnel, are at times uncooperative and insensitive to women who go to them for assistance. In the same article, Ravi Verma, Director of the Asia Regional Office in New Delhi of the D.C.-based International Center for Research on Women is quoted as saying:

Women don't trust the formal sector [because] the police system is deeply entrenched into the same notions of patriarchy and gender inequitable perspectives and women don't feel comfortable that they will be heard or their report will be taken in the right spirit (Shapiro 2013).

Therefore, Yohani and Hagen (2010) are right when they conclude that in order to understand the continuum of SGBV, a dichotomy of a gender perspective which highlights the symbolic violence afflicted on women's bodies in the context of war, and a cultural perspective that reveals ways in which communities attach meaning to the experience and the consequences of violence against women is worth noting. Despite the pervasive nature of SGBV, there are very few studies on SGBV against women in refugee settings. Moreover, not more than a handful of studies have applied a participatory action research approach to the reduction of SGBV Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. It is against this background that this study was conceived to find a durable solution to SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature on issues pertaining to SGBV against women in refugee settings, focusing on the nature, forms and causes of SGBV and its effects on the physical and social wellbeing of refugee women. The chapter has shown that while male refugees also experience the adverse effects of conflict, women refugees are disproportionately affected due to the gender-specific violence they experience. The same chapter has revealed that SGBV is chiefly entrenched in individual attitudes, imbedded within specific cultures that disregard violence within their families and communities. The chapter has also examined the challenges refugee women encounter as a result of patriarchal domination in refugee settings. The literature reviewed in this chapter has further shown that while refugee women might have experienced SGBV within their societies before flight, the additional stress, uncertainties and humiliation connected to their flight, and other problems they encounter in refugee settlements, exacerbate their already delicate situation, thus intensifying their violence (Sigsworth 2008: 6; Manjoo and McRaith 2011: 16). In addition, the chapter has demonstrated that while crimes of SGBV are increasingly being reported in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, in most communities, they are still under-reported mainly because of three factors: cultural norms in the community tolerate SGBV, SGBV victims' fear retribution by the perpetrators or ostracization by their families, and the ineffectiveness of the various referral pathways, such as the police and local council institutions. The literature reviewed has also indicated that underreporting of SGBV crimes allows the perpetrators to commit these crimes with gendered impunity, and it obscures the extent to which these crimes are committed. Against this backdrop, I have argued that the root causes and consequences of SGBV ought to be explored to address the problem through establishing apt programmes and policies that are durable amidst cultures that condone SGBV crimes.

PART III

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe, justify and discuss the overall research design within which this study was located, and the population which was studied. The chapter also describes and justifies the population that was studied and the techniques that were used to arrive at the study sample. In addition, the chapter describes and justifies the methods and tools that were used to collect and analyse data, as well as the measures that were taken to ensure that the data collection tools were valid and reliable, mainly through a pilot study. In this same chapter, I describe both the scope and the limitations of the study before giving an account of the ethical principles that were put into consideration throughout the study.

5.1 Research Design

According to Creswell (2003: 7), research is the process of making claims and then refining or abandoning some of them for claims that are more strongly warranted. A research design is the overall plan or strategy adopted for a research project (Myers 2013: 19). Similarly, Babbie and Mouton (2001: 74) define a research design as a plan or blueprint of how one intends to conduct one's research. In the same vein, Burns and Grove (2011: 49) describe a research design as a blue-print for conducting a study, that maximises control over factors that may interfere with the study's desired outcome. Others, including Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Creswell (2014), have called a research design a strategy of inquiry. Myers (2013: 19) argues that a research design involves deciding upon all the various components of research: one's philosophical assumptions, research methods, which data collection and analysis methods one intends to use, one's approach to writing up and, if applicable, how one intends to publish one's findings. Therefore, a research design provides the roadmap of a research project. Burns and Grove (2011:50) observe that a particular research design is aimed at meeting the study purpose. This study adopted a participatory action research (PAR) design.

5.1.1 Theoretical Understanding of Action Research (AR)

According to Stringer (2014: 1), AR is a systematic approach to investigation that enables people to find effective solutions to problems they confront in their everyday lives. AR is a vehicle for social change (Druckman 2005: 314) through which the participants' views inform the direction of the project by devising and implementing an action research plan. Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 21) observe that AR literally help transform inquiry into praxis or action, enabling research to become practical, reflective, pragmatic and action-directed to solve problems in the world. They further argue that action researchers are committed to a set of disciplined material practices that produce radical, democratizing transformation in the civic sphere (Denzin and Lincoln 2011: 21). Additionally, Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 29) argue that pragmatism is intimately connected to democracy, and is a social science approach to democratic deliberation and action. In the same vein, Stringer (2014: 2) suggests that centralized policies, programmes and services should allow practitioners to engage the human potential of all people who contribute to the complex dynamics of the contexts in which they work. In Stringer's own words:

Action research in this case is not merely a tool for applying a standardized set of procedures to professional, organizational, or community life, or a "job" intended as the provenance of trained researchers. Neither is it a superficial set of routines that legitimate any set of social or professional practices. Far from providing a set of fixed prescriptions to be applied in any context, action research provides a flexible and practical set of procedures that are systematic, cyclical, solutions oriented, and participatory, providing the means to devise sustainable improvements in practice that enhance the lives and well-being of all participants (Stringer 2014:5).

Central to AR is a collaborative relationship known as co-generative inquiry, which brings the experience and training of professional social researchers together with the depth of knowledge, experience and commitment of local researchers and stakeholders to the process of solving a problem. In so doing, AR generates significant generalization, methodological developments and empirical findings, as a reading of most scholarly issues indicate (Denzin and Lincoln 2011: 29). In other words, participatory action research is participatory in that it involves researchers, target community members and other stakeholders; and it is action research because it takes practical action to solve an identified problem(s) even as the research is being conducted.

5.1.2 Justification of Action Research (AR)

SGBV is a serious problem that adversely affects many refugee women and girls in refugee camps and settlements, including Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Therefore, I felt that it would have been inadequate to simply understand the magnitude and causes of the problem, and make recommendations for addressing it, without doing something practical to mitigate or solve the problem. That is why, in this

study, AR was aimed at building more egalitarian relations between refugee males and females to fight against SGBV and ensure peaceful coexistence. As briefly explained in Chapter 1, as the selected research design for this study, AR directed the selection of the study population, the sampling procedures, the measurement methods, the data collection and analysis plans (Burns and Grove 2011: 50).

5.1.3 Formulation of an Intervention Project

The initial stage of project formulation (Phase I) was agreed upon after data collection. In this phase, participants who indicated willingness to be part of the action team during interviews automatically became the experimental group. Those that did not wish to be part of the action team remained the control group. A project inception workshop where the two groups were engaged in a discussion on the findings of the causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and what could be done to change the situation. It is these same findings that were used to devise an intervention strategy through the experimental group. Chapter 6 of this thesis presents these findings.

An intervention to generate a sustainable solution to the problem of SGBV was initiated by the participants with my guidance. This intervention is conceptualised as an empowerment project to reduce and hopefully eliminate SGBV sustainably in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The formulation was strictly participatory, and I acted mainly as a facilitator whose task was to guide the participants to stay on course in pursuit of the research objectives (finding a solution to the SGBV problem). A training programme was developed in which the 14 participants that voluntarily offered to be part of the action team were trained. The group started off with 14 participants from diverse backgrounds in terms of religion and ethnicity among other attributes; but by the end of the project cycle, the action team had been reduced to 13 members because one member had been resettled elsewhere.

To begin with, the comparison/experimental²³ group members agreed that they needed an identity: out of the several names that were suggested, the members opted for *Mume Kwa Muke* (translated as He for She). In selecting the name, the team was inspired by the fact that, for the first time in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, men and women refugees were equally represented in a group and that they had an equal opportunity to reduce SGBV in the community. Other groups in the settlement are composed exclusively of men or women, and most of them target women. Thus, the name *Mume Kwa Muke* recognises and reflects the importance of both women and men working together to reduce or even eliminate SGBV. A detailed discussion of formulation of the project appears later in this chapter and in Chapter 7.

²³ The experimental group can also be called a comparison group for purposes of evaluation; it is not possible to have an experimental group in the more strict sense of the concept, for example, as used in medical research.

The formulation of the action group was guided and justified by the four key principles identified by Stringer (2014: 24): relationships, communication, participation and inclusion. These principles helped me, in liaison with the participants, to formulate activities sensitive to the key elements of action research. Below is an outline of the four principles.

- **Relationships**

Stringer (2014: 24) argues that the type, nature and quality of relationships in any social setting directly influence the quality of the outcomes of any human enterprise. Indeed, AR has a primary role of maintaining positive working relationships amongst individuals by:

- a) Promoting feelings of equality for all people involved.
- b) Maintaining harmony.
- c) Avoiding conflicts, where possible.
- d) Resolving conflicts that arise, openly and dialogically.
- e) Accepting people as they are, not as some people think they ought to be.
- f) Encouraging personal, cooperative relationships, rather than impersonal, competitive, conflictual, or authoritarian relationships.
- g) Being sensitive to people's feelings.

Applying Stringer's principle of building quality relationships before introducing the AR project, I tried to build relationships within the hierarchical operations in which refugee women played subordinate roles in their families and communities. The *Mume Kwa Muke* project, influenced the relations between refugee women and men in the settlement, based on more egalitarian relations underscored by mutual love and respect for one another. Through this partnership, with my guidance, the level of subordination of women in the settlement reduced. As a result, women began voicing their concerns in the community, without the usual fears of retribution or ostracization, although, as Chapter 7 indicates, this is still work in progress.

- **Communication**

AR requires all participants to engage in communication that facilitates the development of harmonious relationships and the effective attainment of group or organizational objectives (Stringer 2014: 26). According to Stringer (2014: 27), effective communication in AR involves six attributes:

- a) Listening attentively to people.

- b) Accepting and acting on what the people say.
- c) Being capable of being understood by everyone.
- d) Being truthful and sincere.
- e) Acting in socially and culturally appropriate ways.
- f) Regularly advising others about what is happening.

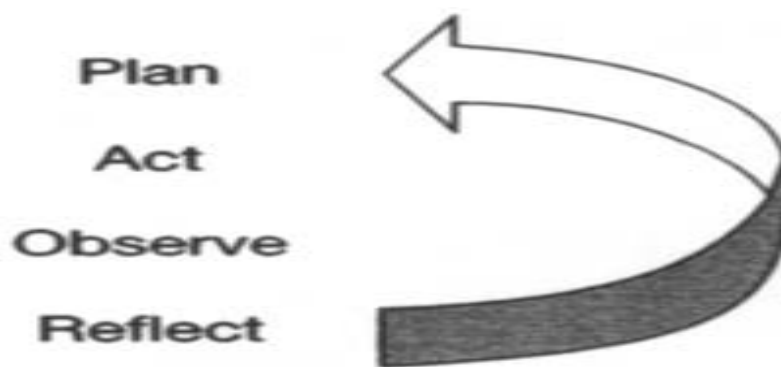
During this study, communication was key to the effective operation of the process of inquiry, providing means to ensure that peer educators on SGBV and the community as a whole were fully informed of events and activities and had all the information they needed to accomplish their work together (Stringer 2014: 28). I ensured that participants were informed of every stage of the study and that they always sought clarification where they did not understand. Every major decision to be made had to be made by consensus or put to a vote. Through this process, people, especially women who previously had no say in any decision-making process, felt acknowledged, accepted and respected. Consequently, their feelings of worth were enhanced, and the fact that they contributed actively to the work of the group made them proud. Some female peer educators shared their stories of success at the end of the AR (see Appendix I).

- **Participation**

According to Myers (2013: 63), participation actively involves those who experience or own the real-world problem in finding their own solutions. In his view, Stringer (2014: 28) adds that participation is an important aspect of AR because it allows people to engage in the process of exploring the nature and context of the problems that concern them. In Stringer's view participation gives participants an opportunity to develop immediate and deeply relevant understandings of their situation and to be involved actively in the process of dealing with those problems (Stringer 2014). In other words, AR is collaborative. Drawing from Stringer's analysis, and as already explained above, refugee women - as the main victims of SGBV, were engaged in an empowerment project that helped to generate solutions to the problem of SGBV. Rather than sit back and lament about their plight, refugee women were willing to change their situation by engaging in this project. However, whilst the group was composed of equal numbers of females and males, and although I always ensured that as a group we all agreed on the day and time for the next meeting or activity, during meet-ups, there were often less women than men, mainly because women members were held home by domestic chores. Hence, although women have been empowered as leaders and decision-makers, their participation is still constrained by culturally entrenched norms and attitudes that assign them domestic roles rather than public ones. That is why women need to pro-actively challenge such norms and attitudes by asserting their right to participate in the public affairs of society.

Women's pro-activeness is related to Paulo Freire's idea of conscientization, a process where the oppressed become aware of, and reflect on their ability to exercise their profoundly transforming power in order to determine their reality (Freire 2000: 40). The principle of participation is important and can only work if women, who are rendered vulnerable by cultural norms and practices, are conscientized. Freire also emphasises praxis or informed action derived from the process of reflection into action (Freire 2000: 40), a process through which refugee women can draw lessons from their plight and pave the way to their liberation from SGBV. Indeed, Stringer (2014: 33) argues that we learn better by doing rather than reading, thinking, talking or listening. Refugee women members of *Mume Kwa Muke* were able to make sense of their lives and experiences and create new visions of a transformed world in which they hoped to live, thereby setting the ground for their liberation from oppression and marginalization. According to Costello (2003: 6), critical reflection involves reviewing actions undertaken and planning future actions as illustrated in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5. 1 A basic action research model (Source, Costello 2003: 7)



Myers (2013: 64) observes that in participatory AR participants are involved as subjects and co-researchers, which enables them to exercise control over the research process, by setting their own research agenda, helping to collect and analyse data, and controlling the use of the results. In this study, the participants were engaged in formulating the decisions that influenced the project direction in a cycle involving planning and execution of a programme for change, assessing what happens following a change, reflecting on these processes and consequences, and planning further action.

- **Inclusion**

AR seeks to enact an approach to inquiry that includes all relevant stakeholders in the process of investigation, creates contexts that enable diverse groups to negotiate their agendas in an atmosphere of mutual trust and acceptance and to work towards effective solutions to problems that concern them (Stringer 2014: 31). According to Stringer (2014: 31), inclusion in AR involves five activities:

- a) Maximization of the involvement of all relevant individuals.
- b) Inclusion of all groups affected.
- c) Inclusion of relevant issues; social, economic, cultural and political rather than a focus on a narrow administrative or political agenda.
- d) Ensuring cooperation with other groups, agencies and organizations.
- e) Ensuring that all relevant groups benefit from the activities.

Mume Kwa Muke sought to have equal opportunities and shared values for all the group members. This principle was driven by SDGs 5 and 16 which emphasize gender equality and inclusion of all to achieve peace and security respectively. As such, the *Mume Kwa Muke* committee is composed of 2 male and 2 female refugees who lead the other group members in coordinating, planning and implementing SGBV activities within the different zones of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. They also represent the group on different protection meetings held within the community. I always conducted follow-up meetings or telephone conversations with this committee during and after evaluation to ensure that all project plans were implemented effectively.

5.1.4 Project Implementation

According to Stringer (2014: 166), during the project implementation phase, participants work creatively to formulate actions that lead to the resolution of the problem. Participants, especially primary stakeholders whose issues are the central focus of the research, participate in planning to systematically devise the task and activities that will enable them to achieve a resolution to the issues at the heart of the AR process (Stringer 2014: 168). According to Stringer (2014: 168), the project implementation phase consists of three main procedures:

- a) Planning, which involves setting priorities and defining tasks.
- b) Implementing activities that help participants accomplish their tasks.
- c) Reviewing, in which participants evaluate their progress.

A workshop was planned and given around the sensitivity of the issues to be addressed, participants agreed on the key guiding principles to be followed throughout the workshop. The guidelines were meant to establish and maintain order so that all participants could express themselves freely and learn from one another. SGBV is a sensitive topic to discuss, especially when the discussion involves participants some of whom could be perpetrators or victims in the same spaces. Hence, the guidelines or ground rules were partly meant to mitigate any probable conflict during the discussions. Following Stringer's procedures, I encouraged and allowed the participants to formulate the project name, define

the project objectives and formulate an action plan in pursuit of the project goal. The participants agreed on three objectives, which were that by the end of the AR:

- a) Women would have been empowered to be change agents or leaders in the community.
- b) Participants would have contributed to a positive change in the attitudes and behaviours of community members.
- c) Success stories would have been narrated by the participants.

The project aimed at influencing all community members, including the perpetrators and survivors of SGBV, through the transformation of the values and attitudes which initially reinforced SGBV. Guided by Lederach's recommendation that peace-building approaches must target the population that typically experiences violence and trauma associated with war (Lederach 1997), the *Mume Kwa Muke* project sought to generate durable solutions to SGBV by empowering both refugee women and men who live with the realities of conflict. The project consisted of six (6) interrelated activities: group formation, training, planning, implementation, monitoring progress, and evaluation;

- **Group formulation:** Altogether, the action team involved the control group and the experimental group. Out of the 30 participants, 14 volunteered to be part of the experimental team, while the remaining 16 opted to be the control team. The experimental team members included refugee women (7) and men (7) who were trained as peer educators on how to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Participants jointly coined the name *Mume Kwa Muke* to ably ensure that both male and female participants worked together as peer educators in the campaign to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement. They later formed a committee which was to govern them. The committee involved a chairperson who was male, a female vice chairperson and a secretary. The group members were initially 14, but close to the end of project phase, 1 group member was resettled to Europe, reducing the number to 13. On the other hand, the non-trained participants (control group) members were 16, but by the end of the project phase only 12 were available for the post-test, although all of the 30 participants had pledged to be available for the post-test.
- **Training:** The training was carried out in a one-day workshop in which key concepts and the core international and domestic laws advocating for the elimination of SGBV were reviewed. During the same workshop, the team agreed on their group pledges and personal pledges (see Appendix H) that they would use as indicators to monitor the change created in the community. They were to report their accomplishments to the secretary throughout the month and then meet every last Friday of the month to review the pledges.
- **Planning:** I met with the action team to devise actions to be taken. The focus was placed on the major causes of SGBV while other issues were ranked for action in order of priority. Two training

sessions were conducted to improve the capacity of the participants to solve the problem of SGBV in an empowerment programme. Each main cause of SGBV was first stated as a goal for example: to reduce levels of male alcohol consumption in the settlement. The goal, objective, tasks, persons and timelines were specified at this stage.

- **Implementation:** Peer educators used the readily available resources to sensitize the community and raise its awareness regarding SGBV. They applied mechanisms such as songs and drama to educate the community about the ills of SGBV, especially during public holidays, such as International Women's Day and the 16 Days of Activism. Moreover, the group took advantage of the key stakeholders in the community with whom they entrusted the responsibility of voicing issues concerning SGBV at whatever function they were called to attend within the community. These included RWCs and church leaders amongst others. Conflict resolution concerning minor disagreements or major arguments was maintained at a relatively neutral stance in order to assist parties in conflict to come to a resolution that is satisfactory to both of them.
- **Monitoring and evaluation:** I monitored every stage of the project. To track changes, participants met every last Friday of the month to review their progress. Each participant was given the task to review the project impact by reporting on group or personal pledges previously made and proposing adjustments to planned project activities if necessary for positive progress. At each Friday meeting, members also celebrated their successes or achievements. Evaluation was carried out at the end of the project phase to measure the extent to which set goals had been achieved. I used the project objectives to measure the effectiveness of the project. While a significant change in attitudes and behaviours among the peer educators was achieved, the wider community showed improvement but given the relative brevity of the project phase, attitudinal change could not be achieved wholly. Evaluation is discussed further in Sub-section 5.1.5 of this thesis.

I provided both emotional support and organisational support to participants at every step of project implementation and evaluation in order to keep them on track and maintain their energy.

Figure 5. 2 SGBV Peer Educators of the *Mume Kwa Muke* Empowerment Project (Source, Primary data)



Figure 5. 3 A Sensitization Workshop in Sweswe Zone by *Mume Kwa Muke* Peer Educators (Source, Primary data)



5.1.5 Project Evaluation

Payne and Payne (2004: 80) indicate that evaluation is a process of systematic inquiry directed towards collecting, analysing and interpreting information, so that one can draw conclusions about the merit,

value and worth or significance of the project, programme, or policy that is being examined. According to Walliman (2011: 16), evaluation is a descriptive type of research specifically designed to deal with complex social issues. Walliman further argues that for evaluation to be useful, its methods must be relevant to the context and intentions of the research, and that it goes beyond just getting facts in order to make sense of the myriad of human, political, social, cultural and contextual elements involved (Walliman 2011: 16).

Evaluation is carried out for purposes of programme management, improvement and refinement, financial accountability, on public demand, to meet accreditation requirements, for purposes of quality assurance and control, and various other reasons (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 337). According to Stringer (2014: 204), evaluation should ultimately assess the worth and effectiveness of a set of activities or a project according to its impact on the primary stakeholders. It should provide an indication of the extent of the project impact on the lives of the people for whom it was formulated. Stringer (2014: 183) further states that, after evaluation, tasks and activities that have resulted in a satisfactory resolution are delineated, and those that are unresolved become subject to continued action. In Stringer's view, outcomes should be acceptable to stakeholders rather than their degree of success being measured against some fixed criteria (Stringer 2014: 183). In evaluating the impact of the *Mume Kwa Muke* project, the researcher adopted the outcome evaluation approach, using a randomised control method.

According to the WHO (2000: 7), outcome evaluation provides information on how well a programme is accomplishing its goals. Outcome evaluation was aimed at measuring the immediate changes (intended and unintended results) attributable to the project implemented. Outcome evaluation was mainly concerned with whether participants had changed in the direction that the programme was planned (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 348) alongside a set of activities. The evaluation was meant to measure the effectiveness of these activities with respect to benefits achieved, to suggest improvement and to provide direction for future activities while at the same time gauging whether the change observed was a result of the training conducted by the project (WHO 2000: 7).

5.1.6 Evaluation methodology

This research applied two methods of evaluation, the pledge method and the randomized-controlled trial method. The pledge method consisted of group members meeting once a month to review their fulfilment of the individual and group pledges that they made on a monthly basis. The extent to which these pledges were found to have been fulfilled represented the degree of success or failure of the project at the time of evaluation. The pledge and the randomized-controlled trial methods are described in detail below.

- **The Pledge Method**

Pledges were made by the action team during the one-day training workshop in which the group members shared information on how this method would help them to track the changes the project would have achieved at the end of the project phase. At the beginning of the workshop, participants agreed on the guiding principles they were to follow throughout the workshop. The guiding principles were meant to ensure order, and to enable all participants to express themselves freely and learn from one another. In addition, the guiding principles also served to prevent and mitigate conflicts that were likely to arise between SGBV victims and perpetrators.

Personal and individual pledges to measure change on a monthly basis made monthly evaluation quite easy, and helped to set the direction for the activities of the following month. Below are some examples of individual and group pledges:

- a) Individual pledge: “I pledge to reach out to my friend who has been abusive to his wife, to teach him that wife battering is against the law of Uganda and that it can lead to the breakage of his marriage”.
- b) Group Pledge: “This month we shall reach out to Swese and sensitize the community on the ills of SGBV and educate them on peaceful co-existence in their homes and the wider community”.

Each peer educator would work towards attaining their monthly personal and group pledge (on average every group member had to fulfil 2 personal pledges and 1 group pledge) and later fill in a report form (see Appendix H) and submit it to the group chairperson. To verify the reports each time, the action group would engage in community sensitization, the researcher would follow up on the pledges reportedly fulfilled to ascertain that they had actually been fulfilled.

- **Randomized-controlled trial approach**

The action group was divided into two stratified groups, an experimental group initially of 14 people and a control group of 16 people; each group contained an equal amount of males and females. Initially, I requested those who were interested in being a part of the experimental group (of 7 women and 7 men) to identify themselves, making sure that all those selected were Congolese of 18 years of age (and above), and that all the 5 zones in the settlement were as fairly represented as possible. Every member of the community had an equal chance of being selected and participating in one group or the other. Members of both groups received the same pre-treatment and post-treatment assessments. The experimental group was actively involved at all stages of project implementation while the control group (composed of 16 participants) was only engaged during the preliminary data collection stage (before project formulation) and at the post-test stage (after project formulation) to compare the results of the two groups and to measure the coherence of viewpoints.

Evaluation Phase 1- Findings from preliminary data)

Findings from data collection informed the pre-test phase in which all responses from participants (who accepted to be part of the action team either as control group or experimental/comparison group), were measured for any gender biases or other SGBV related causes. Interviews held unearthed the negative social norms and attitudes, beliefs of patriarchy, division of gender roles amongst others all which relegated women to domestic spheres and exposed them to vulnerability of SGBV. This phase showed that SGBV in Kyaka II is underscored by cultural norms and beliefs. Chapter 5 elaborates more on such findings and Chapter 7 on Evaluation gives a deeper understanding of how this attitudes and norms gradually began to change as a result of the intervention strategy. Further still, post data collection phase, an interview survey addressing specific questions (Appendix D) was given to each participant that formed the control group. Prior to each interview, the participant would be assured that the information he or she would provide would be treated with utmost confidentiality and that his or her identity would remain strictly anonymous. In this method, I posed questions and the participants responded in a face-to-face encounter that was duly audio-recorded. Probing questions were also used to elicit elaboration on some answers. This method was selected mainly because it is flexible in terms of sampling, it enabled me to observe un-revealed variables such as strong beliefs related to culture and stereotypes relevant to the study, and it allowed for higher return rates of responses and fewer misunderstood questions as the researcher guides the respondent where necessary.

Evaluation phase 2- Findings from Project implementation

Post-project evaluation was carried out in a one-day workshop at the end of the project in order to measure the extent to which the programme had produced the desired outcomes (see Chapter 7). The study measured the immediate changes that had occurred as a result of the training programme, and the sustainability of the *Mume Kwa Muke* project. During this stage, changes were measured through the use of performance indicators as described in Chapter 6. The measurements showed that while the control group portrayed either no change or deterioration in SGBV attitudes and behavior, the experimental group that had been trained as peer educators registered positive change in attitudes. This change was portrayed in the success stories they shared after the project phase and in their monthly reports on their intervention within the community.

Indeed, participatory AR was appropriate to my study because it was flexible, relatively unstructured and driven largely by participants of the research project, and inductive in the sense of acquiring insights from the on-going participation during the research process (Druckman 2005: 315). Participatory AR also provided continuous cycles of investigation, designed to reveal effective solutions to issues and problems experienced in specific situations and localized settings (Stringer 2014). Moreover, it enabled

participants to evaluate the strengths and relevance of the research process. Since the research problem was identified on the basis of the issues pertinent to the local context, efforts were launched to concretely solve this problem directly and to evaluate the adequacy of the outcomes and the analytical understandings therein. The participatory AR engaged was meant to pursue and achieve the fourth specific objective of the study, that is: to plan and implement a project aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement, and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its performance in the course of the study. Although AR did not ensure confidentiality or anonymity of the action group and focus group participants as the members of each group were all known to one another, the participants verbally promised to maintain confidentiality and anonymity in order to ensure the security of the members.

5.2 Qualitative Research

Alongside participatory AR, this study employed qualitative research methods. According to Creswell (2003: 8), research in general seeks to develop relevant and true statements that can serve to explain a situation that is of concern or that describes causal relationships of interest. Creswell (2003: 18) defines qualitative research as that in which the researcher often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives or advocacy/participatory perspectives, or both. Other strategies of inquiry mostly used include: narratives, phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory and case studies (Creswell 2007; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). According to Creswell (2007: 9), a significant aspect of these procedures is that they have systematic methods of inquiry. On the other hand, Vishneusky and Beanlands (2004: 234) define qualitative research as a way of knowing and learning about different experiences from the perspective of the individual.

This study employed a case study of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, because a case study allows a researcher to conduct an in-depth study of a limited but representative area or phenomenon in order to draw valid conclusions about the larger area or phenomenon represented by the selected case. Various researchers maintain that case studies focus on a single phenomenon and that they are in-depth (Denscombe 2013: 52; Myers 2013: 75). As Creswell (2014: 241) rightly observes, a case study is a qualitative design in which the researcher explores in-depth a certain programme, event, activity, process or one or more individuals. According to Myers (2013: 75), case studies can be used to build or test theory, especially when there is already a large body of literature on the subject; such as for this research, the case study was used to test three theories including the: feminism, ecological and conflict transformation theories. In short, this study adopted participatory AR within a case study design, mainly using qualitative data collection and analysis methods in a methodological triangulation framework.

Scholars stress that the socially constructed nature of qualitative research seeks answers to questions that define how social experiences are created and given meaning (Creswell 2007; Denzin and Lincoln

2011). For example, Gibbs (2007) argues that qualitative research is intended to approach “the world out there” and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena “from the inside” by analyzing three sets of information sources:

- a) Experiences which could be related to biological life histories or practices of individuals or groups.
- b) Interactions and communications in the making, which can be based on observing or recording practices of interacting and communicating, and analysing this material.
- c) Documents, including: texts, images, film or music, or similar traces of experiences or interactions.

An important aspect of the above-listed sets of sources of information is that they reveal, in rich and meaningful terms, how people construct the world around them, what they are doing or what is happening to them (Gibbs 2007). The qualitative approach was preferred because of its strength in in-depth exploration of people’s experiences, in this case the experiences of women refugees. This research employed methods such as interviews, which were conducted in a relaxed atmosphere that favoured communication between the researcher and the interviewees. In order to encourage interviewees to express themselves freely and candidly, the researcher refrained from expressing personal opinions which could easily have influenced the interviewees’ expressed opinions. In addition, every participant was encouraged to voice his or her views. The researcher also employed focus group discussion and observation as methods of data collection. The research entailed collecting open-ended emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data (Creswell 2003: 18). The researcher guided and directed interviews, rather than dictate with preconceived ideas of what should happen during the process.

Using qualitative research increases the possibilities of truly understanding the magnitude of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. This is because qualitative research allows for in-depth analysis of participants’ views (Myers 2013: 9). In order to attain the goals of this study, the researcher used both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was collected by means of focus group discussion, key informant interviews and observation; whilst secondary data was obtained by reviewing relevant literature in the form of research publications, newspapers, project reports and documentaries. Questions asked in interviews and focus group discussions were open-ended so as to allow participants to express their views freely. According to Creswell (2003: 7) it is such data, evidence, and rational considerations that shape knowledge.

5.2.1 Data Collection Methods, Instruments and Procedures

This study employed methodological triangulation which included three data collection methods; focus group discussions, key informant interview and participant observation. A focus group guide, interview guides and an observation guide (Appendices E, F and G respectively) were used for data collection. According to Burns and Grove (2011: 52), data collection is the precise, systematic gathering of information relevant to the research purpose or the specific objectives, questions or hypothesis of a study. Prior to data collection, I gained permission to carry out research from the OPM (see Appendix A). To ensure adherence to the principle of informed consent, I informed all prospective participants about the title and the purpose of the study, emphasising that it was aimed at building egalitarian relationships between men and women refugees. I then sought informed consent for each interview by issuing a consent form (see Appendix C) which was translated into Kiswahili for the benefit of the Congolese refugee participants. This consent form clearly explained the purpose of the research and the ethical considerations involved, so that every person who signed the form did so from an informed point of view, thereby fulfilling the principles of voluntary participation and informed consent on the part of the participants. Interviews were held with both female and male refugees, local council leaders, officers of various humanitarian agencies involved and religious leaders; and they were held at times and in places convenient for each participant. Since all the 14 participating refugees were Congolese and they all spoke Kiswahili (while I spoke English), I employed a Kiswahili-English translator to facilitate communication, especially with the non-English speaking participants.

Section 5.2 highlights how the research sample was chosen. In total, the sample population included a total of 45 participants; 30 refugee men and women and 5 RWC members for FGDs; KIIs involved 2 sex workers, 5 humanitarian agency officials, 1 Police officer, 1 education officer, the camp commandant and 1 clan leader. The aforementioned research methods were selected because they were cost effective and easy to use by all participants. The purpose of the interviews was to measure the rate of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee Settlement, learn the cultural norms that were at play contributing to SGBV, and be informed of any interventions already on ground to solve the problem. They fulfilled the second research objective of *mapping the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature*.

To ensure adherence to the principle of informed consent, I cited the title and purpose of the research to all prospective participants, emphasising that it was aimed at building egalitarian relationships between men and women refugees. To promote active participation by all participants, I asked participants to set the ground rules that would guide the training workshops. The rules set included, among others: respect for yourself and for others, expecting the best from others, thinking before reacting. The rules were meant to build peaceful relations among participants. I also assured participants that all their responses would be used exclusively for research purposes and that information gathered would be kept in the safe custody of Durban University of Technology, which would dispose of it after

five years. To maintain confidentiality and anonymity, and to ensure that no harm befell any participant on account of information he or she had divulged, I used pseudonyms for all participants and changed the name of the village of origin of each participant. Whilst using methodological triangulation to promote validity, I discovered that although survivors of SGBV were not willing to share their personal stories and experiences in FGDs, they were more open in individual interviews. This led me to engage SGBV survivors, including former rape victims and women that transacted sex for survival, in key informant interviews. The reasons for the taciturnity of such women in FGD settings are discussed in Chapter 6. The three sub-sections that follow elaborate on the three main methods of data collection used in the study.

- **Key informant interviews (KIIs)**

According to Jackson (2011: 103), interviews are a method of inquiry that typically involves asking questions in a face-to-face manner that may be conducted anywhere. However, Czarniawska (2014: 29) argues that an interview is not a mere collection of views from the respondent, but one conducted so that the researcher may know facts about attitudes outside that interview. As such, interviews are a dialogue whereby two people seek knowledge and understanding in a common conversational endeavour (Czarniawska 2014: 29), allowing the researcher to understand the participant's construction of knowledge and social reality (Nieuwenhuis 2007: 87). Interviews elicit information from respondents that would have been rather difficult to obtain by other means of data collection, such as questionnaire administration and FGDs. They are categorised into three types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006: 314).

Structured interviews are close-ended, while unstructured interviews are open-ended (Nieuwenhuis 2007; DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Whilst structured interviews are mostly used in quantitative research, semi-structured and unstructured interviews are mostly applied in qualitative research because of their ability to elicit in-depth understanding of issues (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Unstructured interviewing was chosen because it is open-ended, focusing on the respondent's own perception of the phenomenon that happens to be the subject of the interview (Nieuwenhuis 2007: 87), and because it can be conducted in conjunction with the collection of observational data, a format that this study employed (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006: 315). I began by establishing a rapport with the participants (Struwig and Stead 2013: 102), and used probing questions to gain in-depth and more elaborate knowledge or information. Nine key informants were specifically selected to investigate SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement while observing, questioning and taking notes. According to Payne and Payne (2004: 134), key informants are those whose positions in a research setting give them specialist knowledge about other people, processes or happenings, that is more extensive, detailed or privileged than that of ordinary people, and who are therefore particularly valuable sources of information to a researcher, or least in the early stages of a project.

For his part, Jackson (2011: 107) observes that interviews allow the researcher to record not only verbal responses but also any facial or bodily expressions or movements such as shrugs, grimaces and grins, since these non-verbal expressions may give the researcher greater insight into the respondents' true opinions and beliefs. Indeed, qualitative interviews unveil that which is not ordinarily on view and examine that which is often looked at but seldom seen (Rubin and Rubin 2012: XV). The interviews with the various key stakeholders in the project provided in-depth information on SGBV and provided recommendations on how best to reduce its effects and build sustainable peace. I conducted key informant interviews with humanitarian organisation officials, local council leaders, police officers and refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. While interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed, informal conversations and observations were recorded daily in field notes.

- **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Payne and Payne (2004: 103) describe a group discussion as a means of collecting data in “one go” from several people, and concentrating on their shared meanings; whereas a FGD is a type of group discussion on a narrowly focused topic by group members of equal status who do not know each other. However, Payne and Payne’s condition of equal status of the members of a FGD and of their not knowing each other, in my analysis, is unrealistic. A FGD setting enables respondents to express their view points in depth, and allows all respondents to voice their views in the given time, especially if the facilitator is skilled enough to exploit the potential of the setting. Elsewhere, Page and Meyer (2000: 112) define focus groups as discussion sessions where a group is gathered to discuss a particular topic. According to Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011: 136), a FGD is an interactive discussion comprising of six to eight pre-selected participants, led by a trained moderator and focusing on a specific set of issues. Myers (2013: 123) states that FGDs are important because they allow participants to engage in thoughtful discussion. They are conducted in an encouraging environment that is free from noise and is comfortable (Struwig and Stead 2013: 103). FGDs entail verbal communication among participants and narratives, maintaining that participants are individuals who have the power to construct their social world. Indeed, the hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without that interaction (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 292). A good FGD allows space for probing, as it can lead to the formation of new perspectives and reveal previously concealed deeper issues. Moreover, the challenges to these issues prompt rationalisations and further discussion, providing greater detail and bringing about unanticipated issues (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011: 159), all which can be valuable to a research project. In the opinion of Jackson (2011: 104):

Focus group interviews [or discussions] are a flexible methodology that permits the gathering of a large amount of information from many people in a fairly short amount of time. Because of their flexibility, focus group discussions allow the

moderator to explore other topics that might arise based on the discussion of the group.

During fieldwork, I carried out 3 separate FGDs, which included: 15 refugee women, 15 refugee men and 5 RWC members respectively, to get collective views on SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. I arranged a convenient time and a suitable location that was easily accessible for all respondents before carrying out each FGD (Payne and Payne 2004: 105). I directed the discussions and the interaction among participants by allowing them to share their own experiences because they wanted to do so, rather than feeling that they were forced to do so. Figures 5.4 and 5.5 below show FGD sessions, one with refugee men and the other with women.

Figure 5. 4 Focus Group Discussion with Refugees Men (Source: Primary data)



Figure 5. 5 Focus Group Discussion with Women Refugees (Source: Primary data)



- **Participant Observation**

Observation is a method of recording conditions, events and activities through the non-inquisitorial involvement of the researcher (Walliman 2011: 195). According to Creswell (2014: 19), the researcher may use observation while seeking to establish meaning of a given phenomenon from the views of participants. On the other hand, according to Myers (2013: 137), participant observation is that where the researcher observes people's actions and also participates in some activities to some extent. This involves, talking to people and interacting with them in an attempt to gain an understanding of their beliefs and activities from the inside (Page and Meyer 2000; Myers 2013). Therefore, in social science research, a participant observer is involved in an ongoing process or activity (Walliman 2011). By immersing oneself in the society and culture that one is observing, one can ably understand people and see things from their view point. For instance, the researcher may observe group relationships while carrying out her/his research during FGDs and in other forms of study. According to Graziano and Raulin (2013: 133):

As a participant observer, the researcher becomes a part of the situation and may even contribute to it. This may include making the normal contributions almost anyone would make in the situation, or it might consist of carefully planned and executed changes in the researcher's behaviour that tentatively test specific hypotheses.

May (2011: 189) enriches our understanding of participant observation when he adds:

Participant observation is about engaging in the social scene, experiencing it and seeking to understand and explain it. The researcher is the medium through which this takes place. By listening and experiencing, impressions are formed and theories considered, reflected upon, developed and modified. It examines process of change and the ways in which people act in and make sense of their environments and how those, in turn inform and influence their actions.

I applied participant observation throughout the field process. The activities observed ranged from rendering support to implementing partners (IPs) in food and non-food item distribution, including plastic sheeting, household items, soap, and re-usable sanitary towels, to attending interagency meetings conducted by OPM, UNHCR, IPs and community leaders, plus other stakeholder meetings, including those of community workers (Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) and village health teams (VHTs) among others). Through these observations and experiences, I gained first-hand, nuanced knowledge of the official efforts to promote refugee self-reliance, as well as the relationship between refugees and the aid organizations in the settlement. I also learnt about more complex and long-term refugee assistance projects and witnessed the gaps and challenges in their implementation. Participant observation also involved systematically taking notes of what was observed. The events I observed, especially the types and causes of SGBV, were coded and categorized to facilitate understanding. This kind of observation led me to pose questions that later elicited valuable responses.

5.2.2 Study Population

A population is a theoretically specified aggregation of study elements (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 173). It consists of all the cases that could be involved in a study (Gorard 2013: 76). As of March 2013, the total refugee population of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement was 16,428, consisting of 8,384 females and 8,044 males. The vast majority of the refugee population (89%) are DRC nationals, with the remaining refugees being from Rwanda and Burundi, as well as smaller numbers from the CAR, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Somalia, South Sudan and Tanzania (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013). Kyaka II Refugee Settlement was set up in 1994 and was selected because of its long historical background as a host to many refugees from different countries. The study population for this study included female and male refugees aged between 18 and 50 years, humanitarian organisation officials, RWC members, police officers and clan leaders of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The sample population included a total of 45 participants, including: 30 refugee men and women and 5 RWC members for FGDs; KIIs involved 2 sex workers, 5 humanitarian agency officials, 1 Police officer, 1 education officer, the camp commandant and 1 clan leader. This population is representative of the larger population (Gorard 2013: 76) of the 5 zones explored (inhabited by Congolese refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement) during

the research out of the total 9 zones in the settlement. Below is a table summarizing the distribution of the sample by category.

Table 5. 1 Summary Distribution of the Sample By Category (Source, Primary data)

Category	Gender (F/M)	Total	Sampling Method
Key Informant Interviews		Purposive Sampling	
Team leader UNHCR	F	1	Random sampling
Camp commandant	M	1	
Sex workers	F	2	
Police officer	F	1	
Project officer GBV- Danish RC	F	1	
Anti-SGBV coordinator-AHA	F	1	
Team leader - Samaritan Purse	M	1	
Windle Trust Education Programme Assistant	M	1	
Clan leader	M	1	
Focus Group Interviews		Random sampling	
Refugee Women	F	15	Random sampling
Refugee Men	M	15	
RWCs	4 (M)	5	
Total		45	

Table 5. 2 The Refugee Population of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement by Nationality, Age Group and Gender (Source, OPM documents, Kyaka II Refugee Settlement)



Population Statistics by Country, Sex and Age Group as of 05 February 2016

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Site: KYAKA II

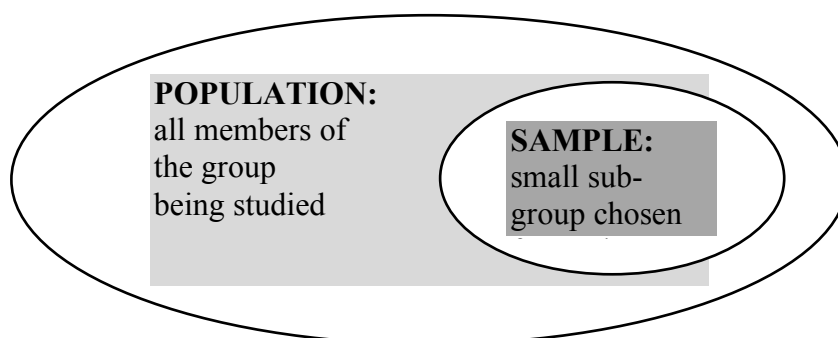
Age Group			0 - 4			5 - 11			12 - 17			18 - 59			60+			Total F	Total M	Total
CoO	HH	Female HR	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total			
COB	1	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	5	1	6
AFG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
BDI	288	114	93	89	182	124	143	267	82	106	188	304	312	616	12	29	41	615	679	1,294
COD	3,788	1,746	1,537	1,486	3,023	2,344	2,334	4,678	1,471	1,375	2,846	4,311	4,287	8,598	336	268	604	9,999	9,750	19,750
ERT	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	3
ETH	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	2	3	5
KEN	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	4	4	3	7	2	10	12	0	1	1	7	18	25
MLW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
OMN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
RWA	380	136	117	124	241	640	620	1,260	669	636	1,305	1,894	1,833	3,727	118	156	274	3,438	3,369	6,807
SOM	11	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	7	9	16	0	0	0	9	11	20
SSD	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	4
SUD	2	0	1	0	1	28	33	61	30	47	77	150	145	295	17	19	36	226	244	470
	4,451	2,003			3,451			6,274			4,429			13,277			956	14,307	14,079	28,388

Total Sites Number: 28,388

5.2.3 Sampling Method

According to Burns and Grove (2011: 40 & 51), sampling is a process of selecting subjects who are representative of the population being studied. The fundamental principle of sampling is that it is possible to produce accurate findings without the need to collect data from each and every member of the study population (Denscombe 2013). An illustration of the relationship between a population and a sample is shown in Figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5. 6 An Illustration of Population of Study and Sample (Source: Denscombe 2013: 23)



This study employed both probability and non-probability sampling to select participants who were representative of the study population. Probability sampling was employed for the random sampling of refugee participants because the refugee population encompasses refugees who included both survivors and perpetrators of SGBV. These participants represented the whole wider Congolese community of the study area as they included perpetrators and survivors of SGBV, and local leaders of Kyaka II Refugee settlement who possessed knowledge that the study was keen to exploit. According to Burns and Grove (2011: 40), random sampling is representative of the study population and every member of the study population is selected independently and stands an equal chance of being included in the study. I used random sampling to select participants for the FGDSs (which included 15 female refugee participants, 15 male refugee participants and 5 RWC members). The sample size for refugee males and female participants in FGDSs was purposively equal to ensure that gender balance was achieved in the selected zones. These refugee women and men agreed to participate in FGDSs after signing consent letters.

On the other hand, the study employed non-probability sampling, specifically purposive sampling, to select key informants - due to the small population of focus (Gorard 2013: 84). According to Creswell (2007: 125), purposive selection of participants in a study is guided by the fact that those selected can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study, mainly because, by virtue of their positions, they possess or have access to privileged information. Purposive sampling was therefore employed on the basis of the relevance and knowledge or experience of participants regarding SGBV in the settlement (Denscombe 2013: 35). Purposive sampling was applied to identify 10 key informants who were then interviewed on the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV against women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. These included: the team leader of UNHCR, the team leader of Samaritan Purse, the camp commandant, a police officer on GBV, the coordinator of the anti-SGBV organisation AHA, clan leader, Windle Trust Education Program Assistant, and two sex workers. Non-probability sampling was also applied for the pilot-study with the intention of testing the measuring instruments.

5.2.4 Pilot Study

According to Burns and Grove (2011: 49), a pilot study is a smaller version of a proposed study, conducted for the purpose of enabling the researcher to refine methodology. In the same vein, Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2010: 1) refer to pilot studies (also called feasibility studies) as mini versions of a full-scale study as well as the specific pre-testing of a particular research instrument, such as a questionnaire or interview schedule. One of the advantages of conducting a pilot study is that it might give advanced warning regarding where the main research project could possibly fail, where research protocols may not be followed, or whether proposed methods or instruments are inappropriate or too complicated (Van Teijlingen and Hundley 2010: 1). In short, a pilot study is usually meant to strengthen

the major study design (Burns and Grove 2011). As Van Teijlingen and Hundley (2010:4) rightly observe, investigators should be encouraged to report their pilot studies, and in particular to report in more detail the actual improvements made to the study design and the research process because well-designed and well-conducted pilot studies can inform us about the best research process, and occasionally about likely outcomes. Burns and Grove (2011: 49) maintain that a pilot study is carried out for eleven reasons which are to:

- a) Determine whether the proposed study is feasible, for example: if the subjects are available or to consider if the resources are enough.
- b) Develop or refine a research instrument.
- c) Develop a protocol for the implementation of a treatment.
- d) Identify problems with the design.
- e) Determine whether the sample is representative of the population or whether the sampling technique is effective.
- f) Examine the reliability and validity of the research instruments.
- g) Refine the data collection and analysis plans.
- h) Collect preliminary data.
- i) Give the researcher experience with the subjects, settings, methodology and methods of measurement.
- j) Implement data analysis techniques.
- k) Convince other stakeholders that the main study for the proposed research is worth supporting.

I conducted the pilot study using the data collection and analysis methods and tools proposed for the main study, in the same setting, and using the same treatment. The purpose of the pilot study was to assess the appropriateness or effectiveness of the data collection, analysis methods and tools envisaged for the main study so as to make the necessary changes. An open-ended interview guide was pre-tested on a selected pilot sample of 2 study participants from the sample population. Similarly, a FGD guide was pre-tested on 6 purposively selected FGD participants. The feedback from the pilot implementation was later incorporated within the interview and focus group guides before applying them to the larger group by revisiting the questions that needed further clarity. It was during the pilot study that it was conceived that the Congolese refugee community had a higher degree of SGBV cases than other nationalities, hence informing my choice of study population.

The delimitation of the study in the 5 selected zones was due to their proximity to the base camp, implying easier access and lower transportation costs for the study. The pilot study helped me to adjust the research tools to inform all the variables. For example, in the former FGD guide, I had overlooked the current anti-SGBV interventions available in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, but because respondents kept on referring to them during the pilot study, I incorporated them in the new FDG guide. On the other hand, while I had initially created one general KII guide for all respondents, during the pilot study, I realised that it was necessary to use separate KII guides for different categories of interviewees if all the different characteristics of the data were to be captured.

5.3 Data Analysis

Whilst Gibbs (2007: 4) argues that qualitative data analysis often involves dealing with large volumes of data, including: transcripts, recordings and notes, Burns and Grove (2011: 52) argue that data analysis reduces, organises and gives meaning to data. According to Creswell (2007: 148), data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organising data for analysis, reducing it into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables or discussion. Coding in qualitative research is a way of organising or managing data (Gibbs 2007: 4). Moreover, coding representation and the discussion of data are important in analysing qualitative data because they add interpretation and theory to the data (Gibbs 2007: 4). According to Mathers, Fox and Hunn (1998: 17), qualitative data analysis is a dynamic and on-going process. That is why Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011: 234) argue that the researcher must keep track of the analysis tasks completed, identify areas missed and review progress.

As Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011: 205) aptly observe, analysing qualitative data is not a simple task and can seem overwhelming because of the large volume of data a researcher has, and the tangle of issues it contains. Analysing qualitative data is not simply a matter of choosing and applying an accepted process, such as thematic analysis (Grbich 2013: 1); rather it involves developing “an empirical story” from the data collected, in a coherent presentation of people's experiences (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011: 205). Therefore, qualitative data analysis involves a process of immersion in data, through which one can identify and interpret the experiences of study participants. It involves a process of discovery that enables the researcher to remain close to the data and form an evidence-based understanding of the research issues (Creswell 2007; Gibbs 2007). This study used qualitative data analysis which encompassed a wealth of descriptive data, collected through methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing and FGD. Thematic data analysis, a method which is used to identify, analyse, and report patterns or themes within data was employed. According to Gomm (2009: 360) thematic analysis is:

The analysis of interview transcripts, written documents or broadcast media in terms of what the analyst considers to be interesting semantic features initially by thematic coding which is labelling or tagging instances of themes as being particular types.

Flick (2014: 83) adds that analysis should be aimed at presenting a rich description of data or a detailed analysis of a particular aspect of a study. I used thematic analysis in this study. Grbich (2013: 61) defines thematic analysis as a process of data reduction which is also one of the major data analytic options in qualitative research. While this study employed inductive thematic analysis, through developing codes and themes from the data collected, theoretical thematic analysis was also used to a certain extent, based on the theoretical framework (Flick 2014: 83) of this study. Using thematic analysis, codes and themes were developed through examining the underlying ideas, conceptualisations and ideologies behind what was mentioned explicitly in the text. I used codes to describe information about relationships and themes for analysis in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Creswell 2014: 199). Beyond thematic description and identification, I formed complex thematic connections (Creswell 2014: 200). In turn, the emerging themes informed the analysis in terms of the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency and compliance of data in pursuit of the objectives of the study.

Analysing and interpreting data was done by deeply immersing myself in the interview transcripts and other data collected. Although I had already established themes in advance from the theoretical framework in order to produce analysis, I also carried out inductive categorisation of material into themes and patterns in order to create meaning from the data collected (Gomm 2009: 360). Using Grbich's (2013: 21) perspective, I also carried out preliminary data analysis every time data was collected and transcribed, this involved checking and tracking the data to see what was coming out of it, to identify areas that required follow up, and to actively question where the information collected was leading (Grbich 2013: 21). This process helped me to gain deeper understanding of the values and meanings which lie within the text. Emerging themes in the interviews were coded and categorized, through a line-by-line coding system, and results were generated and grounded from the collected data.

Mathers, Fox and Hunn (1998: 18) observe that one way of trying to validate data analysis is to ask respondents to look at your analysis of the interview and to ask them if it is a true representation of what they have said and believe. In the same spirit, prior to the implementation of the empowerment project, I shared the findings with the participants to ascertain that my analysis tallied with the respondents' views and beliefs.

5.4 Scope of the Study

This study was conducted within a framework of thematic, spatial and temporal dimensions. The themes covered in this study included: the root causes and consequences of SGBV, the current interventions to

reduce SGBV, the development of an empowerment project to reduce the prevalence of SGBV in the study area, and recommendations of how best to reduce or eliminate SGBV in the study area. This research was carried out in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, a designated refugee settlement in a rural area of Kyenjojo District, south-western Uganda. Out of the 9 zones with 26 villages, only 5 zones, including: Sweswe, Buliti, Bukere, Mukondo and Ntambabiniga, composed of 12 villages, were selected for the study. This was primarily because the limited time span of the study and the limited funds available to cover the entire refugee settlement on account of its vastness. Moreover, by sheer coincidence, respondents cited the selected zones (in the study) as the most vulnerable to SGBV in the settlement, when the pilot test was conducted. The study population for this research was female and male refugees, humanitarian organisation officials, local council leaders and the police officer of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. While the study was estimated to take a period of 8 months initially, the study took a period of 10 Months (From January 2016 to October 2016) to appropriately address the issue of SGBV based on the objectives of the study.

5.5 Validity and Reliability

According to Creswell (2003: 8), being objective is an essential aspect of competent inquiry, and for this reason researchers must examine methods and conclusions for bias. In addition, Page and Meyer (2000: 84) argue that in scientific and academic research, reliability and validity relate to the rigor of the methods used in the study, and determine whether the results can be generalized to the total population. Struwig and Stead (2013: 136) add that rigor means quality and by increasing rigor, researchers address issues of validity and reliability.

5.5.1 Validity

Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 123). Validity is affected by the researcher's perception or understanding of what it means in the study, and his or her choice of paradigm assumption through sorting the data to find common themes or categories by eliminating overlapping areas (Creswell and Miller 2000: 127). As a result, many researchers have developed their own concepts of validity and have often generated or adopted what they consider to be more appropriate terms, such as, authenticity and trustworthiness (Creswell and Miller 2000).

According to Golafshani (2003: 604), engaging multiple methods, such as observation, interviews and recordings leads to a more valid and diverse construction of realities. That is why the present study used methodological triangulation (KIIs, FGDs and observation) to improve the analysis and understanding of the constructions of others. Leveraging Golafshani's understanding, this study applied the 3 research

methods by involving several interviewees so as to minimize the bias of a single interviewee and maximize the diversity and authenticity of the interpretations of the data at different times or locations (Golafshani 2003: 604). Creswell and Miller (2000: 126) define triangulation as a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study. For his part, Golafshani (2003: 604) argues that triangulation may include multiple methods of data collection and data analysis, but does not suggest a fixed method for all the researches and the methods chosen in triangulation to test the validity of a study depend on the criterion of the research. Therefore, triangulation served both to obtain additional and diverse insights, and to enhance the validity of the results obtained.

Triangulation was applied through use of various data collection methods to ensure credibility (Stringer 2014: 58). According to Gomm (2009: 367), triangulation means cross-checking one source of evidence against another or others. As such, I used FGDs, interviews and participant observation methods to ensure that there was consistency in the information produced and to prove that what was being reflected in the data was valid. Questions in the interviews and FGDs were directly linked to the research questions. At the end of the research project, data was tested for more credible and defensible results by applying the very same pilot study questions in the form of an interview guide to the research group. To evaluate interpretations, I presented a summary of the preliminary findings to participants and asked them to validate the findings. To ensure cohesion of the data, I explored the theoretical perspectives given to gauge how effective they operated in my study; I also modified these theories through deductions to come to credible conclusions, and I explained the strengths and weaknesses of the findings and offered alternative explanations for my research results.

5.5.2 Reliability

Punch (2005: 95) argues that reliability is a central concept in measurement and can basically be deduced to mean consistency. According to Payne and Payne (2004: 195), reliability refers to a property of a measuring device for social phenomena which yields consistent measurements when the phenomena are stable regardless of who uses the device, provided the basic conditions remain the same or similar. Therefore, reliability is an indication of the consistency or stability and accuracy of a measuring instrument (Jackson 2011: 81; Struwig and Stead 2013: 138).

Page and Meyer (2000: 84) argue that total reliability is achieved when the measuring instrument provides identical repeated measures relating to some constant factor. While Jackson (2011: 81) observes that one way of determining whether the measure you are using is effective is to assess its reliability, Babbie and Mouton (2001: 67) argue that reliability in social and academic research does not ensure accuracy because it is hard to tell how much of what is reported originated from the observed situation and how much from the observer. In this study, I developed reliable techniques of inquiry, for

example: by asking relevant questions to the respondents and being clear and concise (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 121). I carried out a pilot study with 2 participants in interviews and 6 participants in a FGDs to ensure that there was consistency in the information gathered, hence ensuring reliability.

5.6 Ethical Considerations

Refugees being an inherently vulnerable people, ethical considerations had to be applied meticulously. According to Denscombe (2013: 7), research ethics are an overriding concern when it comes to choice of strategy in social research. Similarly, Payne and Payne (2004: 66) maintain that ethical practice is a moral stance that involves conducting research to achieve not just high professional standards of technical procedures, but also respect and protection for the people actively consenting to be studied. May (2011: 61) argues that ethical inquiry should have the capacity to inform reasons for action in the conduct of social research and to protect participants and the integrity of inquiry. Denscombe (2013: 7) lists four standards for social researchers:

- Participants remain anonymous.
- Data is treated as confidential.
- Participants understand the nature of the research and their involvement.
- Participants voluntarily consent to being involved.

Using the above guidelines, this research study ensured that refugees who participated were protected by anonymizing their identities, treating all the information they provided as highly confidential, and ensuring that each participant voluntarily accepted to participate on the basis of the principle of informed consent. Fortunately, all the refugees I encountered were enthusiastic to participate, mainly because most of them had heard that my study was an AR project which was unique from the other research which was normally conducted in the settlement. They were keen to participate in an empowerment project that would help them solve the problem of SGBV that was affecting their families and communities. I followed the DUT ethical guidelines of research before going into the field.

5.6.1 Permission to Do Research

Following clearance from DUT, I obtained a gate keeper's letter (Appendix A) from the OPM, in charge of refugees and disaster preparedness permitting me to conduct research in the study area.

5.6.2 Informed Consent

Before I commenced data collection in the field, I sought and obtained the informed consent of all prospective participants in the study; and each one of them signed a written consent agreement to that effect. Therefore, all the participants in the study voluntarily accepted to participate in the study. I also ensured that respondents agreed to the time and effort I asked of them.

5.6.3 Anonymity

Anonymity is ensured when neither the researcher nor the readers of findings can identify a given response with a given respondent (Babbie 2010: 67). Due to the sensitivity of this study, anonymity was necessary to protect the person of participants. All respondents that took part in the study were assured of anonymity in the interviews and focus group discussions stipulated in the DUT ethical guidelines on anonymity. However, the UNHCR, the camp commandant and implementing partners did not mind having their identities revealed.

5.6.4 Confidentiality

A research project guarantees confidentiality when the researcher can identify a given person's responses but promises not to do so publicly (Babbie 2010: 67). The sensitive nature of this study required that confidentiality be ensured. As such, I assured all the participants of utmost confidentiality of their responses. However, it is quite difficult, if not impossible, for a researcher to assure confidentiality of information collected from FGDs and the work of the action group members because participants express their views in the presence of other participants over whom the researcher has limited or no control. Nonetheless, participants promised verbally to keep confidential the matters discussed within the group due to the sensitivity of the information.

5.6.5 Do No Harm

I ensured voluntary participation, anonymity, confidentiality and safety (not to cause harm) of all participants by conducting separate FGDs for females (actual or potential SGBV victims) and males (actual or potential SGBV perpetrators) respectively. However, the female and male groups were combined or mixed during the training sessions, and I ensured peaceful participation by asking participants to set ground rules to avoid conflict between the groups.

Participants were also assured of their safety in answering any questions, thus putting them at ease. Voluntary participation and causing no harm to participants were formalized as informed consent, whereby subjects based their voluntary participation in the research project on their full understanding of the nature and purpose of the research as well as of possible risks involved. Privacy and wellbeing of respondents was protected at all levels of the research.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research design, the study population and sample, the pilot study, validity and reliability, the scope of the study, the limitations of the study and the ethical considerations involved in the study. I have discussed the overall research design within which the study is located, and I have stated, explained and justified the various data collection, analysis methods and tools that were used. I have indicated that the study adopted a participatory AR design within a case study, using qualitative data collection and analysis methods and tools. This chapter has also shown that to ensure that the planned data collection and analysis methods were valid and reliable, and that the main study would be feasible, I conducted a pilot study; on the basis of the findings of the pilot study, I was able to fine-tune the data collection tools. This chapter also showed that data was collected by way of three methods: KIIs, FGDs and participant observation.

The action component of the research design consisted of an intervention in the form of an empowerment project, *Mume Kwa Muke*. Like in all research of this nature, I had to observe a variety of ethical principles, including permission to do research, informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality and the principle of *do no harm*. This chapter has also described and explained the data generation procedures, the research participants and the data analysis methods adopted. The methods employed in the research were quite effective. All of those consulted were both very eager to participate and provided valuable information. Although the research study was successful, it could not escape some imperfections, such as not interrogating the relevant information (for example, the refugee policy). This was not fully explored because it relies outside the scope of my research. However, I carried out interviews with OPM and realized that Uganda is still in the process of implementing a refugee policy as well as reviewing the Refugee Act. Uganda's stance on not having a refugee policy has had an influence on the gender specific needs and interests of refugees, leaving some un-touched. Despite this imperfection, this omission does not have a significant impact on the current research but is definitely a key tenet of interrogation for future researchers in order to understand the gender related aspects in the refugee settlements and how best they can be addressed.

CHAPTER 6

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

6 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study, derived from data collected during fieldwork undertaken in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement of Uganda. This study set out to empirically analyze the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and design an intervention strategy to reduce the prevalence of SGBV in the settlement. More specifically, the study sought to:

- Determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.
- Map the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature.
- Assess community perceptions of SGBV and generate possible intervention mechanisms.
- Use a participatory AR design to plan and implement a program aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its performance in the course of the study.

The research project sought to collect empirical data which was obtained through AR using qualitative data collection methods in a methodological triangulation framework. The research methods included participatory observation, KIIs and FGDs. A pilot study was conducted through interviews and a FDG with a sample of participants in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

In this chapter, data is presented and interpreted thematically (Section 6.9.1 and Section 6.9.3) in an attempt to arrive at a deeper understanding of the issues involved in the study. Direct quotations from all KIIs interviewees and focus group participants are used to illustrate opinions or points of view. Data is organized and presented according to the four specific objectives of the study stated above.

The chapter is divided in three sections: Section I describes the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, examining the forms of SGBV and its causes and consequences. Section II discusses SGBV against men, the role played by local and international agencies to reduce SGBV, the challenges faced by refugee women, the changes in the livelihoods of both refugee women and men in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and refugees' understanding of equal rights. Section three discusses emerging themes from the preliminary data collection, the project formulation process and themes from the project intervention. The Project formulation provided a platform for an intervention strategy (discussed in Section 6.9.2), aimed at providing lasting solutions to SGBV against refugee women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Section III discusses the action research undertaken, and it describes the

two phases (preliminary data presentation and emerging themes; project formulation, analysis and emerging themes) of the intervention. The discussion portrays the flow of intervention relationships, highlighting the evolution of the intervention from one phase to the next.

SECTION I

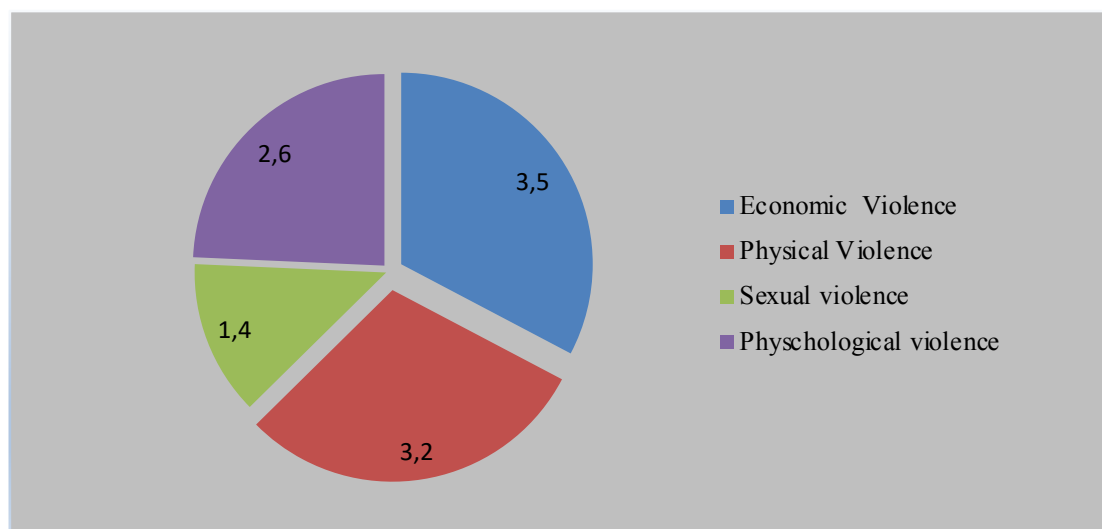
This section examines the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement in an attempt to build an understanding of SGBV in the settlement: its forms, causes and consequences. In this section, findings are presented thematically, beginning with the forms of SGBV, its causes and consequences.

6.1 Forms of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

In understanding the varied forms of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, it is important to note that all implementing partners report cases of SGBV to the UNHCR which is mandated to document all cases of SGBV in all refugee settlements in Uganda. While I retrieved statistics from the police reports for the years 2013 to 2016, the UNHCR Gender-Based Violence Information Management System (IMS)²⁴ below shows the combined SGBV cases reported to police and other implementing partners from the period 2013 to 2015. All this data portrays a range of SGBV forms in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, including physical violence through wife battering, sexual violence through early and forced marriage, economic violence through denial of resources and psychological violence (GBV IMS data, Kyaka II refugee settlement). The data reveals that one form of SGBV has a direct impact on the others (GBV IMS data, Kyaka II refugee settlement). For example, out of domestic violence emerges the denial of resources and sex, which in turn leads to psychological violence which might also lead back to domestic violence, thereby completing a vicious cycle of violence. This cyclic nature of SGBV further complicates the problem, making it difficult to address. That is partly why a gender analysis of the specific causes and effects of SGBV is needed. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the forms of SGBV by percentage of occurrence SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

²⁴ The GBV IMS was created to provide GBV programme or actors with one simple system to manage data on reported GBV cases, including through a safe and ethical sharing of reported incident data. It ensures standardized data collection tools are in place for evidence based data to collection.

Figure 6. 1 Forms of Violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Source: Primary data)



As Figure 6.1 above illustrates, economic violence is the most prevalent form of SGBV, followed by physical violence, psychological violence and sexual violence in that order. Reports from the Police and one of the implementing partners illustrate further the variation in these forms of violence. The numbers represent the percentage of each form of violence in Kyaka II refugee settlement.

Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 below, indicate the various SGBV cases prevalent in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. These include: domestic violence, rape, sexual assault, defilement, early marriage and denial of resources among others. Implementing partners including the Danish RC, AHA, the police and the health centre, report these cases to the UNHCR which is mandated to gather and compile the data through the GBV IMS. This information is then documented and can be accessed by other UN agencies and organizations.

Table 6. 1 SGBV Crimes Reported to Kyaka II Police Post from January to December 2013
(Source: Kyaka II Police Station records)

NATURE OF CASE	MONTH												TOTAL
	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
2013													
Defilement	01	02	03	01	02	01	04	00	02	02	01	02	21
D/V	04	02	02	00	01	02	03	01	01	01	03	05	25
Rape	00	00	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	01
2014													
Defilement	00	00	02	00	02	01	04	01	02	02	00	02	16
D/V	03	01	02	03	00	00	02	00	01	01	02	03	18
Rape	00	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	02	03
2015													
Defilement	02	01	03	03	03	01	01	01	02	01	00	02	20
D/V	04	07	03	01	01	00	01	03	03	01	12	05	41
Rape	00	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	01	00	02	00	04
2016													
Defilement	01	03	04	01	02	00	02	01	00	00	01	00	15
D/V	02	04	02	06	04	02	02	03	01	03	06	05	38
Rape	00	00	01	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	00	00	2
TOTAL	17	21	22	15	16	08	20	10	13	11	27	26	

Table 6. 2 Kyaka II 2014 Cumulative Statistics from Danish RC, AHA, Police and the Health Center (Source, UNHCR- GBV IMS, 2014)

Classification /Type	JAN		FEB		MAR		APR		MAY		JUN		JULY		AUG		SEP		OCT		NOV		DEC		Sub-Total		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Rape	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	1	0	27	0	27
Sexual Assault	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7
Physical Assault	4	0	7	0	7	1	15	0	3	2	5	2	4	0	3	1	0	2	8	0	3	0	0	0	61	6	67
Denial of resources	4	1	2	0	14	2	7	0	3	0	3	0	4	1	4	0	0	2	4	0	12	1	2	1	61	5	67
Psychological/Emotional abuse	1	0	3	3	2	2	6	2	6	1	4	1	5	0	3	1	0	4	3	0	4	2	1	0	42	12	54
Non GBV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	
Forced Marriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	1	12	3	28	5	31	2	15	3	14	3	19	1	12	2	0	13	18	0	20	3	4	1	199	23	223

Table 6. 3 Kyaka II 2015 Cumulative Statistics from Danish RC, AHA, Police and the Health Center (Source: UNHCR- GBV IMS, 2015)

Classification /Type	JAN		FEB		MAR		APR		MAY		JUNE		JULY		AUG		SEP		October		NOV		DEC		Sub-Total		TOTAL
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Rape	3	0	2	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	19	19
Sexual Assault	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Physical Assault	10	0	10	0	2	0	4	1	1	0	1	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	41	42
Denial of resources	8	3	6	4	5	0	2	0	6	1	3	2	7	2	4	0	6	0	4	0	2	0	6	0	12	59	72
Psychological/Emotional abuse	3	6	5	2	7	0	6	1	6	1	6	1	5	0	5	1	2	1	4	0	1	0	3	0	13	53	66
Forced Marriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	24	9	23	6	14	0	18	2	16	2	11	3	17	2	14	1	9	1	10	0	7	0	9	0	26	176	202

The above statistics from Kyaka II Police Station and the GBV IMS from the UNHCR vary because most refugees prefer to report SGBV cases to AHA or Danish RC and the health center, rather than to the police whom they mistrust for reasons that will be discussed later in this chapter. According to AHA reports, SGBV cases are higher during the harvest seasons (January and February, May and June) and during the monthly food distribution period (KII, Anti SGBV Coordinator, AHA). These variations are discussed in section 6.2.2 of this thesis. Statistics show that although the incidence of SGBV is still high in the refugee settlement, cases of SGBV against women have decreased since 2014 (Table 6.2 and 6.3 above). This decrease is reportedly due to an increase in awareness of the effects of SGBV on women and the larger community of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (KII, Camp Commandant). However, cases of SGBV are still high and there is still need for an intervention strategy. The sections below discuss in detail the various forms of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, beginning with the most common forms and ending with to the least common ones.

6.1.1 Economic Violence

Research findings show that economic violence is the most prevalent form of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and that it manifests itself most commonly in the form of denial of economic resources, such as: food, clothing, school fees and other household materials. In the opinion of some interviewees, economic violence occurs when one party denies resources to the another. For example: according to the Officer in Charge (OC) at the Police Station in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, denial of resources is a common practice in the settlement. In his own words,

Denial of resources occurs seasonally, especially during food and money distribution. When they receive cash for food, there is a tendency for men to deny their wives that money. After getting the money, they take it to the bars to booze. And when they receive food, they sell it off and the family remains with nothing (KII, OC of police).

It was also reported that, in other instances, denial of resources occurs during and after the harvest season when some men decide to sell off the harvest, leaving their wives with no money for food and other needs at home. When the wives complain, especially because they do most of the food production work, husbands often respond with physical violence because, as heads of households, men do not want to be questioned and often feel that the only way to silence a woman is by beating her.

Denial of resources is also attributed to the countrywide persistence of economic discrimination against women and girls who traditionally combine both productive and reproductive roles in society. In Uganda, like elsewhere in the world, the role of women in the changing world of work is still not clearly defined and this adversely affects vulnerable women, such as the refugee women of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Most women are relegated to domestic work for which there is no pay, and this undermines their economic wellbeing. In Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, women are engaged in petty economic

activities, such as selling tomatoes and bananas, which are not economically lucrative or capable of being a basis for self-reliance. As a result, women remain with limited or no income at all for self-reliance and thus continue to depend on men as their sole providers, which exposes them to the risk of SGBV. As such, refugee women are vulnerable to SGBV because they have no power to question those in charge of their welfare.

Vision 2030 of the NDP of Uganda envisages a development model or ideal of “leaving no one behind”, and Uganda’s NDP II uniquely integrates refugees into national development planning (OPM-Uganda 2010). This is done through a government strategy, called the STA, with overall goal to achieve self-reliance and local settlement for refugees, and to promote social development in the refugee-hosting areas as a durable solution to the refugees’ problems, while protecting national and local interests (Refugee-Law-Project 2005b). However, while progress has been realized in terms of local settlement for refugees, a lot more is desired to achieve self-reliance and promote social development among refugees. Unfortunately, the SRS of the UNHCR is not accompanied with technical skills, research for knowledge-building or advanced methods of farming. This undermines the productive capacity of refugees, making it impossible for them meet their needs and compete favourably in the markets outside the settlement. This is exacerbated by the fact that humanitarian actors are more focused on protecting refugees than on promoting their well-being. Hence, it is necessary for humanitarian actors to shift their focus to meeting the needs of refugees, especially those that are most vulnerable, such as women and girls. This is partly because economic development and peace are inter-related, and one cannot be achieved in the absence of the other.

6.1.2 Physical Violence

Physical violence, especially wife battering, is the second most prevalent form of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Most respondents reported that physical violence occurs mainly in the form of wife battering (especially kicking, slapping and whipping). While physical violence is caused by various factors, according to the responses from the field, wife battering is most common during the harvest period when income has been earned from the sale of agricultural produce. According to Commandant Fred Kiwanuka of the Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, physical violence happens mainly during the harvest period because refugees depend primarily on agriculture. He noted that men are in the habit of selling off the harvest and spending the money on alcohol. The camp commandant explained that this is mainly because husbands feel that they have the power to control household resources, and should not be questioned by their wives; and that if a wife dares to question her husband about such resources, she deserves to be beaten. He added that culturally, men have power over household resources and how they are used. The camp commandant added that in some cases a husband may use money earned from the sale of household farm produce to get drunk or even marry another wife, adding to the frustration of his wife and leading to confrontation and physical violence.

In another instance, the anti-SGBV coordinator at AHA also reported that wife battering is seasonal and is manifested during the harvest and food distribution seasons. In his opinion, men are the ones in charge of resources such as food and money after harvest. He recounted an observation thus:

Right now, we have cash-for-food issued to those who are not on the food log. During distribution time, for instance, those who get the cash for food face conflict in case the man is given three hundred thousand Uganda shillings, and he ends up taking two hundred to the bar and only about a hundred shillings back home. And at times he ends up marrying another wife to share this money with. When he gets home and the woman asks for accountability, he ends up beating her (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

In yet another case, a female FGD participant shared her home experience when she reported,

[...] for example, my husband goes to collect food at Samaritan purse where they distribute it. After getting the food, he sells it and takes the money and boozes all of it. When I ask him where the food he picked is, he starts beating me up (FGD, refugee woman).

As data from different sources indicated, physical violence is a common problem in the Settlement, occurring mainly during and after harvesting and during food distribution periods. It is also abundantly clear from the explanations provided by different categories of respondents that male dominance in the family underpins this physical violence. Male dominance is itself an aspect of patriarchy which is ingrained in cultural values and norms, and gives men the impression that they have the right to control female behavior (Hyndman and de-Alwis 2008; O' Reilly 2013). Indeed, as Muringi and Muriiki (2013: 118) put it, patriarchy implies male rule and privilege over female subordination. In an effort to explain patriarchal tendencies, York (2011: 107-108) observes that men who cling to traditional conceptions of gender roles and masculinity, learn and embrace norms through socialization within patriarchal culture which replicates the belief that male dominance over women is socially acceptable. Indeed, research findings indicate that female refugees are subordinate to male refugees, and that in every household, the wife is expected to obey the husband whose authority she should not question under any circumstances. Moreover, among the Congolese refugees in the settlement, chastisement of a woman is culturally accepted by both men and women. Asked about what refugee women make of these norms and practices, one woman participant in a FGD responded thus:

Men think you are undermining them or you are undisciplined or disrespectful when you question them. At times, they can call for a clan meeting to discipline you. (FGD, refugee woman)

What all of this indicates is that the maltreatment of women by men is more than just the men's need for money to drink alcohol or marry other women; it is a cultural product of the socialization that both men and women undergo as they grow up. In other words, physical violence against women is a behavioural issue which calls for fundamental moral change, especially in how parents bring up their children; and for this to happen, a change of attitude is necessary even though this may require time. It

is against this background that the inequality between men and women is said to be biologically conceived and socially driven. The biological aspect is entrenched within the biological characteristics of the physical beings of men and women, where men are believed to be stronger than women, and use this physical strength to “discipline” women in case of any disagreement. This cultural normalization of male violence against women was echoed by the GBV Project Officer for Danish RC when she said,

“According to some cultures, beating a woman is normal, for example, among the Hema tribe”.

While wife battering implies that men are physically stronger than women, physical strength is not a prerequisite for both men and women to be change agents in their communities (Atuhaire 2017: 15). This is because assumed male strength and female weakness are simply excuses used by those who want to silence women in the community. Even if such assumptions were true, gender equality is not about sameness: it is about equitable opportunities and rights for both men and women. Both biological and social distinctions are heightened when attached to gendered roles responsibilities which are used to discriminate against women and obscure their abilities as change agents. Worse still, the social aspect is conceptualized as socio-cultural social norms, values and stereotypes attached to women in their relationship with men. This is further exacerbated by the relegation of women to domestic roles. Moreover, physical violence seems to be reinforced by cultural practices, such as paying dowry, which encourage men to feel that they own their wives in the same way they own any asset they have bought. This sense of ownership is even greater where a man may have had to work extra-hard for a long time in order to secure the dowry for his prospective wife. An example of this was provided by a male participant in a FGD:

Here, a poor man will love a woman but will struggle to look for dowry to marry that woman. After he gets the dowry, sometimes after a period of three years, and marries her, he will want to control her; and if she refuses, he beats her up and chases her and marries another woman (FGD, refugee man).

6.1.3 Sexual Violence

Sexual violence is yet another form of SGBV affecting refugee women and girls in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Sexual violence in the settlement manifests in many forms, including: early marriage; defilement; rape (including marital rape) and transactional sex, which is a form of sexual exploitation. In spite of its known prevalence in the settlement, sexual violence was rated the least common form of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, largely because of low levels of reporting the case by the refugees (KII, Police Officer). For example, cases of forced marriage are known to be underreported partly because victims fear being ostracized if they report it and partly because witnesses tend to sympathize with the perpetrators. Moreover, poverty constrains many poor parents to marry off their young daughters in the hope that the dowry will mitigate their poverty, those who marry underage girls

are regarded as saviors rather than criminals. Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, poverty and coming from a rural background heighten the likelihood of adolescent pregnancy and child-bearing. Aoloin, Haynes and Cahn (2011: 108) argue that physical assaults, such as homicides and sexual aggression, are some of the most violent and extreme expressions of crimes of violence against women. Below is a discussion of the various forms of sexual violence in the Settlement:

- **Early Marriage**

During the FGD for men, many shared their thoughts on early marriage, blaming most parents for failing to raise their children properly, leading children to resort to negative means of survival such as prostitution and sex in exchange for favors. As noted in Section 4.5.1, girls are married off at the age of 13 or 14, once menstruation begins and for safety and economic security (Holzaepfel and Doocy 2013: 20). Worse still, girls are often considered a source of income and married off, especially if the parents cannot afford school fees for them. Women refugees argued that in most cases their husband to have their sons educated first if there is not enough money to educate both children. In one of the refugee women's words this is highlighted;

I gave birth to 3 children, two boys and one girl, when it came to their schooling time I sought advice from my husband who we should take to school first given the less resources. Although my daughter is the first born, my husband insisted that we must send our second born (our son) since the girl can stay home and help me with house chores...(FGD, refugee women).

Likewise, during a FGD, a male refugee participant affirmed:

A girl does not have to get educated because when she grows up, her parents sell her off to get money or goats...when she gets married, she ceases to be part of her parents' family and becomes a member of her husband's family. So, most parents consider it wasteful to educate a girl as compared with a boy (FGD, refugee man).

Poverty has been highlighted as one of the main reasons girls are married off before the age of eighteen. Early marriage is a human rights violation that prevents girls less than 18 years of age from obtaining an education, enjoying good health, bonding with others their own age, maturing, and ultimately choosing their own life partners (Nour 2006: 1644). During an interview with the Camp Commandant, he mentioned thus:

While there is some progress, with some cultures in valuing girl child education, the challenge of early marriage still undermines all efforts to educate a girl child. Most parents due to the poverty are easily persuaded to exchange their girls in marriage for some income to survive or take care of other children. (KII, Camp Commandant).

During an interview with Windle Trust Education Programme Assistant, he highlighted thus:

While primary education is free for all and Windle Trust [implementing agency] provides scholarships at secondary level, there are not enough scholarships for all the needy children. So, when parents cannot afford secondary school education for their daughter, they marry her off secretly (KII, Windle Trust Education Programme Assistant).

Indeed, as highlighted in Section 4.5.1, previous research studies carried out in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement indicate that early marriage is used as a strategy by poor families to come out of poverty, denying their girl children chances to go to school (PADEAP 2010; Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013).

The above scenarios above show that parents do not have much value for the girl when it comes to education as they do for a boy. This attitude towards girls is embedded within the cultural norms and gender roles which deny women and girls a brighter future by confining them in domestic spheres rather than public domains as is with boys and men. In most cultures a girl is looked at as property, with a target that when she grows, she will be exchanged for money, cows or goats.

For female pupils and students, early pregnancy and early marriage lead to dropping out of school and the added burden of children having to raise children. Similarly, discriminatory societal norms, entrenched in culture, combine with high levels of poverty and inadequate services to significantly curtail the potential of girls to develop. Cultural stereotypes have also largely contributed to early marriage among the Bahema and the Banyamurenge ethnic groups of eastern DRC. Because of cultural conservatism or inertia, when Bahema and Banyamurenge refugees cross the border into Uganda, they continue practicing their cultural norms despite the fact that they are sensitized about the Uganda law which they are required to obey it. Family and neighbors from the same ethnic group form one unit in the community and silently build a culture of trust among themselves to the extent that clan leaders mediate cases of early marriage without reporting them to the police. In this regard, the cultural leader of the Banyamurenge in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement said:

When a girl has developed breasts, when she has started becoming shy, and when she is hardworking, she is considered woman enough to make a wife, and she can be married off (KII, Clan leader, Banyamurenge).

During the FDG with refugee women, some Hema women from DRC argued that their cultural norms do not allow them a say on when their daughters should get married. According to one of them:

Among us the Hema, most families really marry off their daughters when they are as young as 14 years. It is a cultural norm that we cannot change. If a woman opposed the practice, the community would reject her, and she could even be killed ... So, much as the settlement officials say it is wrong, in our culture it is done silently, and as mothers of these children, we don't have much say about it because we fear rejection from our husbands and families (FGD, refugee woman).

In the same vein, refugee women reported that, in DRC, it is normal for some families to marry off their daughters at a tender age, adding that sexual violence cases are arbitrated by cultural leaders who are themselves are strongly in favor of early marriage, which discourages people from reporting early marriage cases to them. In the words of one female participant in a FGD:

In Congo, some families prefer to marry off their daughters at the age of 14 or 15 years, and it is very normal. Also, when it is a case of rape or defilement, the clan heads want to be the only ones to solve the problem instead of reporting to the police. If you go against them and report these cases to the police, the community can ostracize you for good (FGD, refugee woman).

These views were echoed in the opinion of the camp commandant according to whom:

There are cultures which believe in marrying off their girls immediately after they grow breasts. For example, among the Bagegere, once a girl develops breasts and the lower teeth are removed, they consider her ready for marriage (KII, Camp Commandant).

To substantiate this with literature review, Mulumba (2005: 15), in his study in Pabbo refugee camp, highlighted that parents' insensitive comments on the reproductive growth of a girl result in them dropping out of school and get married by arguing thus:

Pressure from parents and the community at large especially on the girl child e.g. why are you still in school yet you already have big breasts, you're useless and liability to the family' (Mulumba 2005:15).

The above findings demonstrate that early marriage for girls remains a widely practiced, although largely hidden, cultural practice in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Practices such as paying bride price (the transmission of property at marriage, from the bridegroom's family to the bride's family) contribute to early marriage, and turn young girls into the property of their husbands. Moreover, culturally, boys are much more valued than girls in most African communities. Practically, girls are simply considered as potential sources of income in the form of bride price. These research findings also indicate that poverty and retrogressive cultural norms militate against the human rights and wellbeing of girls and women, especially in vulnerable refugee communities. Early marriage is not only a human rights violation; it also denies girls an opportunity to study and realize their full potential in life. Scholarly studies indicate that early marriage violates girls' fundamental human rights of education, liberty, bodily integrity and their self esteem (Ganeshpanchan 2005; Manjoo and McRaith 2011). This undermines girl's ability to live normally, adversely affecting their personal, family and community relations. Moreover, early marriage exposes the girl child to other forms of SGBV because, being a child, she cannot resist or question her husband's actions. In addition, early marriage exposes the girl child to health complications, such as maternal mortality during child birth and sexually transmitted diseases, since she cannot decide on family planning methods such as use of condoms.

In the view of the OC of police in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the problem of early marriage is a silent one in the settlement. In her view:

[...] we have the Banyamurenge who marry off their daughters at an early age. We as police tell them that the law in Uganda does not allow such an act and that as long as a girl is below 18 years, she is a child... they know the law but they still marry off their daughters silently. At times, they send them back to Congo and marry them off then the girl comes back when she is already pregnant so that they can escape arrest. And this makes it hard for us to track such cases. (KII, OC of police)

On the other hand, poor housing conditions, which are a manifestation of poverty, also contribute to higher levels of moral degeneration among children, and impel girls into early marriage. According to a male participant in a FGD:

The housing conditions here are very bad. We have only single-room houses; so ... parents and children share the same room, which does not provide privacy when parents have sex and children are listening or at times watching. This promotes moral degeneration in our community. Children want to practice what they have learnt (FGD, refugee man).

Figure 6. 2 A typical dwelling in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Source, Primary data)



Defilement

According to the Section 129 of the Penal Code Act²⁵, any person who performs a sexual act with another person who is below the age of eighteen years, commits a felony known as defilement and is on conviction liable to life imprisonment. This form of violence is categorized in this Act as aggravated defilement if the victim has been infected with HIV/AIDS, is below 14 years of age, has been defiled by a relative or has a disability, or if the offender is a serial offender. In Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, police reports and primary data collected from interviews and FGDs indicate that defilement²⁶ is more prevalent than rape²⁷, and it is perpetrated by people known to the victims. Research findings indicate that the perpetrators are mainly foster parents who exploit the vulnerability of young girls they are supposed to protect, and threaten them with eviction should they report the defilement to anyone. Helpless, the victims fear to report, keep silent about these cases, and succumb to psychological torture or mental health problems due to the pain they suffer. These views were confirmed by a female refugee participant in a focus group discussion:

When I first came to this settlement as a young orphan refugee girl, I was assigned a foster father, but this foster father took advantage of me and defiled me...by then I was fourteen years old. He came from the bar late one night when I was already asleep and he forced himself on me and defiled me. I could not tell anyone about it because he told me the next morning not to report this otherwise he would throw me out of his house. Since I had no other place to go, I just kept silent about the whole issue (FGD, refugee woman)

The prevalence of defilement in the settlement was further confirmed by the programme coordinator of AHA in an interview. In her opinion, defilement in the settlement is attributable to cultural norms and stereotypes that put young adolescent girls in a vulnerable situation. In her own words:

Defilement is becoming common in Kyaka. In a period of one week, already two cases of defilement have been reported. Defilement is caused by those who tend to think that the moment a girl develops breasts, she is old enough for sex. This is worsened by the belief by society that when a girl develops breasts, she is a woman and can handle anything. We have cases of twelve-year old girls with children in the settlement (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

During another interview, a twenty-year old former sex worker narrated the story of her descent into prostitution after her foster parent had defiled her as a child when she first settled in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement:

²⁵ The Penal Code (Amendment) Act, 2007.

²⁶ Sexual act committed against a person below eighteen years of age

²⁷ Section 247 of Chapter XVIII of the Penal Code Act²⁷ of Uganda states that whoever has sexual or carnal intercourse with another person, against his or her will or without his or her consent, commits the offence of rape

As an orphan of 12 years, when I reached the camp I was assigned a foster parent who took advantage of me and defiled me continuously...although I was bleeding every day, I feared to report. He told me that if I reported him, he would kill me - and so, I feared to report. Also, I knew that even if I reported, the police wouldn't do anything to the man. After a few years, I gained courage to run away and look for other means to take care of myself. That is how I became a prostitute and later I started to fall sick. When I went for a checkup at Mukondo Health Center, I was told I had HIV/ AIDs, and I was immediately put on ARVs. That is when I left prostitution and I am now selling tomatoes for survival (KII, sex worker).

Unfortunately, biological fathers have also been reported to have defiled their own daughters, although not as often as foster parents have. During a FGD with refugee women, one participant reported the story of a young girl who was defiled by the father:

In Sweswe zone, a young girl aged 15 years was defiled by her father. The girl became pregnant and she now fears to come face-to-face with her mother. So, she is being kept at the protection house. The police could not arrest the man because he disappeared and no one knows his whereabouts (FGD, refugee woman).

It is believed that defilement is committed by people who have been entrusted with the protection of the girls that they later defile, taking advantage of the girls' vulnerability. As demonstrated above, these girls are at the mercy of those who defile them because the perpetrators are also the sole providers for their victims. As such, a girl who is defiled by her foster parent fears to be ostracized by him and therefore does not report him. This translates into a habit where such parents continue to defile these girls, knowing that they will not be reported. In other cases, defilement by biological fathers could be obscured by the very fact that wives cover up for their husbands and never report such cases to avoid bringing shame upon their husbands. At times, the man threatens to throw his wife out if she reports him. This is what Baaz and Stern (2010: 41) had in mind when they wrote that the assumed virtues of men as protectors and providers underlie masculinity and render women and girls particularly vulnerable to the logics of rape and defilement in conflict and post-conflict settings.

- **Rape**

Section 247 of Chapter XVIII of the Penal Code Act²⁸ of Uganda states that whoever has sexual or carnal intercourse with another person, against his or her will or without his or her consent, commits the offence of rape. However, this definition falls short of other acts of rape such as marital rape or rape that does not involve carnal knowledge, such as the use of other body parts, like the mouth, ears, which is common during conflict. In Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, just like defilement, rape is believed to be mostly committed by those well known to the victims. 95% of the participants reported that rapists are well known to the victims, and they include husbands, uncles, foster parents and community members. According to the statistics collected by AHA and the police, rape is the second most frequently reported

²⁸ <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/ss/ss014en.pdf>

form of sexual violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. About 80% of the respondents indicated that they were not aware that marital rape existed or that it was a crime. Although it is prevalent, marital rape is seldom reported by the victims, largely because they are not aware that it is a crime. Not surprisingly, the perpetrators also think that the very notion of a husband raping his wife is nonsensical. As one of them revealed in a focus FGD:

I married my wife and paid 10 goats back in Congo. While we were still in Congo, my wife used to respect me and never denied me sex at any point. But since we arrived here, because of the strong message of women emancipation and women's rights here in Uganda, my wife has become big-headed. She sometimes denies me sex yet she is my wife and I am entitled to conjugal rights from my wife...she even once told me that I had raped her because I forcefully had sex with her. How is it possible that someone can rape his wife? [...laughter from the rest of the group members] (FGD, refugee man).

During a FGD with refugee women, one of them recounted a case of a girl who survived being raped:

In Bukere Village, a few days ago, a man wanted to rape a woman who was coming from church at 8.00 pm. But because the man was drunk, the woman fought back and overpowered him. She then rushed to the police station and reported him. When the police sent an officer to arrest the man, the man attacked the officer with a panga and ran away; and he has not been seen since then (FGD, refugee woman).

Research findings have also revealed that although some cases of rape have been reported in the settlement, many more, especially those of marital rape, remain unreported because of ignorance of the law, cultural stereotypes and the victims fearing rejected by their families. This is partly because, culturally, a raped girl or woman is considered to be unclean and a source of shame to her family and community. Such stereotypes and social stigma cause more harm to the victim because she sustains prolonged psychological problems if she is not helped through counseling and if the perpetrator is not punished. Marital rape is a complicated case of SGBV due to the family and cultural structures involved. From my observation, refugee women and men are not aware of marital rape and therefore cases of such nature are concealed. Women are not free to report such cases because they feel that their husbands have a right to their bodies at all times. Although I tried to probe on such cases, women revealed that even if they were forced into sex by their husbands, they would never report such cases because it would be a breeding ground of extra-marital affairs from their husbands or even lead to their husbands leaving them for other women. Therefore, while marital rape could be common, there are no reports of such cases to the police.

It is also revealed that while marital rape is common, it is hidden by the victims themselves who fear that reporting their husbands could cause them more harm if their husbands, who happen to be the sole providers of their families, were arrested. Apart from the victims' fear of the consequences of reporting the perpetrators, many victims and perpetrators are actually unaware that marital rape is a crime. Moreover, the belief that a man who has paid bride price for his wife is entitled to sex with his wife

whenever he desires it also serves to justify and sustain marital rape. However, according to the Penal Code Act of Uganda, bride price is given as a token of appreciation from a man to the parents of his wife, and not as a condition for him to enjoy his conjugal rights against her consent (The Penal Code Act of Uganda, 2007). The same Penal Code Act also stipulates that conjugal rights can only be enjoyed between wife and husband under consent of both parties (The Penal Code Act of Uganda, 2007). In spite of the existence of this law, retrogressive cultural norms and ignorance continue to compel women to remain subservient to their husbands and not to report cases of marital rape. It is therefore true that rape is highly motivated by power, dominance and control.

That marital rape is common was demonstrated by primary data collected through interviews and FGDs, showing that at least 80% of women in the settlement are victims of marital rape, which is caused by drunkenness of the perpetrator, poverty and denial of access to resources among other factors. To some women, denying their husbands of sex has been one of the reasons the husbands demand it forcefully from them:

The men come back when they are drunk, using the money they got from selling the harvests and hence leaving their wives with no money for food. And when they return home they demand for sex yet the women still have that anger of having been left without food. When women refuse to give in to sex, their husbands forcefully rape them (FDG, refugee woman).

According to the camp commandant, the belief that a man has control over a woman's body, especially after marriage, is yet another reason that leads to forced sex in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. In his opinion:

[...] This forces a man to rape her because he feels that he owns her body after paying for her bride price, and because she is his wife, he thinks he has a right to conjugal rights. However, this case is silent as women feel shy to talk about it (KII, camp commandant).

Refugee women who happen to secure casual employment are also often raped. For example, when women go out in search of casual work in order to earn money to sustain themselves and their families, they are often exposed to forced sex. In this regard, the experience of a female FGD participant is particularly revealing:

One time I went to the owner of the a shamba [plantation], and when I was ready to go dig for him, he told me that he preferred to have sex with me and pay me some money. But I refused, telling him that I just wanted to work for money. But he insisted and was about to begin using force on me when I ran away; and that day, my child and I went hungry since I could not work (FGD, refugee woman).

In another instance one sexual worker mentioned thus:

Before I joined sexual work I used to wash people's clothes for income. However I faced many challenges on my job which forced me into sex trade today. Two of my male clients always asked for sexual advances for an increase in my pay. I only

agreed on a few occasions because I needed the money. On one occasion, when I refused to give in to sex after being approached by one of them, I was raped but could not report him because he threatened to tell my family that all along I have been giving in to him. Since that incident I stopped working for him and now decided to join sexual work (KII, sex worker).

Marital rape and rape are a common but silent features in the Settlement because they are often perpetrated by those who wield power and control over women, such as their husbands and employers. In most cases, the perpetrators warn the victims against reporting such cases or else risk being thrown out of their homes or work, which explains why many such cases are under-reported. This culture of silence exacerbates the problem, especially among Congolese women in the settlement.

- **Forced Prostitution**

Forced prostitution, sometimes called sexual exploitation is sex trade in exchange for material resources, services and assistance, usually targeting highly vulnerable women or girls unable to meet basic human needs for themselves and/or their children (Mulumba 2005: 3). The circumstances that lead women into forced prostitution are well illustrated in the story of a refugee female prostitute that the researcher interviewed during this study:

I have 12 children and own a small business, but I do not get enough money from it to be able to take care of my children. When my husband died, I decided to start getting other men on the side that could help me with my children, for example by paying their school fees and feeding the. Due to my big family and very low income, I now encourage my children to work for other families to get money. They do jobs like digging in order to get some money. However, since these children are now old, I do not know if men are using them for money because they do not tell me (KII, sexual worker).

As it was revealed in one FGD, some women in similar circumstances sometimes even encourage their own daughters to engage in sex for survival:

In my village, a woman told her thirteen-year old daughter, "You are old enough now; never ask me for anything like lotion, shoes or knickers. You can also work and buy them for yourself." So, the girl decided to fall in love with some village boy who slept with her and made her pregnant. The mother of the girl brought people to arrest the boy but the boy disappeared and the girl said, "Why should you arrest him? You are the one who said I should go and look for money" (FGD, refugee woman).

In Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the kind of destitution that forces women into prostitution is partly attributable to the failure of the SRS, and this was revealed, at least implicitly, by the anti-SGBV coordinator of AHA during an interview:

Much as refugees are given land as a way of survival, some of them came from towns and never used to dig. When these women come to the settlement, they find it hard to take care of their children and themselves by engaging in agriculture. So,

they end up selling their bodies for money. Other women came from Congo as single mothers, and so some men lie to them that they would want to join them and support their families but later do not fulfil their promises, forcing the woman to continue being used for money (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

Even though prostitution is practiced by women and girls in the settlement, it is illegal in Uganda, and there is no law to protect the rights of prostitutes, many of whom are sometimes raped or used without being paid. When this happens, the prostitutes fear reporting such cases as they would risk exposing themselves as prostitutes and incurring the wrath of the law²⁹. Their dilemma was well illustrated by one sex worker who said:

Well, due to lack of income, I decided to sell my body to get food for my child. I cannot just sit and watch my child starve to death because I have no income... I do not have a plot to cultivate or a business to make money from. So, what could I do? However, prostitution also has challenges. For example, some men end up not paying me at all, and I just go back home frustrated because I have worked for nothing. Also, those who pay me pay very little money ... about 1,000 or 2,000 Uganda shillings (KII, sex worker).

The aforementioned SGBV cases constrain women to resort to negative survival methods, such as selling their bodies and sending their daughters into the sex trade to earn some quick money for survival. This is supported by existing literature which shows that, in times of crisis, gender roles and dynamics change, with women and girls resorting to negative coping mechanisms which put them at a risk of SGBV (UN Women 2016: 1). While this is detrimental to their lives and wellbeing, with risks of contracting STDs, women continue to resort to such harmful coping practices because they have no better means of livelihood. Thus, they continue to be unjustly treated by some men who do not pay them after using them, thus aggravating their socio-economic well-being. Women's vulnerability is heightened by the high levels poverty, above 80% women have no jobs in the refugee settlement whereby due to the extra burden as family heads in the absence of their husbands, forces them to find other survival means (Forbes 2004; WCRWC 2006).

The above cases of sexual violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are prevalent and mainly committed by those in positions of power. While it is commonly known that sexual violence is increasingly perpetrated during conflict, our findings show that even in post-conflict settings, such as refugee settlements, the levels of sexual violence are still high and mainly perpetrated by close family members, who paradoxically, are supposed to care for the victims.

6.1.4 Psychological Violence

According to AHA and police reports and records, psychological violence is the third most frequent crime, and one of the most torturous forms of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Psychological

²⁹ Section 139 of the Penal Code Act of Uganda (2008) states that any person who practice or engages in prostitution commits an offence and is liable to imprisonment for seven years

violence, also known as emotional violence, occurs when someone uses threats and causes fear or trauma in another person. From the various stories retrieved from FDGs with refugee men and women benefitting from anti-SGBV interventions, it can be deduced that underlying psychological violence results in a glaring inability to benefit from other programmes implemented by the UNHCR and its partners. These include livelihood programmes, legal support and sexual and health reproductive programmes among others. From the research findings, it is important to note that psychological torture is a potential breeding ground for other forms of SGBV. Four cases that emerged during interviews and FDGs illustrate the nature and scope of psychological violence in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and these cases are recounted below.

- **Case 1: A Feeling of Hopelessness and Frustration by Refugee Men**

Upon being asked to describe their situation as refugees, refugee participants in a FGD expressed a feeling of hopelessness and frustration. In the words of one of the participants:

We are useless as refugees here, we do not have farms apart from the small piece of land given to us by Danish Refugee Council [Danish RC] for cultivating. Yet the land loses its fertility after a short period. Also, some of us here are educated, with degrees, but have no jobs because we are refugees. We feel like we are children who have to be fed and protected by the UNHCR because we are not really able to sustain our families and yet, as family heads, we feel like our duty of providers and protectors is taken away from us. In Congo, at least we had some land and had plans for it, like knowing your child will inherit it... But here, the little land you are placed on is temporary because you can be evacuated anytime. Therefore, we are here in transition and we do not know what tomorrow holds for us... (FDG, refugee man)

The above testimony illustrates the frustration, anger and emasculation most refugee men experience when their refugee situation renders them incapable of fulfilling their culturally designated role as providers for their families. In many cases, refugee men that are thus frustrated and angered vent their frustration and anger on their wives in the form of GBV. Although the cultural norms and socially constructed roles that reinforce the imbalance between Congolese refugee men and women do partly account for the SGBV in the refugee settlement, they actually predate the onset of the conflict in DRC and the refugee situation in which the Congolese find themselves today.

- **Case 2: Hardships Leading a Refugee Woman into Prostitution**

“Charity” (not her real name) was 28 years old and had fled from Minembwe Village in South Kivu, eastern DRC, before being settled in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. During an interview, she recounted her experience thus:

I have spent two years here. Back in Congo, we ran away because of war. That awful night ... (sobs), we were sleeping when the rebels attacked our village. They came to our house and broke the front door. We all started running away, but my father could not make it: the rebels grabbed him and cut him into pieces. I was then

eight months pregnant from rape, and I delivered on the way while we were running to Uganda. I was helpless then but a good samaritan woman from Congo took me to a nearby clinic and stayed with me till I got well in about five days. I crossed the border with my baby and we were transported with other refugees to Kyaka II. I was now being taken care of by UNHCR although, with no extra income, life was hard. I therefore had to find a way to make ends meet, and that's how I ended up being a prostitute (KII, sex worker, Sweswe).

- **Case 3: A Refugee Woman Sex Worker Being Assaulted by a Client**

“Jane” (not her real name) was 21 years old and an active prostitute when I interviewed her; and her story was equally moving:

I was raped back home in Congo during the war. On knowing that I was pregnant, my relatives rejected me and chased me away. When I came to Uganda, I was referred to Bukele, but since I had no source of income, I decided to sell my body to earn a living and take proper care of my child. One day, I was insulted and abused by one man when I was demanding my money from him. He said, "You woman, you are very stupid, you are just a prostitute and now you are also here demanding money...have I bought any goods from you so that you deserve to be paid?" (KII, sex worker, Bukele).

Together, the above three cases reveal the cyclic nature of SGBV when psychological violence and destitution force refugee women to resort to negative coping mechanisms that increase chances of SGBV performed against them. The cyclic nature of violence on the side of the perpetrator is also caused by psychological torture. During an interview with the RWCs, one of them reported that when they follow up cases of wife battering, especially in the cases of women who report late at night, they discover that if the husband denied his wife resources, such as money to buy food, earlier in the day, she revenges by denying him sex at night, and he retaliates by beating her or even raping her.

In other cases, fathers perpetrate crimes of domestic violence, such as wife battering, because as children, they witnessed their fathers battering their mothers. Such children grow up to be violent or to commit other crimes, such as drug abuse, rape and theft. In an interview, the camp commandant said:

At the domestic level, when parents fight, it's the children that suffer. Due to psychological torture, most children grow up being arrogant and seek and seeking comfort from elsewhere; and some turn to drug abuse or drop out of school because they lack parental guidance. (KII, camp commandant).

This is in line with some of the literature on the ecological theory of violence, reviewed in Chapter 2, according to which a child that witnesses violence at home is more likely to be a perpetrator in his or her adulthood. However, as Heise *et al.* (2002: 6) argue, while witnessing violence in childhood may predispose a child to violent behaviour in adulthood, not every child that witnesses violence develops into a perpetrator of violence: violence is ultimately a choice that one makes.

- **Case 4: Survivors of Sexual Violence not Reporting the Cases Due to Stigma**

The RWC members reported that psychological violence may at times lead to health issues, especially if the victim refuses to report the case. According to a RWC member who participated in a FGD:

Some victims of rape do not report their case because they wish to avoid the shame [stigma] that would ensue. We even have cases of forced marriage in which girls that are forced into marriage end up running mad after discovering that they have been infected with HIV or AIDs (FGD, RWCs).

The above accounts suggest that psychological violence is a two-pronged phenomenon: firstly, as a result of other forms of violence such as sexual violence, physical violence and denial of resources; secondly, due to the conditions in the refugee settlement such as unemployment, poor housing, poverty, and lack of a voice. Therefore, if psychological violence is not addressed and mitigated immediately when refugees are received, and if continuous counselling is not provided to help refugees to live peacefully in the settlement, they may perpetrate, or suffer from other forms of violence, including SGBV (Mulumba 2005). The fact that refugees face violence before, during and after conflict while in refugee settlements, poses a challenge to their well-being and leads to psychological distress and violence (UNHCR 2003). Psychological violence in turn adversely affects social relationships, with emotionally distressed refugees being unable to live a dignified life and often becoming prone to perpetrating SGBV or being vulnerable to SGBV (KII, camp commandant).

Even though Uganda's Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development has established national guidelines for the provision of psychological support for GBV victims, nothing much has been done to implement these guidelines in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. These guidelines provide minimum standards and procedures for all humanitarian actors to appropriately provide psychosocial help to the victims of GBV. In refugee settings, conflict produces multiplier effects that aggravate SGBV. From the findings of this research study, one can deduce that psychological violence is often larger, with a bigger burden on the victim, but it is invisible. Thus, most humanitarian and government workers in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement have not addressed the issue, which partly explains the prevalence of SGBV.

While my research findings provide evidence of grave SGBV crimes in the Settlement, refugees have had little access to emergency SGBV services such as psychosocial support. Moreover, while most refugees reported that, normally, the family is their main source of support, in their current refugee setting, the family is no longer intact. In addition, because the bulk of humanitarian support to the DRC refugee crisis is in the form of food and non-food needs items (NFIs) meant to meet their basic needs, little has been done to address the trauma that the refugees experience as a result of the gross violence, death, destruction of livelihoods and separation from their loved ones. During the time of the study, there were no systems in place to provide the refugees with psychosocial support. As such, refugees who are psychologically distressed have no chance of being helped to overcome their distress and lead dignified lives. Therefore, fully-fledged counselling services are urgently needed in the settlement.

Since formal support is lacking, then refugees are likely to create opportunities of a more informal nature. Nonetheless AHA offers some counselling services, these services include: counselling, provision of health kits and vocational training for refugees. These services are grossly inadequate; that is why the effects of psychological violence continue to manifest. Indeed, during an interview with the team leader of the UNHCR, she noted:

There is need for psychosocial support and specialists in this area, as we currently do not have funding in this area. Victims and survivors need psychosocial support because it will help change their thinking and reduce SGBV (KII, team leader - UNHCR)

The UNHCR team leader's observation above echoes the findings of other researchers such as Forbes (2004) and Pavlish (2005) on the importance of psychosocial support in such circumstances.

6.2 Causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

After being asked to identify and describe the different forms of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, interviewees and participants in FGDs were then asked to name and explain the causes of SGBV in the settlement. While Section 6.1 has elaborated on the various forms of SGBV in the settlement and its associated causes, Section 6.2 seeks to highlight the four main causes that emerged from the interviews: *power imbalance embedded in cultural norms and values, denial of resources, poverty and unemployment*. However, while some of these four are root causes of SGBV, they can also be consequences of SGBV as explained in Section 6.1. As the camp commandant observed:

One form of SGBV has a direct impact on the others. Out of the domestic violence, there is denial of resources, sexual denial, and then it leads to psychological violence. So, it is like a cycle (KII, camp commandant).

The sub-sections that follow focus on the causes of SGBV in the settlement, beginning with the imbalance of power.

6.2.1 Power Imbalance embedded in cultural norms and values

Power imbalances appear to be the root cause of all forms of SGBV, and almost all respondents reported that the main perpetrators of SGBV are men (99%) who use their culturally superior male power to subject women to violence. As the preceding section has established, when men's masculinity is threatened, they resort to use of other means to reassert their masculinity, often with dire consequences for woman's dignity and wellbeing. It is therefore, evident that violence against women is rooted in power imbalances, and acts as a tool for maintaining the status quo of male dominance. In traditional DRC systems, a family is headed and protected by a man who is also regarded as the provider for, and the sole decision-maker in, the family while the woman's role is to give birth, raise children and perform domestic chores.

However, as already indicated, this neat division of power and labour has been significantly modified by conditions in the refugee settlement where both men and women are under the protection of the UNHCR, and where humanitarian agencies provide food for everyone. Moreover, in the refugee settlement, a good number of households are female-headed. As such, men and boys are no longer protectors or providers (in every regard), and as a result they feel disenfranchised and often resort to aggressive behaviour against women in a conscious or inadvertent bid to reassert, or make up for, their lost traditional power and authority. For example: it was reported that if a woman asks for money or food and the husband does not have it, he may beat her up to cover up the embarrassment or reassert his lost power. On the other hand, needy refugee women and girls may be forced to resort to negative coping or survival mechanisms some of which expose them to SGBV perpetrated by men. During a FGD with refugee men, one of the participants confessed:

We are useless beings, and we have often been told that we are like that UNHCR logo which shows a man shielded under two hands. This means that we are supposed to be protected and to keep quiet because we cannot help ourselves. We are therefore considered useless beings (FGD, refugee man).

On the other hand, some of the male as well as female respondents argued that efforts to empower women by sensitizing them on their rights have, unfortunately, made women more powerful economically and as a result has intimidated their husbands, causing further violence against their wives. During the FGD with women, one of them argued thus:

This issue of women's rights is causing us more harm than good in our families. My husband specifically feels intimidated by my empowerment. Since I got here and gained knowledge on women's rights, I felt empowered and started to even do some business to supplement my husband's income. However, later my business started to bring more income than my husband. He started to even stop me from going to work saying I get more money from other men, he became resentful and even threatened that if I do not leave work and stay home, he will chase me and marry someone else. (FGD, refugee woman).

In view of the above, the intervention project of this study was timely, and it served to further sensitize women and the entire community on the essence of women's rights and gender equality. Reports also showed that most of the livelihood programmes in the community target women more than men, and, as a result, some women are more empowered financially than their husbands, thus aggravating the perceived disenfranchisement of refugee men in the settlement, and increasing the frequency of SGBV against women. This was stated by one male refugee participant in a FGD, who said:

Women despise us and some even ignore their husbands in the name of women's emancipation and rights. They exaggerate their rights and disobey their husbands. This has caused men to be docile in this refugee settlement because women have taken over their place as family heads. And when women get a lot of money, they tend to despise their husbands and even beat them at times when there is a disagreement (FGD, refugee man).

Therefore, one can rightly conclude that power imbalances between men and women, even when the balance of power tilts in favour of women, plays a big role in causing SGBV in the settlement. Men, who culturally wield disproportionate power over women, can use that power to perpetrate SGBV against women, and when refugee circumstances erode the traditional power of men, some men are so distressed that they seek to reassert their power, or disguise their shame, by inflicting violence on women. All studies conducted at the Kyaka II Refugee settlement show that there is only a small handful of men that experience SGBV (when compared to women) (Mulumba 2005, Krause 2014). However, the low percentage of male victims of SGBV may be more attributable to underreporting than to actual paucity of cases: culturally, male victims of SGBV are more likely to suppress the information than to report it.

Equally important is the fact that apart from culturally ordained male dominance in a patriarchal framework, power in the form of resources, such as: land, money and household property, are also largely in the hands of men, which further heightens chances of men abusing that power in order to commit SGBV against women.

However, while this research is premised on the belief that patriarchy is the root cause of violence against women, there certainly are some women who employ violence against men. Therefore, while patriarchy may be at the root of most SGBV cases, it does not explain all such cases.

6.2.2 Denial of resources

All the relevant data collected through interviews, FGDs and observation showed that the denial of resources commonly contributes to SGBV in the Settlement. 90% of the interviewees indicated that SGBV is mainly perpetrated by men who own most of the economic resources such as land and employment opportunities, and are also the custodians of the food ration cards. The data also showed that some women do commit SGBV against men, and in some cases it is male on male SGBV (see Section II of this chapter on violence against men). While men are regarded as providers for their families, they often divert family resources to other uses, especially if they disagree with their wives or if they are influenced by other factors such as alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption was cited as the leading reason for men denying resources to their families. In this regard, a male participant in a FGD reported:

During the distribution of food, men sell off the food and use the money to drink alcohol and when the woman asks the man where the money is, he beats her up. This is because the man feels that as the head of the family, he should not be questioned about how he uses money. The man is the sole decision-maker in most cultures. A woman does not have any say in family money matters (FGD, refugee man).

Food distribution (just like the after-harvest period activities) is mainly managed by men, because they are the ones that receive food, as well as sell the produce and receive money after harvest. This is because of their socially constructed roles as heads of households. Regarding food produced by households, a member of a RWC observed:

In homes, during the time of harvesting you find that a woman and her husband do the harvesting together, but then the man sells all the food harvested and keeps all the money. He uses the money to buy alcohol or even to marry an additional wife, leaving his first wife and the children with nothing. This is because, culturally, as the head of the family a Congolese husband has full control of all family resources: even if the wife is employed, she must give all her salary to her husband (FGD, RWCs).

This practice was confirmed by a refugee woman during a FGD. In her own words:

My husband goes to collect food at Samaritan Purse where food is distributed. When he gets the food, he sells it and takes the money and booze with it all. And I ask him where the food he picked is, he starts beating me (FGD, refugee woman).

These testimonies reveal that men, as controllers of family resources, easily perpetrate SGBV against their dependent womenfolk. Due to the belief that culture ordains that men are the controllers of family resources, they dislike being questioned or challenged by their wives when they abuse their power over family resources. According to UN Women (2015a: 3), food availability increases the chances of dietary diversity, and when women are denied food or money to buy food, hunger ensues at the household level. Therefore, culturally ingrained male dominance, abuse of male power over resources, and men's anger at being challenged when they abuse their power contribute to violence against women. Anger in this case is caused by frustration as a result of men's failure to provide. Moreover, culturally, women are expected to be subordinate to men, and any woman that questions or challenges a man is perceived to be undisciplined and deserving of punishment. This renders women vulnerable to abuse through battering, a culturally permissible disciplinary measure underscored by patriarchy.

The plight of refugee women and girls is aggravated by the absence of appropriate services in refugee settlements, which forces women and girls to undertake mundane household tasks, such as collecting water, gathering firewood and milling sorghum, away from the household or outside the settlement. Quite often, during this time, when they are unaccompanied by their male folks, women and girls experience violence. A refugee woman recounted the experience of her daughter thus:

One evening, I sent my daughter to collect firewood in the nearby host community outside the settlement, but she took so long without coming back home. When she finally returned, she told me that some boys had chased her and she had been obliged to go into hiding in order to avoid being raped (FGD, refugee woman).

6.2.3 Unemployment

Most respondents reported that unemployment also causes SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. In this study, unemployment refers to one's inability to have a source of income for survival. Because of unemployment, some women are forced into negative coping methods that expose them to SGBV. While the Ugandan law allows refugees to be employed, this study has shown that most of them cannot easily find employment in Uganda. This is attributed to their inability to move out of refugee settlements freely (Omata and Kaplan 2013: 9), their lack of proper qualifications for the available jobs, and to the paucity of job opportunities even for Ugandans themselves. For example: responses from KIIs revealed that most youth are unemployed because they are school dropouts, without the right qualifications for the available jobs. As a result, they succumb to peer pressure and engage in alcoholism, drug abuse and other negative habits. During a FGD with RWC members, a participant observed:

Most youths refuse to study and drop out of school and you find them just loitering around. They join peer groups that take drugs, and they also start taking drugs. Eventually, they start to defile girls and we get reports of girls being raped at night (FGD, RWCs).

Unemployment also reportedly leads to frustration among the unemployed, which has the potential to heighten cases of SGBV. Research shows that men's low social economic status breeds frustration and a sense of insecurity due to their inability to live up to their culturally defined role of providers, especially after conflict (Mulumba 2005). In this regard, a male refugee participant in a FGD had this to say:

Unemployment makes us hopeless - if we have eaten today, we do not know where tomorrow's meal will come from. The new policy now disqualifies anyone who came in 2008 or earlier from getting food or any other assistance. They say it is because they expect us to be self-sustaining by now. But how can we be self-reliant when we have no means of income all this time? Our children and wives no longer respect for us because we can no longer meet their needs (FGD, Refugee man).

While the 2006 Refugee Act grants refugees the right to work and freedom of movement, refugees' access to employment is restrained because they cannot leave the settlement in search of employment unless they obtain an exit permit from the OPM. Indeed, as rightfully put by Mulumba (2005), restricted freedom of movement curtails refugees' access to employment and their ability to interact with the outside world in search of opportunities for self-reliance. The impact of these restrictions were graphically portrayed by a male refugee participant in a FGD when he said:

Our permits only allow you not more than two days outside the settlement, and at times we cannot get the permits when we need them because the camp commandant is absent. So, tell me which business will you sustain for only two days outside the settlement? You will be outcompeted by others who are in the market daily. Therefore, economically we are curtailed to transact any business or even to work outside unless we do it illegally (FGD, refugee man).

In his article entitled “Warehousing refugees: a denial of rights, a Waste of Humanity” Merrill Smith expresses refugees’ frustration of getting a work permit in as a demeaning, bureaucratic and lengthy process, equating it that of obtaining refugee status. He further states that,

Officially, any refugee is free to leave the settlement for a specific destination and a limited period, as long as he or she first obtains a permit from the settlement commandant, a time-consuming and uncertain process. Just to get permission to see the commandant, the refugee first must get a letter from the chairman of the Refugee Welfare Committee (Smith 2004: 51)

Moreover, Dryden-Peterson and Hovil (2003: 7-10) highlight that:

... the commandant, whose office is often miles away, may be unavailable or disinclined to exercise his discretion favorably. Failure to comply with permit requirements can result in imprisonment for up to three months (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003: 7-10)

As already mentioned in Chapter 2, being unemployed and idle, coupled with high levels of boredom and frustration among people, especially the youth, exposes women and girls to SGBV. Alcoholism among men also places women at risk of SGBV (Haliso 2009: 101; Saffitz 2010: 90). Moreover, due to unemployment, some of the youth end up engaging in such vices as rape, robbery and fighting. However, as we observed in the aforementioned chapter, while alcohol may trigger violence, it is not a causal factor as alcohol and drugs act as “releasers” only when an individual has already reached a state of mind in which he is apt to violence (UN OCHA/IRIN 2007: 42). Therefore, SGBV perpetrators should not blame their actions on alcohol consumption or drug abuse: the blame should be put on the conditions that lead them to resort to alcohol or drugs as a coping mechanism in the first place.

6.2.4 Poverty

As indicated in the preceding sub-section, poverty is partly a result of unemployment. However, poverty is discussed separately because of the multiple and deep-reaching effects it has on refugees. Almost all the refugee men and women that participated in FGDs affirmed that poverty is both a cause and a consequence of SGBV. This affirms the research findings discussed in the preceding sub-section, which affirm that unemployment leads to poverty and heightens the risks of SGBV in the Settlement. The relationship between unemployment and poverty is important in understanding the causes of SGBV because unemployment leads to poverty which, in turn, robs men of their ability to carry out a key cultural attribute of human masculinity: the ability to provide for the family. Our findings indicate that poverty forces many refugees to adopt negative coping mechanisms, including alcoholism, drug abuse, and prostitution, all of which perpetrate SGBV against refugee women. This was affirmed by the participants in a RWC FGD, all of whom agreed with a member who said:

Here in Kyaka we don't have money because we are poor, and because of this, many of our children drop out of school every year...if a parent fails to pay school fees, his child will drop out of school; and if it is a boy he will start to do drugs or alcohol. Also, some girls drop out of school and later end up getting married or selling their bodies to earn a living (FGD, RWCs).

Conversely, the camp commandant regards early marriage as ordained by Congolese culture. In his view, poverty is not the root cause of early marriage among Congolese girls: it is a cultural norm. In his own words:

Poverty is not a major issue here. It is a case of parents viewing the girl as an economic asset. You may have heard of a common saying here when a woman gives birth to a girl: "She has given birth to sugar..." they say. And when a girl starts her menstruation, she is considered a woman, ready to be married off. So, it goes back to the cultural norms of the Congolese (KII, camp commandant).

It is therefore true that while poverty may not necessarily be the direct cause of SGBV in the refugee settlement, it contributes to the vice indirectly by rendering poor refugees vulnerable to the adoption of negative coping behaviours that expose them, especially women and girls, to SGBV. Indeed, Omata and Kaplan (2013: 18) argue that the poorest groups are often forced to employ negative coping strategies. Sebba (2006: 7) reinforces this argument when he states that early marriage and prostitution in refugee communities are common coping measures. Moreover, as noted earlier on, Lwambo (2013: 52) maintains that several ideals of manhood, such as viewing men as protectors and providers, are weakened by socio-economic stress and are made invisible during harsh economic conditions such as times of poverty. The erosion of these ideals stresses and frustrates men, rendering them aggressive, and this aggressiveness often manifests itself in SGBV against women. This is what the WCRWC 2005: 8 must have had in mind when they noted that in post-conflict settings, where men's traditionally consigned roles as providers and protectors are taken over by humanitarian agencies, men seek to reaffirm their identity in other ways, including SGBV against women.

Paradoxically, poverty in the settlement is partly blamed on the SRS, which is meant to ensure that refugees are self-reliant through agricultural production on land allocated to them by the camp authorities. In the opinion of the refugees, the strategy is not sustainable. As one male refugee said during a FGD:

Most of us were given land to till, but ten years down the road, the land is exhausted and no longer productive. Therefore, we cannot get much from it; yet we are expected to use that land to sustain our families...The lack of income affects our families to the extent that our children and wives lose respect for us because we can no longer provide for them, which leads to quarrels and violence, especially if the man is short tempered (FGD, refugee man).

While refugees are expected to till the land as the main resource for survival, a big percentage of them are against this because the Refugee Act of 2006 does not grant food to refugees who came earlier than

2008 as they were allocated land which is now infertile and unproductive, leading to severe shortage of food for such families. Moreover, the agriculture-based SRS is inappropriate for some refugees who came from urban settings in Congo and are not used to, or knowledgeable about, crop cultivation. As such, they find it hard to work the land they have been allocated. Such refugees often resort to negative means of survival, such as prostitution and drug abuse, which perpetrate SGBV. During a FGD with RWC members, one of them argued:

People who came in 2008 and before no longer get food, and they are not given any support. Actually, although they were given land, some of them came from towns, and they are not cultivators. So, when the Refugee Act of 2006 came into force, they could no longer obtain enough food for their families; the only solution for the women and girls among them is to earn money through prostitution. For example, if you took someone from Kampala to Congo to dig, would that person really be able to survive on digging simply because he is a refugee (FGD, RWCs)?

6.2.5 Alcoholism and Drug Abuse

While there is no universally accepted definition of alcoholism, in simple terms alcoholism is a primary chronic disease with genetic, psychosocial and environmental factors influencing its development and manifestations. Most refugees observed that most men become alcoholics out of the frustration arising from the trajectories they experience before and during conflict, and this frustration is reinforced by the sense of hopelessness that sets in after conflict while in the refugee settings. This study found that most refugees have no jobs and cannot afford many basic necessities, such as basic secondary education for their children, decent housing and good health care. As such, this pent-up-frustration forces them to find comfort in alcohol so as to drown their problems. The study also found that most refugee men who somehow contrive to earn some money, prefer to spend the money drinking alcohol as a way of forgetting their problems and catching up with friends in the community. This is especially true during and after the harvest season when men sell off their produce and use the money earned to buy and drink alcohol or marry additional wives. This was confirmed in a FGD when a participant said:

After the harvest season, most men use the money they earn from the sale of their produce to drink or to get more women. This increases conflict in families because when the man comes back home and the wife asks him where he put the money, the man ends up beating her (FGD, refugee woman).

Similarly, in another FGD with male refugees, all the participants agreed with one of them who said:

In other instances, men drink alcohol because, as refugees, most of them are unemployed and idle, and they end up seeking comfort in alcohol; and some begin drinking as early as 10:00 am because they feel frustrated. This happens if they feel that their ego is brought down as family heads, especially if they cannot afford to take care of their families (FGD, refugee man)

The foregoing testimonies indicate that alcohol consumption certainly increases chances of SGBV the Settlement. Frustration leads refugees to engage in alcoholism as a means of drowning their problems,

but in the end, alcoholism leads to negative behavior including SGBV. Indeed, alcohol often creates a downward spiral: if a husband has no job and cannot support his family financially, he is likely to feel that he is a failure, and turn to alcohol, thereby losing whatever respect his wife may still have had for him (Simister 2012: 137 -140). However, despite Simister's analysis, alcoholism is not a basic cause of SGBV because not all alcoholic husbands beat their wives (Umberson *et al.* 2003: 234). Moreover, alcoholism is itself a consequence of other more basic factors, such as unemployment and poverty, which trigger alcoholism and in turn impairs one's judgment, leading to vices such as SGBV. In other words, alcoholism increases the risk of SGBV but does not necessarily or always lead to SGBV.

6.2.6 Normalization of Violence

Research findings indicate that SGBV is normalized in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Normalization of violence is a situation where violence is made a habit and is systematic in a society. This is precisely what the GBV project officer of Danish RC implied when she said:

Some men just have the attitude that if a woman has done something wrong, beating her is okay in order to discipline her. Also, some cultures, like among the Bahema, beating a woman is normal (KII, GBV project officer – Danish RC).

As Lwambo (2013: 53) observes that in the DRC, women experience violence amidst cultural expectations and their real roles in society idealize caring for children, submissiveness, dependency and sexual availability as feminine attributes. Therefore, it is only normal that if a woman falls short of these expectations, she should be punished or disciplined. This relegates women to a second-class, socio-cultural status in society and it is rooted in masculinity whereby the man is the sole decision-maker; in the case that a woman questions his actions, she is considered disrespectful or unruly, and therefore deserving of punishment. Therefore, as the literature review in Chapter 2.4.4 revealed, if punishment is culturally acceptable in such circumstances, then abuse is considered justified and others may not intervene. In such cases, domestic violence in the form of wife battering goes unreported since it is a culturally accepted norm. During an interview with the anti-SGBV coordinator at AHA, she said:

In most cases, the man will say, 'I am the man in the family; so, I decide on everything and on how to use the money. At the end of the day, men can silence women with a slap if they try to question them. Women do not challenge these acts and some believe that it is the man's rightful role to discipline them if they do wrong. (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA)

The cultural norms and practices implied in the above statement are entrenched within the cultural value systems of most Congolese communities. Therefore, all members of such communities, especially men, expect women to be punished even when they simply question the improvidence of their male family heads; men find it normal to discipline women by inflicting physical violence upon them.

6.2.7 Witnessing Violence as A Child

Research findings have also indicated that one of the causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement is that children who witness violence in their childhood tend to become violent themselves when they grow up. Cases were cited of how some fathers used to beat their mothers as a means of disciplining them. For example, a male participant in a FGD had this to say:

Our fathers used to discipline our mothers when we were growing up. Therefore, we also have the duty to discipline our wives once in a while when they misbehave because if we do not, they will become very rebellious. I never saw my mother going against my father's decision because she knew if she did, she would be punished. But these women nowadays are very rebellious because they have exaggerated their rights (FGD, refugee man).

This participant's views are a testimony that men may be violent to women if they witnessed or experienced violence of a similar nature during their childhood (Chan 2007: 5; Seto and Lalimiere 2010: 529). Similarly, Simister (2012: 102) notes that there is persuasive evidence that often times, the beliefs or perceptions absorbed during childhood impact on behavior during adulthood. This partly explains why women continue to be treated as property and with disrespect (Isis WICCE 2014: 62). This view is reinforced by Coomaraswamy (2005: 4729) who argues that it is within family confines that boys first encounter female subordination. However, it is worth repeating that violence is a choice, and men can choose to use other measures to solve a conflict other than beating their wives as a way of disciplining them.

6.3 The Effectiveness of Reporting Procedures of SGBV Cases

While there are structural procedures of reporting cases of SGBV within the settlement, as provided for by the OPM rules and guidelines, this study found that most SGBV cases are reported to the RWCs, AHA and Danish RC, with few cases being reported to the police. To measure the effectiveness of the reporting procedures on cases of SGBV, I interviewed key stakeholders and engaged refugees in FGDs to gain a deeper understanding of the existing referral pathways. The findings presented herein, including statistical evidence obtained from the police and other humanitarian organizations, indicate that culture is the leading impediment to reporting cases of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. During an interview with a clan head from the Banyamurenge ethnic group, he was asked why there was a deficiency in reporting cases of SGBV in the settlement, and his response was particularly revealing:

According to Banyamurenge culture in Congo, if a wife is beaten by her husband, the couple goes to the parents of one of them and they settle the matter. In addition, if a woman is raped, the family members call the local council leaders, identify the rapist and make him pay dowry (KII, clan leader, Banyamurenge).

When the same question was put to the camp commandant during an interview, he responded by saying that there were very few cases reported at the police station, especially from the Hema and the Banyamurenge communities, because in their respective cultures, cases of SGBV are solved only by the elders; and if the victim reports to other authorities, the community may turn against them. The camp commandant cited an example of a woman who reported a case of sexual assault after which the culprit was arrested and later given bail. As a result, the woman was moved to a safety house because the man was threatening to harm her. The camp commandant also revealed that cultural leaders are opposed to reporting cases of sexual violence to other authorities. In his own words:

If it is a case of child marriage, they do it silently, and if they suspect that we are about to know, the boy or man involved will go and stay with other relatives in another settlement, or even return to Congo. Then the parents of the boy or man will pretend that they do not know the whereabouts of their son. In some other cases, the girl will tell us that she loves the boy or man, and that she is already pregnant, but the law does not allow that (KII, camp commandant).

During a FGD with refugee men, it emerged that under-reporting of SGBV cases in the settlement is also attributable to corruption within the police force. As one participant narrated:

If a victim of rape reports the case to the RWC, she is given a letter to take to the police where she is given a police form 3 to take to the health centre which examines her, after which the perpetrator is arrested and sentenced. However, there are challenges because at times the perpetrator can be arrested and within three days, he may be out of jail after bribing the police officers. This creates fear in the victim and her family because they feel the perpetrator might burn their house or kill them (FGD, refugee man).

Practically all the participants agreed to the participant's narrative. On the other hand, the Hema clan leader stated that SGBV cases are normally first resolved within the smaller groups of the clan, and when the clan leaders fail to resolve the matter, they then forward it to the RWC committee (RCW1, RWC2 and RWC3). If that committee also fails to resolve it, they forward the case to the police. Legally speaking, clan leaders and RWCs are meant to handle only civil cases that are not criminal in nature, however, it is reported that they often violate the law and mediate criminal cases, such as rape and defilement.

It is therefore clear that cases of SGBV are concealed by the cultural norms and values of the communities, where clan or cultural leaders mediate criminal cases, such as rape, that are meant to be reported to the police. This reduces the chances of intervention into SGBV cases. As a result, humanitarian actors and the police report less cases than are actually committed, creating the false impression that that levels of SGBV in the settlement are low. Under-representation of these SGBV cases against women also implies that advocacy and funding for the reduction of SGBV cases in the settlement are hindered by the false perception that SGBV is not sufficiently widespread to warrant preventive action.

Unfortunately, some victims of rape also refrain from reporting their victimization, partly due to misogynistic comments from law makers. Such victims fear that they will be judged or blamed for reporting the cases, and they opt to remain silent. During a FGD with refugee women, one of them recounted a significant occurrence:

A girl in Bukele was raped and when she reported the case to the police, the police asked her how many children her mother had. She said six, and then the police officer asked her, “So you do not want give birth, and yet your mother has given birth to six of you?” (FGD, refugee woman).

In other instances, it was reported that victims of SGBV are unable to report their cases because when the victim reports her case, she is asked to provide the police officers with money for transport for them to arrest the perpetrator; police officers sometimes also ask the victim for money for the police form 3, although these services are supposed to be free. This kind of corruption was well illustrated in the case of one FGD participant who said:

I was beaten by my husband and he was arrested, but because he is the provider of our family, after three days I went and asked the police to release him. They asked me to pay a so-called lodging fee of 20,000 Uganda shillings for each of the three days he had spent in detention before they could release him. Because I had one sack of maize for my children, I went home and sold it, and I paid the police. Then they released my husband (FGD, refugee woman).

These stories illustrate the corruption of sections and/or individuals, within the law enforcement fraternity, in the concealment of SGBV cases in the settlement. The stories also prove that there is mal-administration in the handling of SGBV cases because existing laws are not properly implemented, thus denying the victims a chance to get justice, while giving perpetrators a chance to escape punishment. All this serves not only to conceal these occurrences, but also to encourage and perpetuate SGBV in the settlement.

Conversely, at times the survivors themselves have been reportedly reluctant to follow up their cases. This delays the administration of justice, and at times leads to cases being aborted or closed. As the team leader of the UNHCR observed, “...poor follow up by victims causes some cases to die and go unresolved. Some women can report and fail to follow up till the case just aborts”.

The story of a sex worker that I interviewed also points to the cultural attitudes and norms as being responsible for the concealment of SGBV cases in the settlement. In some cultures, victims of rape fear reporting because according to those cultures rape victims are considered to be unclean, and are thus ostracized. Therefore, to avoid being ostracized by their families and communities, victims of rape (in such cultures) conceal their victimization. In the sex worker’s own words:

I was raped by my uncle when I was 13 years, and I kept it a secret because I knew my family would be embarrassed and even blame me for the rape. So, I kept quiet, but when I became pregnant, my mother saw the signs and chased me out of the

house when I was three months pregnant. I had nowhere else to go, and I was forced to sell my body to earn money to take care of myself and the baby (KII, sex worker, Bukele).

In other cases, participants in an RWC FGD revealed that when they encourage the community to report cases of SGBV, the perpetrators or their families threaten to harm them. As a result, even RWC members prefer to keep quiet. As one of them said:

When we report these cases and people are arrested, the family members of the arrested perpetrators start blaming us. For example, there is a girl of 14 years in Sweswe Village who was impregnated. We reported the case to the police and the defiler was arrested. The family members of that man came and blamed me for having reported the man, and they threatened to kill me and burn my house (FGD, RWCs).

Indeed, during an interview with the UNHCR team leader and the OC of the Police Station, it was revealed that most of the victims of rape keep it to themselves although sometimes the RWCs reports it on their behalf. If the victims are married, they fear to report because they fear that their husbands might chase them away and marry other women. They also feel embarrassed to expose these cases because being raped is culturally regarded as a taboo.

In cases where the perpetrator of rape is also the caretaker of the victims, the fear to report because they would then lose the protection and material support of their caretaker. It also emerged during a FGD with refugee women that the perpetrators are often close relatives of their victims. A participant cited cases of a father and a foster father who raped their respective daughters. In these cases, she reported, the victims feared to report because doing so would have resulted in their abandonment. In the same FGD session, it was revealed that victims of rape or battering sometimes fear to report their cases as reporting would result in further violence from the same perpetrators. In this regard, the testimony of one of the FGD participants reveals:

I stopped reporting whenever my husband beats me because whenever I would go to the police, they would ask me to forgive my husband, and if I refused to do so, they would not arrest or detain him; and then when he would get to know that I had reported him, he would beat me again (FGD, Refugee women).

On the other hand, there is poor coordination between the law enforcers in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, mainly between RWCs and the police. While RWCs are more easily accessible than the police, some of the SGBV cases, such as: child marriage, defilement and rape, are legally beyond their legal mandate. Hence, when they get such cases they act immediately by taking survivors to the police to make reports. However, RWCs expressed dissatisfaction with the way some of these cases are handled by the police. For example, according to an RWC member:

In cases like defilement, the perpetrator bribes the police to let him marry the girl. So, the parents of the girl are also paid some money and are coerced to settle the

case there and then. After a few weeks, the man returns into the community (FGD, RWCs).

Such conduct explains the low numbers of SGBV cases reported to police (as shown in Table 6.1 above). The same conduct explains why many refugees prefer to solve some of these cases among themselves or even report to other anti-SGBV implementing agencies, such as AHA and the Danish RC. Some refugees also reported that they feel that being foreigners in Uganda makes them less human when it comes to assistance from the police. During a FGD with refugee women, a 21-year old refugee woman recounted her experience to illustrate the basis of this perception:

I was raped at 19 years on my way from church. I reported the case immediately, that awful night, to the police, but the officer on duty asked me if that was the first time for me to experience rape. I told him that I had also been raped during the conflict in Congo. To my surprise, the officer asked why I had reported the case to him if I had ever been raped. He laughed and jokingly told me to just go home, bathe and sleep, and that I would forget all about it just like I had forgotten about the previous rape in Congo (sobs) (FGD, Refugee women).

This episode further demonstrates the sheer ineptitude of some police officers when it comes to handling SGBV cases. I also observed that some police officers would already be drunk by 6.00 pm, implying that some of them actually work under the influence of alcohol. This means that it is highly likely that some of these police officers perform their duties when their judgment is impaired. To address all these challenges, the Uganda Police Force and UN Women are formulating a gender policy that can address gender-sensitivity issues when handling crimes of sexual violence and to promote professionalism and ethical conduct in the handling of SGBV cases.

SECTION II

SGBV against Men and Humanitarian Interventions

6.4 Introduction

This section discusses SGBV against men, the interventions from different humanitarian actors, the challenges refugee men face, the effectiveness of the intervention strategies, refugees' understanding of human rights and the change in their livelihoods. Sub-themes are also presented as they emerged in the data collected. The section is conceptualized on the basis that like conflict, humanitarian support is not gender-neutral, and that women are more hard-hit by conflict and more vulnerable to SGBV in post-conflict settings.

6.4.1 SGBV against Refugee Men

Although men and boys are also targets of SGBV in conflict situations, the male victims of such violence continue to be disproportionately lower than female victims. Nonetheless, men in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement are affected by SGBV as well, although relatively few of them report these cases. Research shows that in conflict and post-conflict situations, and in periods of political or civil strife and instability, women and girls are exposed to heightened risks of violation of their human rights and higher levels of violence, including sexual violence (Lwambo 2013). However, men do not always come out to report cases of violence against them, in refugee settlements, due to the cultural norms and stereotypes that perceive men as the dominant sex. Thus, any form of sexual violence against men is perceived as emasculating; this could serve to explain the dearth of information on SGBV against males in the statistics. In Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, police reports show very few figures on violence against men. This is attributed to various reasons, including lack of confidence amongst men, as highlighted by the team leader of the UNHCR:

Men are not confident enough to come out and speak out about their cases of violence, and statistics on male victims of SGBV are scant. Reducing SGBV is actually a behavioural issue which requires change of attitudes. Involving men more and encouraging them to come out and speak is still a challenge we need to address. They really need to come out because they too are partners as perpetrators, protectors or victims. (KII, team leader - UNHCR).

On the other hand, during an interview with the coordinator of AHA, she observed that male egoism is one of the hindrances to males reporting cases of SGBV against them. She added:

Some men have said, ‘How will I go and report that my wife is beating me?’ We have told them time and again that our office is not only for women, but they find it hard to come out and report. We have a case of a man in Kakoni Village who sent a community worker to go report his case for him, but we sent him back to ask the man to come and report for himself so that we could document the case, because in this case, the community worker does not know everything happening in the complainant’s family. We want to intervene, but the complainant must come and report before we can do so (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA)

However, during a FGD with refugee men, some of them reported that humanitarian officers have a gender bias in that they believe that women are the only ones that experience SGBV. As a result, they target only women in all their gender equality interventions, such as sensitization and mobilization. In the words of one of the FGD participants:

In the offices of SGBV, AHA, men are ignored. These offices are gender-biased. When those officers sensitize about gender equality, they normally emphasize women’s issues and ignore men’s issues; yet men also suffer SGBV. Statistically, women are being abused badly, but then even if one man gets a problem, he also deserves justice; but men’s cases are not catered for during sensitization on gender equality (FGD, Refugee men).

On the other hand, RWCs argued that men fear to report any SGBV cases perpetrated against them because they fear to be embarrassed in front of the officers they report to. Indeed, when asked why most men do not report cases of SGBV and choose to suffer silently, one of the RWC members from Kaborogota zone responded thus:

Men are hesitant to report these cases. One day, there was a man who came and reported here that he wanted to have sex with his wife, but the wife was uncooperative, and she kicked the husband before speeding off to report the husband to the RWC. When the man showed up to report, the RWC members asked him what had happened, and he said that his wife had kicked him. The whole office burst into laughter, and the man was so embarrassed that he simply walked away (FGD, RWC).

This episode proves that SGBV is gender-neutral although it affects women much more than it does men, especially in conflict and post-conflict situations. This is because conflict disrupts the traditional gender roles and offers women new roles as heads of families who must fend for their children and elderly relatives in the absence of a husband while men are denied a chance to provide for their children and wives. As such, women usually resort to negative coping mechanisms in the settlement while men become angry and frustrated, leading to SGBV against women and girls who are culturally more vulnerable. Moreover, while men may face violence from their wives, they also face violence from fellow men, especially during conflict when some of them are sodomized; later when in refugee settlements, they face continuous guilt and shame, and this pent-up frustration further increases the incidence of SGBV against both women and men. This creates a cycle of violence which needs to be addressed by all humanitarian actors.

However, this section is brief because most violence is against women, thus most interventions are designed to deal with the major problem which is reducing SGBV against women. It does not imply that violence against men is not important, but rather that humanitarian agencies, development partners and government institutions cannot cope with violence against women, a more pressing problem.

6.5 Current the interventions to Reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

Ending violence against women and girls is essential for communities, societies and whole economies to be prosperous and peaceful. (UN Women Executive Director, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka)³⁰

A range of players work alongside the UNHCR to help run the refugee settlement and protect the refugees from different forms of SGBV. These include IPs such as: Samaritan Purse, Danish RC, AHA, Windle Trust, Finish Refugee Council (FRC) and International Red Cross (IRC), working alongside the

³⁰ Opening Remarks by UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, at the UN Women/CAJO Gender Protocol Consultation for Judicial Officers in Bridgetown, St. Michael Barbados on 31 October. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2016/11/speech-ed-gender-protocol-consultation-in-barbados#sthash.gpGgO2xB.dpuf>

OPM and the Police. All IPs complement one another to serve refugees. At times, their work overlaps, but they all give their reports to the UNHCR which produces the final report on SGBV cases in the settlement. UNHCR has a GBV IMS which contains final data reported monthly by IPs. Although this research initiated an intervention strategy to reduce SGBV against refugee women, as detailed in Chapter 7, for purposes of this study it was considered important to elaborate the current interventions aimed at reducing SGBV in the settlement. To this end, I carried out KIIs with the various implementing partners and UN agencies, the OPM and the police to gain knowledge on their anti-SGBV interventions in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The following sub-sections present the findings of the interviews.

6.5.1 Africa Humanitarian Action (AHA)

AHA was established in 2013 and is funded by the Bureau of Population and Refugees Migration (BPRM) (Records from AHA Office). It mainly targets female victims of violence before and after conflict. AHA is responsible for the prevention of, and response to, SGBV as mandated and financially supported by the UNHCR. AHA supports refugees in various ways: counselling, supporting women (especially survivors) with income-generating activities (IGAs) for self-reliance and supporting girl children in school with such items as books, pens and pencils, as well as sanitary kits, knickers and shavers. Upon being asked for AHA's response to SGBV cases, the AHA anti-SGBV coordinator stated that the organization supports the refugees in a variety of ways. Firstly (she stated), AHA supports single mothers, youth and girls who suffered or suffer violence back at home, en route to Uganda or in the settlement. Single mothers are integrated into IGAs for self-reliance. The anti-SGBV coordinator highlighted that in 2014-2015, AHA supported 100 women. In her words:

We tell the women that "business minus profit is not business and business minus savings is not business". Therefore, we encourage them to have accounts and they have opened a circle where they save their money. We trained them, gave them a grinding mill which is still operational, and then we gave some money to those of them who wanted to boost their businesses and incomes through selling *njorojoro* [sandals], tomatoes and fish or to raise pigs or operate hair salons, among other businesses (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

Additionally, the coordinator said that AHA provides vocational training, and that the first batch was trained in carpentry and given tools for carpentry to reduce the rate of idleness and negative peer-group influence within the settlement that risk increasing SGBV cases. Moreover, AHA helps to keep girls in school by giving them scholastic materials, sanitary kits and petroleum jelly, among other items, so that they may not be easily wooed by men on the pretext of providing those needs for them. The GBV coordinator added that while this support is provided to girls in primary and secondary schools, girls' enrolment in secondary education is still a challenge because fees at this level are high and scholarships limited. Moreover, she added, most parents still prefer educating their sons over educating their daughters. Unfortunately, some parents do not appear to value education, and the coordinator illustrated by describing an episode that she had witnessed:

Besides this, some of the refugees are very stubborn, because one day I witnessed a refugee who was quarrelling with the headmaster of a school over 1,500 Ugandan shillings; and, surprisingly, the parent was holding a bottle of beer [that costs more money] in his hands (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

As the above episode clearly demonstrates, the education of girls is still a challenge in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. To change this trend, there is need for a change of attitude through heightened sensitization of both refugee women and men, such that parents may learn to value the education of girls in the same way that they value that of boys. This would reduce the cases of child marriage and of girls dropping out of school, thereby enabling girls to acquire the kind of education they need to become change agents in their communities.

AHA prevents SGBV through carrying out community sensitization on SGBV issues and following up on cases by means of home visits under the Case Management Programme. According to the GBV Coordinator, this is done through door-to-door visits to teach the communities about prevention and response to SGBV issues. When asked about AHA's experience in carrying out home visits, the anti-SGBV coordinator responded:

Surprisingly, some people would tell us that they do not know about SGBV; therefore, we would educate them from there. This year, we are starting up a new approach with the help of watch persons, such as crime preventers. They select the home (role model) they know has adhered to the message and has a positive story that others may benchmark and then through songs and drama, we reward that family (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

AHA also uses mobile courts to resolve cases of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. According to the refugees that participated in the FGD, SGBV cases had become seemingly impossible to handle by the relevant officials in the settlement. They attributed this to a variety of factors, including: corruption among settlement officials and law enforcement officers, protracted hearings at the magistrates courts, lack of funding for SGBV survivors to follow up their cases and limited knowledge (or ignorance) of the referral pathways on the part of victims. To solve this problem, AHA introduced mobile courts: where the court magistrate is brought to the base camp and all pending cases in court are heard in the presence of the elders and community members. Refugees reported that mobile courts are more efficient because all pending cases are usually worked on in a fair and transparent manner. They argued that this reduces chances of corruption and that perpetrators serve their sentences, and because judgment is given by the magistrate in the presence of everyone, the approach also serves as a deterrent of potential future atrocities and the impunity of SGBV in the community. During the sessions, the camp commandant, cultural leaders, RWC members and refugee women and men are present. Indeed, it can be said that mobile courts help communities to build trust in the law, creating a sense of togetherness as communities watch the prosecutions.

Figure 6. 3 Proceeding During a Mobile Court in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (Source, Primary Data)



Although mobile courts are relatively efficient and effective, it is reported that due to bureaucracy, it is not easy to get hold of the magistrate, which delays court hearing and prosecutions. As a result, cases are not disposed off promptly, and justice is delayed. Moreover, some refugees commit SGBV crimes out of ignorance of the Ugandan law. Hence, it is important that mobile clinics be introduced to provide free legal aid services for SGBV victims and referrals to other emergency services. Lessons learned from other neighboring Refugee Settlements show that mobile clinics could serve as a platform to train cultural leaders and RWCs on mediation and on the international guidelines on prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse, to create community awareness on SGBV, and to educate refugees about relevant Ugandan laws. Mobile clinics' support has been limited because all legal service provision is provided by the government and humanitarian agencies. Unfortunately, because neither the UNHCR nor AHA is mandated to provide direct legal representation for refugees in Uganda, lawyers to represent SGBV victims have to be outsourced and at considerable cost, leading to delays in dispensing justice; and justice delayed is justice denied.

Women associations monitor SGBV cases because some of the cases, such as early marriage, defilement and rape, are sometimes settled secretly due to poverty. To intervene in such cases, the AHA anti-SGBV coordinator argued:

We also have women associations and watch persons in the community to report on early marriage issues which are usually concealed by the community, and to alert us on any cases of defilement and rape which are now the leading crimes against girls. Usually parents and the perpetrators want to sit down and negotiate due to poverty in their families. They do this secretly and it's against the law, but these watch persons alert us when they learn of such cases (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

6.5.2 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

In response to a question regarding the operations of the UNHCR in the fight against SGBV in the refugee settlement, the UNHCR team leader said that UNHCR does not work directly with refugees, but through implementing partner organizations. Through these organizations, several interventions have been instituted under the four key tenets provided by the UNSCR 1325, that is: prevention, participation, protection, and response (UN Women 2015b). It is to these four tenets that the rest of this sub-section is devoted.

Concerning prevention, the team leader at the UNHCR explained that there are several interventions in accordance with prevention. She noted that IPs such as Danish RC and AHA, are involved in massive sensitization and case management, dealing with legal assistance and counselling (respectively) for SGBV-related cases. She added that through Danish RC, the UNHCR hires lawyers to carry out legal representation; and through AHA, counselling is done¹ - although there is still a gap in the provision of psychosocial services on account of lack of expertise and resources. The lack of psychosocial support is detrimental to refugees' wellbeing as they cannot progress beyond the trauma of conflict to live full dignified lives in the settlement.

In addition, the team leader reported that to prevent SGBV against refugee women, the UNHCR had initiated a briquette-making project which helped the vulnerable, particularly women refugees, reduce their chances of colliding with host communities. This is because the host community had complained that refugees were cutting "their" trees for firewood, and this had previously caused a considerable amount of tension between the refugees and host communities. Some refugees had been threatened with murder, whilst others had been beaten and raped. When these conflicts escalate, women often face the brunt of the violence, since they are the primary users of firewood and one of their socially constructed roles being cooking. And if they do not provide food for their husbands and children due to lack of firewood, they risk being beaten by their husbands. That is why the UNHCR saw it best to employ most of these women in the briquette-making project to avoid such risks. The UNHCR team leader explained the rationale of the project in the following words:

This intervention targets single mothers and survivors of SGBV to work in this industry because initially we had instances where women were raped while they were collecting firewood. Therefore, the objective of the project was to address insecurity and SGBV issues against women (KII, team leader - UNHCR).

UNHCR's role of protecting refugee women against SGBV is entrenched in the work of the partners the agency works with. For example, through the Danish RC, the UNHCR supports the construction of a safe house for victims of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. This house is used to safeguard the victims of SGBV as they face the risk of further violence from the perpetrators. In the team leader's own words:

When a man beats his wife and we think the situation is still fragile and she needs to cool off, we usually take her to this safe house and provide her with necessities till we see that the situation is safe enough for her to return to her husband and her home (KII, team leader - UNHCR).

The UNHCR team leader also stated that the agency provides livelihood activities which mainly target women victims of SGBV, these livelihood activities are in the form of IGAs to help women such as small stock farming of pigs, goats and poultry that the beneficiaries raise to generate income. Additionally, through its partners, such as AHA and the Danish RC, the UNHCR provides skills training for women and girls to increase their competitiveness in the market. These skills are provided in the form of branding, literacy building and through linking the beneficiaries to government and other organizations that can harness their skills for better productivity. AHA also holds boot camps in which refugees are sensitized on the prevention of and response to SGBV. AHA provides legal support through mobile courts whereby the magistrate goes to the base camp and holds an open court in which everyone interested can participate, and where cases are often resolved quite fast.

The UNHCR is mandated with the role of protecting refugees, and the agency carries out monitoring and collecting GBV information through an IMS. Through this system, all implementing partners are obliged to share information of cases and help analyse the trends of SGBV, which helps in the proper planning to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. This helps in avoiding duplication of cases of SGBV from various IPs on SGBV since the GBV IMS is the only reporting tool accepted. The UNHCR analyses the trend of the re-currency of these cases and helps in the planning mechanism. Moreover, the agency also works through various sectoral leaders who provide weekly reports on these cases. According to the UNHCR team leader, all GBV and protection sector cases are documented in weekly situational reports. This makes it possible to track the occurrence of cases, to know whether they are handled or not, and how they are handled. At the same time, the system makes it possible for all partners to be held accountable for their actions or inaction.

Asked about the UNHCR's evaluation of SGBV in Kyaka II, the UNHCR team leader explained that creating behavioural change is very difficult because of many factors, including cultural norms and gender stereotypes, and lack of knowledge on policies that promote gender equality and protect women against SGBV. The team leader added that GBV-related cases tend to be more pronounced during the harvest season when households have maize and beans to sell than during the planting season when the refugees are more peaceful. In her view, the existence of mobile courts has made refugees, especially men, more responsible as they witness the sentencing of GBV perpetrators, and tend to avoid committing similar crimes. This, she said, partly explains the slight reduction in SGBV cases in the settlement. However, the UNHCR team leader concluded that there is still a need to engage men (who are the leading perpetrators of SGBV), because most of the current interventions engage women only. It is this need that partly motivated the formation of *Mume Kwa Muke*, the empowerment project that

involved both women and men in an effort to cause change and find sustainable solutions to SGBV against refugee women.

6.5.3 Camp Commandant and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)

The overall role of the OPM is the administration of refugees in the country. However, just like the UNHCR, the OPM works through IPs. The OPM's anti-SGBV interventions in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement target individuals, communities and institutions. The camp commandant explained that the OPM carries out sensitization and creates awareness about SGBV through implementing agencies like AHA and the Danish RC. For instance: the camp commandant noted that partners raise awareness on medical cases resulting from cases of SGBV, such as rape. The implementing partners educate doctors on the importance of gathering and preserving evidence, filling in the relevant police form, and ensuring that victims of rape are given a PEP Kit within 72 hours to prevent them from contracting HIV/AIDS. The camp commandant added that, generally, community workers, VHTs and the SGBV team follow up on cases of rape victims to ensure that the victims adhere to the medication prescribed in order to prevent them from contracting HIV/AIDS. The police reserve the right to keep records of these cases and are mandated to forward the case files to the magistrates court for further interrogation. The health centres provide medical support, and the SGBV team of AHA sensitizes and counsels the victims.

Regarding refugee access to legal services and support, the camp commandant said that the primary role of the police and the court was to provide legal services for both the victim and the perpetrator of SGBV. The legal team works hard to ensure that a perpetrator does not tamper with a court case, so that justice may be served. The OPM conducts monthly prison visits in relationship with other implementing agencies and they also look out for cases which have been shelved for a long period of time. The camp commandant cited the following example in handling an SGBV case:

Should a case be a capital one, like defilement, the police shouldn't give the accused bond. In other cases of violence, the accused is arrested and is sent to Kyegegwa Police Station. However, in some instances, the victim and the perpetrators may want to solve the problem amicably, but even in such cases, court will always give a chance to the two parties to reconcile (KII, camp commandant)

According to the camp commandment, the OPM has monitoring measures in place, including monthly visits to the prison to ensure that perpetrators serve their sentence. On the other hand, through mobile courts, the community (including the leaders) can attend court sessions, which builds a sense of trust and accountability among legal officers, community leaders and refugees, in ensuring that justice is served. The camp commandant added that cases handled within the mobile courts are usually cases that already in court but are pending. Thus, through the innovation of mobile court system, they are disposed off much faster.

6.5.4 Police

I observed that the Settlement has only one woman police officer who is the OC of police. When I asked her whether the community had established any mechanisms for tracking SGBV cases, she responded that the police station had a system in place to track cases of SGBV, protect the survivors and bring perpetrators to book. She added that there are three main ways of dealing with SGBV cases: community policing, monitoring and causing the arrest of a perpetrator.

According to the same police officer, community policing is a form of monitoring; refugees are informed of the dangers and the consequences of SGBV through sensitization and awareness raising sessions. She also reported that besides community policing by the police, RWCs and crime preventers are trained on SGBV prevention and reduction. As such, in coordination with RWCs, the police arrest perpetrators of SGBV cases in order to face the law, and this acts as a deterrent. The police officer also said that causing the arrest of a perpetrator can take a variety of forms. In her own words:

The methods we use depend on the intensity of the crime. If someone is terribly injured, he should come directly to police instead of going through the RWCs. If it's a case of assault, they can go through RWCs who can sit down with the elders and come to a solution on how to help specific families because we always give them the training; but when they fail they refer the case to us the police (KII, OC of police).

The OC of police also reported that the police uses crime preventers to follow up and bring feedback regarding SGBV-related developments or changes. Change is measured by use of the monthly crime rates derived from the number of reported cases. Despite the existing measures by the police, and as already indicated in preceding sections, most SGBV cases in the settlement remain unreported, which perpetuates SGBV and reduces the chances of curbing it. While most refugees acknowledged knowing the referral pathways for SGBV cases, the police officer confirmed that most of them decide not to report to the Police because they fear being ostracized by their family members or harmed by the perpetrator, or simply because a wife to a husband who is the perpetrator wishes to keep peace in the family. As the police officer explained, deciding not to report can have dire consequences:

They know the procedures they are supposed to follow, but the major problem is the fear factor. They decide to suffer silently rather than report to the Police. Later you hear that a house has been burnt or a husband has burnt his own house. Surprisingly, the husbands normally burn their houses and run away and go back to their countries, Congo or Rwanda (KII, OC of police).

The police officer added that in cases of threatening violence, a survivor is put in a protection house and given food, charcoal and soap. While in the protection house, the survivor is under the care of the Danish RC which monitors the situation until the survivor feels it is safe for her to return home. This joint effort between IPs and the police is an important element in the prevention and reduction of SGBV cases in the refugee settlement.

6.5.5 Samaritan Purse

Samaritan Purse partners with the UNHCR, WFP and the OPM to distribute food to the refugees. It operates under the OPM to which it has to submit lists of the names of the beneficiaries of food provided by the WFP. Samaritan Purse makes sure that the food that the WFP provides for the refugees reaches the beneficiaries. When the food arrives, Samaritan Purse calls the beneficiaries to collect their food. At least one person in each benefitting household must receive the food. They must present an attestation card which Samaritan Purse cross-checks before one is allowed to take their food. In the case that a rightful beneficiary does not find their names on this list, they are advised to report to the Samaritan Purse office.

Samaritan Purse also addresses SGBV issues during the periods of food distribution in the settlement. According to the team leader of Samaritan Purse, response to SGBV are carried out through food distribution as follows:

The new cases are given 100% food rations, which is 12 kilograms of maize per family for 30 days. They share the food as a family. Each family is apportioned food depending on its size. Food distribution is done monthly, with each family apportioned 12kgs and if the family size is composed of 2 wives then the amount of food distributed to them is multiplied by two (KII, team leader - Samaritan Purse).

The Samaritan Purse team leader explained that due to the escalation of SGBV cases during the food distribution periods, the organization endeavours to prevent, or at least reduce, SGBV by sensitizing refugees on how to use the food sparingly so that it can last until the next food distribution period. Samaritan Purse also monitors food utilization in the communities through the Food Distribution Committee to ensure that the food distributed is used efficiently, and to report any cases of food mismanagement by families. According to the field reports, Samaritan Purse carries out post-food distribution monitoring after every two weeks of distribution. This committee is composed of leaders such as members of RWCs. In case of any problems regarding food, such as food being destroyed during house fires or food being stolen, the committees reports directly to Samaritan Purse or to the police if the case is criminal. In such cases, Samaritan Purse receives a report from the Police, verified by the OPM and the UNHCR, and the family that has lost food is given more food. Samaritan Purse also has food-basket monitoring teams that monitor the food distribution systems and report any cases of food mismanagement by individuals, such as husbands that sell off the food.

To protect women from SGBV, Samaritan Purse trains them in briquette making so that the risk of sexual violations in forests are reduced and women are protected from the burden of moving very far to collect firewood. The team leader added that women are usually encouraged to be the ones to collect the food rations distributed by Samaritan Purse because men have been known to mismanage the food, especially by selling it and using the proceeds to buy alcohol and support lovers or mistresses. In the

team leader's opinion, based on long-standing experience, women are the best custodians and managers of household food.

Despite the significant role of Samaritan Purse, SGBV cases in the settlement are still said to peak during the food distribution season. Indeed, almost all female respondents indicated that their husbands sell off the food rations received during this period, thereby denying their wives and children food. When food is mismanaged by household heads in this way, Samaritan Purse intervenes. As the team leader reported:

In cases where a husband is known to be a habitual seller of the food he receives, we usually separate the food so that the husband gets his share and the wife and children get their own share. Also, to reduce such cases, after distribution, we always hold post-distribution meetings during which we sensitize the refugees on food management (KII, team leader - Samaritan Purse).

The situation is even more complicated when it comes to polygamous families. This is because while some men can equally divide food between their two wives, others tend to give all the food to the favourite, usually the younger wife, and ignore the older wife, which creates conflict between the two wives and their respective children. To avoid tension and conflict, when Samaritan Purse gets to know of such cases, it recognizes both wives as rightful recipients of food. In this connection, the Samaritan Purse team leader said:

In cases of polygamous families, where only one of the wives receives food, conflict ensues within the family. Therefore, in such cases, the OPM removes the man's name from the card and replaces it with the names of the wives so that they, instead of the husband, are the ones that receive the food (KII, team leader - Samaritan Purse).

6.5.6 Danish Refugee Council (Danish RC)

The Danish RC performs the roles of prevention of and response to SGBV cases in the Settlement, thus contributing to SDG Goals 5 and 16: "achieving gender equality for all women and girls", and "promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development respectively" (UN Women 2015b). The Danish RC is funded and supported by the UNHCR in all of its operations meant to prevent and respond to SGBV in the Settlement. The Danish RC has contributed significantly to the prevention and response to SGBV in the settlement. During an interview with the Danish RC project officer in charge of GBV, she reported that from 2016, the Danish RC introduced a prevention and response approach to SGBV through a community mobilization approach called the "Start Awareness Support Action" (SASA). The project engages everyone, including women, men, boys and girls, in efforts to prevent SGBV. The same project officer explained that the project focuses on sensitizing people about their intrinsic power, as individual human beings, to prevent or reduce SGBV, and involves four steps through which the community is empowered to prevent and respond to SGBV. The four steps are described hereunder:

- Start: this is the first phase and it involves encouraging community members to begin thinking about violence against women and HIV/AIDS as interconnected issues, and ignite the power within themselves to address these issues.
- Awareness: this is the second phase of the approach and it aims at raising awareness on how communities endorse patriarchy, and thus fuel violence against women and HIV/AIDS.
- Support: in this third phase of SASA, community members support women experiencing violence, men that are committed to change, and activists speaking out on the issues that reinforce violence against women, and HIV/AIDS. These communities join hands with such activists.
- Action: this is the final phase, which involves men and women taking action as empowered people to prevent violence against women and HIV/AIDS.

The SASA approach is unique because of the profound change it creates within the community based on Heise's ecological approach discussed in Chapter 2. The ecological approach holds that violence against women does not occur in isolation, but within families, communities, and societies regardless of the individual's character (Heise 1998). SASA encourages all other interventions against SGBV to be engaged at all phases of influence too.

It was also reported that the Danish RC reaches out to the community through raising awareness in various ways, including through the transmission of awareness messages on SGBV via community SGBV workers, engaging communities in drama and educating them on how to respond to SGBV. The Danish RC also trains RWC members on GBV issues and it sensitizes the community on SGBV through home-to-home visits as well as general visits. The Danish RC also reaches out to schools and sensitizes pupils on reproductive health rights and related issues. The GBV project officer further explained that the Danish RC carries out home visits because, for a variety of reasons, very few people turn up for general sensitization meetings, and door-to-door services to the community provide the kind of privacy necessary to discuss SGBV issues with refugee women away from their husbands. She added:

We realize that we can take our services to the community through door-to-door visits which accord wives and children privacy away from their husbands and fathers. We put the women aside and ask them if they are aware of SGBV. We ask them to state whether SGBV is a sign of love or a sign of pain, and we ask them to explain how they address it. This empowers women to come out and speak against SGBV and to fight for their rights in their families and communities. (KII, project officer - GBV)

The GBV officer further reported that the Danish RC also responds to SGBV cases by receiving self-referral cases from other IPs such as AHA, the Windle Trust and Samaritan Purse. While most of these self-admission cases include cases of economic, sexual and physical abuse and are referred to the Danish RC by other IPs, some come directly from community members. Since the Danish RC is

supported by the UNHCR on reporting and submitting cases of SGBV in the settlement, the organization compiles and registers self-referral cases and submits them to the UNHCR to be incorporated in the GBV IMS data system.

The Danish RC also has a legal officer who ensures that refugees are aware of the legal services provided by the Danish RC, provides legal guidance to SGBV victims and follows up on refugees who have been taken to court or remanded. This legal officer, in liaison with the RLP, then finds representatives for accused refugees. During visits to prisons, the RLP provides awareness to refugees on legal matters, informing them of their rights and sensitizing them on the legal process.

6.5.7 Windle Trust

Providing education is a key contribution to SDG 4: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and provide life-long learning opportunities for all” (UN Women 2015b: 10). Indeed, as Malcom X once stated, “Education is our passport to the future, tomorrow belongs to those who prepare for today”³¹. Moreover, if refugees are empowered in their countries of refuge, they can easily integrate and develop using the knowledge and skills acquired through education when they go back home or within their country of refuge. The Windle Trust is an organization that provides educational support to refugees, with funding from the UNHCR, whose mandate includes the responsibility to ensure that all refugee boys and girls have access to primary education. The Windle Trust gives a few scholarships to secondary school refugee students from the most vulnerable families and to those who excel in class. However, this leaves out a lot of children whose poor families cannot afford to take their children to secondary school. Girl children are most affected because they are likely to be exposed to early marriage. Therefore, while education is a right that empowers individuals to improve their well-being and broaden their socio-economic horizons, most refugees in the settlement lack access to education, especially beyond primary school.

According to the refugees, taking their children to secondary and tertiary institutions has remained a challenge because of the inadequacy of the scholarships available. As one refugee man said during a FGD:

It is good that our children are supported to study free of charge at primary level. But now we find it hard to continue educating these children at secondary level. This at times leaves some parents with no option but to let their daughters get married because the parents find it hard to keep the girls at home and take care of their endless needs. So, if some man out there is willing to marry your daughter and take care of her, you let her go (FGD, refugee man).

³¹ https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/malcolm_x_386475

In other cases, even when there is free primary education, the completion rates of primary school girls are very low. According to the education Programme Assistant of the Windle Trust, this is mainly attributable to the socialization process during the upbringing of children:

You find that when children are growing up, girls are more socialized with gender roles such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of their younger siblings while boys are socialized to do more directly productive work, such as laying bricks and rearing goats. Moreover, while boys' roles are seasonal, the roles of girls are daily routines. For example, when mothers are out digging, girls are obliged to forego school in order to take care of their younger siblings. This partly explains the relatively poor performance of girls in school, and it often leads to girls dropping out of school (KII, Windle Trust education Programme Assistant).

Therefore, while significant anti-SGBV interventions have been implemented in the Settlement, a lot more needs to be done. During data collection, I observed that there was a discrepancy between aid worker project activities on one hand and refugee needs on the other. From the stories the refugees tell, one could easily tell that the humanitarian workers who are funded by donors are reluctant to work on refugee issues (such as SGBV) that are not part of the donor mandate. SGBV issues have more often been perceived as a private matter even among some humanitarian workers, thus posing reluctance and a gap in addressing it. I also observed that some humanitarian workers had a negative perception of the refugees, a perception well illustrated in the words of one humanitarian worker who said, "Refugees receive so much but don't do anything; they only eat and they are violent". Therefore, refugees are not only perceived as helpless victims who deserve hand-outs from humanitarian workers, they are sometimes also regarded as undeserving of the assistance they get.

Consequently, refugees experience recurrent problems, which in their opinion, the aid workers were not addressing comprehensively or promptly. For example, refugees complain that they are not always involved in planning and coordination meetings held by the UNHCR and IPs. To drive the point home, one of the refugees evoked the words of Mahatma Gandhi: "If you do it for me, yet without me, then you do it not for me" (FGD, refugee men). Refugees have in most cases been sidelined by aid workers when it comes to decision-making because they are considered to have less skills required for various interventions, and also because refugee interests often collide with donor interests. Refugee women argued that there was need to make their participation active and meaningful so that they could influence policies within and outside the refugee settlement. They believed that in so doing, their gendered needs and interests would be addressed. These needs include sanitary conditions, proper meals for pregnant mothers and their children, and a favourable environment free of sexual harassment. For example, a woman refugee participant in a FGD had this to say:

Often times our needs have been overlooked because we are not consulted on our specific needs... Our daughters fear to go to school when they are in their menstrual periods because they do not have sanitary pads and they fear being laughed at. So,

they end up performing badly in school if they miss some classes and at times they drop out of school and get married (FGD, refugee woman).

Refugees highlighted the need for empowerment as an imperative need to build their capacity to be leaders and be part of all decision making efforts in the community. Often times, aid has the effect of creating dependencies and the belief that someone else should do things. As a result of aid and the principles that come along with it, dependants are affected as they are in a vulnerable state which fosters a feeling of dependency and hopelessness, even to the extent that food is handed out. They, on one hand, are helpless as refugees, but within that, there may be a wide range of possibilities created by themselves or facilitated by others to become more proactive where possible. If aid workers prescribe interventions for refugees without consulting them and including them in finding solutions to their plight, then their efforts are often in vain and lack sustainability. Counteracting dependency requires meaningful participation of refugee women and men, because refugees are not helpless victims but have the ability to change their plight if given the necessary tools, resources and platform. In view of this argument, one refugee woman mentioned thus;

We need to be empowered more, so that we can confidently speak out in public and represent others in our community who do not have that privilege. We do not only need resources like projects to make our own money; we also need to be trained in leadership skills and confidence-building among other skills (FGD, refugee woman).

While all IPs have emphasized the participation of refugees, the refugee women report that their participation has not been meaningful. They argue that they need to be trained in various skills, such as entrepreneurship and leadership, to be able to function on a level ground in the community. They also reported that while support has been given to them by the UNCHR and other partners, the support is not sustainable if it does not enable them to generate capital or be self-reliant. They pointed out that they need more scholarships for secondary education to keep their children in school and to avoid marrying off their daughters. They reported that their vulnerability exposes them to SGBV, and proposed that the approach to participation needed to be improved.

6.6 Main Challenges of Women Refugees

During interviews with the various IPs, I was keen to look out for the gender aspects in response to the refugee situation in the Settlement, and how these affected women refugees. My findings showed that while most IPs, alongside the OPM and the UNHCR, have done commendable work in their response, there are still gaps. The current settlement environment conditions further aggravate SGBV, disproportionately affecting women. These conditions are discussed in the following sub-sections.

6.6.1 Exclusion of Women from Decision-Making Processes

While women and children constitute the majority of refugees, and women are the main caregivers in displaced families, they are largely excluded from decision-making processes and leadership roles, minimizing their power to influence the nature and manner of their provisions. For example, women are unequally represented in the RWCs, the settlements administrative bodies, with only 40% percent representation, yet the percentage of women in the settlement is at 52%. Moreover, those on the RWC Committees infrequently voice their concerns because men often ignore their submissions. As a result, women find it hard to demand their sexual reproductive health (SRH) rights and hold service providers accountable, or to influence the removal of social, cultural and economic barriers that prevent them from accessing comprehensive SRH and GBV services.

In addition, although refugee committees have been set up to ensure that the needs of the different groups within the settlement are met, these committees are dominated by men who ignore the needs and interests of women. Most of these committees represent specific ethnic groups among the Congolese refugees, yet amongst most Congolese ethnic groups, women are not supposed to lead. This negative attitude towards women was evident in the observations of the anti-SGBV coordinator at AHA:

When we were sensitizing refugees about women being involved in leadership, men were against it...they said that their women were supposed to be in the kitchen. However, slowly they are appreciating the role of women in leadership because they have realised that women are more reliable and trustworthy leaders (KII, anti-SGBV coordinator - AHA).

While women face the brunt of conflict and are therefore often the main beneficiaries of refugee assistance, they do not have the opportunity or space to adequately express their interests and needs as very few of them have been included in the peace-building efforts in their communities. For instance, during a FGD with RWC members, all of the five participants were men. Generally, women are regarded as second-class citizens that need to be protected, rather than citizens who have a hand in solving their own problems. Nevertheless, refugee women have the potential to act as effective change agents in their communities. Women's representation in decision-making fora is also hindered by the fact that most women are tied down by domestic chores, making it difficult or impossible for them to participate in public decision-making. Moreover, most women do not contest for leadership positions in the settlement because, culturally, they still believe that men make better leaders than women. Women are complicit in not being more empowered as they have internalized the belief that they are inferior. This shows how prejudice and ill-treatment leads to internalizing negative attitudes about self especially to a vulnerable group of people such as the women refugees.

Therefore, it is important that a solution be found for the exclusion of refugee women from decision-making processes; an empowered woman is an empowered community. Empowerment will not be

meaningful unless women believe in their rights and importance. It is with this in mind that the *Mume Kwa Muke* empowerment project, working towards achieving SDGs 5 and 16, aimed at promoting egalitarian and peaceful communities for sustainable development, was conceived and implemented (see Chapter 7 for project details).

6.6.2 Lack of Economic Empowerment

While agriculture is the main source of income for refugees, most women who engage in it often sell produce such as tomatoes, onions and bananas on a small scale and their incomes are minimal. Moreover, many of them reported that agriculture in the settlement is not sustainable because it is entirely rain-fed and therefore only productive during the rain seasons; the pieces of land allocated to refugees are too small to support their large families and the land deteriorates rapidly and becomes difficult to farm on. Worse still, most of the women refugees in the settlement have no source of income, leading to increased risks of abuse and exploitation, including domestic violence and early marriage. The refugee women most at risk are single mothers who fend for themselves and their families; some of these single mothers confessed that they would rather sell their bodies than let their children starve.

On the other hand, while IPs train some women in vocations such as: hair dressing and cooking, some of the female participants in FGDs expressed a preference for training in brick laying, mechanics, metal works and carpentry, so that they could compete more favourably with men, and increase their incomes. As one participant put it:

We also want to earn more just like our male counterparts. It does not mean that because I am a woman, I cannot be a carpenter, a mechanic or a bricklayer, which would earn me more money within the settlement or in the host communities (FGD, refugee woman).

The above opinion suggests that IPs and camp officials are not gender-sensitive in their selection of beneficiaries of the various skills-training projects implemented in the settlement. They always assume that women thrive better in domestic roles than in other roles that are culturally the preserve of males. Therefore, it is necessary to consider gender perspectives when designing, planning and implementing projects for both women and male refugees.

6.6.3 Competition with the host community over limited resources

The existence of refugees sometimes affects the host community dramatically which can lead to conflict. This is mainly because the needs of the host community are not systematically addressed when programming for refugee needs, which makes host community envious of the refugees and unhappy with their own government (whom they accuse of favouring refugees at the expense of nationals). This challenge is aggravated when, at times, refugees must go outside the settlement for resources such as water and firewood. Host community members also accuse refugees of undercutting nationals by under-

pricing their agricultural produce relative to the produce of nationals on the local market. Moreover, according to the camp commandant, the host community has at times encroached on the land that the OPM secured for refugees, and this has led to conflict between refugees and the host community.

On 25th of September 2013, the United Nations adopted Agenda 2030 for sustainable development whose principles of leaving no one behind were negotiated to integrate refugee management and protection within domestic planning. To fully realise this principle, the NDP II (2015/16 -2019/20) was adopted through the STA. However, while this is a significant step, the agenda has not been implemented across all refugee settlements in Uganda. This is partly because the 1995 Constitution of Uganda prohibits non-nationals from voting in Ugandan elections and from interfering in any way in the country's political affairs. Important to note is that non-implementation of this agenda across all settlements is a form of structural violence in the sense that the conditions of the refugee settlement in a way lead to a kind of false competition over scarce resources not only among refugees but also with the host communities (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2003).

6.6.4 Inadequate Support for Women's Specific Needs

Whilst it is true that war impacts on women and men differently (Isis WICCE 2014: 56), this differential impact is related to the roles that women and men play in a specific setting. During interviews, refugee women reported that IPs were not sensitive to their specific needs, particularly those related to women's hygiene and social wellbeing. They expressed dismay that although they got a few food items, such as maize flour and beans, they did not regularly or consistently receive other critical items, such as sanitary pads, soap and jelly. In the words of one refugee woman participant in a FGD:

We have special needs as women, such as vaseline, soap to bathe and look good as well as clothes to look decent. At times, we are given sanitary pads and at times we are not. Yet, pads are like food since, as women, we do not have control over menstruation... unless they want us to use leaves (FGD, refugee woman).

This implies that women specific needs are not prioritized. Unfortunately, when some of these female-specific needs are ignored, women and girls become more vulnerable to SGBV by resorting to other mechanisms of attaining them. For example, young girls in school are forced to get support from older men in the community who can take care of their needs, and this may lead to early marriage for the girls.

6.6.5 Non-Involvement of Males in SRH Services

While there are some health centres and services Health Centers in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, such as Bujubuuli Heath Centre and Mukondo Health Centre, men are not (yet) adequately involved in sexual and reproductive health issues. Most women participants in the study reported that their husbands do not escort them to health centres for medical check-ups when they are pregnant, and that most men,

especially those in favour of having many children, do not realize that every pregnancy puts their wives' lives at risk. While reproductive health services are available, with some development partners distributing condoms, many women said that, generally, refugee men in the settlement do not use condoms. In the opinion of a refugee woman participant in a FGD:

It is the men that decide the number of children we eventually have because even when we are advised to use family planning to prevent high birth rates, our husbands refuse. I wonder why condoms are given freely when our husbands do not always want to use them. Yet, when a woman goes for HIV testing and is found positive, she is blamed to have infected the husband (FGD, refugee woman).

Although condoms are provided free of charge in the settlement, mainly to promote family planning, most families still have more children than they can afford to support, leading to the growing levels of poverty in the settlement. Therefore, it is important to complement the distribution of condoms with the provision of other family planning and reproductive health services for refugee women and girls. While the number of children a family has should be a joint decision between a husband and his wife, it appears that refugee women have little say about the number of children. This poses a challenge especially for already financially constrained families who are further burdened to care for these children, even in providing the basic needs. It is undeniably true that masculinity is at play which calls for a redress of the problem that men face of feeling powerless. This is because they often turn their frustrations to unproductive behaviours such as alcoholism or proving masculinity through sexual prowess. By consistently providing refugee women and girls with health kits, including knickers and recyclable pads, humanitarian workers boost the confidence and self-esteem of the women and girls, and reduce the beneficiaries' vulnerability to SGBV. Moreover, women and girls need these items for their cleanliness and well-being.

6.7 Changes in Refugee Livelihoods

During interviews, refugees indicated that they had experienced a number of changes in their lives since they had left their home country. These changes relate to cultural shocks, family relations, employment opportunities and nutrition, among other aspects of life. This study revealed that most of these changes present risk factors for SGBV against female refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Moreover, men's feelings of powerlessness in the camp challenges the traditional perception or construction of men as superior to women, angers and frustrates men, and increases men's aggressiveness towards women, thereby rendering women more vulnerable to different forms of SGBV.

6.7.1 Change in the Law Regimes

Refugees are particularly affected by the differences between the legal regimes of Uganda and those of their home countries, in this case mainly the DRC. In Uganda, the refugee policy clearly states that all refugees have to obey the laws in Uganda or else they face prosecution. But some refugees regard some

Ugandan laws as inappropriate. For example, many male refugees complained about the Ugandan laws being in favour of women, arguing that these laws were contrary to their cultural beliefs, practices and norms. As most literature revealed, in the DRC, domestic violence is normalized and there is no specific law against its impunity (Isis WICCE 2014). Hence, Congolese refugees in Uganda regard the Ugandan Domestic Violence Act (2010) which is against domestic violence as obnoxious. In addition, while in Congo early marriage for girls and the non-involvement of women in decision-making processes are normal and common, Ugandan laws outlaw early marriage and promote gender equality in all spheres of life. During a FGD with refugee men, one of them said:

The laws back home were much fairer to a man, and a man was the head of the family, but here there are many laws that give women authority and most women have used that privilege to demean their husbands (FGD, refugee man).

6.7.2 Social and Family Relations Detachment

Conflicts create changes in social relations that further marginalize women. For instance, refugee women have taken up roles such as being family heads, providing food and security for their families whilst their husbands are dead, disabled, away or unwilling to work (Isis WICCE 2014: 54). In FGDs, most refugees pointed out that many refugee families in the settlement had disintegrated or become dysfunctional, leading to a decline in child care and general life standards. They expressed grief over the disintegration of families, which broke their extended family relations and denied people access to those that they could lean on for help in times of need. In the settlement, family members had only their immediate family to count on for help, unlike back in the DRC where they could easily reach out to their extended family members for support and comfort. As one FGD participant said:

In DRC, just before the war, we were okay because I was living with my husband and two children. However, life changed when the war broke out. My husband was murdered, I was raped before running to Uganda with my two children and settling in Bukele. In Bukele, life was hard. Although UNHCR gave me food and shelter, the food was bad and my children became malnourished. I tried to get health care for them but still life was hard because I had to start a new life as their father and protect them (FGD, refugee woman).

It is against this idea that feminists argue that women should be brought to the peace table to raise such issues in the peace-building process, a plea that has not been given full attention even with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (Isis WICCE 2014: 55).

Ironically, some refugees blame pro-women laws in Uganda for the disintegration of their families. During a FGD with refugee women, one of them argued that Ugandan laws on gender equality had led to the destruction of their cultural norms and contributed to the weakening of the family as a socio-cultural entity:

Our cultures have changed. Back in Congo, women respect their husbands and women are subordinate to men; but here in Uganda, women are equal to men. When a woman is beaten in Congo that shows they are not loved. If a man does not beat you, it means that he doesn't love you. So, when he beats me here in Uganda, I do not report him to any authority because the beating is a sign of love (FGD, refugee woman)

The attitude, norms and practices encapsulated in the above remarks were corroborated by the camp commandant who observed:

Most of these refugees are from remote areas and have not really heard about women emancipation. For example, when we have electoral positions, women rarely come up. They tell you themselves that they are not supposed to contest for positions of leadership; they feel that leadership is a man's role. Some of them can even harvest, sell the crops and give the money to their husbands, because they believe the man is the one supposed to keep money. And at times if the woman sells and does not bring back home the money, it can be a source of conflict. Some think that if a man is not hard on you, then he doesn't love you, and that if he does not beat you then he is cheating on you. This is very common among Sudanese refugees and less common among the Congolese (KII, camp commandant).

Despite their subordination to men, women have the ability to exhibit their agency by providing protection, care and food for their family members and by expressing enthusiasm to devise strategies to deal with complex situations. In addition, while there is ongoing sensitization and the building of awareness around the need for gender equality and reducing GBV, there is still an urgent need to educate the refugee community about pro-women, as most refugees do not appreciate the importance of these laws for their own welfare.

6.7.3 Lack Of Employment Opportunities

As discussed Sub-section 6.6.2, the lack of economic empowerment forces refugee women to resort to risky survival strategies, such as prostitution, that expose them to SGBV. Similarly, unemployed refugee men are angered and frustrated by their inability to fend for their families, and they tend to vent their anger and frustration by inflicting violence on their wives. During a FGD with refugee men, one of the participants said:

Back in Congo, women and children did not have rights, especially during the Mobutu Ssesse Sseko regime. But here in Uganda, women and children have rights that are excessive, leading women to despise their husbands, and children to disobey their parents. For example, if a girl child is beaten as a disciplinary measure, she will run away from home, saying that the parents are mistreating her, and then before you know it, she gets married to a man who comes pretending to show her love, and the girl drops out of school. Before the war in Congo, we had means of survival, but the war devastated our livelihoods; and when we came here, we found no jobs apart from digging which is not enough to sustain our families. Therefore, the lack of economic sustainability causes our wives to leave us and go looking for other men who can provide for them. This is worsened by the anti-SGBV implementing officials who tell men not to expect to be respected if they cannot provide for their families (FGD, refugee man).

Refugees also observed that the jobs offered on the market usually target nationals and that the high qualification requirements for the jobs automatically eliminate refugees from such job opportunities. This is partly because the education curricula of Uganda and the DRC are totally different, such that when refugees arrive in Uganda, they are made to repeat at least two classes in order to be able to fit into the Ugandan curriculum. This discordance in the curricula of the two countries has adverse effects on the employment chances of Congolese refugees in Uganda. As one participant in a FGD observed:

As much as a refugee may be educated, his chances of getting a job are minimal. For example, a Congolese refugee with a university degree can lose out to a Ugandan senior four dropout when the two apply for the same job. And if the two happen to work together, the Ugandan senior four dropout will earn a higher salary than the Congolese university graduate (FGD, refugee man).

On the other hand, refugee women reported that, as women, they face formidable hindrances when searching for jobs. First, their husbands prevent them from working outside the home; secondly, when they are fortunate enough to get a job, they often experience sexual assault whilst at work; thirdly, even the humanitarian officials who are meant to protect refugee women and girls sometimes assault them sexually. During a FGD with women refugees, one of them narrated her experiences:

I finished senior four and wanted to get a scholarship, but the officer in charge of the scholarship scheme told me that for that to happen, he must marry me and get me a house in Kampala and keep taking care of me. I refused and lost the opportunity to get a scholarship. I did not report this because I feared that if I did, and the man was imprisoned or fired from his job, his colleagues would harass me and make my life miserable (FGD, refugee woman).

Asked to comment on the harassment of refugee women and girls by humanitarian workers supposed to protect the refugees, the camp commandant had this to say:

We haven't received any case. We have a code of conduct which was set by UNHCR and anyone who engages in such acts is liable to summary dismissal. It is called sexual exploitation because a refugee looks at you as the ones to protect and provide for them; and then you turn around and exploit this person. Even if they were in a relationship, the woman must be at least 18 years old, the man must let his supervisor know, and they must be officially married (KII, camp commandant).

6.7.4 Dietary Deficiency

Dietary deficiency is a situation that may arise from insufficient or inappropriate food consumption; this leads to physical emaciation, obesity and eating disorders, and related chronic diseases such as: cardiovascular disease, hypertension, cancer, and diabetes. Therefore, dietary deficiency is contrary to SDG 2 which envisages zero hunger. While it can be said that proper nutrition is about both the quantity and the quality of food, in poor households, women are less likely to get the nutrients they need to manage the physical demands of pregnancy and breastfeeding (UN Women 2015b: 6). This is because gender inequality nurtures inadequate health care, insufficient education and limited income for girls

and women. Inequities in food consumption stand in contrast to women's predominant role in agricultural production in Africa (UN Women 2015b). Yet, their potential contribution to food security remains constrained by unequal access to land and other productive assets (UN Women 2015b: 6). Zero hunger means that all women can consume enough food with adequate nutrients, an ideal which is still far from being realized in refugee settings. This sad situation was well captured in the words of one refugee woman participant in a FGD:

Pregnant mothers are not given any special diet. Imagine eating poor quality *posho* and beans all through your pregnancy, with no vegetables at all. Even when we give birth, our babies suffer from health complications because, as breast-feeding mothers, we eat badly and cannot produce breast milk. The babies later suffer from diarrhoea and malnutrition (FGD, refugee woman).

On the other hand, even refugee men noted that their diet had changed for the worst since they had left the DRC, a problem which has contributed to domestic violence:

In Congo, we used to eat well; there was more meat because of hunting and fishing. But here, we only have maize and beans. A point reaches when wives do not want to cook that food and husbands go home to find no food. Husbands end up beating their wives for being disrespectful and in such cases, wives may also choose to look for other men who can give them a better diet (FGD, refugee man).

However, according to the camp commandant, refugee children who are malnourished are given a special diet. In his own words:

If a kid is really malnourished, he or she is put on special diet of soya. But most of all, they have land that is 500 square kilometres on which they can cultivate. We believe that after five years, someone should be self-sufficient and so they are put off food rations gradually. The new cases are the ones who are on 100% food provision (KII, camp commandant).

This concept of self-reliance was echoed by the UNHCR team leader who said that humanitarian agencies are moving away from the refugee dependency syndrome. Thus, those who came before 2008 are expected to have become able to sustain themselves after five years of cultivation in the settlement. He added that this strategy is meant to break the dependency syndrome and allow refugees to sustain themselves and their families. He further reported that refugees who are really educated are not in the settlement as they get white collar jobs outside the settlement. In his view, self-reliance requires a change of mindset because those who are used to handouts find it hard to adopt if they do not look at the brighter side of self-reliance³². There is an affinity between aid and dependency, attributed by the dependency theorists wherein the free handouts lead the poor to a quagmire state of dependency, stifling all efforts of growth and self development (Kabonga 2017).

³² Self reliance is a key component as a key strategy to avoid protracted situations and in providing durable solutions (UNHCR 2005)

Nonetheless, although self-reliance is a good initiative, refugees still need support to become self-reliant, especially in the form of provision of start-up kits for income-generating support and other life skills that can help them to sustain themselves. Otherwise, refugees who do not make it, and are frustrated and angry, turn out to be risks or liabilities to the community as they are likely to engage in SGBV.

The table below shows the food distribution per month to refugees in Kyaka II refugee settlement. It shows that refugees that came in 2008 or before are categorised as an old case load and only get 50%, while those that came after 2008 are referred to as the new case load and receive 100 % food portion (KII, Samaritan Purse, Food Distribution Officer). This is also a strategy used by UNHCR to avoid dependency and encourage self reliance of refugees. Refugees who have stayed long in the settlements contribute to the protracted situation and these are expected to be self-reliant and not dependent on humanitarian support (UNHCR 2005).

Table 6. 4 showing Food Ration Level in Kyaka II refugee Settlement (Source Samaritan Ourse, records 2015)

Ration Per HHS Per Month for New Case load/ Evis100%

	Cereals		Cereals		Pulbe a		Pulbe a		VEG.OI L		CSB	
	Mai ze gai ns		Maiz e Meal		Pulbe a with M/G		Pulbe a with MM					
F M S	Kg/ p/p/ mon th	K g/ p/ H hs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p /Hhs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p/ Hhs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p/ Hhs	Kg/p/p/ month	Kg/p /Hhs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg /p/ Hh s
1	12	12	11.7	11.7	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1	0.9	0.9	1.5	1.5
2	12	24	11.7	23.4	2.4	4.8	2.1	4.2	0.9	1.8	1.5	3
3	12	36	11.7	35.1	2.4	7.2	2.1	6.3	0.9	2.7	1.5	4.5
4	12	48	11.7	46.8	2.4	9.6	2.1	8.4	0.9	3.6	1.5	6
5	12	60	11.7	58.5	2.4	12	2.1	10.5	0.9	4.5	1.5	7.5
6	12	72	11.7	70.2	2.4	14.4	2.1	12.6	0.9	5.4	1.5	9
7	12	84	11.7	81.9	2.4	16.8	2.1	14.7	0.9	6.3	1.5	10.5
8	12	96	11.7	93.6	2.4	19.2	2.1	16.8	0.9	7.2	1.5	12
9	12	108	11.7	105.3	2.4	21.6	2.1	18.9	0.9	8.1	1.5	13.5
10	12	120	11.7	117	2.4	24	2.1	21	0.9	9	1.5	15
11	12	132	11.7	128.7	2.4	26.4	2.1	23.1	0.9	9.9	1.5	16.5
12	12	144	11.7	140.4	2.4	28.8	2.1	25.2	0.9	10.8	1.5	18
13	12	156	11.7	152.1	2.4	31.2	2.1	27.3	0.9	11.7	1.5	19.5
14	12	168	11.7	163.8	2.4	33.6	2.1	29.4	0.9	12.6	1.5	21
15	12	180	11.7	175.5	2.4	36	2.1	31.5	0.9	13.5	1.5	22.5
17	12	204	11.7	198.9	2.4	40.8	2.1	35.7	0.9	15.3	1.5	25.5
18	12	216	11.7	210.6	2.4	43.2	2.1	37.8	0.9	16.2	1.5	27

**Ration Per HHS Per
Month for Old Case 50%**

	Cereals		Pulbe a	Pulb ea	Veg oil	Veg oil	CSB	
F M S	Kg/ p/p/ mon th	K g/ p/ H hs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p /Hhs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p/ Hhs	Kg/p/ p/mon th	Kg/p/ Hhs
1	6	6	1.2	1.2	0.45	0.45	1.5	1.5
2	6	12	1.2	2.4	0.45	0.9	1.5	3
3	6	18	1.2	3.6	0.45	1.35	1.5	4.5
4	6	24	1.2	4.8	0.45	1.8	1.5	6
5	6	30	1.2	6	0.45	2.25	1.5	7.5
6	6	36	1.2	7.2	0.45	2.7	1.5	9
7	6	42	1.2	8.4	0.45	3.15	1.5	10.5
8	6	48	1.2	9.6	0.45	3.6	1.5	12
9	6	54	1.2	10.8	0.45	4.05	1.5	13.5
10	6	60	1.2	12	0.45	4.5	1.5	15
11	6	66	1.2	13.2	0.45	4.95	1.5	16.5
12	6	72	1.2	14.4	0.45	5.4	1.5	18
13	6	78	1.2	15.6	0.45	5.85	1.5	19.5
14	6	84	1.2	16.8	0.45	6.3	1.5	21
15	6	90	1.2	18	0.45	6.75	1.5	22.5
16	6	96	1.2	19.2	0.45	7.2	1.5	24
17	6	102	1.2	20.4	0.45	7.65	1.5	25.5
18	6	108	1.2	21.6	0.45	8.1	1.5	27

To understand the dietary deficiencies in Kyaka II refugee settlement further, the records from Samaritan Purse of food distribution are enlightening in that regard. Food provided entails cereals, maize, beans (palbea), and vegetable oil. Each family is apportioned food per the number of household members. The quantity of food (number of kilograms per month) provided to a single household of old case loads is

half the quantity of food provided to the new case loads per month. During a discussion with the Samaritan Purse Program Manager on Food ration and distribution, he indicated that to avoid dependency and encourage self reliance and sustainability of refugees (through the SRS), those refugees that came before 2008 or have spent more than 10 years are not given full support (100%) of food. Only the new arrivals (those that came after 2008) receive full food support.

Although food is provided to refugees on a monthly basis and the quantity is supposedly being determined by the number of people in a household, the quantity provided is not enough to sustain the families. Moreover, with a reduction in the amount of food provided to refugees who came before 2008, those with no jobs find it hard to sustain their families, leading to malnutrition and starvation. Most of the refugee families in the settlement have just one meal a day. As such, it is clear that although the UNCHR is mandated to protect refugees, the new policies within the institution (such as the SRS) fall short of fulfilling the protection mandate of the UNHCR as dictated in the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees. Refugee families that have been struck off the list of food beneficiaries represent a failure in the UNHCR's protection role. Being struck off the list of food beneficiaries increases the level of vulnerability, especially for female-headed households, and frustration among men in male headed households. As a result, vulnerable household members may resort to risky survival mechanisms, including prostitution, and frustrated men may seek to vent their frustration through violence against female refugees.

6.7.5 Changing Gender Roles

Changing gender roles in post-conflict settings, including refugee settlements, have also created tension and domestic violence. Conflict usually increases the care burdens of women who are forced to care for all of their children and elderly relatives in the case of the death of a spouse. In most cases, such women are constrained to resort to negative coping mechanisms, including prostitution and survival sex. In the case of Congolese refugees, the AHA anti-SGBV coordinator had this to say:

In Congo, a man could go fishing while his wife stayed at home to take care of the children, wash clothes, clean the house and cook food. But here, both the husband and the wife wake up early to go to dig and come back home; but while the man is relaxing, the woman continues to work, washing clothes, cleaning the house and cooking for the family. In this case, the woman feels overburdened and starts to complain, which may bring about a conflict that ends in the husband beating the wife (KII, anti- SGBV coordinator - AHA).

6.8 Refugees' Understanding of Women's Rights and Empowerment

The issue of women's rights ignited a contentious debate amongst respondents. Over 80% of the female respondents were of the opinion that women's rights meant women emancipation and women

empowerment; whilst over 70% of the male respondents argued that women's rights mean training or empowering women to dominate men. When asked why they felt that way, refugee men said that it was because they no longer felt like they have any space in society and that their traditional roles as family heads had been usurped by women. On the other hand, upon being asked to define women empowerment, only 10% of the refugee women and men could define the concept correctly. According to these responses, women empowerment is giving women the necessary skills so that they can be self-reliant and contribute to their husbands' incomes. The rest (90%) of the respondents defined women empowerment as giving women rights to rule over their husbands, giving women rights so that they ignore their responsibilities at home or empowering women to behave like men. Certainly, the latter definition portrays a lack of understanding of the essence of women empowerment. As one refugee woman participant in a FGD revealed, many refugee women are still caught between their awareness of their rights and their perceived obligation to be cautious when exercising those rights (or else they would risk worse consequences than the status quo):

Back at home, the only decision-maker in the family was the husband; but now women here are empowered, although in most families, the husband still feels like it is his right as the head of the family to make decisions. Even if I know that I have been empowered, I still know my place as second to my husband in my family because I fear that if I go against what he says, he might leave me and marry some other woman. For example, at times when I work, he asks for the money I earn, and will not even explain to me how he has used it. Last season, I sold beans and gave him the money to keep so that after giving birth, the money could help us with our new born baby. But after giving birth, I realised that he had not bought anything for the child, and when I would ask him for the money, he would instead quarrel (FGD, refugee woman).

Refugee men asked me if refugee women's rights could be revised to avoid the kind of conflicts and cases of SGBV that arise out of women trying to exercise their newly discovered rights. The idea that when women exercise their rights, men become insecure was supported by the camp commandant who stated that change is not always welcome in societies where traditional norms and practices define systems of operation. He further argued that although the country (Uganda) might have rights, these rights were not always recognised, judging by the Congolese refugees' behaviour in the settlement. The commandant gave an example of early marriage as practiced by Congolese, saying that some of the Congolese parents married off their daughters secretly to avoid being arrested and prosecuted if the OPM got wind of such marriage. What the camp commandant did not say or know is that early marriage is also common among some Ugandan communities.

During an FGD with refugee men, they argued that while the promotion of women's rights is progressive, some women go overboard by making men feel inferior. They added that their laws back home in Congo were much fairer, and that a man was the head of the family, unlike in the refugee settlement where there are many laws that give women authority, and where most women used that privilege to demean and humiliate their husbands. In the opinion of one refugee man, "you cannot have

two family heads [because] two cooks spoil the meal” (FGD with refugee men). Another male participant in an FGD had this to say:

Because of their so-called empowerment, women are denigrating us and there is no longer any proper decision-making. When a husband suggests a course of action, the wife challenges or rejects it. And when women get a lot of money, they tend to demean their husbands and become big-headed (FGD, refugee man).

These male opinions were partly corroborated by the camp commandant who said that due to women empowerment, men now felt threatened, he then acknowledged that women empowerment was good if it encouraged refugee women and men to work together and support each other. He also revealed that one of the weaknesses of female empowerment and the livelihood projects is that they target mainly women and exclude men, although men are increasingly being involved in the sensitization and awareness-raising for gender equality.

The above findings indicate that despite the increased awareness of refugee women and men on gender equality and women empowerment, there is still a knowledge gap regarding the essence of the two concepts. Consequently, men feel disenfranchised and emasculated as they feel that their gendered role as the heads of families (providers and protectors) is being usurped by women. Moreover, in spite of the women empowerment and livelihood projects implemented so far, women’s role in the society is still secondary to that of men, and many women, by virtue of their socialization, still believe that they should be subordinate to men. However, as the above findings indicate, gender roles are not fixed and they are changing through continuous sensitization and awareness-raising in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

While some IPs, such as the DANISH RC and AHA, have carried out sensitization about, and raised awareness of SGBV and women’s rights, people in the settlement remain insufficiently informed about gender rights laws such as: UNSCR 1325 (2000), CEDAW (1979), UNDHR (1948) and the Domestic Violence Act (2010). This has resulted in a lack of knowledge about the specific needs of women and girl refugees, translating into a lack of gender-sensitive programming. The knowledge gap, coupled with unbalanced, culturally grounded systems, reaffirm the negative belief that refugee women belong at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Hence, there is need for a concerted effort by all stakeholders within the refugee community to ensure that women refugees are fully aware of the laws that underpin their rights, so that they are morally aware of the negative cultural aspects that have exposed them to SGBV for so long. Similarly, all partners and agencies involved need to conduct gender analysis to ensure the inclusion of gender perspective in all remedial approaches regarding the concerns of refugee women and men at all levels of programming. This is because the needs and interests of women vary from those of men, moreover, women suffer disproportionately from SGBV and conflict.

SECTION III

The Research Intervention

6.9 Introduction

This section presents the themes that emerged from the preliminary data, leading to an intervention that was implemented to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The intervention was implemented in three phases: phase I entailed actual data collection and analysis, in phase II, action teams were formed and activated; and in phase III, the performance of the intervention was evaluated (see Chapter 7 for in-depth discussion). The intervention addressed the third and fourth specific objectives of this study. These specific objectives were: to assess community perception of SGBV and identify possible intervention mechanisms; and to use a participatory AR design to plan and implement a program aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its outcome during the study respectively. The section presents the emerging themes from the preliminary data collection and from the project intervention. Themes from preliminary data collection phase (Section 6.9.1) include: the need for male involvement; lack of employment leading to frustration; a culture of impunity. Themes from the project intervention (Section 6.9.3) include: the need for women engagement in decision making, trust and reconciliation leading to peaceful co-existence; building partnerships through peer educators; women's rights and empowerment. A summary of the section is also provided.

6.9.1 Emerging themes from preliminary data

During this phase, actual data collection and analysis was done followed by identifying the major themes that emerged including 1) Need for male involvement 2) Lack of employment leading to frustration 3) the culture of impunity of SGBV as discussed below.

1) Need for male involvement

The main theme following preliminary data collection suggested that not much could happen without men's involvement. As a result, *Mume Kwa Muke* was initiated by participants with my support. It was then that 7 male and 7 female participants from the initial study group were selected after volunteering their services to be engaged in the expermetal team as peer educators.

Data obtained in phase I also revealed that while men constitute the biggest percentage of SGBV perpetrators, reducing SGBV cannot be achieved if men are not included in finding sustainable

solutions. That is why solutions to SGBV are likely to be more sustainable and efficient if both the perpetrators and the victims are empowered in the quest for egalitarian and peaceful communities. It is, therefore, likely that SGBV has persisted in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement partly because males have not been significantly engaged in anti-SGBV interventions in the settlement. The lack of male engagement in the fight against SGBV was affirmed by the UNHCR Team Leader, whom upon being asked whether there were groups of men and women jointly working together in solving SGBV in the settlement, answered, “We still have a gap in male engagement because most groups here target women.” Therefore, this project is essential since most of the men in the community do not easily listen to women, as they consider them inferior. It is this situation that motivated and justified the *Mume Kwa Muke* project.

Upon being asked if there was need for a solution to SGBV, participants stated that there was indeed a need for an intervention that should include both men and women working together to reduce SGBV. Participants also noted that all the existing groups, created by IPs, were intervening exclusively through women and failing to influence the perpetrators. At the same time, respondents were asked to propose an intervention mechanism that they thought would appropriately reduce SGBV in the settlement. In response, most of them proposed that a joint intervention project, involving both men and women, would be most appropriate as it would provide a platform where both men and women could freely discuss SGBV issues and find sustainable solutions to the problem. They justified a proposal on the basis that while women refugees suffer the brunt of SGBV, some men are also victims of the same violence, but men are always sidelined when it comes to finding solutions to SGBV.

2) Lack of employment leading to frustration

Participants highlighted that males became more frustrated in refugee settlement due to the strict rules and principles therein. They mentioned their efforts to get jobs and provide for their families were stifled by the various rules regarding employment especially in formal jobs, the rules on their freedom of movement, among others. This is discussed in detail under sub section 6.7.3. When male dominance or power is threatened by unemployment and poverty, men are angered and frustrated and they often end up expending their anger and frustration on women and girls through a variety of forms of violence, including wife battering, rape, defilement and denial of resources.

3) A culture of impunity of SGBV

Over 80% of the respondents reported that SGBV is indeed high and the other 20% reported that there are cases of SGBV but they are not prevalent in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The preliminary phase further revealed that the attitudes of all respondents were informed by culturally constructed norms and values characterized by male dominance in a patriarchal framework. As a result, most women refugees believe that they are secondary to men and accepted that their role is to be submissive and obedient to

male dominion, leading to a situation where power is inequitably distributed between men and women (to the disadvantage of the latter). Therefore, social norms and practices that give rise to some of these abuses are accepted as normal. The findings indicated that about 70% of the refugee interviewees (including men and women) indicated that “men are superior to women”.

For many refugee women and girls, the appalling violence they experienced during wartime still occurs as clearly highlighted by the Camp Commandant during the KII interview “gender based discrimination and violence remains very much a part of a refugee woman’s life, especially due to their culture back home”. The continuing violence against women in the aftermath of the conflict demonstrates clearly the need for greater understanding of “masculinity” as it intersects with notions of what it means to be a female. Findings from focus group discussions with both refugee women and men conducted to ascertain community perceptions and knowledge, to inform the development of this project, indicate a general feeling of acceptance of the most common types of sexual and gender based violence identified by the community, especially early or child marriage and wife beating as well as the more subtle and hidden psychological violence.

Before project implementation, a workshop was held in which I presented the emerging themes from my data. Participants were appalled by the themes and the extent of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement. They then decided that there was need for an immediate intervention with them involved as agents of change if they were to change the situation. More information on how the action team was formulated can be referred to under section 5.1.4 (under the Research Design Section).

6.9.2 Process of group formulation

Action research involved the planning and training of participants who acted as peer educators and constituted the experimental group. Their intervention to create a sustainable solution to SGBV was implemented by my guidance. With my guidance, a group of 14 participants (7 males and 7 females) was formed, and the members voluntarily accepted to form the experimental group. This intervention involved organizing, planning for a training workshop in which participants were to discuss the select a name for the project, elect committee representatives, produce an action plan, complete with intervention activities, agree on reporting mechanisms, and finally identify and discuss the challenges and achievements of the intervention. It is during this phase that the project name *Mume Kwa Muke* was formed. Participants selected the name *Mume Kwa Muke* because the project was the first in the settlement to involve both men and women, working as equal partners in a collaborative effort. Most of the other groups in the settlements are composed mainly of women as both participants and beneficiaries. Thus, the name *Mume Kwa Muke* recognises the importance of both women and men working together to combat SGBV. Section 5.1.3 gives detailed understanding of how the comparison/experimental team was formed including the four key principles identified by Stringer (2014:

24): relationships, communication, participation and inclusion upon which the action group activities were developed. The action team was guided by 4 main objectives (see 5.1.4) and formulated various interrelated activities (see 5.1.4) including group formation, training, planning, implementation, monitoring progress, and evaluation.

The role of these peer educators was to carry out awareness raising of SGBV prevention and response at Community level in all the 5 selected Zones including Sweswe, Buliti, Bukere, Mukondo and Ntambabiniga. Activities that were agreed upon included: sensitization and awareness-raising meetings to be carried out in the 5 selected zones, because the workshop had established that they had the highest reported SGBV cases in the settlement. Other sensitization and awareness-raising sessions were conducted on public holidays such as the International Women's Day and the 16 Days of Activities. During the same workshop, a participant proposed a monthly reporting tool that was accepted by all the participants. The tool included provisions for the villages visited, cases of SGBV resolved on personal or group basis, achievements, challenges and recommendations. Participants agreed that they would meet every month to discuss the challenges and achievements of the previous month's intervention, so as to improve the intervention in the following month.

Figure 6. 4 An Initiation Workshop for the Planning Operation of *Mume Kwa Muke* (Source, Primary data)



I. Training Workshop

During training workshop, peer educators (participants) were trained on the various aspects of gender equality and its importance in peace-building. They were divided in 3 groups where they discussed

issues as per the topic of discussion and had one group member present to the rest of the team. This was followed by a discussion with the whole team. The training was participatory and the group discussed issues related to what both men and women are capable of doing, and the often undemocratic, unfair and restrictive nature of culturally pre-determined gender roles. At the end of the workshop, participants reported that the training had been timely and beneficial because they had acquired knowledge and skills that would enable them to effectively reach out to the rest of the community. The following methods were used to implement the project: Topics were designed to capture insights and views from community dwellers on SGBV.

Topic 1: Concept gender and gender roles and stereotypes

Participants learned the meaning of concepts such as: gender, sex, gender roles and stereotypes. They received knowledge on the effects of traditional gender roles on the refugee community in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Participants listed the following as barriers to the prevention of SGBV: failure to speak against SGBV in societies; poverty; ignorance; fear be ostracised by their families and communities and the exclusion of women in decision making. By the end of this session, participants learned that culturally pre-determined gender roles are a large contributor to SGBV and that gender equality is necessary for women and men to contribute to sustainable peace and development in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

Topic 2: SGBV Reporting

About 60% of the participants mentioned that although they are aware of the referral pathway on reporting cases of SGBV, they preferred to use their own report mechanisms to clan heads or cultural leaders because according to them, these are less harsh than the legal systems and are more trustworthy. However, the irony of this is that criminal cases such as rape, defilement and domestic violence risk being compromised and negotiated at community level with such cases being settled by clan leaders in their communities. As discussed under Section 4.4, women and girls who experience violence within their homes fear to report are afraid of being ostracised by their families (Women's-Refugee-Commission 2013: 13). Cultural norms and stereotypes surrounding sex also deter women to report cases of marital rape (PADEAP 2010).

Topic 3: Legal framework

Asked if they knew of any legal provisions pertaining SGBV in Uganda, participants mentioned that they hardly knew of any. They highlighted that they only know that back home this was not a major issue since women knew their place and men knew theirs, which helped them live in peace. This is regardless of the fact that when refugees arrive in Uganda, they are empowered with knowledge on the various laws including SGBV in Uganda and are cautioned about the act. This to me revealed a

reluctance by refugees to learn the laws and later control SGBV. During the workshop, participants learned about the key international and national laws that relate to gender equality and SGBV. These included the United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1235, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDWA) 1979, and the Domestic Violence Act (2010) of Uganda, the Rape Law (Pnal Code Act 2006). The relevant sections of these laws were simplified into the local language (Kiswahili) so that all participants could understand them.

The training was also used as a platform to design an action plan on how the implementation would be carried out. This included: monthly reporting on activities implemeted by the peer educators; hold monthly meetings every last Friday of the month to discuss pertaining issues, experiences during project implementation; carry out awareness raising in five selected zones as agreed by all members. The following methods were used to implement the project in Kyaka II refugee settlement.

Themes from the various lessons were analysed, based on the three objectives of the intervention project (see subsection 5.1.3 for more details on AR), which were that by the end of the AR :

- a) Women will be empowered to be change agents and leaders in the community.
- b) Participants will have contributed to a positive change in the attitudes and behaviors of community members.
- c) Success stories will be told by peer educators by the end of AR.

Themes were retrieved from the reports that peer educators provided on a monthly basis from community outreach, which involved sensitization and awareness building. The reports were a result of their community intervention on reducing SGBV. During the monthly community visits, community members reported to have gained knowledge on SGBV and its effects on the community, to gained a new found commitment to change socila norms and attitudes regarding gender roles that have relegated women to domestic spheres, thus making them vulnerable to SGBV; have learned that women's rights are important for them to contribute to peace and development in the community, and that SGBV against women and men deters peace and hinders development. While such change was measured through the reports provided, the intervention project would have been measured the impact of such commitments if only it was implemented on a longer period of time.

Besides the monthly reports, themes also emerged from the success stories that peer educators presented at the end of project phase. Some of the peer educators even confessed to having been SGBV perpetrators before the intervention. They explained that their desire to learn new skills to enable them to become better husbands, wives, mothers and community leaders in their various communities had motivated them to join *Mume Kwa Muke*. In their report, they indicated that reaching out to the

community had allowed them to reflect upon their own actions, and this in turn had helped them to become better change agents as peer educators and members of the community.

II. Awareness raising

The intervention used community outreach through use of drama and songs as the main mechanisms for raising awareness on the need for SGBV in the settlement. Through *Mume Kwa Muke*, the action group (now peer educators) used various platforms to sensitize community members about SGBV, and advocated for better methods of reducing it. As part of the awareness raising, the group participated in dramas and songs at the community level, which gradually helped them to overcome their own misconceptions and negative beliefs and attitudes about women and gender roles. They turned away from their own misconceptions and became change agents through pledging towards advancing women's rights and involving them in decision making. They replicated their pledges through utilising public holidays, such as International Women's Day and the 16 Days of Activism to sensitize the community. Burials and other ceremonies, such as marriage celebrations, were also used as sensitization grounds. The peer educators of *Mume Kwa Muke* could not operate in isolation, hence they built synergies with RWCs and clan leaders as they devised strategies for combating SGBV. With the support of RWCs and clan leaders, awareness raising on SGBV was made much easier with no major setbacks for the group. They developed an action plan which guided them on their intervention within the community. The individual and group pledges to reach out to their families, friends, neighbours and other community members on issues of SGBV and to reduce it. They reported monthly on their interventions to the Group chairperson on what cases they helped to resolve and which areas they reached out to.

Participants reported that the effort made through reaching out to the community gave them first-hand information on SGBV cases in the various communities. As a facilitator during community dialogues, I observed that by using folk songs, dance and drama, the action team succeeded in persuading the community to buy into the project and adopt it as their own. Reports of the monthly action team meetings also revealed that, through folk songs, dance and drama, the action team had successfully portrayed the SGBV experiences of the community.

III. Monitoring Visits

In addition, peer educators conducted monitoring visits within the community to establish any changes on the ground that were attributable to the sensitization and awareness-raising sessions. All the participants reported that this kept them focused on transforming the community, and where there was a positive change in attitudes, especially at the family level, they used those individual families as examples of positive change. Peer educators themselves reported that they themselves were

transformed, as some of them had previously confessed to being perpetrators of SGBV. All of them reported that the change they experienced had helped them to reach out and create change in others.

Figure 6. 5 Mume Kwa Muke Peer educators using drama to sensitize the community during the International Women’s Day Celebration (Source, Primary data)



6.9.3 Analysis from the Project intervention

Out of the 14 (7 females and 7 males) peer educators, 7 success stories have been presented in this thesis as evidence of their learning (Appendix F). Four themes emerged from the peer educators’ reports, and it is to these themes that we now turn to measure change in the settlement.

- **Women Engagement in Decision-Making**

The community reports reveal that over 80% of the male participants in the sensitization and awareness meetings indicated that as a result of the intervention they had achieved a newly found commitment to listen to their wives and engage them in decision-making regarding family welfare. One of the male participants said:

I now know that my wife is a better custodian of food. A few months ago, I used to sell off the food and use the money for my other needs, and would not care to leave food for my wife. Now, because I know my weakness, I let my wife receive our monthly food rations. Even after harvest, we plan for the money together and ensure that we have enough to eat before selling off the balance (Report, Peer educator).

Similar changes within other families resulted in less fights in families, with men respecting and listening to their wives. Women also felt empowered to discuss family welfare matters with their husbands and plan for their families. While women are still under-represented in their community

leadership, the improvement in women's participation in decision-making at the family level has encouraged them to get involved in decision-making at the community level, an achievement worth celebrating. Most of the reports from these sessions revealed that although a positive change in attitudes did not happen instantly, through continuous visits to targeted families and communities, positive change was evident by the end of the project. As monthly reports indicate, this positive change was vividly captured in the experience of one of the male refugees from Bukele Zone who said:

I never really thought that my wife and I could come together and discuss family management matters and plan for our finances. Before I encountered members from *Mume Kwa Muke*, I alone planned for my money and my family's welfare; and if I chose to spend all the money on alcohol, I never expected my wife to question me... when she would ask me why I spent all the money on alcohol, I would get angry and beat her. But I have now changed, and I now even sometimes give her the money to keep so that I do not use it all on alcohol; and we sit together and plan for the money, and she at times gives me some for my drink (Report, Peer educator).

Although efforts were made to promote women's visibility, representation and participation in decision-making in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, by the end of the project phase, women constituted only 40% of the membership of RWCs and traditional leaders. All the same, the evaluation revealed sufficient evidence to prove that, generally, women targeted by the intervention, especially peer educators, had become more aware of their rights and acquired enough courage to participate more actively in family and community affairs, thereby becoming positive change agents as well. Perhaps no woman participant embodied this change more than the 36-year old peer educator from Buliiti zone who said:

Mume Kwa Muke has helped me to open up and speak to people with confidence in my community. I no longer fear to speak out and express myself among people. I have now sensitized people on how to reduce SGBV in my community and, as a result, some families approach me for advice on these issues. I have not only spoken in my community but also in other communities in other zones here in Kyaka II. I am proud of the work that I do and happy whenever I see families changed, and wherever I pass people recognize me for the work I do (Report, Peer educator).

- **Trust and Reconciliation Leading to Peaceful Co-Existence**

At the community level, reports revealed a change in the way refugees related with fellow refugees and host community members. The findings in Chapter 6 indicated that growing refugee population numbers had exerted so much pressure on the limited resources available in the settlement that refugees (especially women) had been forced to encroach on the resources of the host community (especially forests and wetlands) in search of firewood and water. This had in turn created tension and conflict between the refugees and the host community, and exposed refugees, especially women and girls, to harm at the hands of host community members. However, the evaluation revealed that the intervention had taught refugees to adhere to the laws of the land and to desist from encroaching on the host communities' resources. During the International Women's Day celebrations (8th of March 2016) attended by district administration representatives, the camp commandant, IPs, refugee clan leaders and

welfare council members, refugees and host community members - refugees expressed their plight through drama, and requested that they be reconciled with the host community. Indeed, in his speech after the presentation, the camp commandant responded by calling for dialogue between the refugees and the host community. In his own words:

We call for a dialogue in which the host community and refugees will meet and discuss issues pertaining to the existing resources. The refugees have expressed remorse over the past few cases of violence that have happened, and they have pledged to obey the laws of the land. Therefore, we call for this meeting to have peaceful reconciliation so that we can all live in peace with one another (Camp commandant).

Similarly, almost all the married peer educators reported that, as a result of the intervention, they had learnt to trust their spouses, and achieved more peaceful relations with their families. This was a sign of reconciliation having taken place in their families, and because reconciliation is necessary for peaceful co-existence, the intervention had achieved a major objective. This achievement was vividly portrayed in the experience of a 38-year *Mume Kwa Muke* participant from Buliti zone who reported:

I have learnt to also empower my wife with decision-making in our family. For example, she is now the custodian of our money, and I discuss with her any other family issues before making a decision. After joining *Mume Kwa Muke*, I also apologized for the many I years I denied her this role because ever since she started keeping our money, our lives have become better and I see that she is much happier than before and there is happiness in our family.

The above testimonies demonstrate that through reconciliation peace can be attained and that when communities realize the need for peace at the family and community levels, and acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to pursue and achieve peace within the family, it becomes easier to achieve peace within and between communities. As a result, SGBV against refugee women and girls can be reduced and overall development promoted. Evidence of this trend was found in the fact that, as a result of the intervention, refugees were able to sell their products to host community members, thereby increasing the household incomes and livelihoods of the refugees. All this implies that without peace in a community development can never be realized, and that with peace development can be realized.

- **Building Partnership through Peer Educators**

The evaluation also revealed that due to continuous sensitization, awareness raising and follow up visits carried out in the community, some of the community members reported that they had become educators to their relatives and friends on the need to reduce SGBV. Indeed, as observed during sensitization and awareness raising, most of the community members, including elders and leaders, pledged to pass on the anti-SGBV message within their wider relations. For example, religious leaders pledged to speak about this issue whenever they would hold services; RWC members pledged to double their efforts in the fight against SGBV within communities and to be watch dogs over other leaders who promote the

normalization of SGBV; clan leaders pledged to hold meetings with other clan heads to discuss ways and means of combating child marriage and building synergies with the police to hold accountable those who perpetrate SGBV. During a sensitization workshop in Swese zone, a community member proposed that “celebrations, such as marriage functions and burials, should be used to spread the anti-SGBV message in our communities (Sensitization workshop, community member, Swese zone)”.

In addition, while peer educators were acting as anti-SGBV ambassadors in the communities within which they operated in, by the end of the project phase, they had created a new chain of anti-SGBV ambassadors who reached out to their families and peers, and spread the anti-SGBV message. As a result, there was a multiplier effect in the fight against SGBV, spreading the anti-SGBV message even to communities which *Mume Kwa Muke* could not reach out to. This was attested to by a 31-year old *Mume Kwa Muke* member from Itambabiniga, who said:

Since we started the group, I have got a lot of recognition and trust from community members. I sensitize and educate older men on how to treat their wives, and this is because I live as an example in my community. The ones I reach out to also commit to reaching out to others, and the message reaches out to even other zones we did not reach out to. I am strongly convinced these people have changed their attitudes and behaviors, and I have no doubt that they are really good ambassadors of SGBV control and prevention (Report: Peer educator).

This collaborative effort by community members signifies that the intervention succeeded in promoting unity and a desire among many community members for a change in the direction of peaceful and egalitarian communities. However, while attitudes were demonstrably changed for the better, especially among the 14 *Mume Kwa Muke* members, the limited duration of the intervention could not permit evaluation of the long-term sustainability of the observed positive behavioural change.

- **Women’s Rights and Empowerment**

Before the intervention project, about 90% of the community members and peer educators reported ignorance of the rights of women. As the findings presented in Chapter 6 indicate, most of the respondents and participants in the intervention initially thought that the promotion of women’s rights was meant to emasculate men and make women rule over them. The same findings indicate that most women, including peer educators, were also unaware of their rights and had accepted that they were intrinsically inferior to men, and that their rightful role was that of domestic workers and child-bearers and nurturers. However, the evaluation revealed that the women who had participated in the intervention eventually realized that culturally assigned gender roles were detrimental to human development, especially in the case of women whose rights and potential were violated and undermined (respectively) by these traditional gender roles. The evaluation also revealed that the intervention had taught community members that the essence of women’s rights was to build peace and development in their community. With this knowledge, women developed a desire to engage in decision-making at both the

family and the community levels, and to voice their need for protection against SGBV. They now see their role as being much more than child bearers and nurturers: they now see themselves as necessary change agents and potential community counsellors, advisors and educators. This change in self-perception was clearly illustrated in the testimony of one 34-year old *Mume Kwa Muke* member from Swese zone who said:

At first, I did not know that a woman has freedom as a person. When we started our group, *Mume Kwa Muke*, I learnt that women, like men, have their own freedoms and rights. I now have the power to help in sensitizing others in my community about issues of SGBV. My community members now look up to me as a counselor and an advisor on such issues because I now know how to approach these issues. Whenever I stand up to talk, I have the audience I need to create change in my community. I am now a role model for others who see me as an example and want to be like me (Report: Peer educator).

The above testimony indicates that the intervention had a positive impact on the *Mume Kwa Muke* members and other beneficiaries, in that it enabled them to know about their rights (especially those related to gender) and to begin promoting them actively. The participants (who formed part of the intervention) acquired the means of combating SGBV against females by combating gender inequality, which is both a cause and a consequence of SGBV. As the findings in Chapter 6 indicate, gender inequality is embedded in patriarchy which translates into an imbalance in the roles of men and women. As such, if both women and men have equal rights, this rectifies the imbalance in gender roles and gives an equal opportunity to both women and men to participate in peace-building and resource ownership and control, thus reducing chances of SGBV and promoting human development. As CEDAW (1979) rightly states, SGBV is a major obstacle to women's economic, emotional, social and political empowerment (United Nations Interparliamentary Union 2003). Moreover, research has shown that women's active participation in economic and political life makes peace-building and conflict resolution efforts more sustainable (UN Women 2015a: 5).

Reports by peer educators indicated positive change in the zones within the refugee settlement where sensitization and awareness-raising had been done. This positive change was manifested in a reduction in SGBV cases in those zones, with a significant reduction after the intervention. However, this change happened gradually as the beneficiaries acquired new, positive attitudes and behaviours while unlearning old, negative attitudes and behaviours. The evaluation also revealed that the intervention had positively transformed members of the experimental group. For example, 80% of those that previously thought that women should not be involved in decision-making have changed their attitude, and now think that women should be included in planning for families and communities. Moreover, some men among these new converts for gender equality already allow their wives to budget for the family, collect the family's food rations and keep the family money. In addition, 75 % of those who initially used to beat their wives have since ceased doing so, and have agreed to love and respect them. As a result, conflicts that arise in such families are now resolved peacefully and non-violently. Even

those who previously thought that educating girl children was unwise have started sending their daughters to school. This transformation attests to the effectiveness of the intervention project and to the usefulness of male engagement in efforts to combat SGBV in any community.

In conclusion, therefore, one can affirm that the intervention project had positive effects on the community's attitudes, feelings and awareness, enabling many beneficiaries to be positively disposed to change (in the right direction) as far as gender equality and SGBV are concerned.

6.10 Summary

In this chapter, I have critically analysed primary data with the aim of proffering answers to the study questions. To analyse data, I have elaborated the context of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, highlighting the causes and consequences of SGBV, and the intervention strategies adopted by implementing partners. I have also discussed the challenges still facing refugee women and girls, including the persistence of SGBV, in spite of the efforts undertaken by the government and humanitarian agencies in the settlement. In addition, I have described the various emerging themes from the preliminary data and project formulation, which helped me to reflect, and guide members, on the achievements of the project. I have noted that although the intervention realized positive change in the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of beneficiaries, the complexity of SGBV and the brevity of the intervention and its evaluation inevitably meant that some of the complicated nuances and hidden dynamics of the topic could not be fully explored. Furthermore, although the research draws conclusions about the significant work already done, and still being done, to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, a lot remains to be done to reduce the problem significantly.

This chapter was presented in three sections. Section I described the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and examined the forms, causes and consequences of SGBV in the settlement. Section II discussed SGBV against men, the role played by various local and international agencies in attempting to reduce SGBV, the challenges faced by refugee women, the changes in the livelihoods of both refugee women and men in the refugee settlement, and refugees' understanding of equal rights. Emerging themes from this chapter provided a platform for the intervention strategy discussed in Section III which discussed emerging themes from preliminary research, implementation of the action group and findings and analysis. Section III provides an operational inter-relationships among the three phases of the project. Under phase I (preliminary data collection and analysis), I have discussed the emerging themes and process of project formulation, which later led to the formulation of the control group and experimental group (action group).

The chapter is aligned with the 3 objectives of the study. In line with the first objective, Section I and II examined the continuum of SGBV by determining the nature, extent, causes and consequences of

SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the Chapter analysed Causes, consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement. It has highlighted the current interventions to reduce SGBV in the settlement; the main challenges women refugees encounter in the settlement; changing livelihoods of refugee men and women; the effectiveness of reporting procedures in the settlement; SGBV against men; and finally, refugees' understanding of equal rights. While presenting findings per theme, I have concurrently analyzed data to give a deeper meaning to the respondents' views and opinions in relation to every theme. The research findings indicate that SGBV against refugee women is an issue of concern in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Whilst the UNHCR and other IPs in the settlement are doing significant work to reduce SGBV, the rate of SGBV is still high. It is unequivocally true that the gender disparities within refugee communities deny refugee women a chance at representation, and to enhance SGBV cases within their communities. This is further worsened by the normalization of SGBV in the DRC, most women have accepted the vice in their communities.

In line with the second objective, recent literature has been cited to back up the findings "to map the SGBV problem in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement". While SGBV was found to be a problem in the settlement, *Mume Kwa Muke*, an empowerment project was initiated to reduce it.

To fulfill the above, objective 3 on the establishment of an intervention mechanism, is described in Section III of this thesis. The Section provides an operational inter-relationships among the three phases of the project. Under phase I (preliminary data collection and analysis), I have discussed the emerging themes and process of project formulation, which later led to the formulation of the action group. During Project formulation, both groups volunteered to be part of the project. Under phase II (project implementation), I have presented the activities of the intervention in the form of training the experimental group, community sensitization and awareness-creation activities, and the action group's own efforts to fulfill the individual and group pledges that were made. During Project formulation, both groups volunteered to be part of the project. Under phase II (project implementation), I have presented the activities of the intervention in the form of training the experimental group, community sensitization and awareness-creation activities, and the action group's own efforts to fulfill the individual and group pledges that were made. Lastly, under phase III, I have discussed an analysis of the project intervention highlighting emerging themes that arose from participants' own attitudinal and behavioural change to the change they helped create with in their communities as peer educators. Chapter 7 of this thesis describes the project evaluation in detail and shows results from the evaluation.

CHAPTER 7

EVALUATION OF THE ACTION RESEARCH PROCESS

7 Introduction

This chapter presents the evaluation process, highlighting that due the limited project timeframe (8 months) outcome evaluation rather than impact evaluation was done. The chapter shows the significance of outcome evaluation to the project intervention. Evaluation measured the extent to which the intended outcomes of the project intervention against the set objectives had been achieved. This was participatory and was done in collaboration with the participants (*Mume Kwa Muke* members) who reported that, indeed, there was some behavioural change in regard to social norms with community members developing some positive change at family and community level. This is further evidenced by change stories that peer educators reported upon (Appendix I), since they engaged in awareness-raising and sensitization of communities on SGBV. The chapter also discusses the key lessons learnt and sustainability of the project, the significance of the outcome evaluation for the AR project.

7.1 Evaluation of the Intervention Project

A project outcome evaluation was carried out in order to measure change after the intervention project. The evaluation revealed that although the intervention had achieved positive attitudinal and behavioural changes among the beneficiaries, it was not possible within the limited duration of the intervention to establish whether or not the project would be sustainable over the long term. Through the pledge system and the randomised control trial, questions on how to create a culture that reinforces the positive changes in reducing SGBV after the project intervention were interrogated; and gender, gender equality and the effects of gender roles were all discussed. Change was measured through the monthly reports mechanism and post-project evaluation. The essence of the outcome evaluation was to measure whether positive change had been created as a result of the research intervention rather than from other extraneous factors. Throughout the evaluation, cause-effect relationships of the two groups were tracked to measure change in perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of men towards women in Kyaka II refugee community. The perceptions and attitudes of women towards their male counterparts were also measured. Monitoring visits were also carried out in the community to measure change.

Figure 7. 1 A Post-Test Workshop with the Peer educators of *Mume Kwa Muke* (Source, Primary Data)



7.1.1 Outcome Evaluation

This research applied immediate outcome evaluation given that the project timeline was short (8 months) to measure the impact. The findings from the intervention are measured through an immediate outcome evaluation carried out, and it was undertaken to measure the extent to which the project had caused change in a desired direction. The essence of the project evaluation was to measure the effectiveness of *Mume Kwa Muke* in reducing SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Evaluation was carried out in two major ways: the pledge mechanism (wherein project participants reported monthly on their interventions every month [template, Appendix H]) and the randomized-controlled trial method. The pledge mechanism consisted of individual participants and groups of participants making pledges in a one-day workshop and afterwards reporting on the progress they had made in fulfilling those pledges each month. This chapter also measured project sustainability and its key tenets. For its part, the randomized-controlled trial method involved conducting a randomized control evaluation to assess the effectiveness of the project intervention. Outcome evaluation was measured by a set of the three indicators contained in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7. 1 Outcome Evaluation Indicators, Measurement Parameters and Methods of Measurement (Source, Researcher)

S/N	Indicator	What to measure	Method
1	Proportion of women able to make decisions in their families and expressing a willingness to contest for leadership positions.	Leadership Skills -Assertiveness and willingness of women to take on leadership positions in the community.	Monthly reports, group discussions in which participants shared experiences, challenges and discussed lessons learned, and came up with action plans for the upcoming month.
2	Proportion of men whose attitudes towards gender equality and women empowerment has changed positively	Advocacy/Civil Responsibility -Commitment of anti-SGBV male champions/ ambassadors	Monthly reports, group discussions and group interviews.
3	Number of success stories in families and the community as a whole on SGBV reduction.	Change of attitudes -Extent to which communities and families are providing a conducive environment for girls and boys to thrive.	Monthly reports and group, group discussions.

Unlike the pledge mechanism which measured change in the community, the randomised-control mechanism was used to measure change in the action team. Through these joint mechanisms, validity was ensured as they both tested changes in norms, attitudes and behaviour of both the community and the action group.

- **Pledge Mechanism**

At the end of the project, the 14 (7 females and 7 males) peer educators were engaged in an outcome evaluation to measure the level of change created in their own communities. In this mechanism, pledges were made by participants that were trained as peer educators to reduce SGBV in the refugee settlement. This was done through a one-day training workshop in which participants shared ideas on how pledges could be fulfilled. Group members met on a monthly basis to review performance on previous pledges and make fresh pledges for the next month. This method was effective because refugees found it more appropriate to share their ideas and experiences while implementing these pledges, and they learnt from one another's experiences. Since the group members had made individual and group pledges to measure

change from the beginning of project implementation, evaluation was made easy as most of these pledges were fulfilled every month.

Figure 7. 2 SGBV Peer Educators During Review of Group Pledges at the Youth Centre
(Source, Primary data)



Participatory evaluation: During the workshop, I played the role of a facilitator, leaving the participants to run the workshop. My role was to guide the participants by constantly drawing them back to the objectives of the workshop (to avoid digression) and to ensure that order was observed. One of the reasons I made the session interactive and participatory was to ensure that participants owned the discussion. This was in keeping with Sempere's (2009:18) observation that any evaluation must also actively involve the participants at all stages (design, implementation and analysis). Participatory evaluation was carried out mainly to allow participants to own their project and its outcomes. This also empowered them with a voice.

Revision of group and individual pledges: As a group, every last Friday of each month, action group members would meet and fulfil a pledge they had committed to as a team the previous month. In addition, personal pledges were meant to be fulfilled by individual participants, and would be reviewed on the last Friday of each month. During one of these sessions, 6 group members who were former perpetrators of SGBV confessed to having been perpetrators, and attested to the positive impact that the *Mume Kwa Muke* project had had on them, vowing to continue their work as SGBV peer educators.

- **Randomized-controlled trial evaluation**

In order to supplement the pledge method of evaluation, another experimental approach, the randomized-controlled trial (WHO 2000: 7), was employed. Using the results from the findings from primary data and findings from the experimental group), I was able to validate the information and measure change from the group members alongside the refugees whom had not participated in the empowerment project. The post-test evaluation attracted the two groups, the control group and the experimental group, in a one-day workshop to identify and measure whatever change may have taken place in the experimental group as a result of the intervention, and in the control group on account of other interventions. The results from the randomized control trial are illustrated in Figure 7.3 below:

- **Measuring change in attitudes**

Post- Project implementation, evaluation was carried out, in which the control and the experimental groups were measured for any changes. As explained in Chapter 5, both groups composed the action team. For Evaluation, the experimental group's behaviours, perceptions and attitudes were measured against those of the control group since the inception of the project. I worked closely with the experimental group which composed the peer educators who applied the acquired skills as change agents in awareness raising on SGBV issues. The Control group remained available for evaluation at the end of the project phase. Findings from data collection phase indicated that before project formulation, the two groups had matched values and beliefs. Thereafter, during the project implementation phase, only the experimental group was trained on gender issues and how to reduce SGBV in the community. The matched values and beliefs are attributed to the fact that change does not always occur instantaneously. Hence, for some time, there were some similarities between the control group and the experimental group because the experimental group had to unlearn old values and norms while learning new ones. After the project phase, evaluation was carried out to identify any changes that could have happened due to the project intervention or as a result of other interventions. This was in keeping with the ecological theory of violence which posits that an individual does not necessarily experience change in beliefs or behaviour overnight, but rather by adopting a certain behaviour influenced by social norms (see Section 2.4).

Addressing the challenge of negative cultural norms and stereotypes that discriminated against women and girls, called for amplified preventative efforts. As such, *Mume Kwa Muke* engaged with religious and traditional leaders (including chiefs and elders) who were not sufficiently aware of before as most current interventions focused more on structural and institutional changes in preventing and responding to SGBV (KIIs with Project officer DRC, and Anti-SGBV Coordinator- AHA). *Mume Kwa Muke* sought to change traditional norms by raising awareness on the harmful practices such as early

marriages and denial of girls child education at community level and family level. By the end of the intervention project, testimonies on changed and improved perceptions on gender equality and the need for girl child education were reported. This was done through awareness raising in form of drama, songs of communities and sensitization of traditional and religious leaders on the negative effects of such practices. In the words of the Banyamurenge clan leader,

My peers and I initially used to tell the men in the community not waste their money on girls saying its is a taboo in our culture since, educated girls will not get married and will fetch less bride price. However, after have several engagement sessions with the *Mume Kwa Muke* people, we have seen that actually the vice versa is true. We are currently advocates for girl child education in our communities and are using the our clan meeting to talk about the positive aspects of educating a girl (KII, Clan Leader, Banyamurenge).

More, so one of the *Mume Kwa Muke* participants who is also a pastor said thus,

I am currently using my every platform I get be it burial, wedding, church service to convey the message of gender equality and its benefits, I tell my congregation that education of a girl, economic empowerment of a woman and political empowerment or in decision making is key if we have to kick out poverty in our communities. As a result of this message, people have come with testimonies of more loving, peaceful families. (Report, Male Peer Educator).

For their part, women and girls reported to have had heightened self-confidence and esteem building and are ready to reach out to fellow other women with their testimonies and encouraged them to feel good about themselves, love themselves and chase their dream without letting anyone hinder them. One of the women peer educators reported:

I now have big self-esteem and courage, I am motivated to engage, educate and empower more women in my community on their rights, because for me this where it all starts, knowing who you are and then changing your community... I dedicate my efforts to also reach out to those women that are more vulnerable, for example those living with HIV, the disabled and others facing marginalization as these face a bigger challenge when it comes to SGBV than you and myself (Report, female Peer Educator).

The above evidence in addition to the reports annexed (Appendix F) and findings of project intervention presented in chapter 6, not only shows testimonies on changed attitudes but also reflects multiplier effects through peer to peer engagement preventing of SGBV at family and community level as a result of the intervention project run by *Mume Kwa Muke*. Although the randomised control trial was a reliable method of evaluation, it was not sufficient enough to measure longterm desired results of the action team, due to the limited research period (1 year).

Research findings show that the *Mume Kwa Muke* intervention led to a significant change in the attitudes (perception) and behaviours of the experimental group participants. This positive change is also evidenced by the success stories told by peer educators (Appendix F), in which refugee women

and men found solutions to various issues such as; cultural problems rooted by power; negative beliefs and norms that make women vulnerable; men's willingness to have women engaged in decision making; women's newly acquired knowledge on their rights with consequent desire to break the norms that have sidelined them for so long; refugees' peaceful resolution of conflicts with host communities; women more empowered economically and contributing to their husband's meagre incomes in the homes; shared roles in homes; influencing traditional leaders to resolve conflicts peacefully among others. Conversely, the control group, which did not benefit from any sensitization or training, did not experience any change in attitudes or behaviour. But, because the duration of the project was limited, it was not possible to observe its long-term effects or sustainability. It can be assumed that more accurate results would have been obtained at the impact evaluation stage if the project had lasted much longer. This limited timescale can be attributed to the regulated time span allocated for the completion of a doctoral degree.

7.1.2 Significance of the Outcome Evaluation of the Action Research Project

Given that people generally get excited after training sessions and often make positive but false (or inaccurate affirmations) regarding positive change in behaviour, I found it important to conduct an outcome evaluation on the behavioural change of participants to determine whether the perceived change was real and sustainable. The outcome evaluation sought to establish whether *Mume Kwa Muke* had achieved its objectives or brought any significant change in the lifestyles of the group members and their communities. Sempere (2009: 18) underscores the need for having well defined indicators and involving all the stakeholders in project evaluation. In Sempere's view, this is because well-defined indicators (defined in Sub-section 6.5) and stakeholder involvement allow for the use of bottom-up evaluations, in which participants are involved in an ongoing process to monitor their progress against the set expectations (indicators) and in which evaluation is an integral part of the learning and empowerment process (Sempere 2009). However, evaluation could not measure sustainability due to 2 main reasons:

1) Limited Project timeline:

Given the limited project timeframe in which the project was done (4 months) following data collection and data analysis phase, outcome evaluation alone could not measure the sustainability potential of the positive changes registered in the community's attitudes and behaviour. Outcome evaluation was done 2 months after the project intervention. For more robust results to be measured, impact evaluation was desirable although it was not done. Had this been a longitudinal study, impact evaluation would have been done to measure the change achieved over time.

2) Limited funds:

Given that I had exhausted most of the money through implementation of the project, by the time of evaluation phase, I was constrained in terms of facilitating evaluation. To have thorough evaluation and gain more robust results, I needed to have conducted further interviews such as KIIs and DGDs in each of the 5 communities where the intervention had reached out. However, this was not done but I relied on the evaluation reports reflecting individual and group pledges from peer educators measuring how impactful they were in communities and at family level. Besides pledges, I relied on the simple random sampling which indicated the correlation between the control group and experimental groups as explained in subsection 5.1.6 above in the evaluation methodology. The key findings of evaluation are explained in detail in the next Chapter.

7.2 Project sustainability and its key tenets

Project sustainability is positively co-related with transformation of cultural values, beliefs and behaviours. According to Tenenboim Weinblatt, Gonen and Baden (2014: 9), cultural transformation is the process of reconstructing informational frames and agendas in ways that connect to a culture's myths, values, symbols and beliefs. In the case of Kyaka II refugee settlement, the project evaluation due to the above challenges could not measure sustainable results in regard to attitudinal change and behavioural change. This is because changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviours is never easy in any society. Nonetheless, the evaluation findings indicate that significant achievements have been realized in positive cultural transformation since *Mume Kwa Muke's* inception in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. *Mume Kwa Muke* enabled participants from different backgrounds to learn together and the outcome evaluation allowed them to reflect on their own learning experience. However, key components of the project intervention that point towards sustainability include:

- 1) Positive change in the attitudes, beliefs and practices such as early marriages, patriarchy, gender roles and other stereotypes that formerly reinforced SGBV against women and girls. As a result of the intervention, there is now increased women's involvement in decision making, both trust and reconciliation at both family and community level (leading to peaceful co-existence), meaningful partnerships were formed as a result of peer educators reaching out to others and a better understanding of women's rights was developed (leading to increased women's empowerment). The intervention project has led to a situation where females and males in the community are now living in more peaceful and egalitarian relationships.
- 2) The existence of peer educators of *Mume Kwa Muke*, that have created multiplier effects through empowering other community members with knowledge on SGBV through awareness raising. These have the support of other stakeholders such as the Camp Commandant, the RWCs and the cultural leaders. Besides, *Mume Kwa Muke* participants have the willingness and shown positive energy required to reach out to others in the community. They are good-will-ambassadors that have a well found commitment to reduce SGBV in their community. Some

of them have given their testimonies as previous perpetrators of SGBV, saw its negative effects to their families and communities and have committed to champion its reduction.

- 3) Africa Humanitarian Support (AHA) pledged to continue to work with *Mume Kwa Muke* and provide them with necessary support in their interventions within the communities. Such support includes transportation of peer educators to communities for awareness raising sessions, provision of necessary facilities such as videography and platforms on which *Mume Kwa Muke* can speak and reach out to others in the communities on prevention and response of SGBV.

7.3 Summary

This chapter has presented the evaluation process. Outcome evaluation was applied given the limited timeline of the project of the intervention project. The findings from the intervention are measured through an immediate outcome evaluation carried out, and it was undertaken to measure the extent to which the project had caused change in a desired direction. The essence of the project evaluation was to measure the effectiveness of *Mume Kwa Muke* in reducing SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Outcome evaluation was carried out through two phases: pledge mechanism in which participants pledged to reduce SGBV in their communities and families by raising awareness on the problem and reporting monthly of their interventions (report template, Appendix H). Secondly, randomized control method was used in which the experimental group composed of peer educators was measured against the control group to measure the level of attitudinal change. This chapter also attempted to measure project sustainability and its key challenges including limited project time frame and limited funds. For its part, the randomized-controlled trial method involved conducting a randomized control evaluation to assess the effectiveness of the project intervention. Despite the intervention project intervention challenges, key indicators of sustainability of the project are presented; the positive change of attitudes; existence of peer educators in communities and finally *Mume Kwa Muke*'s synergies already built with other organizations such as AHA within the settlement. With this, there is hope that the empowerment project initiated as part of this study will thrive. The outcome evaluation results already indicate that *Mume Kwa Muke* members are still working relentlessly to reduce SGBV in their communities.

CHAPTER 8

CORRELATION BETWEEN DATA ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

8 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between data from the research findings and data from the outcome evaluation, analyses the emerging themes in Chapters 6 and 7, and how they contributed effectively to the reduction of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The emerging themes in Chapters 6 and 7 are discussed with reference to the literature review. The uniqueness of this research lies in the fact that it was the first to introduce an intervention that jointly involved women and men in reducing SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. Therefore, this study makes a unique empirical contribution by demonstrating the direct, measurable and positive impact of the intervention in a refugee settlement where it was the first of its type. Additionally, research findings showed that the exclusion of men from previous interventions in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement lacked the necessary inclusion of all stakeholders (FDG, Refugee men). This is because of the culturally constructed role of male which includes viewing them as decision makers in the family and at community level. This undermined the role of women as change agents despite the knowledge and skill they had. According to the interviews from women participants, most of them highlighted that other community members would not attend their awareness sessions, leading to a hand full participation from all stakeholders including from their fellow women and absence men (FD, Women refugees). This was primarily because of the community's negative perceptions that undermined SGBV issues as private matters that concern only women.

8.1 Relationship between Data Analysis and Evaluation

In this section, six emerging themes out the themes developed in Chapters 6 and 7 of this research are discussed in comparison with other interventions. The chapter attempts to assess the effectiveness of this intervention in providing lasting, positive change, with close reference to the literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

8.1.1 Women's Involvement in Decision-Making

Research findings show that persistent gender inequality underscored by patriarchy has led to an increase in cases of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement (KIIs Interviews with Camp Commandant, anti-SGBV Coordinator AHA, GBV Project Officer DR Council). Data indicates that refugee women are largely excluded from decision-making processes and leadership roles, which curtails their capacity to influence the nature of services that are offered to them, and manner in which they are offered. For

example, at the level of the RWCs, which are the primary administrative entities in the settlement, women constitute only 40% of the membership, and at the clan level, they comprise less than 10% of all the clan leadership committees (KII, Clan leader), and yet women make up 52% of the entire refugee population in the settlement. Their slim representation on clan leadership committees partly explains why inappropriate, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms continue to be adopted even in grave cases of SGBV, such as rape and defilement, with the perpetrators often being let free. While the involvement of women in decision-making is important, male support for this agency is key. Without male engagement, the redressing SGBV against refugee women will not be sustainable. Society has already placed men in places in favourable spaces in the community, hence their support to women in decision-making is key if the interests and needs of women at community level are to be addressed. While previous interventions on reducing SGBV focused more on women than men, men became more frustrated especially when they felt that women were being more empowered than them thus obscuring their socially constructed role as family heads, providers and protectors (Trip 2013). Therefore, women involvement in decision making is more sustainable if more men are brought on board to support this agency.

Moreover, although women have been empowered to demand their rights and hold service providers accountable, this has not produced the intended results. For example, at the RWC meetings, when women members voice any concern that is not in conformity with traditionally established and culturally condoned power relations, their male counterparts overrule them. This echoes the feminist view that women are sidelined in gender mainstreaming as they are regarded as objects during war or relegated to the status of children in an infantilizing perception that sees them as people in need of special protection in conflict and post-conflict settings (Trip 2013: 12). Regarding women as requiring unique protection has disempowered them in the past, and reduced their potential for agency. As such, refugee women continue to suffer daily violence in their homes, and lack the wherewithal to report these cases, on account of the social, cultural and economic barriers that prevent them from accessing comprehensive services.

And yet, as the global study by the UNSCR 1325 found, women's involvement in key peace processes should not simply be a matter of increased attention to gender-related elements in deliberations, but a complete shift in dynamics and a broadening of issues at hand while increasing the chances of the community of women (UN Women 2015a: 2). It is not enough to *just add women and stir* in the peacebuilding or decision making initiatives at all community levels, rather women must be given the freedom and platform to view and participate in all processes therein. The research intervention through *Mume Kwa Muke*, has proved that when women participate, there is more peace at family and community level. Also, this is a significant stride towards achieving gender equality (UNHCR 2018) and in having sustainable solutions to SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement. The results of the project intervention show that women's involvement in decision-making is vital, and that women should

not be shelved in decision-making within their community since they form an integral population that is disproportionately affected by SGBV .

8.1.2 Changing Gender Roles

When refugees flee conflict, they are forced to take on new roles in the communities in which they settle, including having to provide or fend for their families. Economically disempowered and having to depend on inadequate humanitarian assistance, women are forced to resort to negative coping mechanisms, such as: transactional sex, marrying off their daughters prematurely and prostitution, which renders them vulnerable to SGBV. However, this post-conflict change in gender roles does not automatically change the traditionally constructed power relations that are reproduced after conflict, and these culturally condoned power relations are still manifested (Trip 2013: 16). The research intervention, through sensitization and awareness-building, empowered the beneficiaries with knowledge on the factors that render women vulnerable to SGBV. The intervention suggested that the empowerment of women is necessary for them to free themselves from excessive reliance on others and from having to resort to negative coping mechanisms. This kind of empowerment involves giving women livelihood support, access to social services, partnerships and life skills, with which they can adopt positive coping methods, thrive and contribute positively to peace and development within the community. As the UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka maintains, “Progress for women is progress for all” (UN Women 2015b).

8.1.3 Debunking Negative Cultural Barriers

Research findings indicate that violence among the Congolese refugees in the Settlement is heightened mainly because it is normalized by the patriarchal cultural norms and practices from the DRC. This is largely because in the refugee settlement, men are frustrated and angered by their loss of ability to protect and provide for their families, they end up venting their anger and frustration, and seeking to reassert their lost status through violence against women (Trip 2013). However, evaluation reports from the community portrayed a willingness on the part of community members to change their attitudes and behaviours. Most of the evaluation reports indicated that people, including the men, were progressively changing their attitudes to the women’s changed roles, and allowing and encouraging women to speak out, to lead and to participate in decision-making (Peer Educator report, Appendix I). This evidence is underscored by the numerous reports which showed men’s acceptance of women in decision-making at the family level. Moreover, most men who had initially been violent against women exhibited a significant change for the better when they allowed their wives to participate actively in planning for their respective families, and assigned to their wives the role of collecting food rations for the families as they had realized that their wives were better custodians of family food than themselves. All these

positive changes have led to a slow but significant recognition of, and respect for, women's rights, and more peaceful and egalitarian relations in the community.

Significantly, following the inception of the *Mume Kwa Muke* project, with refugee men and women as lead change agents, the participants have learnt about gender equality, the various roles men and women can play, and respect for women's rights. Moreover, participants acting as anti-SGBV ambassadors, pledged to spread the anti-SGBV message to other communities. In addition, through the intervention strategy community leaders pledged to collaborate with the police to fight SGBV by challenging the societal acceptance of violence against women and girls. In this regard, other studies observe that negative attitudes and derogatory norms about gender roles lead to increased levels of violence against women, even though there have been few empirical studies documenting this relationship (York 2011: 7). Through *Mume Kwa Muke*, reflection upon the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement was put into action, with refugee men and women carrying out a social analysis of SGBV and working towards eliminating its causes and reducing its incidence.

8.1.4 Women's Empowerment

Seven female peer educators in *Mume Kwa Muke* highlighted the fact that in their new roles as peace-builders, mothers, educators, councillors and advisors, they felt recognized and appreciated in their community. They also acknowledged that the training they had received as members of *Mume Kwa Muke* had been an eye-opener for them, and they promised to continue applying the skills and knowledge they had acquired through *Mume Kwa Muke* even after their return to Congo. The women averred that they felt more empowered and appreciated by their male counterparts, and that through working with male peer educators in the group, they had learned to be good listeners and patient, key requirements of an effective counsellor or peer educator. This suggests that, appropriately empowered, women refugees are capable being active change agents in their communities, and that this potential should be recognized and mobilized not only to promote women's welfare but also for peacebuilding at the community level.

These findings are in keeping with Hajdukowski-Ahmed's (2008: 38) observation that refugee women are de-served when gender roles are altered in displacement, and that coupled with external pressures, refugee women face SGBV. This leads them into a form of passivity, which undermines their self-identity, agency and mental health. However, their plight does not define their ability to change their situation, and refugee women are active agents in the construction of their identities and in exemplifying resilience amidst their multiple personal and systematic challenges (Schafer 2003). That is partly why the project intervention sought to empower women refugees by enlightening them about their potential for agency and equipping them with some basic skills.

While data showed that denial of economic violence is the leading form of SGBV in the settlement, *Mume Kwa Muke* enlightened communities about the necessity of women empowerment, as an empowered woman is less likely to face SGBV since she does not necessarily have to depend on her husband or other men once she can sustain herself. In addition, this study showed that inadequate economic empowerment of women has partly been a cause for SGBV. Women are often engaged in the lowest level of the informal sector where they reap low income. For instance, women in Kyaka II are mainly engaged in selling petty agricultural products, such as fruits and vegetables which do not earn them enough money for self-reliance, and leave them vulnerable to exploitation.

8.1.5 Women's Rights and Legal Frameworks

This research shows that cultural beliefs, lack of understanding of legal frameworks and corruption continue to justify and sustain abusive behaviour and practices in the local courts at community level. The study found that the police station in the settlement has limited statistics on SGBV, largely because of the under-reporting of such cases on account of the barriers to the disclosure of SGBV, including the fear of being ostracized and rejected and losing material support, as in most cases the victims depend on the perpetrators for survival. In addition, most male participants reported that they thought gender equality was exclusively about women's issues, and that before *Mume Kwa Muke* they had had no interest in attending sensitization meetings on such issues. However, the intervention educated the community on the legal frameworks regarding SGBV, and trained the community on the rights of women and the need for gender equality if peaceful and egalitarian communities are to be achieved.

8.1.6 Power Relations embedded within cultural norms

While literature made significant contributions to guiding this research, there has been limited overt and systematic engagement with notions of power in the refugee settlement. Data from the field shows that SGBV against refugee women is accentuated by power imbalances between refugee women and men, suggesting that women are pawns rather than concerns. The juxtaposition of their cultural backgrounds in the DRC and laws in Uganda is worth noting: in Congo, men had supreme power over women - who were relegated to the domestic roles of child-bearing and nurturing, and domestic chores. As such, even after displacement into the refugee settlement in Uganda, men maintained their culturally ordained statuses, although the laws in Uganda stipulate gender equality. This continuation of patriarchal cultural norms reinforce SGBV against refugee women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

Drawing from the feminists' perspective, patriarchy underpins this analysis as it breeds power imbalance, and reinforces male dominance and aggressiveness. Indeed, patriarchy is the primary reason for male aggressiveness and disposition to resort to physical force, and a significant predictor of various forms of violence perpetrated against women (Anderson and Collins 2004). Moreover, strict adherence to customary gender roles leads to the belief that violence against women is often acceptable, as women

are considered to be subordinate to men and need to stay in their proper place for social stability to be maintained (York 2011: 107-108). The research intervention sensitized the community on the effect of gender roles, drawing various examples from the strictly observed gender roles in the community that often denied women the right to voice their concerns and to speak out against the negative cultural values that have reinforced SGBV against them.

8.2 Data in Relation to the Theoretical Framework

At this point, it is pertinent to discuss how emerging themes from the data analysis and the evaluation relate to the theories discussed in Chapter 2, to establish whether or not the theories are congruous with the data. Understanding this relationship will help us to build a reliable basis for our findings.

8.2.1 The Feminism Theory

The feminism theory informed this study, leading me to generate data relevant to key theoretical, research and policy aspects relating to the ongoing efforts to improve refugee policy and revise the Refugee Act of 2006. York (2011: 14-15) cogently argues that masculine and feminine social roles are deeply embedded in patriarchy, where girls are socialized to be submissive and docile, and to place a high value on emotions and relationships; whereas boys are socialized to value thinking and performance, whilst being aggressive and dominating. This affirms Thucydides' observation that "the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept" (Milner 2017: 3). In this setup, workloads, responsibilities and gender roles define who has the power in the community, although what matters is how one chooses to use the power given to him or her. Those with power can choose to use it to protect, provide and support, or use it to abuse, control and discriminate.

This study found that men in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement have previously used their socially approved power to discriminate and control women in a way that reinforced SGBV. This finding is in congruence with the thoughts of Muruingi and Muriiki (2013: 118) who rightly observe that patriarchy implies male rule and privilege over female subordination. However, Trip (2013: 17) warns us against associating masculinity and violence too closely, because women (just like men) can also be active participants in creating and sustaining patriarchal norms that dictate what women and men can do. The research findings show that women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement have also perpetrated SGBV against refugee men, especially when they are in better positions of work, as well as due to a misinterpretation of their rights as women. Indeed, women are not only victims of violence and potential peace-makers, they can also be passive or even active perpetrators of violence (Steans 2013: 32). Nevertheless, the project intervention progressively created positive changes in the attitudes and behaviours of enough men and women to produce a significant reduction in the rates of SGBV in the settlement.

8.2.2 Ecological Framework

The ecological theory was underpinned by the various causes of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement that were identified at the individual, micro-, macro- and exosystem levels. Factors that cause SGBV were closely related to: experiencing violence as a child, normalizing violence, negative peer pressure, alcohol and drug abuse, poverty, lack of employment, and restriction to freedom of movement. This study found that SGBV is cyclic and that the causes of SGBV could also serve as the effects of SGBV. At the same time, the ecological theory illustrates how different factors at each level are modified by factors at another level (WHO 2002: 10). Similarly, this study found that psychologically tortured refugee men, due to factors at family level, are prone to perpetrating violence both within and beyond their households.

Therefore, psychological torture, itself a consequence of more basic problems, can lead a man to perpetrate violence against other people, especially women. Psychological violence also presents the various institutional factors that reinforce GBV including discrimination, gender imbalance, gender hierarchies of power, and social-cultural attitudes that suppress women even in peaceful times (Marsh, Purdin and Navani 2006: 139). For instance, the data showed that the absence of psychosocial support in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement triggers other forms of SGBV, such as economic, sexual and physical violence. This is in keeping with Heise's (1998: 265) view that the ecological theory reflects on a complexity of issues accruing to women's real lives rather than conceptualizing violence as a single factor in the form of personal history, relationships, the exosystem and societal factors. In this study, some of the identified causes of SGBV were also the effects of the same vice.

8.2.3 The Conflict Transformation Theory

The conflict transformation theory provided a platform for this thesis by exploring new knowledge in practice through the empowerment project *Mume Kwa Muke*, which transformed refugee women and men in such a way that they came to realize that SGBV was not acceptable, and that every effort to reduce it was worthwhile. For example, while it was observed that refugee men commit SGBV out of their pent-up frustrations, this research has proved that there are other, more fundamental causes of such violence, such as male dominance entrenched in patriarchy and ignorance of human rights, which must be addressed in a conflict transformation framework.

According to Lederach (2003: 25), conflict involves three main levels: the personal, relational and structural levels. This study incorporates all these levels through identifying and understanding factors that contribute to the occurrence and rise of SGBV while identifying and building upon mechanisms within a refugee setting to constructively respond to SGBV. That is why the study initiated an intervention mechanism to induce changes in the broadest patterns of refugees' lives, including: gendered experiences of conflict, gender relations, identity and the ways in which culture affects

patterns of response to SGBV. Prescriptively, transformation sought to involve female and male refugees and other stakeholders in the refugee settlement in an empowerment project. The intervention involved identifying, promoting and building on the mechanisms within the settlement to constructively respond to SGBV. *Mume Kwa Muke* transformed attitudes and patterns of behaviour, leading most men participants to willingly participate in the sensitization and training sessions conducted by the peer educators in the selected 5 zones during the project phase. The reports from the community visits revealed that, by promoting forgiveness and reconciliation amongst the participants, the *Mume Kwa Muke* project had scored a major achievement. For example, some men shared success stories of how they now sit at the same table with their wives to resolve family issue, attesting to the fact that the intervention had contributed to building peaceful and egalitarian relationships within communities where the anti-SGBV ambassadors were active.

8.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the correlation between the emerging themes from the findings and analysis in Chapter 6 and the evaluation in Chapter 8. It has analysed these themes in depth and explored their relationship with the literature reviews in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. I have discussed the role of women in decision-making and highlighted: how gender inequality leads to increased cases of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the changes in gender roles after conflict, how negative cultural barriers can be debunked to create an inclusive and equal society for all, the necessity for women's empowerment, women's rights and legal frameworks, and finally, power relations. I have also discussed the relationship between my data and the theoretical framework, showing how emerging themes from the data analysis and evaluation related to the theories reviewed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Furthermore, the key reflections have been transferred into practice, such that some of the assumptions have been challenged while others have been found to be congruous with my data. This chapter has also demonstrated that prior to this study, Kyaka II Refugee Settlement had not had any intervention that jointly involved women and men in solving SGBV issues. While this section mainly discusses the correlation between data analysis and evaluation chapters, a more detailed discussion on the major findings is provided for in Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 highlights the main themes post preliminary data collection and evaluation.

PART IV

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9 Introduction

This chapter summarises the general research process and its outcomes, highlighting some insights and learning derived from the study, and the extent to which the research objectives were achieved. The is divided in three sections presented as Section I: Summary; Section II: Conclusions and Section III: Recommendations. The recommendations presented were retrieved from the study participants as well as the gaps identified in humanitarian response in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

SECTION I

Summary

9.1 Introduction

This section provides a summary of the research, which states the study rationale and the general and specific objectives, and describes the methods used to achieve the objectives. This summary also covers the challenges experienced while implementing the research project and the findings of the study in relation to each objective.

9.2 Rationale of the Study

The various atrocities of SGBV that refugee women continue to experience in post-conflict settings motivated this study. The rationale of this research was to find durable solutions for women who face the brunt of SGBV, through implementing an intervention project aimed at reducing this problem and creating a peaceful environment where both women and men could thrive.

9.3 General and Specific Objectives

The overall objective of the study was to empirically determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and to design an intervention strategy to reduce its prevalence. The specific objectives of the study were to: determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement; map the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature; assess community perceptions of SGBV and generate possible intervention mechanisms; and use a participatory AR design to plan and implement a project aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement, and conduct a preliminary evaluation of the performance of the project in the course of the study. For purposes of this summary, both the general and the specific objectives have been combined to refer to the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

Objective I: Determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

SGBV is of concern in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement partly because it is widespread and partly due to the difference between the laws of Uganda and those of the refugees' home countries. For example, in Congo, SGBV cases are normally settled amicably through the clan elders, whilst in Uganda the law is strict and punishes anyone who perpetrates GBV. As the GBV project officer of the Danish RC said, "A girl, who is raped in Congo, would just be married off to her perpetrator as agreed between the family of the victim and the perpetrator, unlike here in Uganda" (KII, GBV project officer – Danish RC). The study shows that while significant action has been taken by other humanitarian agencies to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, the problem is still prevalent in the settlement. The first objective of the study, which was to determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and design an intervention strategy to reduce its prevalence, was achieved. The findings of this research show that, indeed, SGBV is a problem in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and is highly entrenched in traditional gender attitudes, and reinforced by the poor living standards of refugees which increase their frustration. The research findings were tested against the theories (Chapter 2) to see if these were valid. In summary, the research findings show that SGBV is a prevalent but silent affliction in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

Objective II: Map the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 mapped literature on the SGBV problem in refugee settlements, globally and locally. Chapter 2 reviewed literature on SGBV against refugee women in order to better understand the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV. In Chapter 2, conceptual and theoretical perspectives of SGBV were observed respectively. Chapter 3 explored the theoretical framework and underpinnings (the feminism theory, ecological theory and conflict transformation theory) used to conceptualize relations for the methodological construction of this study on Uganda's refugee policy and legal

framework on SGBV, the concept of women's rights as human rights. Chapter 4 described the continuum of SGBV against women in refugee settings, examining the causes and consequences of SGBV against women in refugee settlements and SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

Objective III: Assess community perceptions of SGBV and generate possible intervention mechanisms:

Under this specific objective, research methods were discussed and the research design in the form of AR assessed. The study employed methodological triangulation by employing three qualitative data collection methods: FGDs, KIIs and participant observation. A combination of the three methods led to more valid results from the research study. Participatory AR was employed whereby an empowerment project *Mume Kwa Muke* was formulated by the study participants. In this project, three phases were implemented: a pilot study to measure the continuum of SGBV in the selected zones of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement and to test the research tools, project implementation and evaluation of the project (as discussed in Chapter 8).

Objective IV: Use a participatory AR design to plan and implement a project aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its performance in the course of the study

The findings are summarised by showing their validity in relation with the participatory AR design. An empowerment project (*Mume Kwa Muke*) was created to reduce SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. After the evaluation of this project, it was proved that SGBV against refugee women was underpinned by the unequal power relations between refugee women and men. SGBV is cyclic and one form of violence may lead to another form, and a cause of violence can as well be an effect of violence. Although the most common form of violence reported by the police and GBV IMS was economic violence, findings from the study suggested that sexual and psychological violence perpetrated more but reported less. Rape and defilement are not always reported by refugee women because of the fear of rejection by their families and because those who perpetrate these forms of violence are close relatives who take care of the victims. On the other hand, cultural leaders have often resolved these conflicts amicably, with the victim being married off to the perpetrator who pays bride price for the victim.

The project intervention (*Mume Kwa Muke*) is in congruence with previous literature, such as UN Women (2016: 1-3), which states that ensuring gender equality also helps to ink and build a foundation for sustainable development in the future. Feminist scholars, such as Cockburn (2004), Forbes (2004) and Trip (2013), strongly contributed to the understanding of patriarchy and its notions, and how violence itself has a gendered outcome by reinforcing gender creation and recreation. Trip (2013) affirms that women are often targeted with violence because of their gender. Therefore, refugee women's meaningful inclusion in all plans and policies is desirable for them to be able to voice their

concerns and interests, and find lasting solutions to the problems that affect them. To this end, the project intervention trained communities about the importance of gender equality and indeed the project itself ensured that this principle underscored the composition of the group. The project ensured that women leaders and men were involved in all sensitization and awareness-raising sessions.

Theoretically, this research has lent support to patriarchal theories about traditional gender-role attitudes and their active linkage to SGBV against women refugees in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. The lack of a dependable income is also a huge factor contributing to SGBV against refugee women. Hence, patriarchy sets the overall framework for this research and underpins male dominance which reinforces SGBV against refugee women. That is why feminist scholars sought to expose, document, critique, and bring an end to this type of domination, focusing specifically on violence against women in their work.

9.4 Research Design and Methodology

Research design and methodology examined the techniques that were used to arrive at the study sample. Research design used was participatory AR whereby an intervention project was created by the participants themselves. It also explored the methods and tools that were used to collect and analyse data as well as the measures that were taken to ensure that the data collection tools were valid and reliable, mainly through a pilot study. The adopted methods included FGDs, KIIs and participatory methods. The study also presented a variety of ethical principles, including: permission to do research, informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality and the principle of do no harm. The research intrinsic and extrinsic delimitations are highlighted.

Data analysis from the research study reflected emerging themes from data collection and from the project intervention. Themes from the preliminary data collection included; the need for male involvement; lack of employment leading to frustration; A culture of impunity of SGBV. Themes from project implementation included; Women engagement in decision making; Trust and Reconciliation leading to peaceful co-existence; Building partnerships through peer educators.

SECTION II

Conclusion

9.5 Introduction

This section presents the conclusions of the study, highlighting them by objective.

9.5.1 Conclusion

Objective I: Determine the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

This study portrays a range of SGBV forms in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, including; physical violence in the form of wife battering, sexual violence through early and forced marriage, economic violence through denial of resources and psychological violence. The data reveals that the denial of economic resources is the most prevalent case followed by physical violence, sexual violence and lastly, psychological violence. However, whilst psychological violence was reported as the least common form of SGBV, in reality it is the most prevalent form of SGBV, although it is hidden. Psychological violence bears the biggest impact on refugees and as a result exacerbates other forms of violence. This shows that SGBV is cyclic with one form having a direct impact on the others.

The extent to which the various forms of SGBV occur in the settlement is difficult to ascertain, largely because of under-reporting of the cases, which is attributable partly to: the cultural normalization of GBV, the victims' fear of being ostracized by their families or even assaulted by the perpetrators if they report the cases, and inefficiency and corruption within RWC circles and the police force. However, data from AHA shows that SGBV cases are higher during the harvest seasons (January-February and May-June) and during the monthly food distribution period (Primary data: AHA Report). Statistics show that although the incidence of SGBV is still high in the refugee settlement, cases of SGBV against women have decreased since 2014 to 2015, from 223 to 202 cases respectively. This decrease is reportedly due to an increase in awareness of the effects of SGBV on women and the larger community of Kyaka II Refugee Settlement. However, despite the reduction of cases in 2014, SGBV cases are still high in Kyaka II thus, an integrated approach to solve the problem through *Mume Kwa Muke* was desired. As a result of this intervention, a significant change was realized during the project phase as discussed in this thesis.

The study further established that SGBV in the settlement arises from various factors which include: lack of resources (such as food) which forces women and girls into sex transaction, alcoholism which arises from males' frustration and hopelessness as a result of unemployment, poverty due to unemployment and denial of resources (which occurs during and after the harvest season when some

men decide to sell off the harvest). There are various consequences of SGBV in the settlement including power imbalances, which have been seen to be the root cause of all forms of SGBV. The study has shown that when men's masculinity is threatened, they resort to other means to re-assert their masculinity, causing vulnerability to women's dignity and wellbeing. In the traditional Africa, a family is headed and protected by a man who is also regarded as the provider for, and the sole decision-maker in, the family while the woman's role is to give birth, raise children and perform domestic chores. This belief has often relegated women to private spaces where they are vulnerable to SGBV if these culturally created roles are not fulfilled by them. Other causes of SGBV include: unemployment, denial of resources, poverty, drug abuse, normalisation of violence and witnessing violence as a child. All these causes have been found to have roots in patriarchy, in which most men find reason to abuse women. However, in very limited cases some women have abused men using their power, especially when they have jobs and their husbands do not.

Objective II: Map the SGBV problem on the basis of recent literature

Literature review presented the continuum of SGBV against refugee women. It explored the theoretical framework and underpinnings informing this study. It discussed the feminism, ecological and conflict transformation theories which provided an epistemological understanding from findings related to SGBV against women to build a more integrated approach regarding issues concerning this problem. It provided international and domestic legal provisions and illustrated issues pertaining to SGBV against women in refugee settings, showing the extent to which this crime is committed, including the causes of SGBV and its effects on the physical and social wellbeing of refugee women. Indeed, the data analysis was done in relation to previous studies to strengthen the effectiveness of the study. The mapped literature review helped to draw conclusions on the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement in relation to the theoretical underpinnings presented.

Objective III: Assess community perceptions of SGBV and generate possible intervention mechanisms

Through methodological triangulation; by use of KIIs, participant observation and FGDs, data proved to be reliable as well as verifiable. The tools verified that SGBV does not manifest in one way but in several ways which can only be discerned if one integrates all measurement structures and personnel to easily learn from them. Triangulation proved that data is reliable and can therefore be used to make further inferences on the continuum of SGBV in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

The study findings found strong evidence that gender inequality amongst Congolese refugees was entrenched in social norms and values which reinforced SGBV against refugee women. With the deeply conservative culture of Congolese, all efforts to reduce SGBV as reported by other organizations seemed futile although they had crossed over to Uganda, which has stringent laws on gender equality. For instance, victims of SGBV hardly came out to report crimes against them, with the fear of being

ostracized and more often accepted violence against them such as: wife battering, early marriages (which were also carried out by clan leaders silently), marital rape and defilement; these cases were hardly reported given that the perpetrators were close relative that were mandated with the role of providing for the victims. As such, the perpetrators committed SGBV with a gender impunity. Although there is progress, continuous sensitization coupled with practical solutions such as women empowerment and inclusion in peacebuilding are necessary.

The study findings indicate that, at the beginning of the study, the Kyaka II Refugee Settlement community had mixed perceptions of SGBV. For instance, refugee men, had a perception that gender issues concerned only women, they also believed that sexual violence did not cover marital rape since they had married their wives, were entitled to their bodies at any time. Refugee men also raised concerns of being sidelined when it came to fighting SGBV in communities. They mentioned that most empowerment groups supported women and yet some men also face SGBV. As a result, most men never attended any sensitization or awareness raising sessions. On the other hand, some refugee women and girls had accepted violence as a way of life because of the various issues, including: poverty, forcing them into prostitution and gaining sexual favours from men to survive. Child marriages were incited by poverty too. It is precisely these negative perceptions that justified the institution of the *Mume Kwa Muke* intervention to reduce SGBV in the settlement.

As a result of the intervention, and as the evaluation of the *Mume Kwa Muke* project revealed, many people, especially members of *Mume Kwa Muke* and beneficiaries of their work, had undergone a change of attitude and adopted more progressive perceptions of SGBV. While previous research has proved that it is not easy to change attitudes, by the end of its project phase, *Mume Kwa Muke* had visited 5 zones out of the 9 zones in Kyaka II refugee settlement with a realization of over 320 success stories, per the reports received from the peer educators. These were retrieved mainly from community members who welcomed the SGBV ambassadors and were proud of the great work happening due to *Mume Kwa Muke*. Per the reports, most families were restored, relationships built and hope regained for those who had no hope to live peacefully. Indeed, by the time I had to leave the settlement the action group had become famous for its work, hence the group (to date) is still functional and is supported by AHA, one of the IPs working on GBV issues to support its sustainability. Sensitization and awareness raising through the project intervention significantly contributed to the reduction of SGBV in Kyaka II refugee settlement, the intervention also improved the understanding both men and women had regarding the value of women's rights and gender equality. With this knowledge, most women across the 5 zones reported that the training had empowered them and now regarded themselves as highly influential community members, boosting their confidence and self-esteem since they could now easily speak out against SGBV. Women reported a newly acquired capacity through the training on gender equality and women's rights that they received.

Objective IV: Use a participatory AR design to plan and implement a project aimed at reducing SGBV in the refugee settlement and conduct a preliminary evaluation of its performance in the course of the study

Not all scholarly researchers provide sustainable solutions towards the problem of SGBV. This research attempted to not just provide empirical evidence of the nature, extent, causes and consequences of SGBV in a particular locality but also to initiate an intervention that significantly contributed to reducing SGBV in the same locality. This thesis has attempted to present a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of SGBV against refugee women in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement through a description of the continuum of SGBV in the area. It has explained the causes of SGBV, the effects and recommendations of how this problem can be reduced so that refugees can leave in peaceful and egalitarian communities. However, it is important to note that although the Government of Uganda (GoU) has recognized the UNSCR 1325 among all refugees through four main pillars namely: prevention, protection, participation and, relief and Recovery, refugee women refugees still face a major obstacle of cultural/traditional belief and practice that seclude women to the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The intervention provided through *Mume Kwa Muke* provided evidence that SGBV can be reduced if: women are empowered and become part of the peacebuilding process to voice their needs and those of the society within which they live; if men are engaged in the fight against SGBV; if both women and men are empowered with knowledge on the laws of gender equality; if both men and women change their attitudes on the gender roles and accept that women as well as men can perform well on any job given a chance among others. The research intervention is commended for having provided tools such as community participation in project design, implementation and evaluation, tools such as the will power and resilience of participants, without which this research would have not been successful. As such, without any doubt, these tools could be tested elsewhere in another humanitarian setting in an attempt to solve cases of SGBV. The tools used in the project implementation provide a means of mapping the extent to which a project has successfully implemented gender equality principles and outcomes.

Regarding sustainable solutions to the problem of SGBV, nearly all refugees reported that building their capacity for self-sustainability and improving their living conditions would help in solving the issues of SGBV, because most women and girls who resort to negative coping mechanism are usually frustrated and must fend for their families. Some male peer educators reported that initially they committed cases of SGBV due to frustration; hence, improving their economic livelihoods would help them to be more responsible husbands and fathers, which would in turn encourage them to live peaceably with their wives. Indeed, the aforementioned recommendations serve as mitigating factors in reducing the commission of SGBV crimes within the settlement. Moreover, a gender perspective in

refugee programming is vital in understanding the different needs of males and females in order to generate positive and sustainable outcomes. It is also important to note that gender equality in the Ugandan refugee context is about ensuring that the protection and assistance provided in any humanitarian setting is planned and implemented in a way that benefits men and women, boys and girls, equally and provides a foundation for sustainable development at a later stage. Therefore, humanitarian support alone is not enough if Uganda is to achieve its set vision 2040 of being a middle-income country and “leaving no one behind”, refugee women must be involved meaningfully at all levels of programming such that their needs and interests are addressed. The thesis has portrayed that although humanitarian support is accorded to the refugees in terms of necessities, their psychological and mental health needs are overlooked, leading to more violence against women who are most at risk.

Finally, I hope that this study, through its evidence-based conclusion and recommendations can contribute to furthering the fight against SGBV in post conflict settings in other Refugee settlements in Uganda and Africa as whole through replicating best practices and lessons learned.

SECTION III

Recommendations

9.6 Introduction

In view of the above findings and conclusions, this section provides recommendations coming forth from the study. These were proposed by the study participants and the researcher from the observation made and the findings of the study. The recommendations are divided into sub-titles which reveal the different sectors that work closely with refugees and the recommendations expected from them by refugees to realise peaceful and egalitarian communities within Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

9.6.1 Recommendations

While Uganda has been recognized internationally as a friendly country to refugees with its progressive policy, a lot is still at stake with the silent on-going afflictions of SGBV against refugee women. If Uganda as a country must achieve its 2040 vision of being a middle-income economy, then peace and egalitarian communities must be a part of this vision, with refugee women’s issues addressed meaningfully. This will ensure that no one is left behind and that they are moving forward as a country. Uganda’s draft Peace and Conflict Transformation Policy is timely as it will incorporate the rights of the women in post conflict settings such as the refugee women of Kyaka II Refugee settlement. This in relations with the upcoming refugee Policy of Uganda will address issues such as gender inequality and marginalization of refugee women in decision making. The country is also in the process of reviewing

the National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 which incorporates addressing issues of SGBV against refugee women. This research therefore is of high importance as it informs and provides technical guidance to all these policies. The policy rationale is very explicit on gender, seeking to enhance the gender sensitive transformation (prevention, mitigation, management and resolution) of conflicts. It further intends to enhance the consistency and efficiency with which the government and stakeholders design and implement appropriate interventions aimed at promoting gender responsive peace building and conflict transformation.

Moreover, if Uganda is to attain a middle-to-high income status by 2040 by transforming itself from a Third World to a modern and prosperous country, it requires sustainable development inclusive of all (COACT 2016: 15). This means that refugees must be part and parcel of this transition. This would be in fulfilment of SDGs 3, 5, 16 and 10 on eradication of poverty, gender equality, peaceful co-existence, and resilient, equitable and inclusive societies respectively. This meaningful participation of both refugee women and men in development would create sustainable solutions for the SGBV problem in the settlement, ensuring that no one is left behind. In view of the above findings and conclusions, the rest of this section presents the recommendations coming forth from the study. To facilitate practical action on the part of key stakeholders, the recommendations are presented by stakeholder category. However, it is assumed that different categories of stakeholders will collaborate in the implementation of these recommendations.

9.6.2 UNHCR and International donors

- i. While Uganda is receiving accolades for its progressive refugee policy, this is not being matched by the desired funding to support operations. With the dramatic influx of refugees in Uganda, there is need to support refugees with supplementary livelihood programmes to strengthen their productive capacity because, for a variety of reasons, the SRS based on agriculture is not achieving its objectives. To this end, the international community should support the government with capital to facilitate small enterprises and livelihood projects for refugees so that they become more self-reliant.
- ii. Given that traditional gender roles change in refugee settings, often leading women to assume traditionally male roles, all future livelihood programmes in the refugee settlement should be gender-sensitive and gender-neutral to allow both women and men to acquire the competencies they need, so that women can meet their needs and those of their families without excessive reliance on others, because such reliance renders them vulnerable to SGBV.
- iii. Because it has been proved that in some refugee settlements food for cash ensures more food security than the distribution of food rations does, the international community should devise

alternative food-provision mechanisms, such as food-for-cash, between the harvesting periods when food is in short supply and following periods of crop failure.

9.6.3 Government of Uganda (GoU)

- iv. The GoU should consider local integration as a more permanent solution for long-term refugees. The government should analyse the research supporting local integration as a beneficial solution for the host country, carry out civic education in host communities to sensitize them on the benefits of local integration. And because the land currently available to the refugees in the SRS is inadequate, the government should also consider identifying additional land for refugee settlements, which refugees can exploit collectively or communally and therefore more productively.
- v. To combat the problem of alcoholism, and reduce the incidence of alcohol-related violence among refugees, the government should increase taxes on alcohol. The revenue thus raised could then be used to meet the hospital and other expenses of refugee women who fall victim to SGBV. Alcoholism and its adverse consequences could also be reduced through educating the refugee community, formally and informally, about the dangers of alcohol abuse.
- vi. In order to promote more effective communication among refugees and between them (on one hand) and with the host community, the UNHCR, the OPM and the IPs (on the other), a media platform or platforms in the form of an FM radio station or a newsletter should be established in the refugee settlement. Such a platform would enable the refugees not only to express their views and communicate their concerns but also to learn about the laws of Uganda, human rights, and refugee rights and obligations, in languages that they understand. This should clearly explicate who the duty bearers are within the settlement, teach them the referral pathways and the role played by the UNHCR, the OPM and other humanitarian agencies within the settlement. This will help to make rights known and understandable to refugees.^vThis media platform together with trainings and sensitization on the laws of Uganda and the rights of refugees will ease their understanding and give them full awareness on these issues.
- vii. Information sharing with refugees on various programmes should be easily available regarding market places, packaging and literacy skills provided so that refugees can have better bargaining power for their products on the market. For example, while designing IGAs for women, a keen attention should be given to the multiplicity of domestic responsibilities these women already bear. As such, labour and energy-saving mechanics should be provided to improve women's participation in training and livelihoods initiatives. Important to note is that women specific involvement in livelihood programming is key, and makes peacebuilding

and recovery efforts more sustainable. Women should therefore be consulted to identify potential obstacles to their participation for example: on the issue of time, child care and other social cultural barriers

- viii. Uganda has a progressive refugee policy. While the policy itself is progressive on paper, there are many challenges within the refugee settlement itself that limit its full operation and perpetuate SGBV within the refugee settlement. These challenges include: a SRS initiative that considers agriculture as the main source of refugee livelihoods, issuance of exit permits for those that wish to work outside the settlement - in which they are given a limited time to return or at times they experience a delay to receive their permits. The study has multiple implications for Ugandan refugee policy and sheds light on the many complex struggles of refugees in becoming self-reliant. The refugee policy must provide alternative avenues for refugees without an agricultural background to be self-reliant. The SRS is a progressive innovation in refugee affairs but still requires improvement to bring about the great innovations that it promises.
- ix. Current restrictions on the movement of refugees beyond the settlement have an adverse effect on the refugees' ability to find much-needed employment and earn supplementary income, thereby jeopardizing the SRS's chances of success. Moreover, freedom of movement is an inalienable right. Therefore, the relevant laws and regulations should be reviewed in favour of greater freedom of movement for refugees in the settlement. There is a need for the OPM to improve on the laws regarding refugee's permission to exit the settlement in search for jobs outside. They should quicken the process of issuing the exit permit and/or let refugees move freely within and outside the settlement without questioning them. This will enable refugees to work longer outside the settlement and support their families better without relying solely on humanitarian support. There should also be a move to expand efforts to sensitize refugees about resettlement, and educate and encourage them to embrace other durable solutions. Encourage refugees to invest in sustainable livelihood programmes to improve their living conditions within the settlement and support these programmes extensively through providing market information, finding capital on a competitive basis for their products, helping to provide transport to market areas for their produce, giving them incentives such as start-up capital among others.
- x. To reduce competition between refugees and the host community over scarce resources (especially land, water and firewood) and avoid the attendant animosity, government's new

policy, Refugees and Host Populations Empowerment³³ Strategy (ReHOPE), should be strengthened to cater for the host communities' needs to ensure peaceful co-existence, so that the host community does not feel left out as refugees appear to be favoured. This could be done by monitoring the various projects taken to refugees, have a portion going to host communities.

9.6.4 All Humanitarian Agencies

- xi. As our findings indicate, most refugee households cannot afford secondary school fees for their children, and end up withdrawing their children from school, and marrying off their daughters after primary school, which is undesirable. Therefore, to increase the number of refugee children and youth who are educated beyond primary school, and thus improve the employability and general welfare of refugees in their country of asylum, and eventually when they return to their country of origin or relocate to a third country, scholarships should be found and made available for refugees to pursue secondary school education.
- xii. Given that SGBV is widespread in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement, and that it affects both men and women (although the latter group are the most affected), there is need for continuous sensitization of the refugee community, staff members of the various organizations working in the settlement and community leaders on zero tolerance for sexual exploitation and abuse, with men involved. The sensitization should focus on the causes and consequences of SGBV as well as on means of combating the vice, including reporting mechanisms.
- xiii. The existence of inter-ethnic relations in the settlement are disharmonious, refugees belonging to different ethnic groups or clans are unable to work together to improve their welfare. Therefore, humanitarian agencies in the settlement should examine closely the role that inter-ethnic relations play in the livelihoods of the refugees, and devise means of improving those relations so as to strengthen the self-reliance strategy.
- xiv. Humanitarian officials should also offer agricultural training for refugees. Since some of the refugees from the DRC came from urban areas where they could not dig but were rather business oriented. It is important to avail them with the proper knowledge and skills in the agriculture sector (since this is the main source of livelihood), thus empowering them to be more self-reliant. On the other hand, women should be empowered economically such that they can contribute to household incomes or have self-sustainability. A wife's income can also supplement her husband's, which reduces the pressure of work and provision in a family.

³³ It is a transformative strategy to bring together a wide range of partners in a harmonized and cohesive manner to overcome fragmented programming. It is a response to specific challenges faced in developing durable solutions for both refugee and host communities.

Therefore, the GoU under the auspices of the OPM in Kyaka II should work hand in hand with camp officials to ensure that this problem is dealt with significantly.

- xv. Currently, there is a mismatch between the socio-economic backgrounds of refugees and the settlement zones in which they are located; and as a result, refugees with an agricultural background are settled in largely trading zones while those with a trading background are settled in mainly agricultural zones, leading to their inability to exploit available resources for self-reliance. Therefore, humanitarian agencies should carry out a comprehensive study of refugee backgrounds before settling them so that refugees are allocated in zones where they can be economically relevant, active and self-reliant.
- xvi. As this study has demonstrated, refugee women and girls are disadvantaged socio-economically and vulnerable to SGBV largely because they are kept out of decision-making processes at the household and community levels. Therefore, to empower women and girls, reduce their economic dependency and render them less vulnerable to SGBV, humanitarian agencies should promote the inclusion of women in decision-making processes and equip them with life skills through adult education for women and formal education for girls.
- xvii. Psychosocial support is imperative for all refugees, due to the trauma they experience during conflict, and the adverse impact that the trauma has on their ability to reconstruct their lives. Therefore, humanitarian agencies should provide psychosocial support at both the receiving centre and in the refugee settlement.

9.6.5 Refugees

- xviii. Refugee women and men ought to learn the laws of Uganda and respect them. They should be given refresher training on the Ugandan law every quarter in their first year of settlement so that cases of SGBV due to ignorance of the law are reduced. Refugees almost always cross the borders with no knowledge of the laws of their countries of asylum. However, for Uganda, the OPM always sensitises refugees on the laws of Uganda. Stringent measures should be ensured so that refugees attend these sensitization workshops and learn the laws of the country. This reduces chances of SGBV in refugee settlement, and creates peaceful and equal societies. This is important because the findings of this research proved that in the DRC wife battering is normalised, child marriages are accepted among other crimes, which are all against the Ugandan law.

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APPENDIX A

GATE KEEPERS's LETTER



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

PLOT 9-11 APOLLO KAGGWA ROAD. P.O. BOX 341, KAMPALA, UGANDA

TELEPHONES: General Line 0417 770500, Web: www.opm.go.ug, E-mail: ps@opm.go.ug

In any correspondence on this subject, please quote No: **OPM/R/107**

1st July 2015

Dr. Sylvia Kaye
Deputy Head/Senior Lecturer and Supervisor
Peacebuilding Programme
Durban University of Technology

PERMISSION TO DO RESEARCH IN KYAKA II REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Reference is made to your letter dated 11th June 2015, in regard to the above mentioned subject matter.

This is to authorize Ms. Pearl Atuhaire a PhD candidate at Durban University of Technology to do research in Kyaka II Refugee Settlement.

She is requested to observe the rules and regulations governing the Settlement.

Office of the Prime Minister authorities in the settlement should accord her the necessary assistance.


David Apollo Kazungu
For: **PERMANENT SECRETARY**
DEPARTMENT OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS
C.C The Refugee Desk Officer
Mbarara
C.C The Settlement Commandant
Kyaka II Refugee Settlement

OPM Vision: A Public Sector that is responsive and accountable in steering Uganda towards rapid economic growth and development.

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Thank you for taking interest in my research. My name is Atuhaire Pearl. I am currently undertaking a doctorate degree in peacebuilding at Durban University of Technology. I wish to provide information about my research study so that you may have a clear understanding of what it is about.

The title of my study is: "Reflection in action: reducing gender based violence against women in Kyaka II refugee settlement of Uganda".

This study is seeking to understand how sexual and gender based violence (GBV) can be reduced in Kyaka II refugee settlement. I would like to know the extent, causes and consequences of GBV in this community and more so empowering the participants to actively engage an action oriented project aimed at finding a durable solution to reducing gender based violence. The end result is that the level of GBV will reduce through an intervention that will empower both female and male refugees to thrive in a peaceful environment.

Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw anytime as there will be no adverse consequences or penalty towards your decision. The sessions will be in a calm environment of not more than an hour per session. The research is intended to engage 46 participants both female and male. I will hold a survey of the interviews with a sample of both male and female including 6 participants engaged in focus group discussion and 2 participants in interviews to test the research instruments. You may be part of the interviews, focus group discussion or action group, measures that this research will apply. You will be requested to participate freely and at your own places of convenience.

If you breakdown during interview session, you will be given time to cool down before the interview session is proceeded at your time of convenience. The interview can be postponed until you feel able to continue with the discussion.

You will not be paid for participating in the study and you will not be expected to pay anything to take part in the study. However, in case of where you have to incur travel costs from your village to participate in group discussion or interviews, a small fee will be provided to cover their transportation.

I will not use your name when reporting on focus group discussions your answer will only be seen by me. However, if you participate in an action team or focus group, you will be known by everyone participating. I would like to assure you that no injury or harm will be caused to you since I will ensure that anonymity and confidentiality are maintained at all levels to protect you from any harm.

Should you have any problems or queries, please contact me (+256 776954219.), or my supervisor, Dr. Sylvia Kaye: Peacebuilding Programme, Durban University of Technology, sylvia@dut.ac.za) (031 260312, +2772-070-3603) or the Institutional Research Ethics administrator on 031 373 2900. Complaints can be reported to the DVC: TIP, Prof F. Otieno on 031 373 2382 or dvctip@dut.ac.za

Thank you,

Sincerely,

A large black rectangular box redacting the signature of the researcher.

PEARL ATUHAIRE K.
RESEARCHER

APPENDIX C

CONSENT

Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

- I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Pearl Atuhaire, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study - Research Ethics Clearance Number: 2,
- I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.
- I am aware that the results of the study, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials and diagnosis will be anonymously processed into a study report.
- In view of the requirements of research, I agree that the data collected during this study can be processed in a computerized system by the researcher.
- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that significant new findings developed during the course of this research which may relate to my participation will be made available to me.

**Full Name of Participant
Thumbprint**

Date

Time

Signature / Right

I, _____ (name of researcher) herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study.

Full Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Full Name of Witness (If applicable)

Date

Signature

Full Name of Legal Guardian (If applicable)

Date

Signature

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW SURVEY

Protection role

- a) What role do you play in protecting refugees?
- b) Do you think there is SGBV amongst refugees?
- c) Would you please mention some of the causes?
- d) What solutions do you have in place as the main refugee agency in protecting refugee women against SGBV?

Food distribution

- e) How is effective is food distribution to the refugees?
- f) Are there any follow-up measures to ensure food is utilized well in the family? (probe these measure)
- g) Who is the food ration card given to in the family?
- h) Do you think refugee women could be good custodians of this food than their male counterparts? (Probe how if yes)

Participation

- a) Are refugees specifically refugee women involved in effective participation of the policies/ laws drawn by UNHCR and its implementing agencies in the proper running or planning for this settlement? (probe at what level and how)
- b) Does the planning consider the specific gender related issues facing both men and women during flight, in transition and after flight when they have settled? (probe how if yes)
- c) What do you are the main conflict related challenges women refugees face and how do these later affect them in the settlement?

APPENDIX E

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Date:

Time:

Focus group type (F or M):

Number of participants:

Introduction

Introduce myself and purpose of focus group. Thank respondents for their participation. Outline ethical consideration and ask for permission to tape record the session. State that the audio records will be listened to by the researcher (myself) and that the records will be stored in a secure place. Ensure that participants are at ease to begin the discussion and ask for any further questions before the session begins.

Introductory questions

1. In your own view, what is gender?
2. How do you define your experience as refugees?

Key questions

3. Do gender relations between men and women change after flight and finding asylum to Uganda?
4. Which obstacles and challenges do women and men face in regard to their relations as refugees?
5. What do you understand by gender based violence?
6. Is sexual and gender based violence an issue in the refugee context? If so, how?
7. What are the forms of gender based violence experienced Kyaka II settlement?
8. What are the causes of GBV in this community?
9. How has GBV been manifested in this settlement?
10. Are cases reported? What are the reporting and referral procedures?
11. What current intervention measures are in place to overcome GBV?
12. What challenges do you experience in reporting these cases?

Concluding questions

13. In your own view, what do you think is necessary to overcome GBV?
14. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX F

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Date:

Time:

Introduction

Introduce myself and purpose of focus group. Thank respondents for their participation. Outline ethical consideration and ask for permission to tape record the session. Assure participant of confidentiality. State that the audio records will be listened to by the researcher (myself) and that the records will be stored in a secure place. Ensure that the participant is at ease to begin the discussion and ask for any further questions before the session begins.

Introductory questions

1. What do you understand by gender based violence?
2. Is the refugee environment safe for refugees to live in?

Key questions

3. Is gender based violence an issue in the refugee context? If so, how?
4. What are the forms of gender based violence are experienced Kyaka II settlement?
5. What are the causes of GBV?
6. Are cases reported?
7. What are the reporting and referral procedures?
8. What limitations do refugees face in the settlements?
9. How are the victims of GBV treated in this community?
10. What current intervention measures are there to solve the issue of GBV?
11. Which obstacles and challenges do refugee women and men face in regard to assistance?

Concluding questions

12. What do you think is necessary to overcome GBV?
13. Do you have anything else to add?

APPENDIX G
OBSERVATION GUIDE

- 1) Behaviours of refugee men and women
- 2) Attitudes of refugee men towards women refugees
- 3) Communication gestures of refugees
- 4) Police records on cases of GBV
- 5) Health records from cases of GBV
- 6) The set-up of the settlement (Are the conditions perpetrating GBV)
- 7) How aid is disseminated to refugees in Kyaka II settlement.
- 8) The social interactions of refugee males and females
- 9) The gender roles of women and men.
- 10) The various meetings held at local level.
- 11) The general environment of refugees
- 12) Refugees relations with the humanitarian agencies.

APPENDIX H

MUME KWA MUKE REPORT FORM

Name of Peer Educator..... Zone.....

Date (Tarehe)	Client (Jina la Mteja)	Age (Myaka)	Sex (Jinsia) F/M	Zone	Case (Shitaka)

APPENDIX I

SUCCESS STORIES FROM PEER EDUCATORS

7.5.1 Success stories from the peer educators

After the evaluation process, the *Mume Kwa Muke* group members reported the following success stories, and agreed to have their identities revealed at this stage of evaluation.

1) Interviewee: Tesha Denny

Zone: Buliti, Age: 38 years

There is such a big change in my life since I joined *Mume Kwa Muke*. In my culture, women were always neglected when it came to decision-making in both the family and the community. However, since the time I joined this group as an Anti-SGBV Ambassador, I have acquired new skills and knowledge on SGBV and how I can help to resolve cases related to it. On a personal note, I have learnt to also empower my wife with decision-making in our family. For example, she is now the custodian of our money and I discuss with her any other issues before making a decision. Actually, the first time I gave my wife money to keep, she was also very surprised and asked me why I was doing that. I sat her down and explained to her why I thought she would be a better custodian than me. I also apologized to her for the many I years I denied her this role because ever since she started keeping our money, our lives have become better and I see that she is happier and there is life in our family. In my community, the T-Shirts we were given, bearing our group name and cause- *Mume Kwa Muke*, have caused my community members to always ask questions of they were all about. I always proudly explain to them about *Mume Kwa Muke* and the good cause we are promoting in our communities as Anti-SGBV Ambassadors. My community members now present to me some of the SGBV issues in their families or communities and ask me to advise them on how to handle such cases. I have been a peer educator on SGBV, especially when we meet at the bar or in other gatherings, such as the village health meetings. I preach about how we can reduce SGBV in our families and communities since this problem is prevalent.

2) Interviewee: Bahati Musema

Zone: Buliiti, Age-49

For me the experience has been life-changing. Much as we had some on-going projects before the foundation of *Mume Kwa Muke* in our communities, most of these were mainly focusing on women, and not men, as change agents. Also, these could not solve our SGBV problems on a timely basis. This is because whenever these women would come to communities to raise awareness or sensitization, men

would not turn up to listen to them because they always thought the issues they discussed were only meant for women. However, since the foundation of *Mume Kwa Muke*, as male ambassadors, it has become easier for us to approach and address some SGBV issues in our communities. For example, I joined hands with one lady from our group, identified some families facing SGBV issues, and worked together to resolve those issues. In one family, a woman beat up her husband terribly and even broke his arms. As Anti-SGBV ambassadors, we worked hand-in-hand with the RWCs, the Police and the neighbours to investigate the case. We intervened and reported the case to the police because the man would never report even when she used to beat him before. After we reported, the woman was arrested but later got out on bail...she later escaped and up to now no one knows her whereabouts. Now the man is left incapacitated with four children. We are now trying to counsel the man who is psychologically tortured.

3) Interviewee: Bagonza Emmanuel

Zone: Itambabiniga, Age: - 31 years

Since we established *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have seen a lot of change, mainly in my family. I used to have challenges with my wife concerning finances and decision-making which almost led to the break-up of our marriage. The problem was because, as a family head, I wanted to control her resources and income; yet she never wanted that. She would never reveal to me how much money she earned at the end of the month and I would just hear rumours from my community members. I always wanted her to hand over her money to me so that I make the final plans as head of family; but she would never reveal anything. This created many quarrels in our family. While I was responsible for everything else in the house, I also wanted her to be open with her money. However, with the establishment of the group, I learnt that the change I want in my family and community must start with me. I started to think hard about this and then decided to be an example to my wife. I decided to be very open about my income, and every month I would bring to her the money I earned, sit at the table, and, together with her, plan for the money. I did this for two months before my wife could open up herself and also start bringing her income on the table for us to plan for it. We both have equal decision-making ability when it comes to issues in our family, including financial ones. This has brought peace in our family and my wife is now much happier than she had ever been since we married. I realise that if we cannot cooperate in our own families then we should not pretend to cooperate outside in our communities.

4) Interviewee- Jimmy Anthony (Team leader, *Mume Kwa Muke*)

Zone: Byabakora, Age: 39 years

I have always been short-tempered and because of this, I always shouted at my wife whenever she confronted me about something. I knew that as the head of the family, I had authority that should not be questioned by my wife or children. I was the decision-maker and that was it. Whenever, I would get angry, I would just end-up barking at her. Every end of month after payment, I would first go to the bar and drink some of the money; and by the time I got home, I would have little money left. So, since my wife knew how much I was earning, she would ask me where I

put the money but I would just scream at her as this was my money. But today, with *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have learnt to respect my wife and discuss with her peacefully without shouting at her. I now bring my money on the table and even if I want a bottle of beer, I ask her and she deducts the money herself and gives it to me. Today, she is the happiest woman in my village. Also, since we started the group, I have got a lot of recognition and trust from community members. I sensitize and educate older men on how to treat their wives and this is because I live as an example in my community... I am strongly convinced as a leader of this group that my group members have changed their attitudes and behaviours and I am with no doubt that they are really good ambassadors of SGBV control and prevention.

5) Interviewee: Aisha Ndiwayesu

Zone: Sweswe, Age: 34 years

At first, I never knew that a woman has freedom as a person. When we started *Mume Kwa Muke*, I learnt that a man as well as a woman have their own freedoms and rights. I now have the power to help in sensitizing others in my community about issues of SGBV. My community members now look up to me as a counsellor and an advisor on such issues because I now know how to approach these issues. Whenever I stand up to talk, I have the audience I need to create change in my community. I am now a voice for others who see me as an example and also want to be like me. In one of the cases I have solved, a woman who had separated from her own husband who had then remarried and stopped taking care of the old wife and her children. So, I approached them and advised them to reconcile and I told the husband that even if he now has a new wife, he should not neglect his old wife and children. I asked him to take care of the two families equally. He adhered to the advice and now the old wife is happy since the man still provides for the family much as he separated from her.

6) Interviewee: Madina

Zone: Buliti, Age: 35 years

Before I joined *Mume Kwa Muke*, I used to be a loner, and never used to discuss with people on issues of SGBV. I also never knew about my rights as a woman, and although I used to face SGBV, I never knew how to go about it. However, with the training I received from *Mume Kwa Muke*, I now know my rights as a woman, and I also know that, as a woman, my voice in the community is equal to that of a man. I also know that a girl child has the same rights to education as a boy. So, I have used this knowledge to educate my family members that had withdrawn their girls from school and told them the importance of girl-child education and how this also prevents early marriage, which is a common problem in my culture. *Mume Kwa Muke* has helped me to open up and speak to people with confidence in my community. I no longer have any fear about how to make people understand me or even how to speak out strongly. I have now sensitized people on how to reduce cases of SGBV in my community, and some families approach me for advice on

these issues. I have not only spoken in my community but also in other communities in other zones here in Kyaka II. I am proud of the work that I do, and I am happier whenever I see families changed for the better; and wherever I pass, people recognise me for the work I do.

7) Interviewee: Kamuhanda Jacob

Zone: Byabakora, Age: 33 years

With *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have been enlightened more on the issues of SGBV. I have worked hand-in-hand with church leaders to counsel a couple that had separated because the wife had abandoned her husband's religion. The man was left alone in the house and although he reported to RWCs, they never helped him a lot. Therefore, he came to our office and reported. We then advised the couple to reconcile despite their religious differences. We showed them the disadvantages of separation and told them that, at their age (they were about 52-56 years), they needed each other. And we advised the man that if they reported the case to court, the woman would win the case because every person has a right of worship in any place they wish. So, they agreed to reconcile and now they stay together peacefully. *Mume Kwa Muke* has taught both women and men how to handle family issues. Most families are now peaceful and this will later lead to development in different ways. With stable families, there is peace, children will go to school and poverty will be kicked out of our homes".

8) Interviewee: Tesha Denny

Zone: Buliti, Age: 38 years

There is such a big change in my life since I joined *Mume Kwa Muke*. According to my culture, women were always neglected when it came to decision making both in the family and the community. However, since the time I joined this group as a SGBV Ambassador, I got new with skills and knowledge on SGBV and how I can help to resolve cases related to it. On a personal note, I have learnt to also empower my wife with decision making in our family for example, she is now the custodian of money and also to discuss with her on any other issues before making a resolution. Actually, the first time I gave my wife money to keep, she was also very surprised and asked me why I was doing that. I sat her down and explained to her why I thought she would be the best custodian than me. I also apologized to her for the many I years I denied her this role because ever since she started keeping our money, our lives have become better and I see that she is happier and there is life in our family. In my community, the T-Shirts we were given (bearing our group name and the cause- *Mume Kwa Muke*), have caused my community members to always ask questions of they were all about. I always proudly explain to them about *Mume Kwa Muke* and the good cause we do in our communities as SGBV Ambassadors. In so doing, my community members always entrusted me some of the SGBV issues going on in their families/communities and ask me to give them advice on how to handle such cases. I have been a peer educator of SGBV to my friends especially when we meet at the bar or in other gatherings such as the village health meetings.

I preach about the knowledge of how we can reduce SGBV in our families/communities since this problem is prevalent.

9) Interviewee: Bahati Musema

Zone: Buliiti, Age-49

For me the experience has been life changing. Much as we had some on-going projects before the foundation of *Mume Kwa Muke* in our communities, most of these were mainly focusing on women and not men as change agents. Also, these could not solve our problems of SGBV on a timely basis. This is because whenever these women would come to communities to raise awareness or sensitization, men would not come up to listen to them because they always thought the issues they discussed were only meant for women. However, since the foundation of our group, *Mume Kwa Muke*, as male ambassadors, it has become easier for us to approach and address some SGBV issues in our communities. For example, I joined hands with one lady from our group by locating some families facing SGBV issues and finding solutions. In one family, a woman beat up her husband terribly and even broke his arms. As SGBV ambassadors, we worked hand in hand with the RWCs, Police and neighbours to investigate the case. We intervened and reported the case to the police because the man would never report even when she used to beat her before. After we reported, the woman was arrested but later got out on bail to keep attending the court out of the prison...she later escaped and up-to-date no one knows her where about. Now the man is left incapacitated with four children. We are now trying to counsel the man who is psychologically tortured.

10) Interviewee: Bagonza Emmanuel

Zone: Itambabiniga, Age: - 31 years

Since we established our group *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have seen a lot of change created mainly in my family. I used to have challenges with my wife concerning finances and decision making which almost led to the break-up of my marriage. The problem was because, as a family head, I wanted to control her resources/income yet she would never want that. She would never reveal to me how much money she earns at the end of the month and I would just hear rumours from my community members. I always wanted her to bring her money and I make the final plans as head of family but she would never reveal anything. This created so many quarrels in our family. While I was responsible for everything else in the house, I also wanted her to contribute to these issues by being open with her money. However, with the establishment of the group, I learnt that the change I want in my family/community must start with me. I started to think about this so hard and then decided to be the example to my wife. I decided to be very open about my income and every month would bring to her the money I earned sit on the tale and we plan for it. I did this for two months before my wife could open up herself and also start bringing her

income on the table for us to plan for it. We both have equal decision-making ability when it comes to issues in our family including finances. This has brought such a peace in our family and to date my wife is very happy compared to many years back since we have been together. I realise that if we cannot cooperate in our own families then we cannot pretend to cooperate outside in our communities.

11) Interviewee- Jimmy Anthony (Team leader, *Mume kwa Muke*)

Zone: Byabakora, Age: 39 years

I have always been short tempered and because of this, I always shouted at my wife any how whenever she confronted me about something. I knew that as the head of the family, I had the authority that should not be questioned by my wife or even children. I was the decision maker and that was it...Whenever, I would get angry, I would just end-up barking at her. Every end of month after payment, I would first pass the bar and drink some of the money and by the time I got home, I would not have a full payment. So, since my wife knew how much I was paid, she would ask me where I put the money but I would just scream at her as this was my money. But today, with *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have learnt to respect my wife and discuss with her peacefully without shouting at her. I now bring my money on the table and even if I want a bottle of beer, I tell her and she deducts the money herself and gives me in peace. To date she is the happiest woman in my village. Also, since we started the group, I have got a lot of recognition from community members and trust too. I sensitize and educate older men on how to treat their wives and this is because I live as an example in my community... I am strongly convinced as a leader of this group that my group members have changed their attitudes and behaviours and I am with no doubt that they are really good Ambassadors of SGBV control and prevention.

12) Interviewee: Aisha Ndiwayesu

Zone: Sweswe, Age: 34 years

At first, I never knew that a woman has freedom as a person. When we started our group *Mume Kwa Muke*, I learnt that a man as well as a woman have their own freedoms and rights. I now have the power to help in sensitizing others in my community about issues of SGBV. My community members now look up to me as a councillor and advisor on such issues because I now know how to approach these issues. Whenever I stand up to talk, I have the audience I need to create change in my community. I am now a voice to others who see me as an example and also want to be like me. In one of the cases I have solved, a woman who had separated with her own husband who had now married a new wife, and stopped taking care of the old wife and her children. So, I approached them and advised them to reconcile and I told the husband that even if he now has a new wife, should not neglect his old wife and children. I asked him to care of the two families equally. He adhered to the advice and now the old wife is happy since the man still provides for the family much as he separated from her.

13) Interviewee: Madina

Zone: Buliti, Age: 35 years

Before I joined the group, I used to be a loner and never used to discuss with people on issues of SGBV. I also never knew about my rights as a woman and although I used to face SGBV, I never knew how to go about it. However, with the training I received from *Mume Kwa Muke*, I now know my rights as a woman, and I also know that as a woman I have an equal voice in my community with the man. I also know that a girl child has the same equal right to education as a boy. So, I have used this knowledge to educate my family members that had withdrawn their girls from school and told them the importance of girl child education and how this also prevents early marriages, which was is a common problem in my culture. *Mume Kwa Muke* has helped me to open up and speak to people with confidence in my community. I no longer fear about how to make people understand me or even how to speak out strongly. I have now sensitized people on how to reduce cases of SGBV in my community and thus, some families approach me to help advise them on these issues. I have not only spoken in my community but also other communities in other zones here in Kyaka II. I am proud of such work that I do and happier whenever I see families changed and wherever I pass, people recognizing me for the work I do.

14) Interviewee: Kamuhanda Jacob

Zone: Byabakora, Age: 33 years

With *Mume Kwa Muke*, I have been enlightened more on the issues of SGBV. I have worked hand in hand with church leaders to counsel a couple whose wife had left ha man's religion and the man told her to leave his house. So, the woman left and started staying at her relative's house. The man was left alone in the house and although he reported to RWCs, they never helped him a lot. Therefore, he came to our office and reported. We then advised the couple to reconcile despite their religious differences. We showed them the disadvantages of separation and told them that at their age (they were about 52-56 years), they need each other. And also, we advised the man that if they report, the case to court, the woman would win the case and he might lose because every person has a right of worship in any place they wish. So, they agreed to reconcile and now they stay together peacefully. Our project *Mume Kwa Muke* has taught both women and men how to handle family issues. Most families are now peaceful and this will later lead to development in different ways. With stable families, there is peace, children will go to school and poverty will be kicked out of our homes".