

**CHALLENGES FACING SOMALI WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB
REFUGEE CAMP, 1991-2016**

BY

UMMI KALTUMA MOHAMED BASHIR

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented for examination or the award of a degree in this University or any other institution of higher learning.

Signature

Date

UMMI KALTUMA MOHAMED BASHIR

ADM NO: C50/60450/2013

This research project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature

Date

DR. GEORGE MTAWALI GONA

DEDICATION

The journey to the fulfillment of this dream has been long, challenging and most importantly an enjoyable eye opener for me. This project is dedicated to Somali women refugees within Dadaab Refugee Camp who have managed to survive in the camp and go about their day to day lives.

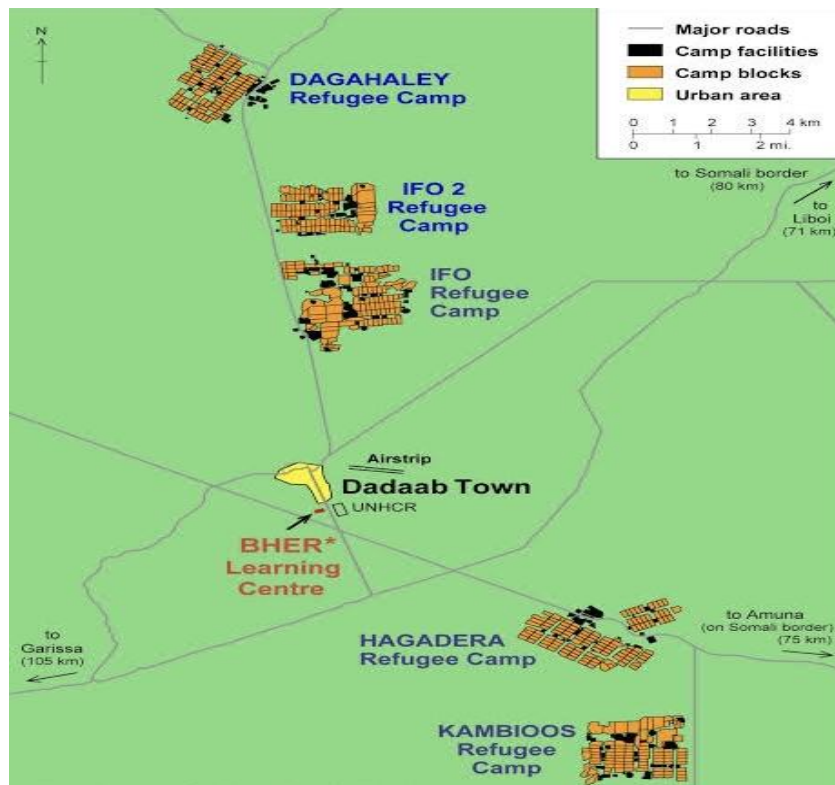
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LOCATION OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP IN AFRICA



MAP OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMPS IN GARISSA COUNTY



Source: File Photos from UNHCR Archives- 18/04/2017

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to explore the challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp. It should be noted from the onset that women and children consist of over 80 percent of the total population of this world's largest refugee camp and are perceived as the most vulnerable and marginalized group within the camp. Somali women refugee in Dadaab refugee camp who flee their homes in search of sanctuary from violence too often find that there is no meaningful refuge; they have simply escaped violence in conflict to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps. The study is an attempt to analyse the cause of Somali women refugees, the challenges that faces Somali women refugees and how they have coped with these challenges.

The study tested three hypotheses: the first that the conflict in Somalia was the cause of Somali women refugees, the collapse of Said Barre government was cited as the main cause of Somali women refugees. Secondly Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp are not protected by UNHCR, the UNHCR has been blamed for its inability to ensure that refugees are protected and their basic needs are met. And lastly Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp engage in trade as a coping mechanism, the refugees have devised wide range of livelihood strategies to cope with the challenges faced at the camp, ranging from small businesses to dependence on remittances from relatives abroad.

The study utilized both the primary and secondary sources of data. Secondary sources of data were collected from published and unpublished works, internet sources, reports from refugees' agencies like UNHCR and the government of Kenya. Primary sources of data on the other hand was collected through the use of interviews from the camp managers, UNHCR and government officials, as well as from the refugees.

Study findings revealed that Somali women refugees face a number challenges including lack of protection and basic need, security challenges, poor housing and sanitation, resource scarcity, and sexual harassment. It was established that Somali women refugees have devised mechanisms to deal with the challenges they face. Such strategies include, seeking international protection and migration, receiving humanitarian assistance, relying on social networks and solidarity, settlement in urban centers, engaging in trade and services. Other strategies include, religious and spiritual beliefs investing in education and skills training, engaging in commercial prostitution and assuming the role of a breadwinner due the absence of men in the camp.

The study recommends that improving the welfare and protection of the refugees is critical to their future, including UNHCR and government to endeavour to make refugees self-sufficient rather than depending on the institutions.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LOCATION OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP IN AFRICA.....	v
MAP OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMPS IN GARISSA COUNTY	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF PICTURES	x
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the study	3
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3 Research Question	5
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	5
1.5 Justification of the Study	5
1.6 Scope and Limitation	6
1.7 Literature Review.....	7
1.7.1 General Literature on Refugees in Africa.....	8
1.7.2 Literature on Refugees in Kenya	16
1.8 Theoretical Framework.....	31
1.8.1 Feminist Theory	31
1.8.2 Resilience Theory	33
1.9 Research Hypotheses	35
1.10 Research Methodology	35
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORY OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP	37
2.0 Introduction.....	37
2.1 Crisis and Displacement of refugee from Somalia to Kenya.....	37
2.2 Somali Refugees	40
2.3 Mass Movement of Somali Refugees into Kenya.....	41

2.3.1 Repatriation and Resettlement	42
2.3.2 Renewed Displacement: 2006 - 2012	44
2.3.3 The Post-Transitional Period: 2012 to the Present	46
2.4 Protection of Refugees in Camps.....	47
2.4.1 Kenya and the Protection of Refugees Dadaab Camp	48
2.4.2 UNHCR and the Protection of Refugees	50
2.5 Conclusion	52
CHAPTER THREE:SETTLEMENT OF SOMALI WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB 54	
3.0 Introduction.....	54
3.1. Kenya as a Favoured Destination	54
3.2 Encampment Policy in Kenya.....	55
3.3 Kenya’s Policy on Refugees	57
3.3 Set Up of Camps	60
3. 3. 1. Congestion in the Camp.....	63
3.3.2. Policing in the Camps	64
3.3.3. Clan Conflicts	64
3.4 Where are the Men of Dadaab?	65
3.4.1 Missing Men	65
3.4.2 Widowhood and Abandonment	66
3.5 Conclusion	68
CHAPTER FOUR:CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP	69
4.0 Introduction.....	69
4.1 Challenges of Protecting Women Refugee Livelihoods.....	70
4.1.1 Lack of Basic Needs	71
4.1.2 Self-Reliance Challenges	72
4.1.3 Sanitation and Health Challenges	74
4.1.4 Housing Challenges	75
4.2 Negative Attitude Towards Somali Women Refugees	77
4.3 Gender Based Violence (GBV)	79
4.4 Security Challenges	82

4.4.1 Location Challenges.....	82
4.4.2 Proximity to the Somali Border	83
4.4.3 Abduction and Trafficking.....	83
4.5 Challenges Associated with the Principle of <i>Non-refoulement</i>	84
4.6 Failure by UNHCR to Provide Leadership in Self- reliance	87
4.7 Coping Strategies	88
4.7.1 Seeking International Protection and Migration	89
4.7.2 Receiving Humanitarian Assistance	90
4.7.3 Relying on Social Networks and Solidarity.....	91
4.7.4 Engaging in Trade and Services	92
4.7.5 Investing in Education and Skills Training.....	93
4.7.6 Adopting New Roles.....	93
4.7.7 Settlement in Urban Centres	94
4.7.8 Religious and Spiritual Beliefs	95
4.7.9 Commercial Prostitution	95
4.8 Conclusion	95
CHAPTER FIVE:CONCLUSION	97
5.1 Summary	97
5.2 Study Findings	100
5.3 Recommendations.....	105
5.4 Suggestions for further study	106
BIBLIOGRAPHY	107
Primary Sources.....	107
1.Oral Sources.....	107
Focus Group Discussions.....	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	109
Secondary Sources	109
1.Books and Publications.....	109
Appendix I: Research Questionnaire	118

LIST OF PICTURES

<i>Picture 3.1: Above: Ummi Bashir posing at the bill boards listing all the NGOs operating in Dadaab.</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>Picture 4.1: Somalia Women refugees lining up for their monthly food ration at the Ifo.</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Picture 4.2: Above, Women fetching firewood, Kambios.</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Picture 4.3: Ummi Bashir interviewing Somalia refugee woman in Dadaab camp.</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Picture 4.4: Above, Households in Ifo.</i>	<i>77</i>

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Coping Mechanisms:** This is the total number of strategies devised by Somali women refugees to cope with the challenges they face in Dadaab refugee camp.
- Gender:** Socially constructed differences between men and women, and in particular, regarding how power is allocated and used between them, and in the differences between men and women, spelt out in terms of their roles and needs.
- Refugee:** This owes to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion has flee his home country (Somalia) to seek refuge in another country (Kenya).
- Aid:** Assistance given by international community and refugee agencies to Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp.
- Security:** Lack any physical and economic aggression towards Somali women refugees.
- Refoulement:** taking the Somali refugees back to their home country Somalia without their consent.
- Vulnerability:** being susceptible to different kind of threats

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
DMO	Dadaab Main Office
DRA	Department of Refugee Agency
FDGs	Focus Group Discussions
GOK	Government of Kenya
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MSU	Mechanical Services Unit
MRRR	Ministry of Rehabilitation, Reintegration and Reconstruction
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
SNM	Somali National Movement
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCHR	United Nations Commission for Human Rights
WCRWC	Women's Commission on the Right of Women and Children
WFP	World Food Program
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948)
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)
UNDEVAW	United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951, in Article 1A narrowly defined a refugee as anyone who "owing to a 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 unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country".¹

The UN refugee agency on the other hand was established in the aftermath of World War II. The main role of UN refugee agency was to help Europeans displaced by that conflict to resettle back to their respective countries. Optimistically, this led to the birth of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in December, 1950 by the United Nations General assembly. The UNHCR was mandated to resettle the population displaced by the World War II conflict. The UNHCR was mandated to complete the assignment within three-year after which it was to be disbanded. To further help the UNHCR to carry out its mandate, the United Nations Convention relating to the status of refugees was established a year after. The aim was to give a legal foundation of helping refugees and the basic statute guiding UNHCR's work. However increased conflicts and calamities led to UNHCR to be retained and was mandated to protect the refugees.²

For several decades Africa has witnessed many armed and violent conflicts which have forced millions of people out of their homelands into neighbouring countries and beyond. The refugee's problem has been on the increase as the conflicts in countries are on an upward trend. However not all Africa's refugee problem is as result of political conflicts. Other factors like natural disasters, economic recession and population pressure have all led to increase in refugees flow in Africa. The proliferation of sophisticated arms and increase in tribal conflicts is also a factor that

¹UNHCR, Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 2011.

²Kimathi, L. "The Role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Dealing with Refugees in Kenya, 1960-1999" Maters thesis, Kenyatta University, 2001

has contributed to the menace of refugees in Africa. This has been witnessed in many African countries like Sudan, South Sudan, Rwanda, Uganda and Somalia where the proliferation of sophisticated arms and tribal conflict has led to the displacement of thousands of refugees into the neighboring countries.

For the greater part, many African governments have opted to treat refugees as a transient and exceptional phenomenon and accordingly devised encampment as the appropriate regime or strategy of managing and containing refugees as they seemingly wait for repatriation. The encampment regime is the chosen way of managing refugees because of three main reasons. First, it confines refugees to designated areas thus reducing competition for resources between refugees and locals. Secondly, it facilitates control and containment of refugees who are viewed not only as victims but also agents of insecurity, and thirdly it facilitates easy identification of refugees for repatriation which host governments consider the solution.³

On their part, humanitarian organizations that assist refugees, particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), have argued that encampment enhances refugee visibility to donors thus enabling them to understand the magnitude of the crisis and need besides facilitating easier administration, counting of the refugees and distribution of aid. Displaced people are expected to stay in refugee camps while they wait for the restoration of peace in their countries of origin. The camps as a temporary solution to a presumably ephemeral situation have instead become a permanent feature of the African landscape in what can be termed reutilization of the exceptional.⁴ Whether transient in their receiving countries or not, refugee experiences are varied at most precarious. Understanding the encounters and the strategies they deploy is significant if their plight can be addressed by governments or the international community. This study is an attempt to get to some of the refugee issues around security, adversity and the manner in which women overcome them. It focuses on Somali Women refugees in Dadaab camp in Northern Kenya.

³Ibid.

⁴Harrell , B. and Voutira, E. “Anthropology and the study of refugees,” *Anthropology Today*, Vol 8, No 4, pp. 6-12,1992.

1.1 Background to the study

Dadaab Refugee Camp is located in Garissa County (in the former North-Eastern Province of Kenya near the Somali border. According to the UNHCR Camp statistics of June 2016 Dadaab hosts approximately 341,574 refugees, one of the largest refugee populations in the world. Dadaab has five refugee camps, namely, Hagadera, Dagahaley and Ifo 1 which were first to be established then Ifo 2 and Kambios camps were opened later as the refugees population grew.

Dadaab refugee camp was established in 1991 following the collapse of the Somali Government of Siad Barre, and the disintegration of Somalia into the chaos that still exists today. Somalia is an example of both a failed state and a complex emergency. What has been witnessed in Somalia has been a battle among the Somali clans where warlords led by Mohamed Farah Aidid, who are also clan leaders, who fought battles to challenge the Siad Barre Government. This made it impossible for Siad Barre to govern given that the clan differences have been irreconcilable in the true sense of the word. Each clan war lord had been struggling for power to take over or control of the whole country which resulted in many deaths and a massive population displacement where since 1991, although figures vary, it is believed that more than 1,500,000 Somalis have fled their homeland as a result of a brutal civil war which in turn became a battle between various factional clan groups fighting for control of both land and resources which led to an influx of many Somalis into Ethiopia, Djibouti, Yemen and Kenya. As well as this, as of 2011-2012, 1.43 million out of a population of nine million are internally displaced persons (IDPs), many living in makeshift camps, denied international assistance by Islamists who threaten humanitarian workers and refuse to allow aid through. Even among failed states, those countries unable to exercise authority over their territory, protect their citizens or even provide the most basic services to them, Somalia stands apart. Since the fall of Barre's regime in 1991 Somalia has lacked a central government and conflict, poverty, famine and insecurity are endemic hence continuous flow of refugees into Kenya.⁵

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in conjunction with the Government of Kenya established Dadaab refugee camp as a temporary solution some 20 years

⁵ Horst, C. "Transnational Nomads: How Somalis Cope with Refugee Life in the Dadaab Camps of Kenya," New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.

ago to accommodate Somalis fleeing their war torn country from a war that continues to this day. It is estimated that in 2011 alone, due to the continued violence between *Al-Shabaab* militia group and the Somali Government forces and the drought plaguing the country, a further 31,000 Somalis arrived in the camps, thus puts a heavy burden on the limited resources available in the camps.

It should be noted that each refugee situation is unique and reflects a number of factors, including the conflict or crisis that causes the refugee outflow, the culture of the refugee-producing country, the culture of the refugee-hosting country, the length and degree of trauma, and other lifestyle changes during flight. Difficulty attaining legal status as refugees and issues such as violence and access to resources are not unique to women refugees. Through a combination of these factors, however, refugee women are made one of the most vulnerable groups in the world.⁶

The displaced women, men and children have survived long and extremely dangerous experiences of displacement. The displaced have endured the difficult conditions of war in their home country; they have witnessed and suffered the deaths of their loved ones, and have experienced social, economic and cultural exclusions. However, for Somali the women refugees' and girls, they suffer more than the men refugees as they are marginalized by the structural inequalities of the male dominated Somali society, suffer adversely from the conflict and in the process of fleeing for safety. Arriving at the camps, the Somali women refugees are met with a new set of challenges.

This study looked at the life of refugees in Dadaab camp. The study took a gender perspective which specifically focused on challenges facing Somali refugee women in the camp and how they cope with these challenges.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Life in refugee camps is always a challenge. From the onset, it should be noted that Kenya's refugee camps are located in some of the most hostile semi-desert areas of the country. These camps have been designated as safety net in the emergency phase; however refugees are prevented from enjoying fundamental rights: like, right to non-refoulment, right to safe asylum, right to liberty and security of person, right to freedom from torture or degrading treating, freedom of movement and employment that would enable them to protect their livelihoods. Kenyan migration law does not

⁶ Human Rights Watch, "From Horror to Hopelessness: Kenya's forgotten Somali Refugee Crisis." p.3, 2009.

allow refugees to move from the camps to towns or other places within the country. The camp life is also degrading given the conditions and location of the camps. At the camps women refugees are also not guaranteed of their safety.⁷

As observed in a majority of the above issues have been tackled in the literature. However, the extent to which women refugees have experienced harassment from institutions and people that are meant to protect them and not otherwise has received less attention. That women face adversity from their own husbands in refugee context is rarely a subject of inquiry, something that should not be the case. Worse still, women's capacity to transcend adversity has been treated with the usual nurturing chauvinistic jargon, yet increasingly it has been noted that women transcend adversity because they have the capacity to do so. This study interrogates these issues using the case of Somali women refugees in Dadaab cam in Northern Kenya. It addresses itself to the women's encounters, experiences, challenges and coping mechanisms.

1.3 Research Question

- i. How is the settlement of Somali women refugees at Dadaab?
- ii. What challenges have Somali women refugees faced in the camp?
- iii. To what extent are these challenges surmountable?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To examine the settlement of Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp.
- ii. To investigate the challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp.
- iii. To determine the coping mechanism of Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp.

1.5 Justification of the Study

As noted above, women are the majority in Dadaab refugee camp, out of the 261,496 Somali refugees in Dadaab, 132,406 are females both women and girls, while 129,090 are male both Men

⁷Ibid.

and boys. Women are 56, 630, which is 55%, compared to men who are 47,332.⁸ Therefore there is need to understand this large section who are perceived as the most vulnerable and marginalized group within the camp. Even in refugee camps women must carry out their responsibilities of caring for others without the necessary support. Although refugee women issues have been addressed during political stability in the world, few studies have been done on challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp and the coping strategies applied by these women. Indeed, the issue of women refugee resilience and their capacity to transcend adversity has received less attention and this study has attempted to add information on this emerging area of academic research. Finally, the findings of this study are important to the management of Dadaab refugee camp. It will assist the policy makers to understand the issues at stake. This will help in the process of formulating policies that will lead to a well-coordinated system to tackle the vulnerability of women refugees at Dadaab refugee camp.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The scope of this study was limited to Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp. This is because there are refugees in different parts of Kenya more so the urban refugees in Nairobi and others spread in other parts of the country. Dadaab refugees camp is 94.9% comprised of Somalia refugees. The study spans the period from 1991 to 2016. Dadaab refugee camp was established 1991 following the collapse of Said Barre government in Somalia. This political instability in Somalia led to an escalation of refugees Somali refugee into Kenya. The year 2016, is important because this was the time that Kenya threatened to close down Dadaab camp due to the insecurity caused by the Somalia-based militant groups. These groups were accused of being behind the massacre of 148 students at Garissa University (April 2015) and the 71 Civilians killed at the Westgate mall siege (September 2013) in Nairobi as well other deadly attacks around the country.

⁸UNHCR, "Camp Population statistics," <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/unhcr-dadaab-kenya-camp-population-statistics-2016>. Accessed on 7th December 2018.

During the study, there were a number of challenges. Some of the refugee and the host community respondents were not able to write or read. Therefore, the researcher used translators to administer the questionnaire to some respondents. This was considered as a limitation as chances of misrepresentation emerged as the translators sometimes gave a made-up outcome while in real sense the answers from the respondents were not as implied by the translators.

Some respondents were unwilling to co-operate during the administration of the questionnaire and thus gave insufficient information. The researcher mitigated this by making frequent follow up meeting and the use of research assistants that were known to the respondents. The researcher also assured them that the data and information was exclusively used for academic purposes only and was treated with utmost confidentiality. Some of the respondents were not accessible as there were bureaucratic processes which required permission to be allowed to undertake research at Dadaab camps.

Insecurity was another factor that rendered some camps inaccessible as security personnel did not allow the researcher to visit some sections of the camps and the fear of Al-Shabaab within the camps made it difficult to get hold of the women for the interviews as they were afraid of being caught talking to Kenyan Somalis asking questions on the insecurity within the camps.

The weather was also a limitation as the scorching sun in Dadaab made it difficult to trek between the five camps when collecting data. The researcher had to collect data either very early in the morning or very late in the evening making it difficult to get hold of the respondents some of those odd times.

1.7 Literature Review

This section provided relevant literature in the area of study. The section outlined review of literature and research related to the challenges facing women refugees and the coping mechanisms. First the study looked at general problem of refugees in the world and then the situation of refugees in Kenya.

1.7.1 General Literature on Refugees in Africa

Antonio Guterres, in his work, paints a picture on the life of refugees in the twenty-first century.⁹ He argues that refugees have greatly increased due to many conflicts in the world. The causes of such conflicts range from political, ethnic, resource and religious differences. When such conflicts turn in to armed conflict, then it gives rise to refugee problems. The most perilous and the risk of mass movements are journeys that such people make as refugees while looking for safety.

According to Guterres, the international community should be asked to establish a cooperative policy and legal framework which is grounded on humanitarian principles, and which will ensure that persons who have ran away from environmental, economic, or social crises in their countries are not taken back to the countries they fled from, unless and until they themselves feel safe to return home. Guterres argues that refugees face difficulties in their struggle to rebuild their lives as the host countries has its dynamics which is far different from the one in their country of origin and this gives the refugees the biggest challenge in life. Further Guterres argues that policy frameworks should be formulated to ensure that the international community deploys all the tools at its disposal, aid, trade, diplomacy, security, and relief to host countries in order to help the wellbeing of the refugees.

This collective responsibility, he says will ensure sustainable stability of both the refugees and the host country. At the same time he advices the international community should use every means possible to help restored peace and stability in the refugees' country of origin. Without stability, Guterres asserts, newly returned refugees may have no alternative but to scurry to some new destination, their dreams of a more settled life falling apart once again. Most of the world's refugees are found in developing countries. The work of Guterres is important to this project because it gives background information on the challenges faced by refugees in general. The work however, does not to answer the problem this project has set to study.

Susan McKay's paper mainly on Feminist critiques of the concept of human security and narrates the ways girls and women experience insecurity differently in conflict situation. The paper further states why the women issue should be incorporated as a key dimension of human security

⁹Guterres, A. "Millions Uprooted: Saving Refugees and the Displaced"<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080901faessay87506/antonio-guterres/millions-uprooted.html>, accessed on 14th April, 2018.

discourse. Using examples of different countries, this study pokes holes on the gender non-inclusivity in the security and in times of conflicts. She postulates that Human Security should be seen to include women, peace and security and emphasizes on the full inclusion of women in solving the insecurity that affect them as well. She asserts that women's health should be taken into consideration as an unhealthy woman makes the community sick, since woman acts as an engine of the society. She says that factors that make the women vulnerable to security and other challenges should be addressed with all the available means.¹⁰ Although this is important to the understanding of women vulnerability, it does not address the women refugees.

Jennifer Hyndman, in her article enumerates how no region in the world is immune to conflict; hence such conflicts must be managed through humanitarian support.¹¹ Most human displacement is because of conflict, negative ethnicity, and politically created famine. Conflict can be anywhere in the world, and is always brought by different reasons in the country although the causes vary from case to case. Religion, ethnic segregation, political exclusion and resource struggle are some of the prostrated reasons for such conflicts, whose results are mass displacement across the borders. The insubordination of women in conflict situation is also discussed in this work. This work is yet another useful background work that says little about challenges facing women in refugee camps.

Malinda M. Schmiechen argues that refugee camp has more women than men. She says that women in such camps suffer many abuses including discrimination of women at the camp and how these abuses are perpetuated.¹² On the matters of health, the author asserts that there are no contraceptive, despite the active sexual life in the camps. This results into unsafe abortions leading to death. Other than that, there is presence of rampant sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Pathetic housing also presents a problem to women. The women also lack enough resources which is a problem to her family members, whom camp officials are obligated to protect, shelter and feed. In the camp sexual assault, rape and domestic violence are very frequent occurrence. The article shows how women refugees face many problems, including shortage in food, water,

¹⁰McKay, S. "Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A Feminist Analysis," *English Research Report Series*, 2004.

¹¹Hyndman, J. "Managing Difference: Gender and Culture in Humanitarian Emergencies", *Journal of Gender, Place and Culture*, July, 2010, pp. 241 – 260.

¹²Schmiechen, M. "Parallel Lives, Uneven Justice: Right, Protection and Redress for Refugees and Internally Displaced women in Camps" St. Louis Publisher, 2003.

firewood and other social amenities like latrine and housing yet the laws that regulate their rights are not well executed. The work though essential to the problem of this study is general in nature and it does not focus on Dadaab and the challenges experienced by women.

Leon Gordenker argues that when large numbers of refugees enter a host country, local societies and economies can be disrupted in ways that can often lead to conflict.¹³ The refugees may introduce severe strains on the local economy, social infrastructure, and development efforts, especially when the host country is very poor refugees may also cause extensive ecological damage to the host country, particularly when they are concentrated in camps in areas already facing land shortages. This book is an essential background study that concentrates on Latin America. It does not therefore address the research problem of this project.

P.A. DeVoe, in his work on women as refugees argues that all refugees, women and girls face a variety of challenges during their refugee experience that are specific to their gender.¹⁴ These problems often begin even before the women cross an international boundary and become officially refugees under international law, and are experienced by internally displaced women as well. One of the most formidable challenges that women face is the threat to their personal security, particularly in the form of sexual violence. He says that rape and sexual violence are used to persecute women for their relative's political activity. Rape and sexual violence are also increasingly recognized as weapons of war that lead to women's flight from their homes. However, sexual violence does not necessarily end when a woman leaves her home; in many cases, women face increased chances of sexual violence once they are in flight. Women refugees, like women in conflict situations, are targeted for sexual and other forms of violence for a number of reasons. DeVoe states that they may be physically abused because they are considered extensions of their families and not individuals. Women embody the family's continuity and pride as wives who will produce a future generation and as chaste daughters who symbolize the family's virtue. An attack on them, therefore, is an attack on the integrity of the family. Attacks on women may also represent an assault on their ethnic group; because they have a reproductive role, women may be viewed as the embodiment of a given ethnic identity's maintenance. Further, DeVoe shows that flight, women

¹³Gordenker, L. *Refugees in International Politics*, London: Croom Helm, 1987,

¹⁴DeVoe. P. "The Silent Majority: Women as Refugees," Available at: www.forcedmigrationguide.pbworks.com, 1993. Accessed on 17th July 2011.

are often separated from husbands or brothers, further increasing their vulnerability to armed attack and sexual violence.

The perpetrators of this abuse may be pirates, border guards, members of the armed forces or rebel troops, male refugees, and others with whom they come into contact with. Sexual violence does not necessarily stop when the women reach a refugee camp or country of asylum. While refugee camps are theoretically established to protect refugees and provide for their needs, they can sometimes become very dangerous places for refugee women. Women face sexual violence not only from armed elements in the camps and the military of the host country, but also from male refugees. Women refugees may be targeted for the same reasons that women in flight are targeted, often as a political attack on their group in the armed conflict. In addition, women may be forced to trade sexual services for food or other basic needs. This work is important for its general information. It does not however, deal with the peculiarity of refugee women in Dadaab camp.

Susan Forbes-Martin is very close to DeVoe's work. Forbes-Martin argues that physical environment of the camps may exacerbate women's protection problems.¹⁵ Many different families, often from different sides of the conflict, are sometimes forced to live in close proximity, sharing communal living and social spaces. The author also notes that poor camp design can contribute to women's protection problems, such as overcrowding, communal latrines far from living quarters, poor lighting and inadequate night patrols. In addition, sexual and other physical violence may increase against women even in intact families as male refugees, disempowered and frustrated by the refugee experience, take out their frustrations on their wives through domestic violence and rape. Forbes-Martin remarks, "the enforced idleness, boredom and despair that permeate many camps are natural breeding grounds for such (domestic) violence". Sexual and other violence leaves women refugees with deep emotional scars and psychological damage. Sexual violence is used as a weapon of war in part because of the social stigma attached to it in many societies. Women who have been sexually assaulted are often deeply ashamed of their experiences and afraid to talk to anyone about them, and the psychological trauma experienced by victims of rape and abuse in refugee situations is particularly severe. Further, the shame attached

15. Forbes, S. *Refugee Women*, London: Lexington Books, 1992.

to sexual assault makes it even more difficult for aid agencies to address it and aid victims. Women are often reluctant to talk about their experiences, particularly to the overwhelmingly male staff of most camps.

The threats to women refugees' physical security are not only in the form of sexual violence; women face other gender-specific health and security problems as well. In many societies, women are responsible for collecting water and gathering firewood for cooking. If these elements of food preparation are not made available by camp administrators to the women, they may leave the refugee camp to find them. Once outside of the camp, women may be subject to armed assault by soldiers or local men. In addition, they may wander into minefields while looking for water and cooking fuel. This is general background information on women refugees. The work does not however discuss Dadaab refugee camp.

Lastair Ager, Wendy Ager and Lynellyn Long have examined differences in the experience of Mozambican women and men in refuge in Malawi in late 1990, with particular regard to the differential impact of assistance policies and programmes.¹⁶ They argue that sample sites activity indicated that established gender inequalities in schooling were perpetuated in the refugee setting. Programmed vocational training activities had little impact on income generation for either men or women. Whilst incomes were generally very low, the median income for women was zero. Work burden was generally heavier on women. Whilst the health status of men and women was similar, there was evidence of poorer health in female-headed households. In general terms, the authors show that assistance had clearly failed to significantly impact the key targets of substantive income generation for women and reduction in female work burden. Indeed, food relief policy and structures for refugee representation appeared to frequently exacerbate existing gender inequalities. This study's findings regarding the differential experience of refugee women and men may be of considerable relevance to the planning and management of future refugee assistance programmes particularly for the case of the Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp.

Ruth Marshall argues that during the Iraq crisis of 1991, UNHCR staff realized that food was not going to families headed by women. Only then did they notice that all the distributors they had

¹⁶Lastair, A. Ager, W and Long, L. "The Differential Experience of Mozambican Refugee Women and Men", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Volume 8, Issue 3, pp. 265–287, 1 January 1995.

appointed were men.¹⁷ The result was malnutrition, exploitation and suffering. Further, the author asserts that since the Kurdish crisis in 1991, UNHCR's emergency operations have radically improved. Emergency teams and longer-term field staff receive extensive training to help them identify and respond to the specific needs of refugee women and their children. Multiple policy statements and guidelines have been issued to the field. Unquestionably, UNHCR now pays far more attention to the assistance and protection needs of refugee women and children - who, as every staffer knows, represent the overwhelming majority of refugee caseloads in almost every country.

She further shows that sexual violence and exploitation are a shockingly frequent experience for refugees - whether before flight, during it, or while living in camps. But the particular burdens on women include such apparent trivialities as sanitary provisions, whose absence can virtually immobilize a woman or adolescent girl. In between, of course, come the disproportionate burdens of child-rearing and domestic tasks; particular education needs for women lacking formal qualifications, who may be alone and responsible for family survival for the first time; and health-care, including contraception. "Refugee women and children bear a disproportionate share of the suffering," she says. This work forms an important background on the analysis of Somali women refugee.

Oliver Bakewell's paper is an attempt at developing a theoretical framework for analyzing refugee repatriation in Africa.¹⁸ The work describes the rise of voluntary repatriation as the most favoured solution to refugee situations especially during the 1990s. However, the documented experiences of repatriation show very mixed results and highlight a lot of questions which cannot be immediately answered. In the absence of better knowledge, assumptions are made which may have damaging consequences for refugees, their countries of origin and countries of asylum. The author says that very few researchers have made any explicit attempt to develop theory to capture some

¹⁷Marshall, R. "Refugees Magazine" *journal on Refugees feminine plural*, Issue 100, 1995.

¹⁸Bakewell, O. "Refugee Repatriation in Africa: Towards a Theoretical Framework Centre for Development Studies," University of Bath, Center for Development Studies 1996.

of the complexity of repatriation, although a number of authors have called for it to be considered as a subset of migration on which there has been considerable work.

Secondly the author turns to the migration literature to review the vast range of research and theories which have been developed in this field over decades. Given the wealth of literature the focus is limited to studies of migration in developing areas, especially Africa. It is argued that the theories can be categorized by the location of 'agency' in the process of migration; they range from those which see migration as a result of structural forces (sometimes represented as a capitalist conspiracy) to those in which individuals are free agents maximizing their utility. The middle ground is provided by an approach which draws on structuration theory and sees migration as arising from complex interactions between individuals, households and wider structures.

Finally the author considers how such theories about migration might be useful to an analysis of refugee repatriation. Few would argue that refugees are completely free to make individual decisions concerning repatriation as they are constrained by the actions of many others. However, the experience of repatriation programmes, which have been implemented to bring refugees home, highlights that they are not passive elements in the process. An analysis of repatriation must take account of the agency of the refugees and the social structures in which they are immersed. Therefore, the structuration approach to migration appears to provide the most fruitful avenue for theorizing the author argues.

Elizabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf argue that refugees are sometimes exposed to horrific "encounters" from the hosts, such as rape and other forms of physical attacks.¹⁹ The authors believe that all this is caused by the refugees' hope, desire and determination to survive and rebuild their lives in new ways. The authors argue that the frequency of armed conflicts, political violence and civil unrest in the host countries in 1990s often led to further relocations of refugees. Although Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf's work discusses refugees' encounters in their new homes, it does not look at the Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp.

Gil Loescher and James Milner argue that the refugee menace has been there since early 1990s in the African Great Lakes or, recently, Darfur and Chad. There are currently over 10 million refugees

¹⁹ E. Rehn and Sirleaf J, "Women War Peace," Washington: UNIFEM, 2002 pp.6-8.

in the world.²⁰ The people in refugee camps may cause instability to the host country by way of incursions. However this should not be the basis of harassment and attacks from the host communities. The accusation is that such camps are used as bases to destabilize their country and that way conflict and persecution around the border that have refugee camps. The authors further argue that in the East African region, Kenya has had the most protracted refugee complex, the Somali refugee since 1991 and Tanzania from 1959 resulting from the skirmishes in Burundi. Such perceptions have resulted in growing xenophobia and made the host governments' policies increasingly popular with the voting public. The work details the lack of democratization and liberation as the key causes of refugees' problem in Africa. The large number of Somali refugees hosted by Kenya nearly exceeded 135,000 and 300,000 in 1994 and 1996 respectively, which makes the refugee camp in Dadaab.

The overall theme of this work is that the refugees' causes problems to the countries that they go to, in other words they are a security threat to the host country. In Kenya refugees are increasingly being the source of terrorist attacks. The security presence in and around the camps in Dadaab have been increased, the overall problem of refugees is a worldwide problem, but is more manifested in Africa, where there are multiple of civil wars for example Somalia, Burundi Rwanda and Sudan. Lots of international efforts are directed to peace initiative to avert the increase of refugees. Some security forces have been raping women at their homes among the rival communities while men are tortured. The above work illustrates the insecurity that comes along with the refugees to the host country, but does not write about the challenges faced by Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp.

Stephanie Beswick work discusses Voices of Ethiopian, Somali, and Sudanese Female Refugees in Kenyan Refugee Camps.²¹The work simply highlights the intensification of the women's subordination the camp where they run for refuge, like in foreign refugee camps, away from the war front, where they expect to find peace, they are further victimized. Thus, to say women know no peace both inside and outside the conflict zone. The women voices are never heard, as they

²⁰Loescher, G. Milner, J. Newman, E and Troeller, G. "The Long Road Home: Protracted Refugees Situation in Africa" *Journal on Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 47, Issue 2, 2005.

²¹Beswick, S. "If You Leave Your Country You Have No Life!" Rape, Suicide, and Violence: The Voices of Ethiopian, Somalia, and Sudanese Female Refugees in Kenyan Refugee Camps" *Northeast African Studies*, 2001.

complain, the complaint is made to people of the same gender of their tormenters. Men are the go between as the representatives of their communities in the camps.

The paper has elaborated on the problems that the Ethiopians and Somalis have undergone and which has contributed to the influx of refugees because of inter clan wars and the violent change of the governments. This is one of the work which is being used as inference case, it discusses more of the Ethiopian refugee problem which is the same but also fundamentally different in the levels of vulnerability. Ethiopia as a country is less chaotic than Somalia. It does not however talk of why the camps are insecure, particularly to the women.

1.7.2 Literature on Refugees in Kenya

Fred Nyongesa Ikanda in his article describes the deteriorating conditions of hosting refugees at Dadaab camp, which has been hosting refugees in the semi-arid northeastern part of Kenya since 1991.²² He argues that local people generally perceive refugees in negative terms for various reasons. first, they feel that refugees are more economically advantaged due to the assistance they receive from aid agencies and their ownership of various businesses at the three camps, which enables them to lead better lives. Competition for the scarce resources in the impoverished semi-arid area between the two groups has also fuelled the locals' dislike for the refugees. Socially, hosting fatigue has developed due to the protracted refugee situation at Dadaab, which is compounded by a large refugee population that is commonly associated with public insecurity. He conclude that in order to foster coexistence between the two groups, humanitarian agencies must incorporate locals more in direct aid programs such as provision of food rations, as well as reduce the high numbers of refugees in order to minimize insecurity and support the meager local resources. This work is important as background information only because it does not discuss challenging facing women refugees in Dadaab camp.

Martha Gitahi Wangui's thesis argues that most of the Sudanese refugee women face a number of challenges that necessitates them to engage in a variety of coping mechanisms.²³ They have been forced to adjust to a new culture and language, and work hard to establish themselves financially

²²Ikanda, F. "Deteriorating Conditions of Hosting Refugees: A Case Study of the Dadaab Complex in Kenya," *African Study Monographs*, 29(1): 29-49, March 2008.

²³Wangui, M. "Settlement, Coping Strategies and Challenges Facing Self-Settled Refugees in Ruiru Sub-county in Kiambu County, 1990-2013", Master of Arts Thesis, Kenyatta University, 2015.

and socially. Families must also learn to cope with intergenerational conflicts which may arise due to the often different pace of acculturation and adjustment between parents and their children. She further argues that conflict continues to rage in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, the end of the refugee problem in Kenya is far from over. Kenyan government should embark on finding some form of lasting solutions to the problems of refugees through implementation of durable solutions. Integration and third country resettlement constitute the durable solutions for the Sudanese refugees.

She says that although repatriation has also been considered a durable solution for the Sudanese women in Ruiru, it has also been coupled by more than enough difficulties. Repatriation means that refugees' lives are disrupted socially, economically and culturally. The process of economic readjustment is dependent on a number of variables; length of time in exile, level of self-sufficiency or dependency while in exile, skills or knowledge acquired while in exile, income generating opportunities or means of production available in home areas, individual or zonal integration assistance provided, degree of voluntarism in returning and individual commitment to re-establishment. Her research discovered that the Sudanese women are more willing to stay in Kenya than to repatriate. They felt that they had invested much in Kenya that they would rather be allowed to stay, especially since most of their children are attending school here in Kenya.

Finally the study asserts that third country resettlement, although considered as one of the durable solutions, is often taken as the least satisfactory to refugee's problems because of the difficult cultural adaptations involved. It is only turned to as a last resort when there is no way to guarantee protection and safeguard fundamental human rights. The research also shows that Kenya, like many other host countries in Africa, resists local integration on the assumption that integrated refugees will not be willing to repatriate latter and accordingly confines refugees in refugee camps. The study however suggests that, integration, instead of being deterrent is a prerequisite for repatriation. This study is an important source of data and can be used to draw comparison with the present study.

Edward Mogire argues that the biggest thing the refugees need is security; having suffered humanitarian crisis while in their country.²⁴ The refugees' position is increasingly changing to be unbearable at the host countries. The change started manifesting from the 1980s. The new paradigm has put the women in such an awkward position. Considering the new international treat and in view of the above, the national security has been paramount at the expense of the refugees. It is the reason for leaving the country of origin. The laws in place calls for the host country have made applications to be scrutinized very keenly. The above is to help curb the militarization of the surrounding community, where such camp is situated. This work talks about the emerging perception of refugees forms an important background study for this project.

Awa M. Abdi's work discusses the origin of the civil war in Somalia in 1991 and how this led to thousands of their people crossing their border to Kenya. The work examines how about 130,000 Somalis made it to Dadaab camps. The work further looks at the host country international obligation to give security to the refugees.²⁵ Indeed, the paper enumerates approximately the number of the refugees that went to Dadaab at the time of the Saied Bare conflict in Somalia. The role of host state to protect refugees on its territory as well as the failure of the host state to provide for adequate security is also questioned. The above work has some relevance to this research in that it gives the background to the refugee problem in Somalia.

Peter Mwangi Kagwanja in his article examines ethnic discrimination of Kenya's refugee policy and its role in encouraging sexual violence against women refugees.²⁶ There has been an increase of rape cases in camps, as the camps become more crowded. This influx of the refugees from Somalia made the Kenyan government with the help of UNHCR to create the Dadaab refugee camp to contain the insecurity that came along with influx of refugee in Kenya, after the Kenyan Government complained to the refugee body. This came along with the segregations of the poor refugee in the camps while the rich and able ones, could be in Nairobi, to do business and to participate in the national economic development. The exercise was done with a lot of ethnicity,

²⁴Mogire, E. "Refugee Realities: Refugee Rights versus State Security in Kenya and Tanzania Sage Publications, Ltd" 2009.

²⁵Abdi, M. "In Limbo: Dependency, Insecurity, and Identity amongst Somalia Refugees in Dadaab Camps", Bildhaan Vol. 5, 2005, online edition. Accessed March 2017.

²⁶Kagwanja, P. "Ethnicity, gender and violence in Kenya", Forced Migration Review, December 2000, <https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/gender-and-displacement/kagwanja.pdf> accessed on 24th March 2017.

as the affluent Somalis who had deals with those in power dictated those to be repatriated, thus they spared their kinsmen. Somalis with poor background were now lumped with their cousins from North Eastern region, who have always suffered historical injustices since the time of the *Shifita* war.

The incarceration in camps led to another physical insecurity, mostly among women and girls, who were raped and beating become a daily occurrence between 1993 to 1994. There was also the abduction of refugee women by the militia who took them for marriage by force. The rape was used as a weapon of war and these who were crossing the border, involved people armed with guns, machetes and other crude weapons. While the rape ordeals continued at the camps, among the perpetrators were the refugee themselves, the administrators, together with the Kenya police and army seen as part of the rape gang. The police in this sense were guilty of two mistakes, being involved in rape itself and failing to stop rape by acting against the perpetrators. The above work acknowledges the insecurity at the camps but fails to address why this happens and why the women are hard hit by such violence, which is one of the objectives of this work.

Vincent O. Akuka's study has investigated the Horn of Africa in general and sought to examine the challenges facing humanitarian assistance of refugees in the region.²⁷ He says that the choice of this region does not imply that the problem is unique to the region. Contrary to this, humanitarian assistance to refugees is facing numerous challenges globally after the Cold War. Concentrating on a given region helps to focus on the study and facilitates a deeper analysis. An understanding of the problems that the region faces guides the formulation of policies and strategies that states within the region ought to take as a remedy. There is a danger however in generating the findings of one region to other regions. Although all regions may face a particular general problem, each has its own peculiarities and remedial measures must be based on such unique attributes.

He argues that the Horn of Africa, which has been synonymous with refugees for the last two decades, provides a good case study because of the different aspects of refugeehood that it exhibits. Cessation of certain conflicts like the Eritrea war of self-determination implies that the region must

²⁷Akuka, V. "African Refugee Problem: A case study of UNHCR'S Assistance to Refugees in the Horn of Africa," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2002.

deal with the prospects of repatriation and reconciliation. Mean while, on-going conflicts like the Sudanese conflict mean that new waves of displaced persons are still being churned out. The region also faces insecurity as evident from the continuing conflict in Sudan, intermittent conflicts in Somalia and to a lesser extent in Djibouti. Such conflicts affect not only the refugees but also the UNHCR and other organizations in providing humanitarian assistance. The collapse of the state and government of Somalia and its subsequent slip to anarchy has worsened the security situation in the Horn of Africa especially through the proliferation of small arms. Refugee settlements and camps are no longer secure as they are open to attacks not only from external armed groups but also from refugees themselves, some of whom are armed.

The study argues that although currently it is difficult to make a clear distinction between intra- and inter-state conflicts, most of the conflicts in the region are to a large extent intra-state. These conflicts have also had an adverse effect on the economies and environment of states in the region. The road to reconstruction is therefore long and hard. The first step requires states in the region to resolve conflicts and create a conducive environment for development. The establishment of strong democratic systems respect of human rights and good governance will further help to not only to stem out causes of refugee hood but to also transform the Horn of Africa from a sea misery and destitution to a land of peace.

The study further argues that the search for durable solutions must continue in earnest for it remains the most favored solution in the Horn of Africa. One of the prerequisites of voluntary repatriation in this region is the resolution of conflicts. Although there are various efforts to resolve these conflicts as seen in the efforts of IGAD member states in the Sudanese and Somalia conflict, more needs to be done. The issue of reconstruction of destroyed environment must be addressed. After years of war, it is inevitable that the physical infrastructure and the environment are destroyed. States of origin must take on the arduous task of reconstruction. The international community should only reinforce the efforts of the affected states in the reconstruction. The developing countries and in particular the Horn of African states should show interest in the reconstruction of their own countries. These countries should come up with viable projects, which should not only be seen through to completion, but should regularly be assessed. To ensure that projects actually materialize and no duplications occur, proper co-ordination between all parties - developing states,

UNHCR, the donor community, non-governmental organizations, voluntary organizations and others- must be guarded.

This study has highlighted the challenges facing the humanitarian assistance to refugees in the Horn of Africa. However, much more research needs to be carried out to determine how the role of the donor community can be enhanced to supplement the UNHCR's efforts to deal with the modern day complexities. In assisting refugees, it is important to note that the refugee problem is a global problem, which if not dealt with, would have negative repercussions on global security. States in the Horn of Africa and the world at large must abstain from pursuing policies and practices that compel people to flee their homes. As such, strong democratic systems need to be embraced and supported. Human rights observance must also be adhered to. Where all these fail and populations are forced to flee, the international community must step in and assist those who have fled. The rights and lives of those in exile must be protected and efforts taken to ensure that they lead as normal lives as possible while in exile. Efforts must continue to bring to an end the causes of flight and pave way for repatriation through reconstruction.

According to the study, it is time for the international community to come up with more practical approaches in assisting refugees. This study has found out that an integration approach should be seriously considered. Instead of keeping refugees in camps, they should be re-integrated with the local community. The Horn of Africa states should take up the lead in supplementing the UNHCR's efforts in assisting the refugees instead of waiting for funding from the donor community. Although the study does not deal with Somali women in Dadaab refugee camp, this study is important for its background information.

According to Anna Lindley in her work, says that, around 5.5 million in the world are in exile struggling with their lives because of protracted struggle, they struggle for their livelihood in their households.²⁸The work explores the experiences of the Somali refugees living in Nairobi, where they have been since 1991, resulting from the civil war in Somalia. This work discusses how the refugees try to survive the difficult life at the camp and in urban areas. It states how the Diaspora plays a role in assisting the refugees. The business empire at Eastleigh plays a critical role in

²⁸Lindley, A. "New issues in Refugee Research, Protracted displacement and remittances: the view from Eastleigh, Nairobi," Research Paper, 2007.

economic expansion. The *Hawala* is a form of money transfer, from their affluent relatives who live outside Nairobi. The work has dwelt on the art of survival by the refugees but fails to discuss the challenges that Somali women find themselves in while at the camps.

Terence A. Rudolph in his thesis argues that humanitarian aid workers at the Dadaab camps perceive security as a major concern at the operational, organizational and managerial level.²⁹ He says that security pervades all aspects of aid delivery in camps. Aid workers at Dadaab face a gamut of risks and have a variety of security concerns. Financially motivated individuals and criminal networks are not dissuaded by organizations that claim to be politically neutral. They have perpetrated the kidnappings of aid workers at Dadaab, and these kidnappings have been used as part of the justification of the Kenyan invasion of Somalia. In the minds of aid workers, the invasion caused the deterioration of security at the camps since militants continue to attack their police escorts with improvised explosive devices.

He argues that at Dadaab the various security concerns have translated into a heavy investment in security training and policy and have conditioned the circumstances under which aid can be delivered. His study demonstrates that even after humanitarian workers have been directly targeted by violent criminal actors, they continue delivering “life-saving services.” Their vulnerability to various forms of violence justifies the securitization of aid and the suspension of principles of neutrality and impartiality, and the militarization of its delivery.

One of the main findings of his study is that aid workers consistently ranked security as the most significant issue at the camp, and they justified organizational security strategies at the operational level as necessary to enable the delivery of all other services. Part of this trend was extensive and pervasive security training, as evidenced by the fact that every single participant had undergone security training. Interestingly, while the majority of participants reported that the security training was effective, many of them reported that the training did not make them feel any safer. Part of the operational securitization strategy at Dadaab was to restrict the movements of white foreign aid workers while continuing to allow national and local aid workers to assume the risks associated with travel to and from the camps. This separation, while a seemingly calculated response to the targeting of white foreign aid workers for kidnapping and ransom, provides a good practical

²⁹ Rudolph T. “The Securitization of Humanitarian Aid: A Case Study of the Dadaab Refugee Camp”, Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2013.

example of the bio-politics of distinguishing and valuing some lives over others. After all, comparatively speaking, refugees, national and local aid workers are not afforded the same range of security options, nor can they expect the same kind of treatment, when they face equally deadly threats on a near daily basis.

The UNHCR coordinates the humanitarian operation at Dadaab. The securitization of aid generates both financial and policy changes that directly impact the delivery of aid to the camps. The study has documented the extensive security procedures and practices that govern the relationship between the refugee community and the humanitarian organizations at the Dadaab camps. One of the major findings in this study is that the majority of the organizations at the Dadaab camps are “implementing partners” of the UNHCR, meaning that they rely on the UN for funding to deliver their programs. As such, while many of the organizations claim to be politically neutral, in fact the entire operation at Dadaab transpires under a political agreement between the Kenyan government and the UN. This does not specifically tackle challenges facing Somali women refugees at Dadaab, but nevertheless it forms a good background reading.

Rosemary Jaji’s work on *Refugee Women and the Experiences of Local Integration in Nairobi, Kenya* examines a gender perspective which specifically focuses on refugee women.³⁰ The work outlines the key themes of the study namely refugee women and local integration. The study accordingly presents the experiences of local integration among refugee women self-settled in Nairobi. It highlights the various factors that influence the process of integration. These factors are presented in the subsequent chapters as aspects of the political, legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions of integration. A theme that runs through the entire work is that the various dimensions of integration are concurrently dependent on and independent of each other. For instance, legal integration is closely connected to access to small business loans which are essential for refugee women’s economic integration. Similarly, social and cultural barriers lead to economic exclusion

³⁰Jaji, R. “Refugee Women and the Experiences of Local Integration in Nairobi, Kenya”, PhD Thesis, Bayreuth University, 2009.

and vice versa. Considering these links, comprehension of integration is predicated on a holistic approach which acknowledges the interconnectedness of the various dimensions.

The work argues as a gendered experience, exile impacts on intra-household dynamics and transforms gender roles and relations within refugee households in ways that are simultaneously enabling and challenging for refugee women. Although local women also experience Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), for refugee women this intersects with the vulnerability that the refugee status entails resulting in refugee women being abused even by police officers and officials who are tasked to protect them thus leaving them with limited channels for recourse. SGBV thus becomes salient because of its targeted nature. Emphasized in the study is the fact that refugee women are heterogeneous such that it is more appropriate to refer to refugee women's experiences rather than the refugee woman experience. Exile as occupation of marginal space is however not solely about constraints as it also creates opportunities and possibilities that may not have been available to the women prior to flight. Contradictory as it may seem, the refugee status is mediated by the same variables that lead to exclusion at a macro level in ways that facilitate inclusion at a micro, interpersonal level characterized by interaction between refugee women and locals as fellow congregants or as neighbours who share the same plight of poverty in Nairobi's slums. This is coupled with refugee women's agency by which they convert obstacles into resources and create space for themselves in a country which advocates encampment and expects refugees to reside in the designated areas. Through their own agency, refugee women are able to navigate structural barriers meant to deter integration in ways that demonstrate that the absence of an official integration policy does not necessarily deter integration; individual agency has a countervailing impact on measures instituted to deter integration. Although, this study does not discuss Somali refugee women in Dadaab camp, it provides very important background information.

Abdirahman Omar Ali Examines Influx of Somali Refugees and State Security: Kenya as a Case Study (2002-2012) in his work.³¹The study argues that many of the refugees see encampment as a form of imprisonment. The refugees indicate that the restrictions on movement and the conditions in their forced confinement have caused more psychological, economical and health problems than diseases and wars have caused. Their restricted movement has caused and continues to cause their

³¹Abdirahman, O. "Somali Refugees and State Security: Kenya as a Case Study, 2002-2012", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2014.

underdevelopment and deterioration. The Kenya government is not happy with the dispersed settlement of refugees in a border area because it has made that area vulnerable to attack by parties to the conflict from which the refugees have fled in the first place. The study asserts that the government of Kenya is not ready to condone the use of their territories by military groups, allied to the refugees, for launching attacks on their country - Somalia. Indeed, in both such cases, resettlement of refugees (whether in camps or not) may also be in the interest of refugee protection.

Those opposing encampment the study argues would need to demonstrate that refugees do not necessarily enhance the security situation or reduce conflict between refugees and locals. Clearly there will be circumstances in which the security threat posed by certain groups of refugees does require effective measures of control. But, it could be argued that, in normal circumstances, control and especially undue restrictions on refugees' activities within camps - increases rather than decreases the security threat that is posed by refugees. Those working with refugees from Somalia have commonly portrayed Somalis as uncooperative and unruly populations, where the safety of humanitarian aid workers is often put into question.

Finally the study shows that many parents have remained separated from their children who disappeared from the camps because they could not move to search for them or inquire of their whereabouts. Many refugee students have missed their chances for educational opportunities, or have been unable to obtain education certificates earned because they could not receive the permission to move. As a result, many of them join the terrorist groups like *Al-Shabaab* where they are trained in the art of war. Refugee camps in Kenya are like prison camps. There are watchful eyes to ensure that these people remain confined in the camps. Their living conditions are deplorable and their basic human rights are flouted. It is interesting to note that those without any skills, in form of education or technical skills stand a better chance of being recruited into illegal organizations. The Kenya government does not seem to see this. One of the main problems faced by refugees is police harassment. The police carryout regular raids in refugee-dominated areas during which they have been known to search refugee homes, abuse, assault, intimidate and wrongfully arrest refugees. Many refugees are detained in police cells and there is need for the agency to review its mandate and to provide the requisite protection and assistance to asylum seekers the study argues. This study is again a helpful background study on the challenges faced by women refugees in refugee camps.

Faith Buusi Manyala in her work *States' Response to Refugee Crisis: The Case of Somali Refugees in Kenya*, argues that Kenya has been a host to a large number of refugees from mainly the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes Region.³² These refugees are primarily in Kakuma refugee Camp in the north-western part of the country and Dadaab refugee camp in the North Eastern part of Kenya. As a result of these security concerns and the threat to its citizens, Kenya saw it imperative to respond so as to protect its national interests and national security. However, its responses to the Somali refugee influx have been received with great criticism from the international community and civil society groups in the country. Kenya is now caught in a dilemma as to whether to obey its international obligations or whether to defend and pursue its national interests for the sake of protection of the homeland the study argues.

The study unveiled several findings. First, national security interests are vital for any country as a means of ensuring its survival. Among Kenya's vital national security interests is the preservation of territorial integrity and establishing peace, security, law and order. It was evident that most states, and not only Kenya, tend to respond in various ways to refugee influxes for different reasons but it was clear that some especially in the global North react in a bid to safeguard the homeland, protect its citizens and pursue their national interests. With the rise of terrorist attacks in the country and the influx of Somali refugees, the study established that Kenya's national security interests were under threat. The realist school supports the use of force in securing and defending the state's survival. The use of force is prohibited in international law with an exception of when a country's security is under threat after an attack or there is conceivable threat. The study established that Kenya's response by sending its forces to Somalia was in a basis of self-help and they acted within the realm of international law.

The study further established that this response has did not bore any positive outcome. Instead, the *Al-Shabab* terrorist attacks in Kenya have escalated leaving scores of citizens dead. The study further established that instability and insecurity in Somalia threatened Kenya's territorial integrity. Further, Kenya continues to receive new asylum seekers from Somalia who are fleeing the conflict escalated by the *Al-shabaab* in the country. The study hence establishes that Kenya's

³²Buusi, F. "States' Response to Refugee Crisis: The Case of Somali Refugees in Kenya", Master of Arts Thesis, United States International University – Africa. 2016.

political decision to close Dadaab camp and repatriation of the Somali refugees into Somalia places the lives of the thousands of the refugees at risk. This is in contravention of the principle of *non-refoulement* set out in the 1951 UN Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention of which Kenya is a party.

Second, the study shows the importance of international law and institutions in ensuring protection of refugee rights and also in acting as checks and balances to government behavior. The study identified the primary international law instruments that guarantee the rights of refugees and the specific rights that refugees should enjoy. The study set out the particular rights that have been infringed by the Kenyan government from its responses to the Somali refugee influx and the terrorist attacks in the country. The study revealed that the government had the perception that there is a link between the refugees and the insecurity in the country, and in particular as regards the terrorist attacks. The study identified that due to this linkage, the refugees' right to *non-refoulement*, freedom of movement, right to a fair RSD process and right to fair administrative action had been infringed. This was evidenced by some of the responses such as the government directives on relocation, political decisions to close Dadaab camps, the 2007 border closure and the asylum policies that have been adopted.

The study revealed the contradicting judicial decisions by the courts regarding particularly the freedom of movement. It was established that the freedom of movement is not an absolute right. The study further established that it is important for Kenya to oblige with its international obligations. From the study, it is important for Kenya to follow the proper procedure under international law as it pursues its national security interests. The study found that the refugee protection and state protection debate is quite complex considering the changing nature of the international system and the increase in conflicts around the world. This study has important information on the general problem of Somali refugees. It does not however discuss the challenges faced by Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp.

Catherine Wanja Mukira, in her work *Constraints in the Repatriation of Somali Refugees: A Case Study of Urban Somali Refugees in Eastleigh, Nairobi, Kenya* explored the impact of refugee influx in Kenya particularly on insecurity, proliferation of small arms, and economy since 1991 to

2016.³³ The work shows that insecurity in the country has been on the rise with cases of terror attacks in the recent past perpetrated by the *Al-Shabaab* which originates from Somalia. Allegedly, it has been assumed that the Somali refugees in Kenya and especially in Nairobi Eastleigh estate play a vital role in financing and organizing these attacks. However, the recruitment by *Al-Shabaab* has been attributed to the protracted situations of the refugees both in the refugee camps and urban centers.

Besides, the study argues that many criminals from Somalia took the advantage of the porous state of the Kenya- Somali border to smuggle weapons into the country. Additionally, while the influx of refugees makes it hard to identify the perpetrators, the whole has been accused of helping the *Al-Shabaab* militants to camouflage in the society. Additionally, the study asserts that the blame of insecurity laid on the refugees is based on their country of origin, which has suffered numerous civil wars for several decades. Consequently, the political instability in Somalia has led to spillover of effects to the neighboring states specifically Kenya. Seemingly, the porous state of the Kenya Somali border has also aided the criminals especially the *Al-Shabaab* militants to cross over to Kenya and cause menace. Also, the poor management of refugees in the country and the protracted situations in the designated camps has led many immigrants to move into urban centers in search of livelihoods.

The study shows that as a result, Eastleigh estate in Nairobi also known as Mogadishu ndogo (small Mogadishu) has accommodated many Somali refugees who are not registered with the relevant authorities. However, while the place was formerly designated for residence it has been turned over time to be a vibrant commercial center where millions of money are generated on daily basis. While the Kenyan authorities and the general public alleged that the businesses were funded by illegal businesses by the *Al-Shabaab* in the Kenyan coast, the study realized that the capital is generated through contributions and assistance from friends and relatives within and without the country. Movement of Somali refugees from refugee camps to Eastleigh is been attributed to several factors: firstly, being nomadic in nature, the Somali's are used to migration from one place to another in search of better living conditions. Secondly, the protracted situations

³³Wanja, C. "Constraints in the Repatriation of Somali Refugees: A Case Study of Urban Somali Refugees in Eastleigh, Nairobi Kenya", Master of Arts Project Paper, University of Nairobi, 2016.

in the refugee camps have forced many individuals to seek for livelihoods in the urban centers. Finally, help from friends and relatives who have integrated in urban centers aided the refugees in settling in the cities. However, the study established that there is always a live connection between the refugees in the camps, relatives back in the home country and the immigrants in the urban centers.

Nonetheless, there is general assumption in the study that some of the multi-million business people in Eastleigh are actively associated with the *Al-Shabaab* terrorists. Moreover, the recent attacks in Kenya since 2011 to 2016 have been carried out with assistance from within the country raising serious questions about the participation of the already integrated Somali refugees. However, while the *Al-shabaab* militia was established in 2006, their attacks in Kenya commenced in 2011 after the introduction of Kenyan Defense Forces in Somali to fight the militia who had destabilized the tourist economy in the Kenyan coast through tourist abductions. Formed to fight the transitional government in Somalia, the main objective of *Al-shabaab* was centered on internal affairs until Kenya and other AMISON forces invaded Somalia aiming at defeating the terror group. Consequently, the militia focused its energies towards Kenya from 2011 up to the present killing thousands of Kenyan civilians and law enforcement officers.

Meanwhile, a tripartite agreement signed in 2013 by Kenyan government, Somali government, and the UNHCR to oversee voluntary return of Somali refugees to their country. Nonetheless, while the pilot project operated for a period of two years from 2013 to 2015, the study shows. Today, the study argues that only a small portion of the refugees have returned home. Most returnees were refugees who had been in the protracted refugees camps. Nonetheless, most of the urban refugees found in Eastleigh argue that the timing for repatriation was wrong as the situation in Somalia is not yet favorable. More specifically, the study notes that the current situation experienced in Somalia is temporary as more durable solutions for the internal conflicts have not yet been realized. Besides, many of these urban refugees have already reestablished themselves in the city through businesses and regard the move by the Kenyan government to return them to Somalia as a drawback towards their hard earned success. On the other hand, while enjoying the privileges accorded to refugees by the international conventions, the study has realized that the international laws about the rights and privileges of the refugees in the globe do not provide for an

alternative when their status are revoked. The host state has its primary objective as the protection of its citizens from any external force which may cause harm to the nationals. While faced with this dilemma, the Kenyan government which is a signatory of the international conventions has been provided with no other alternative than to demand the repatriation of the Somali refugees in the country. Again this study is important general information on refugees in Kenya. It does not delve into the uniqueness of the challenges facing Somali women refugee in Dadaab Camp.

Hellen A. Mwangovya, in her Study on Social Problems Faced by Women Refugees in Dadaab Refugee camp, North-Eastern Kenya, shows that social problems faced by women refugees at Dadaab refugee camp include poor conditions of shelter, language problems at the service-seeking points, and isolation amongst those who lost family members while migrating to the camp.³⁴ The study also reports conflicts with the surrounding communities who have consistently attacked men and meted sexual violence on some women collecting firewood. In addition, the respondents cited inadequate food rations and levels of malnutrition among their children as a cause of concern. The sanitation situation at the camp is also decried by the respondents and this is aggravated by the fact that many families have had to share the available facilities and this is despite the increase in refugee population. This study though deals with problems faced by women refugees in Dadaab camp, it approaches the subject from the narrow perspective of social problems. The study thus fails to discuss economic and political problems that afflict Somali women refugees at Dadaab came and the coping strategies employed by the women in order for them and their families to survive in a harsh environment.

John O. Jegede in his work Factors Influencing Vulnerability of Women in Refugee Camps: The Case of Dadaab Refugee Camp; Garissa County, Kenya, argues that refugee women at Dadaab Refugee camp who flee their homes in search of sanctuary from violence too often find that there is no meaningful refuge; they have simply escaped violence in conflict to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps.³⁵ Women face particular protection and security risks in refugee camps, as well as the challenges of heading households while suffering from their disadvantaged

³⁴Mwangovya, H. "Social Problems Faced by Women Refugees in Dadaab Refugee camp, North-Eastern Kenya", Master of Arts Project Paper, University of Nairobi 2011.

³⁵Jegede, H. "Factors Influencing Vulnerability of Women in Refugee Camps: The Case of Dadaab Refugee Camp; Garissa County, Kenya," Master of Arts, University of Nairobi 2012.

status as women. Refugee women are vulnerable to rape, sexual assault, and other forms of sexual violence. Moreover, women's feelings of shame and fear of community recrimination prevent women from reporting violence against them to local authorities and their families. Moreover, extended networks of family, neighbours, and community leaders that may have acted as a deterrent to abuse under normal circumstances no longer exist in the abnormal conditions and unfamiliar territory to which women refugees are exposed. Yet, generally women refugees have limited, or no, legal remedies against sexual and domestic violence, due to their unfamiliarity with, and wariness of, local police and judicial authorities, and because of a lack of proactive, timely, systematic, and sensitive responses by the relevant international and local authorities. This work is similar to the present work, but it fails to discuss the coping strategies of Somali refugees. Hence the need to undertake this presents research.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study was based on the feminist theory and the resilience theory. These two theories complement each other and give a better understanding the changing nature of women refugees' challenges and new responsibilities plus their coping strategies.

1.8.1 Feminist Theory

Feminist theory is based on belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes, the movement organized around this belief. Feminist theory is thus an outgrowth of the general movement to empower women worldwide. Feminism can be defined as a recognition and critique of male supremacy combined with effort to change it. Simply saying: Feminist fights for the equality of women and argue that women should share equally in society's opportunities and scare resources.³⁶ The goals of feminism are: to demonstrate the importance of women, to reveal that historically women have been subordinate to men and thirdly to bring about gender equity. Feminist theory is a generalized, wide ranging system of ideas about social life and human experience developed from a woman centered perspective. Feminist theory is woman centered or woman centered in three ways. First its major object of investigation is the situation and

³⁶Delaney, T. "Connecting Sociology to Our Lives: An Introduction to Sociology," New York: Routledge, 2012 p. 311.

experiences of women in society. Second, it treats women as the central subjects in investigative process. Third the feminist theory is critical and activist on behalf of women.

Feminist research has shown that women's lives have a quality of incidentalism, as women find themselves caught up in agendas that shift and change the vagaries of marriage, divorce, widowhood and precariousness of most women's wage –sector occupations. In their daily activities women find themselves not so much pursuing goals in linear sequences but responding continuously to the needs and demand of others.³⁷ This is very true for the refugee women at Dadaab. These women have been uprooted from their countries, left their linear sequence of life and starts responding to the immediate needs of their families in refugee camps. This theory was therefore used to analyse the challenges faced by women in Dadaab refugee camp.

Feminist theory offers a perspective for understanding human behaviour in the social environment by centering women and issues that women face in contemporary society. Feminism reflects “a world view that values women and that confronts systematic injustices based on gender”³⁸ A feminist lens asks us to see individuals, groups, family, and organizations in their social, political, economic, ethnic, and cultural contexts. The intersection of these contexts produces the potential for oppression that is rooted in gendered relationships.

Feminist theory is most often associated with the rights of women. This is both simplistic and reductionistic The Theory is about understanding our world and everyday experiences, something that feminist theory fails to do.³⁹The oppression of women is not simply related to some other social relationship such as a class system as feminist theory states. This is a weakness that calls for the use of another theory in order to understand the plight and resilience of Somali Refugee women.

Given their status as women, Somali women refugees suffer the most by the displacement and refugee hood. The Somali women refugees suffer from the patriarchal nature of the Somalia community. During the conflict, the Somali women suffer the difficult conditions of war in their home country; they have witnessed and suffered the deaths of their loved ones. At the camp,

³⁷Ibid, p. 312.

³⁸Chinn P. & Wheeler C. “Feminism and nursing: Can nursing afford to remain aloof from the women's movement?” Nursing Outlook, 33(2), 1985, pp.74-77

³⁹Andermahr, L. & Wolkowitz, C. “A concise glossary of feminist theory,” London: Arnold Press, 1997, p.7.

Women and young girls in Dadaab refugees' camps had to assume more gendered responsibilities, such as caring for younger siblings and the elderly, along with the burdens of other domestic work. These added responsibilities have both short-term and long-term impacts on the welfare of Somali women refugees. Furthermore, the gender roles that women and girls were forced to take often exposed them to gender-based violence and even death. Many of the women and girls were raped only because they were performing the traditional gendered duty of collecting firewood.

1.8.2 Resilience Theory

Resilience is primarily defined as the capacity to maintain competent functioning in the face of major life stressors.⁴⁰ Resilience is defined in terms of the presence of protective factors -personal, social, familial and institutional safety nets - which enable individuals to resist life stress.⁴¹ An important component of resilience however, is the hazardous, adverse and threatening life circumstances that result in individual vulnerability. An individual's resilience at any moment is calculated by the ratio between the presence of protective factors and the presence of hazardous circumstances.⁴² Studies have synthesized four patterns of resilience from the individual resilience literature.⁴³ These four patterns are first, dispositional pattern. This pattern relates to physical and ego-related psychosocial attributes that promote resilience. These entail those aspects of an individual that promote a resilient disposition towards life stressors, and can include a sense of autonomy or self-reliance, a sense of basic self-worth, good physical health and good physical appearance.

Second, we have the rational pattern which places concerns an individual's roles in society and his/her relationships with others. These roles and relationships can range from close and intimate relationships to those with the broader societal systems. Third is the situational pattern. The situational pattern addresses those aspects involving a linking between an individual and a stressful situation. This can include an individual's problem solving ability, the ability to evaluate situations and responses, and the capacity to take action in response to a situation. Finally there is the philosophical pattern. The philosophical pattern refers to an individual's worldview of life

⁴⁰Kaplan, C.et al, "Promoting resilience strategies: A modified consultation model," *Journal of Social Work in Education*, 18, 1996, pp. 158-168.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

paradigm. This can include various beliefs that promote resilience, such as belief that positive meaning can be found in all experiences, the belief that self-development is important, the belief that life is purposeful. The capacity of an individual to cope during difficulty is central to their resilience.

Pearlin and Schooler have defined coping as "the thing that people do to avoid being harmed by life strain". Pearlman and Schooler conducted 2300 interviews in the urbanized Chicago area and through content analysis of these interviews identified three main types of coping that serve distinct functions. First there is responses that change the situation out of which strainful experience arises. People must first recognize the situation which is causing the stress; something which is not always possible. People may know how to change the situation directly. Acting on a situation to change it may result in even more stressors, which in turn inhibits further action. Some situations are not amenable to change efforts. It is interesting to note that much of resilience theory and research has revolved around situations which are impervious to change efforts, such as being in a concentration camp, having a terminal illness, being in a war, growing up in poverty, etc. In such circumstances, little can be done to directly change the situation causing the stress, other forms of coping are thus required.⁴⁴

Secondly we have the responses that control the meaning of the strainful experience after it occurs but before the emergence of stress. Pearlman and Schooler found this to be the most common coping type. This coping can entail making positive comparisons which reduce the perceived severity of the stressful situation, selectively ignoring parts of the situation so as to concentrate on some less stressful aspects of the situation, and reducing the relative importance of the stress situation in relation to one's overall life situation.⁴⁵

Finally, we have responses that function more for the control of stress itself after it has emerged. This coping does not attack the situation itself, either directly or through meaning or perception. Rather, the focus of the coping is on the resultant stress itself and entails basic stress management responses. Out of the benefits and values in the culture people are able to create a strategy for

⁴⁴Pearlin, L and Schooler, C. "The structure of coping," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 19, 1978, pp. 2–21.

⁴⁵Ibid.

manageable suffering, a strategy that can convert the endurance of unavoidable hardships into a moral virtue.⁴⁶

The concept of resilience provides a useful lens for looking into established objectives and to review literature. This theory will be useful in explaining the challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp and how these refugees are able to maneuver the tough times to cope and make meaning out of their lives through resilience.

1.9 Research Hypotheses

- i. Conflict in Somalia was the cause of Somali women refugees.
- ii. Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp are not protected by UNHCR.
- iii. Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp engage in trade as a coping mechanism.

1.10 Research Methodology

The study relied on both the secondary and primary sources of data. Secondary data were obtained from scholarly literatures (both published and unpublished) from online sources, Jstor and books, journals and articles from private libraries and University of Nairobi library. Apart from published written materials the study also made use of written materials. These included graduate projects papers and theses, and reports from the United Nations High Commission for refugees and United Nations agencies who have assisted in the running of the Dadaab refugee camp, reports by the Kenya government, Non-Governmental Agencies reports and report from the various officers writing on the Dadaab Refugee Camp in general and women in particular.

The primary sources of data included interviews with the refugees themselves. Interviews using unstructured questionnaire guide were held from the individual refugees and in Focused Group Discussions (FGDs). Interviews were also held with the camp managers, UNHCR officials and Government officials tasked with the management of Dadaab camp. 7 camp managers, government and UNHCR official were interviewed through the use of questionnaires. A total of 36 refugees were interviewed both individually and through FGDs.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Another primary source of data used at Dadaab camp was through the use of observation during the case study session. As the researcher was carrying out the case study, the respondents would ask the researcher to observe some of the challenges facing the Somali women refugees. Another observation was through the researcher walking around the camp to observe. By taking a walk around the camp, the researcher was able to observe the challenges the Somali women refugees face in their day to day activities. These approaches provided an opportunity for utilization of snowballing and purposive sampling. The camp managers, UNHCR and government officials were identified through purposive sampling where I identified respondents based on their knowledge about the camp. Thereafter these officials directed me to women that I could interview. Among these were women leaders and opinion shapers study selected a sample from the participants or group of participants that are judged to be informative for the purpose of the research. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed for relevance. Subsequently, verbatim quotes from the field were used in writing of this report.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP

2.0 Introduction

For several decades Africa has witnessed many armed and violent conflicts which have forced millions of people out of their homelands into neighbouring countries and beyond. In General the refugee problem is one of the human phenomena in the world. The problem has been on the rise as the conflicts in countries are on an upward trend. The upward trend has been attributed to the increasing domestic or internal wars in many countries of Africa and the world all over, such wars have been unprecedented in the horn of Africa and within the great lake regions. Sudan, Eritrea, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi are some of the countries in the two regions which have had prostrated conflicts over different times. But Somalia epitomizes for many, a situation of constant crisis, a black hole of death and disaster and perhaps the largest contributor to the refugee problem in Eastern Africa.⁴⁷This chapter looks at the history of Somali refugees in Kenya and how these refugees have been protected by international treaties and other refugee regimes.

2.1 Crisis and Displacement of refugee from Somalia to Kenya

The current displacement crisis in Somalia is part of longer trajectories of governance failure and conflict in the south-central Somalia. Three main phases may be highlighted. First, the early 1990s saw a major displacement crisis with the onset of civil war. In 1991, the post-Cold War ousting of Siad Barre's authoritarian regime was followed by the collapse of the State into factional violence, accompanied by massive displacement from south-central Somalia into Kenya. Key strongmen established themselves as "warlords", mobilizing clans people to contest control of key resources. Militarily strong clans invaded new areas to plunder assets and appropriate land, evicting weaker groups, particularly minority farming communities.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Chingono, M. "Violent Conflicts in Africa: Towards a Holistic Understanding," *World Journal of Social Science Research* Vol. 3, No. 2, 2016, pp. 199.

⁴⁸Hammond, L. "History, Overview, Trends and Issues in Major Somali Refugee Displacements in the Near Region (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Yemen)," *Bildhaan* Vol. 13, 2013.p.2.

A proliferation of armed gangs of youths exacerbated urban insecurity. Large-scale, high-profile international peacekeeping interventions between 1992 and 1995 failed to restore State institutions and security, and the international community largely withdrew politically from Somalia in 1995. The combination of conflict and drought during this period provoked a massive humanitarian crisis and large-scale internal and international displacement, with the registered Somali refugee population in Kenya peaking at some 285, 000 in 1992. This was followed by a quieter period from 1996 to 2006. A relative localization and stabilization of conflict dynamics in south-central Somalia entailed much less fresh movement.⁴⁹

But it also allowed for only limited return, with many people becoming stuck in protracted displacement. Towards the end of this period, building on neighbourhood networks of *sharia* courts, and backed by Mogadishu's business community, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) emerged as a major political force, winning a decisive victory against US-financed warlords in mid-2006. The ICU rapidly expanded its control throughout most areas of south-central Somalia, and won strong popular support for having restored relative peace and security as well as its programme of public improvements.

Since 2006 the transformation of the Somali civil war in the context of the global war on terror, combined with environmental problems, produced a fresh displacement crisis. Hostility to the idea of a strong Islamist State in Somalia propelled foreign intervention. Ethiopian troops dislodged the ICU and installed the internationally-sponsored Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Mogadishu, with the tacit support of the United States and European States. While the ICU fragmented politically, its hardliner militia wing *Al-Shabaab* mounted vigorous armed opposition against the TFG, Ethiopian, and African Union peacekeeping forces. There was a dramatic intensification of urban violence compared with earlier years. Despite the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops at the end of 2008, and the inauguration of the moderate Islamist Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed as President, the TFG has failed either to defeat or to negotiate effectively with *Al-Shabaab*, which controls large parts of south-central Somalia. While making efforts to re-establish State institutions, the TFG and its foreign military backers have been implicated in major human

⁴⁹Ibid.p.2.

rights abuses, including arbitrary arrest and detention, restrictions on free speech and assembly, and indiscriminate attacks harming civilians.⁵⁰

Since 2009 the TFG has been under increasing international pressure to protect the population in the territory it controls. Meanwhile, initially positive assessments by civilians of the situation in some Shabaab held areas gave way to major concerns, as severe punishment, recruitment, political decrees affecting many aspects of social behavior, and taxation rules were imposed which many people found oppressive and disruptive. Many people have been displaced by the political violence. Some have fled specific persecution by armed actors; others have fled the shifting frontlines where the TFG, *Al-Shabaab* and other military actors clash.⁵¹

Political violence and governance failure also prompt other problems, or let those problems develop unchecked. Most prominently, in 2011 the worst drought in more than 50 years has been allowed to wreak havoc with rural livelihoods. Both *Al-Shabaab*, which rejects Western influence, and Western donors, which consider it (*Al-Shabaab*) a terrorist organization, have restricted international aid to *Shabaab* held territories, allowing the humanitarian crisis to burgeon largely unregulated. By September 2011, some four million people were in need of emergency aid and the situation in parts of south central Somalia had reached famine proportions. Hunger has forced people to move to places where they can access assistance, with many making arduous journeys to neighboring countries. Large numbers of destitute agro-pastoralist and farming families from southern Somalia have been arriving in Kenya in areas also seriously affected by drought – in very poor physical shape.⁵²

This may, retrospectively, come to be viewed as a fourth phase of accelerated displacement. Importantly, aid restrictions inside Somalia mean that the old maxim that most environment-related displacement is internal no longer holds. These broad dynamics of Somali displacement has not been in a situation of constant crisis and displacement over the last 20 years, but that there was a relative stabilization of protracted displacement in the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s. There are effectively two refugee populations in Kenya: established, long-term refugees who fled the

⁵⁰Ibid, p.3.

⁵¹Abdirahman, O. “Somali Refugees and State Security,” p.2.

⁵²Ibid.

clan conflicts of the early 1990s, and recent refugees who fled the violence of the late 2000s. While some people have moved by overland, sea, and air routes to the Arab Peninsula, Europe, southern Africa, and further afield, the majority of Somali refugees remain in eastern Africa. In recent years Kenya has been the primary regional destination for refugees from south-central Somalia. As of early October 2011, there were some 908,000 Somali refugees registered in neighbouring countries, with Kenya hosting some 511,000, more than half. With the number of Somali refugees nearly treble what it was in 2006, dealing with this situation will remain a key political issue in Kenya in the months and years to come.⁵³

2.2 Somali Refugees

Somalia has over the years contributed numerous refugees who have generally sought refuge in the neighbouring Horn of Africa countries. Waldron and Hasci identify three major waves of refugees related to certain different events. These are the 1977-78 Ethio-Somali war, the bombing of Hargeisa in 1988 and the overthrowing of Siad Barre in 1991. The Ethio-Somali war dispatched refugees from both Ethiopia and Somalia. These displacements were followed by actions that are clearly contrary to the provisions of refugee law. Siad Barre for instance took advantage of the situation by training and arming bands of refugees from Ogaden.⁵⁴ These groups were later sent back to Ogaden to prepare the ground for a major offensive by the Somali side. In the post Ogaden war era, opposition in the northern part of Somalia inhabited mainly by the Isaaq continued unabated resulting in numerous Isaaq Somalis seeking refuge in Ethiopia. This group of refugees became fundamental in the creation of the SNM party that was later on to dominate the northern part of Somalia.⁵⁵ The SNM activities continued to intensify and in May 1988, it attacked the northern city of Hargeisa. Barre reacted by bombing Hargeisa leaving tens of thousands innocent civilians dead. Consequently, more than 7,000,000 Somalis fled to Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya, while hundreds of thousands of others were displaced within the country. The war also forced numerous Ethiopian refugees living in northern Somali to return to Ethiopia where they faced perilous conditions in camps hastily in eastern Ethiopia. Post-Cold War Somalia has ceased to exist as a unified nation as created by the colonial powers, soon after the Hargeisa conflict, self-

⁵³ Hammond "History, Overview, Trends and Issues," p.6.

⁵⁴ Kumssa, A. "Conflict and Migration: The Case of Somali Refugees in Northeastern Kenya" *Global Social Welfare Journal*, Volume 1, Issue 4, 2014 p 145–156.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.146.

interested and power-starved clan movements mushroomed both within and outside the country, although none of these movements, founded on narrow clan-based interests was able to rally national support, they managed to plunge the country into war and suffering that saw many people killed, dispossessed and displaced.⁵⁶ By the time Siad Barre was ousted in 1991, many fighting had led to destruction of major towns and many international agencies working in the country had evacuated their staff. Indeed, the Somalis themselves evacuated the situation thus: 'the tragedy in recent Somali history is not the dictatorship of Siad Barre but the legacy left behind'. This legacy of destruction and anarchy drove hundred thousands of the Somalis into neighbouring countries, majority of them settled in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti.⁵⁷

2.3 Mass Movement of Somali Refugees into Kenya

As momentum against the Somali government grew, efforts to remove Siad Barre from power intensified. The conflict spread to Puntland and South Central Somalia, causing displacement towards Kenya, and from Puntland to Yemen, to accelerate. Between 1991 and 1992, the number of refugees in Kenya increased by nearly 280,000. Refugee numbers in Yemen doubled from 30,000 to 60,000.⁵⁸

Drought in 1991 and 1992 exacerbated the effects of the violence, and disrupted food production, availability of water for human and animal use, local markets and income from international trade. Pastoral and labour migration had long been “normal” coping strategies but such movement became impossible given the fighting going on in the country. This caused malnutrition and mortality rates to skyrocket and people to abandon their homes. One survey of a displaced camp in Baidoa town found under-five mortality rates of 69/10,000 persons/day, 35 times higher than the emergency threshold caused by malnutrition, measles and dysentery. It is important to recognize the ways that the conflict and drought affected Somalis with different livelihood backgrounds since this influenced the composition of the refugee population. While displacement was occurring from all parts of Somalia, those from South-Central regions were particularly hard-hit, coming as they did from agricultural and agro-pastoral areas and thus relying on access to

⁵⁶Hammond, “History, Overview, Trends and Issues,”

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid, p.10.

farmland and to agricultural markets more than their northern pastoralist neighbours. The south is also more heterogeneous in terms of clan makeup, and fighting between clans often resulted in the seizure of clan territories which deprived people of their main source of subsistence, making distress migration inevitable. So called minority clan members, members of the Rahanweyn clan group and those who have come to be known as Somali Bantu or *Jareer* were particularly disadvantaged, lacking a political voice or armed militias to protect their interests. Their exclusion has continued to the present day, and their numbers are disproportionately reflected in refugee populations in neighbouring countries.

Kenya had hosted approximately 30,000 refugees prior to March 1991. Within a year, the number soared to nearly 300,000. Refugee camps were located close to the border with Somalia and along the coast with the Kenyan government reluctant to relocate the refugees further inland due to internal security concerns. Emergency conditions in the camps prevailed until 1993, with high levels of malnutrition and outbreaks of measles, cholera and other diseases causing many who were already weakened to die. In 1993, Human Rights Watch documented high incidences of rape, physical attack and theft in the camps. The perpetrators included local populations who were in most cases fellow refugees and well-armed bandits from inside Somalia. This crisis forced refugees to flee to other countries like Yemen, Djibouti and Ethiopia.⁵⁹

2.3.1 Repatriation and Resettlement

Health and nutrition conditions in the Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti camps improved from 1993 as a result of improved assistance to refugees. However, the improving picture caused donor support to begin to wane. This, together with a modest improvement in security conditions inside Somalia and return of the rains, encouraged some people to repatriate relatively soon. Between 1992 and 1994, UNHCR carried out a Cross Border Operation into areas of southern Somalia in order to prepare for and facilitate return of the refugees. 360 Quick Impact Projects (QIPs) were put in place with a value of US\$7.9 million out of an overall budget for return and rehabilitation of \$35.6 million. It is estimated that more than 170,000 people were assisted to repatriate during

⁵⁹AKuka,V. "African Refugee Problem: A case study of UNHCR'S Assistance to Refugees in the Horn of Africa," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2002, p. 5.

this period. While some remained inside the country, many found return unsustainable and eventually, after a poor harvest or escalation of violence made their way back into Kenya.⁶⁰

In 1994, six camps were closed in Kenya as a result of the repatriation and some relocation of people to the Dadaab and Kakuma camps.⁶¹ A 1996 evaluation of the Cross Border Operation however noted that while successful in encouraging people to return the effectiveness of the operation was hampered in several ways. Three of the most important limitations of the operation were: a) the likelihood of deteriorating security conditions inside Somalia, thereby triggering fresh displacement; b) the short-term impact of most of the QIPs such that they were unlikely to be sustained by local administrations or communities who were more concerned with their immediate survival, and c) a lack of collaboration with other organizations with a mandate for rehabilitation and development, meaning that “UNHCR in effect launched the project alone. “Back in the camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, the refugees who remained adapted to life there, however precarious and insecure. ⁶²Unable for the most part to move legally and freely, seek employment, or engage in farming or livestock rearing outside the camps, a sort of urbanized, subsidized existence developed. Some refugees found ways of supplementing their support from their ration entitlements by working informally. Schools and clinics were set up to support the refugees. Resettlement to third countries benefitted only a relatively small number of refugees.⁶³

From 1996 to 2006, a period of relative calm prevailed in Somalia. The number of new arrivals in the refugee camps slowed as some of the refugees relocated on their own to urban centres inside the host countries or returned to Somalia to try to resume their agricultural or agro- pastoral activities or took their chances in the larger Somali cities and towns.⁶⁴ Many of those displaced from Somaliland were encouraged to return by the establishment of the Government of Somaliland and an end to the civil war there. In the southern and central regions, pockets of stability developed where effective local administrative structures were established by communities themselves. The violence that prevailed was relatively short -term and localized.⁶⁵ However, one of the negative

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Kumssa, A. et al, “Conflict and MigrationThe Case of Somali Refugees in Northeastern Kenya” Global Social Welfare, Volume 1, Issue 4, 2014, p.148.

⁶²Hammond, “History, Overview, Trends and Issues,” p.6.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Kumssa, A. et al, “Conflict and Migration,”

⁶⁵Kumssa, A. et al, “Conflict and Migration”

hallmarks of this time was the entrenchment of humanitarian aid inside Somalia as a key resource that could be manipulated for personal or political gain by those who had access to with the slowing of displacement from Somalia to neighbouring countries and recognition that conditions in some parts of the country had improved considerably, the late 1990s featured a focus on organized return of approximately 200,000 refugees from Ethiopia to Somaliland. In addition, 19,000 refugees were voluntarily repatriated from Djibouti to Somaliland between 2002 and 2007. UNHCR distributed cash grants, food assistance for a period of nine months and limited household items to returnees who were supported by the Somaliland Ministry of Rehabilitation, Reintegration and Reconstruction (MRRR). Their return was facilitated by provision of hundreds of QIPS between 1997 and 2005. Many of these projects were criticized for lack of sustainability and failing to make a difference in ensuring that returnees had access to basic services and livelihoods.⁶⁶

Security concerns and lack of administrative capacity prevented large-scale return of people from Kenya to South Central Somalia although smaller numbers went back from Ethiopia and Kenya to Puntland and from Djibouti to Mogadishu. Life after return proved particularly challenging given the extremely vulnerable state of the civilians and their inability to provide support to their returning relatives. Many people repatriated from refugee camps to Somalia only to become internally displaced persons living in destitution in and around urban centres. In 2014, thousands of former returnees remain encamped in settlements around the major towns of Somaliland and Puntland.⁶⁷

2.3.2 Renewed Displacement: 2006 - 2012

The relative calm that had prevailed for a decade was shattered in the latter half of 2006. The Union of Islamic Courts, which had begun to set up an administration in Mogadishu and some of the larger cities and which had enjoyed widespread support in many parts of Somalia was ousted by Ethiopian troops with support from its international strategic partners. This perceived invasion of Somalia by a foreign army served as a rallying point for the emerging al Shabaab movement. Al Shabaab was a new configuration of hardline militias that had previously been active in

⁶⁶Hammond, "History, Overview, Trends and Issues," p.6.

⁶⁷Ibid.

Wahabist - Salafist movements in the country. It took as its *raison d'être* the defense of Somalia against what it is called the aggression of foreign invaders. The violence began to escalate dramatically from the beginning of 2007, with indiscriminate violence particularly in and around Mogadishu prompting many people, who had managed to survive in the city for years despite the insecurity, to flee making this the most violent period in Mogadishu since the collapse of the state. Many people fled in stages, seeking refuge first with their rural relatives and, when the coping strategies of these hosts became exhausted, both those displaced from the cities and their hosts began the move out of the country towards the refugee camps in Kenya and Ethiopia.⁶⁸

The Ethiopian military withdrew from Somalia at the end of 2009. With the Transitional Federal Government controlling only a very small space within Mogadishu around the Presidential “Villa Somalia” and unable to provide protection or assistance to areas where vulnerability was worsening, *Al-Shabaab* gained ground widely throughout the country. By July 2011, the serious drought that had been building over the previous two years and the economic effects of the conflict and restrictions on movement and trade that had gripped much of South Central Somalia for the preceding four years resulted in the emergence of the worst famine in the region had seen for 25 years. The interriverine areas of Somalia (between the Juba and Shabelle rivers) which are normally the most productive agricultural areas of the country were the worst affected. The use of mobility for strategic interests by warring parties continued: *Al Shabaab* tried to prevent people from leaving the country, attacking refugees on their way to the Kenyan and Ethiopian borders, and even carrying out attacks inside the Dadaab refugee complex. The Transitional Federal Government, with support from AMISOM troops, continued to try to attract people to areas under its control by offering assistance to people in the few places to which it had access. As a result, people poured into urban IDP centres on such a scale that the government lacked the capacity to respond effectively. By June 2012, ICRC reported that there were 368,288 IDPs living in Mogadishu, 40 percent of whom had come into the city within the preceding twelve months.⁶⁹

These dynamics were abetted by international donor policies that prevented aid agencies from disbursing funds that might end up in the hands of *Al-Shabaab* and by *Al-Shabaab's* decisions to

⁶⁸Deresso, S. “The Somalia Conflict Implications for peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts,” Institute for Security Studies, September 2009, p.1.

⁶⁹Ibid.

ban most agencies working in areas it controlled. WFP withdrew from providing food to areas of Southern Somalia outside TFG control in January 2010, leaving ICRC as the main provider of food aid until it too was banned by *Al-Shabaab* in January 2012. This effectively meant that as needs increased, the areas worst affected by famine were out of most aid agencies' reach. Some NGOs were able to work in areas under *Al-Shabaab* control provided they did so quietly and on a small scale. However, those providing food aid and medical support (particularly vaccination) faced resistance from *Al-Shabaab* which saw their assistance as undermining local resilience and being politically motivated.⁷⁰

The result of these combined factors was massive displacement within the region: 113,500 new arrivals were registered in the Dadaab camps between January and August 2011. In Ethiopia, which had been hosting 40,000 refugees in two camps near Dolo Ado during 2009 and 2010, 100,000 new arrivals were recorded during the first eight months of 2011 and additional refugees were being sheltered in camps near the city of Jijiga in the east. The Ethiopian government established three new camps to house the new arrivals but emergency conditions prevailed until at least three months after the declaration of a famine in July 2011. A nutritional assessment of the Dolo Ado camps cited early surveys among the new arrivals showing global acute malnutrition (GAM) rates of fifty (fifteen considered indicative of a serious emergency) and severe acute malnutrition (SAM) rates of approximately 23 percent mortality rates for children under five were twice the level indicating an emergency, at 4/10,000/day. These indicators underlined just how severely weakened the population was when it arrived in the camps. It took three months for emergency conditions to be brought under control.⁷¹

2.3.3 The Post-Transitional Period: 2012 to the Present

In September 2011, *Al-Shabaab* carried out a “tactical withdrawal” from most of Mogadishu under pressure from TFG and AMISOM forces. The TFG/AMISOM forces went on to gain control of many of the larger towns in the south over the following twelve months. These gains were accompanied by a political process that brought about an end to the transitional period in September 2012 and the selection of a new Parliament, President, Prime Minister and Cabinet. In

⁷⁰Hammond, “History, Overview, Trends and Issues,” p.6.

⁷¹Deresso, “The Somalia Conflict,” p.2.

September 2012, *Al-Shabaab*'s final remaining urban base, Kismayo, was captured by Somali Federal Government (SFG)/AMISOM forces. At the time, the Somali Federal Government with the support of AMISOM took control of the major urban areas in South Central Somalia. *Al-Shabaab*, however, still controlled large swathes of rural territory. Through regular attacks in Mogadishu, Kismayo and other cities in Somalia, as well as attacks in Kenya and Uganda, it has demonstrated that it is still a potent regional security threat.

Following the ejection of *al-Shabaab* from Kismayo in September 2012, a power struggle ensued over the administration of Jubbaland, an area of southwestern Somalia which lies along the Kenya border and which includes Kismayo. In August 2013, an agreement was signed between the Somali Federal Government and Jubbaland President Ahmed Mohamed Islam (Madoobe). There is hope that greater security in Jubbaland may make it possible for refugees to return to it. While this vision may hold some merit for the long term, relations between the Federal Government and the regional administration are still being established. Successful return will depend upon putting in place the necessary services and ensuring that relief and development organizations have access to the area to support returnees and local communities.

These challenges of realizing a functioning federal system were also key to promoting governance and return in other areas. Despite the challenges the new government faced, the post-transition period brought renewed but cautious optimism about the future of the country. The number of new arrivals in neighbouring countries fell. Some host countries, encouraged by the Government's successes and being attentive as well to public pressure over the terrorist attacks for which *Al-Shabaab* claimed responsibility, have urged the acceleration of return to their country of the Somali refugees. Perhaps out of optimism, but also likely in reaction to growing intolerance towards them and to the insecurity they have experienced in the refugee camps.⁷²

2.4 Protection of Refugees in Camps

The word 'protection' is always unclear hence the lack or denial of protection is a principal feature of the refugee character of which its deficiency is sought to be met by international law.⁷³ Refugee

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

protection originates from human rights contexts in which every human being has the right to life, liberty and security, of which may easily be jeopardized by breach of the principle of refuge. Protection, in the refugee law context encompasses an unrestricted human rights competence and is based on the connection between the rights or refugees and solutions to the refugee situation.⁷⁴

Primarily, the state has the responsibility of ensuring refugee receive protection.⁷⁵ However, international organizations and in particular, UNHCR, also play a role in refugee protection and since its inception, it has partnered closely with governments in ensuring refugee receive necessary protection. Although under international law, states retain the discretion of granting asylum, they are, however, bound by the *non-refoulement* principle which prohibits returning refugees to persecutions or similar situations of personal danger. Hence, the country of first refuge has the territorial responsibility to offer protection against any *non-refoulement* eventuality in accordance with human rights and international law standards. Refugees are an integral part of the international community hence they are guaranteed rights and freedoms. These rights and freedom are enshrined in various international, regional and national instruments.⁷⁶

2.4.1 Kenya and the Protection of Refugees Dadaab Camp

Kenya is a signatory to most of international instruments on the protection of refugees. Article 14 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights points out that ‘everyone has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution’.⁷⁷ States have a right, rather than a duty to grant asylum and this originates from their sovereign right to control admission into their territory. Principally, it is in the state’s interest to determine who to admit into its territory and whom to deny entry. However, in as much as every state has the right to adopt its own asylum adjudication process in pursuit of its national interests, it has to ensure that the adjudication process aims at ensuring that the minimum standards set out in the international human rights framework, refugee treaties and customary international law are met.⁷⁸

⁷⁴Goodwin-Gill, S. “The Dynamic of International Refugee Law,” *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Volume 25, Issue 4, 1 December 2013, p. 651–666.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.p. 561.

⁷⁷UDHR, Article 14.

⁷⁸Goodwin-Gill, “The Dynamic of International Refugee Law,”

The right to grant asylum is exercised by the government in the light of its own interest, and of its obligations as a representative of social order. Indeed, the competence of states to grant asylum upon ‘the undisputed rule of international law’ that every state has exclusive control over the individuals in its territory, including all matters relating to exclusion, admission, expulsion, and protection against the jurisdiction by other states is well documented in history. The permissive nature of the ‘right to seek and enjoy asylum’ contained in the Universal Declaration Human Rights , Article 14 (1) , the failure to include duty to grant asylum in the Declaration on Territorial asylum, and in the failed attempt to draft a binding international convention on the subject of asylum clearly indicates the position of states as regards asylum.⁷⁹

The right does not find expression in the 1951 Convention or the 1967 Protocol and neither is it mentioned in the 1950 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Statute. However, the final act of the conference that adopted the 1951 Convention, recommended that “governments continue to receive refugees in their territories and act in a true spirit of international co-operation in order that these refugees may find asylum and the possibility of resettlement.” Similarly, the OAU Convention does not also specifically speak of the right to be granted asylum but rather, asylum is influenced by the hospitality of the host country. Asylum is granted for humanitarian purposes and not as a right.⁸⁰

Further, in its preamble, 1969 OAU Convention encourages a Pan - African solution to dealing with the refugee problems in the continent and it also explicitly ‘recognizes the need for an essentially humanitarian approach towards solving the problems of refugees’. The African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights under Article 12(3) is another regional instrument which affirms the right to seek asylum like the other instruments, there is no right to receive asylum or an obligation on states to grant asylum.’ However, despite there not being an international law obligation on states to grant asylum, states are still bound by the customary international law principle of *non-refoulement* as defined in Article 33 of the 1951 Convention.⁸¹

⁷⁹OAU Convention, Article 2(1), 1969.

⁸⁰Goodwin-Gill, “The Dynamic of International Refugee Law,” p. 653.

⁸¹Elihu, L. and Bethlehem, D. “The Scope and Content of the Principle of Non-Refoulement,” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Paper, 2001, p. 4.

UNHCR affirms that,

A State presented with an asylum request, at its borders or on its territory, has and retains the immediate refugee protection responsibilities relating to admission, at least on a temporary basis. This responsibility extends to the provision of basic reception conditions and includes access to fair and efficient asylum procedures.⁸²

UNHCR emphasis states that refugees have freedom of movement, expression and thought as well as freedom from torture and other forms of abuse.⁸³

A state has the responsibility to protect refugees residing within its territory and accord them the same standard of treatment as the citizens of the state as codified in the 1951 Convention.⁸⁴ The host country has a role to play in ensuring that refugees are protected against physical, emotional, and psychological harm. Consequently, Kenya has an obligation to protect refugees since it is a member of the international community. In this regard, the primary goal should be to ensure that refugees live in a safe environment and that their rights and freedoms are protected. Refugees, just like the citizens have rights and freedoms that ought to be protected and guaranteed.

The Kenyan government thus has a responsibility of meeting the basic needs of the refugees. The basic needs will include food, shelter, clothing, health facilities, education and security amongst others.⁸⁵ However, UNHCR and the international community have an obligation to assist the host countries, especially when there is a humanitarian crisis. In the case of Kenya, where there is a continuous influx of refugees, the Kenyan government has to be assisted in feeding the refugees and providing other services.

2.4.2 UNHCR and the Protection of Refugees

UNHCR which is a humanitarian and non-political organization is mandated by the United Nations to protect refugees and help them find solutions to their plight. The primary role of the UNHCR is to protect the rights of the refugees and to respond to emergencies. The UNHCR works in close collaboration with other institutions in order to have permanent solutions to the challenge of the refugees. In realizing its core mandate, the UNHCR also works in collaboration with member

⁸²Ibid.p. 5.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Steiner, N. and Loescher, G. "Problems of Protection: The UNHCR, Refugees, and Human Rights," London: Routledge, 2003, p 34.

⁸⁵Ibid.

states, offering legal protection. UNHCR also expanded its mandate to include provision of material relief in major emergencies, either directly or through partner agencies.⁸⁶

At the international level, UNHCR promotes international refugee agreements and monitors government compliance with international refugee law. UNHCR staffs promote refugee law among all people who are involved in refugee protection, including border guards, journalists, NGOs, lawyers, judges and senior governmental officials. At the field level, UNHCR staff work to protect refugees through a wide variety of activities, including responding to emergencies, relocating refugee camps away from border areas to improve safety; ensuring that refugee women have a say in food distribution and social services; reuniting separated families; providing information to refugees on conditions in their home country so they can make informed decisions about return; documenting a refugee's need for resettlement to a second country of asylum; visiting detention centres; and giving advice to governments on draft refugee laws, policies and practices.⁸⁷

UNHCR also seeks long-term solutions to the plight of refugees by helping refugees repatriate to their home country, if conditions are conducive to return, integrate into their countries of asylum, or resettle in second countries of asylum. Thus, the UNHCR facilitates voluntary repatriation of refugees and works toward ensuring that areas for refugee resettlement are safe and have resources such as clean water and food. UNHCR also has a significant role to play in fostering the integration of refugees in the country that has granted them asylum. For instance, UNHCR has in the past pleaded with state parties to give full citizenship to refugees who do not wish to return to their countries of origin. Indeed, UNHCR encourages the local people who are persuaded to accept the refugees as part of the society. This includes supporting them in activities that lead to national development. Towards this end UNHCR works closely with the governments in fostering the process of integration.⁸⁸

UNHCR has also a role to promote an international legal framework. It achieves this by working closely with member states, especially on amending refugee laws. UNHCR ensures that refugee legislation in every host country conforms to the international standards, as stipulated in the 1951

⁸⁶Lauterpacht, E. and Bethlehem, D. "The Scope and Content of the Principle of Non-Refoulement," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Paper, 2001, p. 7.

⁸⁷Steiner, N. and Loescher, G. "Problems of Protection," p.35.

⁸⁸Ibid.

Convention. For instance, UNHCR has been vocal on its stance on the security (Amendment) law in Kenya which infringes on the rights of refugees by limiting the number to 150,000 refugees at any time in the country and this has been through supporting the civil society groups such as Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), *Katiba* Institute and *Kituo cha Sheria* in facilitating the cases in courts.⁸⁹ UNHCR also supports governments and legal institutions in strengthening their refugee laws in relation to the international laws.

Another important role played by the UNHCR is to assist refugees through the provision of food, clothing, and medicine. UNHCR responds to emergencies, providing the victims with fundamental human needs. It does this to help the countries providing asylum to the refugees. Further, UNHCR takes part in monitoring the situation to ensure that the refugees' rights to basic needs are protected at all times. In addition to this, the UNHCR has to ensure that refugees respect the laws of the countries that have given them asylum. This is done with the aim of ensuring that they do not get into conflict with the law enforcers. On the other hand, governments have to ensure that refugees are accorded similar rights to those of other citizens. For instance, UNHCR expects the refugees to have the freedom of expression, thought, and movement, socio-economic rights and freedom against torture and inhumane treatment.⁹⁰

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter has shown that displacement within and from Somalia is one of the longest-running crises in the world today. One in six Somalis presently lives outside the country. Host countries in the Greater Horn of Africa are concerned about the economic, social and political cost of continuing to provide protection and assistance to large numbers of Somali refugees. They are keen to see solutions which will diminish these responsibilities. Many Somali refugees themselves desire to return to their country either permanently or on a part-time basis depending on their personal circumstances, the different circumstances that have generated refugee flows, the different needs of long stayers versus newer arrivals, the uncertain fate of the property that many

⁸⁹UNHCR, "Somali Situation Report," May 2017, p. 30.

⁹⁰Lauterpacht, E, and Bethlehem, D. "The Scope and Content of the Principle of Non-Refoulement," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Paper, 2001, p. 7.

have left behind in Somalia, the precariousness of the current security and economic situation in the country and the size and heterogeneity of the refugee populations.

The chapter has also discussed various protection regimes available in refugee in Kenya and the world in general. The Kenyan refugee problem arising from the Somalia crisis is also discussed in this chapter. The chapter basically rolls out, the problem this work sets to do and are done in the subsequent chapter, which deals with the challenges Somali women refugees face in Dadaab camp.

CHAPTER THREE

SETTLEMENT OF SOMALI WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB

3.0 Introduction

In order to understand the Somali women refugees' settlement in Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, it is very important to revisit the civil war in Somalia that led to the ouster of Siad Barre from power as outlined in the previous chapter. It should be noted that Dadaab refugee camp comprises mainly of Somalis, who represent 99 percent of the population hosted in the camps. And if Dadaab were a city, it would be the third largest in Kenya. It is estimated that over 75 percent of the refugees in Dadaab refugee camp are women and children under the age of 18 years. Approximately 10,000 refugees are reportedly "third generation": they and their parents were born in the camps, and their families have lived there for more than two decades. This chapter examines the establishment of the Dadaab refugee camp and the settlement of Somali women refugees in the camp.⁹¹ The chapter, further, discusses the international instruments that give rights to the refugees and the general living conditions of the Somali refugees in the camp. Finally, the chapter examined why the Government of Kenya has threatened to close Dadaab refugee camp and voluntary repatriation of refugees to Somalia.

3.1. Kenya as a Favoured Destination

Majority of Somalia refugees 420,000 are living in Kenya mostly in Dadaab camp, close to 250,000 Somali refugees are living in Ethiopia whereas 200,000 Somali refugees are living in Yemen.⁹² Among the factors that made Kenya one of the favoured destinations for Somali women refugees is the fact that Kenyan Somalis are closely related to Somali nationals by virtue of belonging to the same extended family, friendship, clan and business networks. Indeed, many of the later refugee immigrants were assisted to settle down in Kenya through such networks. This

⁹¹ UNHCR, "Somali Situation," May 2017, p. 31.

⁹² UNHCR, "More Support Needed for Somali Refugees going back home from Kenya" <https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/latest/2015.html>. Accessed on 7th December 2018.

could explain why a large number of Somali women refugees ended up not only in the north eastern part of Kenya, but also in different urban centres in Kenya particularly in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi.⁹³ This influx of refugees in the country and the easy mingling of Somali nationals with Kenyan Somalis has been a source of discomfort for the post independent government of Kenya for many years. During the Kenyan population census of 2009 report, the government of Kenya went a notch higher by refusing to announce the population in the northern parts of Kenya due to the sudden surge in population mainly associated with the influx of peoples from Somalia forced by circumstances to migrate into Kenya. This mass movement prompted international intervention during the 1990s.⁹⁴ An important aspect of this international intervention was the establishment of Dadaab refugee camp.

Located in Garissa County (approximately 50 km from the border of Somalia), the Dadaab refugee camps were established in 1991 and temporarily opened in 1992 by the Government of Kenya to honour its international commitment to respect the principle of *non-refoulement*, which sets out in international law that a refugee cannot be sent back to an area where the person might again be subjected to persecution. Dadaab originally consisted of three camps; Dagahaley, Hagarder and Ifo. Ifo II and Kambios were added to accommodate an influx of refugees in 2011 and 2012. Dagahaley, Ifo, and Ifo II are increasingly diverse sub-camps as a number of refugees arriving to Dadaab in 2014 and 2015 from several countries throughout East Africa were settled here upon registration.⁹⁵ 75 percent of those living in these camps are women, the elderly and children under the age of 12.⁹⁶

3.2 Encampment Policy in Kenya

Since the inception of the Somali refugee programme in Kenya, Government policy has required that refugees should reside in the designated refugee camps, principally Dadaab although there is now also a large number of Somali refugees in Kakuma Refugee camp. Movement from the camps

⁹³ Godwin, M. "Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya: Understanding the Trans- Territoriality of Crime," *African and Asian Studies* , 2005, p. 140.

⁹⁴Njihia, C. "Coping Mechanisms of Somali Women refugees in Eastleigh, Kenya, 1991-2010," Master of Arts Thesis, Kenyatta University, 2013, p. 7.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Murunga, "Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya," p. 140.

is subject to the requirement of “movement passes” issued by the Government.⁹⁷ While, indeed, refugees have been able to move from the camps in this manner, for the majority, movement from or living legally from the camps has been very restricted. With likewise restricted legal right to work outside the camps no access to farmland, serious over-crowding of the camps beyond their original planned capacity, periodic disruptions in distribution of essential relief supplies over the last several years, and episodes of insecurity and attacks by *Al -Shabaab* and bandits which have affected refugees, aid workers and Government law enforcement personnel and resulted in momentary suspension or restriction of assistance operations, conditions in the camps have been made for a precarious existence even for the many women refugees who engage in petty trade or small businesses.⁹⁸ Thousands have thus sought to take their chances by working or living illegally in the cities with relatives. Vibrant economic and social dynamic thus exists between the refugee camps and urban areas of Kenya.⁹⁹

The Government of Kenya has enacted specific terms and conditions for refugees being hosted by Kenya in the Dadaab camps, which requires that refugees be settled in closed camps.¹⁰⁰ This encampment policy which prevents refugees from owning cattle, cultivating, moving freely, working or integrating with the host community renders the refugee population entirely dependent on humanitarian assistance and with very limited economic opportunities.¹⁰¹

It should be noted that, although the government of Kenya is signatory to the 1969 OAU protocol obliging African states to host refugees, it does not take any responsibility for their protection, maintenance and security. On the other hand, the UNHCR regards camp confinement as the appropriate site for refugees.¹⁰² Most states prefer the encampment of refugees for a number of related factors. First, camps offer visibility of refugees and this is very useful especially when there is need to claim for burden sharing by other members of the international community. It should be noted that UNHCR and its implementing partners offer the provision of basic services, like food,

⁹⁷Murunga, “Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya”

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Hammond, “History, Overview, Trends and Issues” p.12.

¹⁰⁰Hyndman, J and Nylund, B. “UNHCR and the Status of Prima Facie Refugees in Kenya,” *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Volume 10, Issue 1-2, 1 January 1998, pp. 21–48.

¹⁰¹Murunga, “Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya” p.141.

¹⁰²Ibid.

water, shelter, healthcare, and education (formal primary schooling from Grades 1 to 8) to refugees residing in Dadaab. Secondly, camps offer a mechanism for containment and control, which helps to mitigate any perceived security threat in the short term. Finally, camps reduce the risk that refugees will gel with the host population and fail to repatriate when things improve in their own countries.¹⁰³ In terms of provision of basic services, the UNHCR and its implementing partners provide food, water, shelter, healthcare, and education (formal primary schooling from Grades 1 to 8) to refugees residing in Dadaab.

The encampment policy has no doubt been motivated by the reality of increasing restrictions placed on refugee settlement in Africa by various national governments. Consequently, UNHCR has had to emphasize organized settlement for refugees particularly in camps. This could explain why many refugees particularly in different parts of Africa including in countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Sudan and Kenya, are confined to camps and have little opportunity to become self-supporting. However, this is not to say that refugees in camps are docile and just sit and wait for handouts from the donor agencies. Even in camps, Somali refugees in particular, are known to venture into lucrative enterprises. Contrary to what observations that in Kenya, with settlements located in relatively remote and impoverished areas, employment and other income-generating activities for refugees are virtually absent, this could not be further from the truth.¹⁰⁴ The refugees in Dadaab Kenya are reported to take advantage of the close proximity of the refugee camps to the Somali border with Kenya to cross to Somalia for business and back to Kenya without being detected.¹⁰⁵ Some also sell food stuffs and textiles, while others run businesses like restaurants as well as passenger taxi vans known as *matatus* in Kenya. So successful are some of the refugee entrepreneurs that they are no longer in a hurry to go back to their countries even after a return to normalcy in their countries of origin.¹⁰⁶

3.3 Kenya's Policy on Refugees

Somali women refugees have been admitted into Kenya and granted refugee status throughout the period since the collapse of the Siad Barre Government in 1991 triggered their massive exodus.

¹⁰³Ibid.p.141.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Oral Interview, with Batula Mohamed on 25/12/15 at Dagahley.

For years, UNHCR coordinated the overall response to this emergency. With the passage of the country's Refugee Act in 2006, overall responsibility to co-ordinate refugee response and management shifted fully to the Government of Kenya. Collaborating accordingly with UNHCR, the Government exercises overall management of refugee affairs and manages registration, security and overall coordination of operational delivery. A number of NGOs are involved in the delivery of assistance and policy, legal, protection and solutions advocacy.

As discussed above, Government policy has required that refugees should reside in the designated refugee camps. What has been a complex policy and protection management situation from the very inception, including on the question of freedom of movement in and out of the camps into the urban areas has been compounded by the terrorist attacks and other very serious security incidents in Nairobi, Mombasa, towns in the northeast of the country and indeed within Dadaab refugee camp itself, which have escalated over the last four years for which the Somali-based *Al Shabaab* had claimed responsibility.¹⁰⁷ Overall, public opinion against Somalis reinforced the overall political and social environment for dealing with the Somali refugee question in Kenya. On the other hand, measures taken to secure national security and public safety, including of the refugees themselves in the face of these threats have clearly impacted the protection situation of the refugees and limited the room for maneuver for solutions.¹⁰⁸

In December 2012, directly referencing the context of insecurity posed by the terrorism threats and attacks, the Government issued a directive requiring all refugees living in the urban areas in the country to move to the refugee camps. Both by the eminence of their numbers and also as witnessed in the measures taken initially to implement this directive, it would impact most of all the more than 50,000 Somali refugees residing in the different urban areas of the country, particularly Nairobi.¹⁰⁹ The directive was however quashed by the High Court in a ruling issued in July 2013. In March 2014, another similar directive was reinstated. The decision was followed up with “*Operation Usalama*” involving roundup of undocumented foreigners (Somali and others) living in the cities. Several hundreds of refugees were caught up in this operation although many were released following UNHCR interventions while others were relocated to Dadaab and Kakuma

¹⁰⁷Hyndman, J “Managing Difference: Gender and Culture in Humanitarian Emergencies,” *Journal of Gender, Place and Culture*, July, 2010, pp. 241 – 260, p. 242

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Murunga, “Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya”. p.144.

refugee camps. Some 350 Somali nationals were deported to Somalia.¹¹⁰ While the Government assured UNHCR that Somalis recognized as refugees would not be deported, some six registered refugees were returned as part of this operation. The roundup also gave rise to a number of protection and humanitarian concerns and suffering which UNHCR and other stakeholders have taken up and continue to address with the Government particularly to ensure that international protection standards are adhered to. In July 2014, a High Court decision upheld the government directive.¹¹¹

Somali refugees, especially those from the 2011 drought, have indeed spontaneously returned to Somalia soon after conditions began to improve in order to regain ownership of land and resume their farming and trading activities, although a 2013 report by the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, a think-tank based in Mogadishu, “contended that many of the estimated 15,000 refugees who had by then returned had been prompted more by concern about insecurity in the camps than by optimism about the conditions facing them inside Somalia on their return”.¹¹² It is clearly a highly mixed situation in which, on one hand, conditions clearly do not exist as of today for large-scale repatriation to be the default or only, let alone forced, solution for the Somali refugees. At the same time, some opportunities for return Somalia exist that could be taken advantage of voluntary, safe return home which could, moreover, then be supported to make them sustainable. Even more concretely there are refugees who are actually seeking support to return to Somalia.¹¹³

These are the aspects which UNHCR underlined in explaining the Tripartite Agreement on repatriation to Somalia concluded in November 2013 by the governments of Kenya and Somalia and UNHCR. This agreement stated that returns are strictly voluntary and would not be undertaken until conditions in the country of origin are safe and stable enough to permit sustainable reintegration. The agreement did not set any timetable or deadline for mass return has yet been committed to.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Hammond, L. and Vaughan-Lee, H. “Humanitarian Space in Somalia: A Scarce Commodity,” London: Overseas Development Institute, 2012, p. 5, <http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/6430-humanitarian-space-somalia-aid-workers-principles>, accessed 14th March 2017

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Danish Refugee Council, “Durable Solutions” p. 12.

There is no doubt that, under conditions of safety, security and sustainability, voluntary repatriation back to Somalia is fundamentally the most pivotal solution for the Somali refugees in Kenya as indeed elsewhere. Other solutions however have to be brought into the picture as it is clear that there are Somalis for whom return to a country some of them have never even seen will not be feasible. In this connection, the differing clan distributions alluded to earlier are crucial in determining who may be able and willing to return to Somalia when, and to where. In the two decades since the first refugees were displaced, some of the clan territories have shifted and return to the same place that they originated from may not be possible.¹¹⁵

The refugees have also had very different types of experiences and expectations of the future than those who have come to the camps more recently. Those who have lived in the camps for prolonged periods are less likely to have property and active social ties to return to. They have become urbanized through camp life to such an extent that it may no longer be reasonable to expect them to contemplate returning to Somalia to adopt rural (pastoral, agro-pastoral or agricultural) livelihoods. At the same time, most lack the education and skills to be able to find employment in urban areas even if such jobs were to exist which at the present time they clearly do not. Refugees have expressed a desire for vocational training in the refugee camps in preparation for their onward movement (whether to their country of origin or to other destinations). Those who arrived in 2011 had significantly less education or training than those who had been living in the camps since at least 2006.¹¹⁶

3.3 Set Up of Camps

Dadaab refugee camp is conveniently near the borders so women refugees fleeing Somalia have easy access. In the original planning and setting up of the camps close to the borders made sense as it would make the journey for the women refugees easier. But in reality who you run away from can easily cross the border to attack and return back to their homeland the next day.¹¹⁷ Once inside the camp, very few are allowed to leave unless a serious medical emergency arises. Even then, the

¹¹⁵Hammond, L. and Vaughan-Lee, H. "Humanitarian Space in Somalia: A Scarce Commodity," London: Overseas Development Institute, 2012, p. 5, <http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/6430-humanitarian-space-somalia-aid-workers-principles>, accessed 17th April 2017.

¹¹⁶Danish Refugee Council, "Durable Solutions" p. 12.

¹¹⁷Oral Interview, with Halima Hajji on 11/12/2015 at Dagahley.

person must have permission to enter into Kenyan society as a refugee. Schools are provided but education is not a given to just anyone, especially girls. Even then, when budgets are cut, education is one of the first to go. Indeed, no woman or child would dare leave their home or tent at night unless absolute necessity because of the rampant rapes, kidnappings, and gunfire.¹¹⁸

Inside the camp, there are medical facilities, schools, and shops. Women and children who are the majority here try and go on with daily life with what they have, even continuing traditional celebrations.¹¹⁹ But the reality of living in these camps is very different from how they appear. Once night falls communities are forced together often resulting in conflict and violence. The camp is set up as a place of protection for people seeking refugee status, through an agreement between Kenya and UNHCR.¹²⁰

UNHCR states “that the term ‘protection’ should be interpreted as involving, at a minimum, protection against return to a situation of persecution, serious insecurity, or other circumstances which would justify asylum.”¹²¹ Protection includes treatment in the host country in accordance with international human rights law. This includes basic necessities of living such as food, shelter, and basic sanitary and health facilities. Once determined to be a refugee by the camp legal assistance, teams of trained and qualified interpreters are provided by UNHCR. What is not standard in the camp is education, extensive medical care, and employment opportunities. This supposed protection makes the camp appear as the saving factor for refugees, but in reality, the camps may be just as bad as the violence the women were fleeing.¹²²

It should be noted that Dadaab refugee camp is located in a very dry area with desert like conditions. The local communities were already trying to cope with severe droughts and poverty before the refugee camp was built. Now the locals must compete for natural resources such as water and firewood. To help compensate, UNHCR helped dig wells for water and made medical

¹¹⁸Oral Interview, with Aisha Abdul on 28/12/2015 at Hagardar.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Ronda, P. “The Maltreatment of Women and Children in Kenyan Refugee Camps,” Master of Arts Thesis, University of Kansas, 2013, p. 6.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid..

services available to the community regardless of refugee status.¹²³ In spite of perks to the Kenyans these practices create discrimination against Kenyans and refugees which results in conflict between the two groups -one who has worked hard for their land and the other given land. For a UNHCR refugee camp to be set up, the country must agree to protection of the refugee, including usage of police force and security teams on site at the camp at all times. The security may be present, but not always helpful. Women complain about a lack of female security. This is a large problem when looking at cultural differences. If a woman or girl is raped or physically assaulted, many do not want to report this to a man. And if it is reported, the information is not always acted upon as the man may feel the woman provoked it.¹²⁴



Picture 3.1: Above: Ummi Bashir posing at the bill boards listing all the NGOs operating in Dadaab.

Source: Picture taken by Hussein Mohamed, CARE Protection Officer – 23/12/15

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Oral Interview, with FauziaAbdi on 26/12/2015 at Kambios.

3. 3. 1. Congestion in the Camp

Life at Dadaab camp is characterized by overcrowding in the camp. There is concern that the various institutions dealing with women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp have failed to respond adequately to the severe overcrowding in the Dadaab camps by turning a blind eye to the huge numbers of asylum-seekers continuously entering the country. The rights of the asylum-seekers and refugees to housing, water, sanitation, health and education have been severely compromised. The three refugee camps in Dadaab, Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera were originally established in the early 1990s to accommodate 90,000 refugees divided equally between the camps. As of 15 March 2010, the refugee population in the three camps was 266,594 people, with almost 150,000 new arrivals since January 2007. The camps' resources and infrastructure have been stretched beyond capacity and the quality and quantity of essential services delivered heavily compromised.¹²⁵

The increase in population has not been matched by a commensurate rise in the land made available to host refugees. As a result, newly arrived refugees have had to stay with relatives and clan members. They cannot build their own shelters because there are no plots of land available. New arrivals are given plastic sheeting to use as tents, which are extremely hot during the day and do not protect them from bad weather conditions. Humanitarian agencies have seen their resources stretched as well and at times plastic sheeting and mosquito nets are not always readily available for those newly arrived.

The existing water infrastructure in the camps was designed for three times less the number of refugees actually in the camps and the water pipe system is old and strained. Women refugees complain that water allocation is insufficient, and that there are frequent disputes at water taps. Women refugees living on the edge of the camp have to walk long distances to collect water.¹²⁶

Although there are primary and secondary education facilities in the camps, they cannot cater for the needs of a growing population, including of unaccompanied minors, many of whom do not

¹²⁵Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children in Kenyan Refugee Camps,"

¹²⁶Oral Interview, with FauziaAbdi on 26/12/2015 at Kambios.

have access to education. Those newly arrived from Somalia, where access to and quality of education is severely compromised by the armed conflict, face a huge challenge in adapting to a new education system. Many children, particularly girls, have never been to school when they were living in Somalia, other than *duksi* (Quranic school). Medical facilities are also stretched, and psychosocial services and counseling are minimal, considering the high level of trauma that the vast majority of the women coming from Somalia have endured. The UN through its agencies has negotiated with the Kenyan government and the host community of Kenyans living in the areas where the camps are located to address the severe overcrowding of the camps. UNHCR has been given a provisional and conditional license to build additional camps in Dadaab.¹²⁷

3.3.2. Policing in the Camps

The Kenyan authorities have an obligation to ensure adequate protection of refugees in camps, including through effective policing. However, women refugees complain of insecurity in the camps. Somali people who arrived recently alleged in interviews with Amnesty International that members and sympathisers of *Al-Shabaab*, the armed Islamist group in Somalia, were present in the Dadaab Refugee camp or travelled through it. Overcrowding has exacerbated insecurity and incidences of crimes among the refugees in the camps. Somali women refugees claim report that as the number of people living in the camps increases, so do incidents of theft and sexual abuse. Humanitarian workers and UNHCR also report an increase in cases of sexual violence, including rape, early and forced marriages, and unwanted pregnancies in the camps. Indeed, aid agencies have expressed concern that children who have been adopted or are fostered by other families may be at risk of being used as domestic workers. Overcrowded shelters make women and girls particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse.¹²⁸

3.3.3. Clan Conflicts

Dadaab refugee camp hosts several different clans from Somalia. This causes tension, especially when these groups do not like each other. The camp is sometimes purposely segregated to help alleviate this problem, but it does not alleviate conflict between the groups. Militarization of camps is common as it is ignored by aid workers. “Aid workers often ignore militarization as long as the

¹²⁷Oral Interview, with Abdulahi Halakke on 10/12/2015 at Dagahley.

¹²⁸Godwin, “Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya” p. 142.

weapons and military training remain out of sight quite literally.”¹²⁹ And in some cases aid workers are not able to move around the Dadaab camp without police escort due to the bandits that wait to prey on victims who dare leave the camp.

3.4 Where are the Men of Dadaab?

As already noted above, the majority of the Somalia families travelling to Dadaab from towns across southern and central Somalia - often distances exceeding 200km - are led by women. It has been estimated by the UN’s refugee agency, UNHCR that more than 75 to 80 percent of those who continuously flee Somalia are women and children.¹³⁰ The only males among those arriving are young boys or elderly men. It is a striking sight - thousands of women and children, but a notable absence of men.

3.4.1 Missing Men

In some ways the absence of men is not difficult to understand. In pastoralist Somali societies it is not uncommon for men to be away from their families for long periods of time as they search for new land on which their animals may graze. Families often split up as a method of survival, with women taking responsibility for the children while men remain behind in the hope of saving the remaining cattle or accruing a little more money so that they might make the journey to rejoin their families. Andrew Wander, Save the Children’s emergency media manager, says that many pastoralist farmers will not leave their livestock until their last animal has died.¹³¹ "The cattle are their wealth, their assets, and they will try to save them at all costs. "And because it is not safe to be left alone in farms, especially with no food available, the women and children [often] move with the neighbours or other relatives to safer areas where they might access food to survive," he says.¹³²

It is a story corroborated by many of the women at the Dadaab refugee complex. Thirty-one-year-old Zamzam Dahir says she had a last meal of maize at home before leaving with

¹²⁹Oral interview, with Maalim Artan on 11/12/2013 at Dagahley.

¹³⁰Oral interview, Hussein Mohamed, Protection Officer, CARE International, 20/12/15 at Dagahley

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Oral interview, Ibrahim Huuri on 28/12/2015 at Hagarder.

her three children. Her husband stayed behind to look after the animals while she embarked on the six-day walk to Dadaab. Her journey to the refugee camp took 17 days. She says her husband will join her, her four daughters and three sons "if he is able to". She says it was too expensive for her husband to join her on the journey to Dadaab and that while she was unhappy to leave him behind, she thanks God for arriving safely.¹³³

A woman sitting beside her explains how she made the journey with her three children because her husband had to stay behind to tend to his ailing mother. "I'm not comfortable to be here without him," she tells me. And then there is 38-year-old Ubah Bashir, who I meet sitting alone on the ground outside the food distribution tent. She is about eight months pregnant and travelled in the back of a lorry for five days with complete strangers before waiting for eight days at the camp to be registered. She sat on the floor, surrounded by the basic essentials; pots, food and bedding - provided by the UN, wondering how she will carry her new belongings. Her husband did not accompany her to the camp because he was too ill to travel and she says she now "has no choice" but to look after herself.¹³⁴

3.4.2 Widowhood and Abandonment

The simple fact that men are killed in war creates widows. Over 70 percent of Somali refugee women are widows. With so many female head of households they are more vulnerable to gender violence. To make it worse, if a widow is raped, she is shamed by the society and labeled a loose woman. They eventually find it hard to remarry. Widows with children who are raped are ostracized.¹³⁵

Abandonment has become a common occurrence for Somali refugee women. Men leave to be soldiers and are not able to visit their families. Often some will take a wife closer to their military camp leaving his original family to survive on their own. This increases not just lack of safety for the females in the family but also increases poverty forcing the female head of household to find

¹³³Oral interview, ZamzamDahir on 12/12/2015 at Dagahley.

¹³⁴Oral interview, Ubah Bashir on 28 /12/ 2015 at Dagahley.

¹³⁵Oral Interview, Hussein Mohamed, Protection Officer, CARE International, 20/12/15 at Dagahley.

other means of survival which is usually through migrating to somewhere else.¹³⁶ Women leave for their safety, taking with them their children and leaving their male partners behind to fight or die. By the time women and their families make it to the camps they are already traumatized by the acts forced on them or what they have been forced to watch. But the real trauma they thought they were leaving is just a continuation in these camps of 'refuge'. With the strong odds of rape occurring, women tend to leave to find a safer haven in the camp in order to keep their honour.¹³⁷



Picture 3.2: Research student Ummi Bashir extreme left posing with the refugee women at Dagahley.

Source: Picture taken by Abdullahi Diis in front of CARE Dagahley Offices, Dadaab

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Oral Interview, with HabibaMursal – Chairlady of the Somali Refugee Women, 21/12/15 at Dagahley.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that since the onset of the conflict in Somalia in 1990s, Kenya continues to host the largest Somali refugee population in the region. Most of these refugees are women and children who end up at Dadaab refugee camp. Established in 1991, Dadaab refugee camp comprises of five camps namely Dagahaley, Hagadera, Ifo, Ifo 2 and Kambios. The refugee camp has always experienced an increase in women refugees' numbers. The five camps are managed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and food is provided by the World Food Program (WFP) as a dry ration. Given the extended duration of their stay in Kenya, the economic situation of the women refugees is increasingly deteriorating mainly due to depletion of resources, savings, and remittances. The situation is further aggravated given that Somali women refugees in Kenya are not permitted to work, own property accordingly, they are fully dependent on external support, including humanitarian assistance.

Women refugees in the camp thus depend on UN agencies for relief supplies and specifically food and non-food items. This dependency is perpetuated by the Refugee Act (2006) and particularly the encampment policy that is very restrictive in most terms. Though the Refugee Act provides a framework for enhancing human rights in the refugee situation, it nevertheless prohibits free movement of refugees in Kenya. A refugee requires a permit from Kenya government to visit other parts of the country. They are confined in camps, thus reducing opportunities for creative livelihood engagement for income generation as will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP

4.0 Introduction

Somali women Refugees in Dadaab refugee camp continue to face significant protection threats. In the refugee camp, insecurity is widespread and cases of sexual and gender-based violence are common. Indeed, the security situation in the North Eastern region, where Dadaab is located, has gradually deteriorated. The situation in Dadaab refugee camp and along the border with Somalia is highly volatile, leading to growing concerns for the safety of humanitarian workers. Consequently, despite the common perception that refugee situations a temporary phenomenon, lengthy protracted refugee situation is quickly becoming the norm.¹³⁸

A protracted refugee situation is one in which refugees find themselves in a long - lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. Repatriation has long been the solution to refugee crises, returning refugees to their countries of origin where the responsibility for protection is removed from the international community. However, as the causes of refugee situations have become increasingly intractable, repatriation has become an increasingly distant option. The lengthening of refugee situations poses a serious challenge to the current women refugee assistance policies. Few donors or host countries have or are willing to provide the necessary resources to meet women refugees' needs beyond the initial emergency phase, and consequently the welfare of women refugees in protracted situations have been deteriorating¹³⁹

For many of the thousands of Somali women refugees living in Dadaab refugee camp, the passage from one humanitarian crisis to the next is nothing new. The vast majority fled conflict in Somalia and arrived at a 'home' that offers fear, insecurity and overcrowded living conditions as part of the daily reality. Many others have been born there, and know nothing but life in a refugee camp. The reasons why most Somalis fled their home country namely danger and insecurity, are as pertinent today as they were then, and preclude most refugees from even considering returning to

¹³⁸Oral Interview, with Ahmed Muumina, on 11/12/15 at Dagahley.

¹³⁹Murunga, "Conflict in Somalia and Crime in Kenya,"

Somalia, today or at any time soon.¹⁴⁰ This chapter thus looks at the various challenges affecting Somali Women Refugees in Dadaab refugee camp and how the various humanitarian agencies and the refugee women themselves have attempted to address these challenges.

4.1 Challenges of Protecting Women Refugee Livelihoods

Refugee-generating situations are commonly defined as complex emergencies, involving an intricate net of often opposing and hostile political, economic and military forces. Unlike natural disaster, complex emergencies entail the deliberate creation of crisis. Refugee emergencies, in particular, threaten self-sufficiency of refugees, since they have left behind most of their assets and may have limited access to land, livestock, jobs and other sources of living during their time in camps.¹⁴¹

Without a stable means of livelihood life become a challenge. But what is livelihood in such conditions and why is it important in refugee camps? A widely accepted definition of livelihood refers to the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. These assets comprise human, natural, social, physical and financial assets. For refugees hosted in camps, the livelihoods approach needs to be tailored to call attention to the vulnerability of people exposed to constant threats of violence and subject to new forms of risks that make the pursuit of livelihood strategies much more difficult. In order to adapt this approach to conflict situations, the emphasis has been focused on the concept of vulnerability.¹⁴²

The definition of livelihoods in conflict developed by the researchers at the Feinstein International Famine Center at Tufts University refers to,

The ways in which people access and mobilize resources that enable them to increase their economic security and thereby reduce the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict, and pursue goals necessary for their survival and possible return.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰Ibid.p. 144.

¹⁴¹Cavaglieri, S. "Livelihood Strategies and Food Security in Refugee Camps," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Roma Tre, Rome – Italy, 2005, p. 6.

¹⁴²Ibid.

¹⁴³Ibid.

According to this definition, the pursuit of livelihoods in conflict situations, thus, bases on three different elements:

1. The main concerns of refugees and how they change over time (safety from violence, reducing economic vulnerability and food insecurity):
2. The availability, extent and combination of resources owned by refugees; these include financial resources, such as remittances, as well as the social capital that comes with refugee networks; human capital, in form of education or skills not be present in the host community and which can enable refugees to gain economic advantage; humanitarian aid and assistance in kind, which are often translated into commodities for trade and:
3. The strategies used to access and mobilize such resources.

Using the concept of vulnerability this study looks at some of the challenges impacting on the livelihood of Somali Women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp.¹⁴⁴

4.1.1 Lack of Basic Needs

Life in the sprawling camp has not been easy for the most women. Families get by with the bare minimum. Aid agencies struggle to meet the basic needs of each family - at least 20 litres of water a day, barely enough food, some form of shelter and basic health services. These services are further stretched thin due to falling levels of funding.¹⁴⁵ Somali women refugees have fled the harsh conditions in their home country hoping for better conditions in the camp. At the camp, they are faced with the same conditions if not worse from the one in their home country. Just like in their home country, Somali women refugees are unable to meet their basic needs. As mother, Somali women refugees have the responsibility to cater for not only their needs but also those of their family. Hence they are faced with the challenge of providing and meeting the needs of their family.

Increasingly, humanitarian agencies has forced WFP to reduce the amount of food rations for the refugees, while the agency hopes the cuts are temporary, they could in fact become deeper without

¹⁴⁴Ibid, P.7

¹⁴⁵Oral Interview, with Abdul Aisha, on 28/12/15at Hagarder.

new contributions to prevent food stocks from running out. Women refugees say the ration cuts make their already difficult lives even harder.¹⁴⁶



Picture 4.1: Somalia Women refugees lining up for their monthly food ration at the Ifo.

Source: File photo from CARE International Archives. – 28/12/15.

4.1.2 Self-Reliance Challenges

Women refugees in Dadaab camp are not intended to become self-reliant; rather camps are intended to stifle such potential ostensibly with the aim of protecting the local people and resources.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, despite the imposition of restrictions intended to restrict refugees' actions, refugees are still expected to provide for many of their non food needs which are not met in basic rations. The inability of refugees in camps to become self-reliant and their reluctance of women refugees to relinquish assistance have led many to accuse women refugees of laziness and a willing dependence on the international community to provide for their needs. Most women

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Oral Interview, with AbdiAmina, on 28/12/2015at Hagarder

refugees engage in economic activities where possible in spite of low returns. Few have reflected on the idea that the restriction of refugee rights, which subsequently demands the institutionalization of organized settlements, is responsible for limiting access to economic opportunities, increasing competition for scarce resources, and creating an artificial environment where normal or customary livelihood strategies are not possible. The location and structure of refugee camps ensure that reliance on assistance is an essential coping strategy as Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp are fundamentally not able to provide for all of their needs.¹⁴⁸

By limiting the opportunities available to Somali women refugees, settlements simultaneously limit Somali women refugees' abilities to cope with economic hardship. Unable to move freely, women refugees are forced to accept what has been provided for them. Unable to exercise a full range of economic pursuits in poverty stricken settlements, refugees are forced to subsist on what they can produce. Unable to meet all of their needs through economic pursuits, large portions of Somali women refugees have become increasingly impoverished, forced to sell their assets and neglect long-term needs for demands of the present.¹⁴⁹



Picture 4.2: Above, Women fetching firewood, Kambios.

Source: Picture taken from the DRA Archives. -27/12/15

¹⁴⁸Kibreab, G. "The Myth of Dependency among Camp Refugees in Somalia 1979–1989," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Volume 6, Issue 4, 1993, p. 321–349.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

4.1.3 Sanitation and Health Challenges

Sanitation is a large concern and a major factor in Dadaab refugee camp. When several thousand people are living in close proximity, sanitation can play a large role in their health and safety. As of April 2011, Dadaab was reporting a case of one latrine shared by 300 people, a result of poor planning of the initial camp capacity and a lack of funding to build onto the camp as it expanded.¹⁵⁰ Malnourished Somali women refugees have continued to arrive from the famine and war in their country just to be exposed to conditions that jeopardized their health even more.¹⁵¹ Reports taken in Dadaab in 2006 show statistics of the average time spent collecting clean water and the distance each household had to travel to collect the water. Again the collection of what may be referred as clean water falls on the fault of poor initial planning of the camps. On average more than two hours daily was spent collecting water. Majority of those collecting water were women and girls. Further, it should be noted that health challenges usually start with unsanitary water.¹⁵²

Lack of access to health care, especially related to safe reproductive health, is a common factor in the camps. As a result little medical care is available for a woman or girl who has been raped or suffered incest or sexual assault. (Sexual attack is not just physical, it produces physiological trauma). There is a lack of counselors to help with the mental part and lack of medical supplies needed if the woman or girl contracts HIV/AIDS.¹⁵³ It is noted that women are six times more likely to be infected by HIV/AIDS than young men.¹⁵⁴ As with education, when budgets are cut, health services always suffer even more.¹⁵⁵

Many times mental health is not addressed in camps. UNHCR has recognized this problem and have provided some counselors, but not enough as funds are lacking to pay professional staff. It was reported that “the feelings that women describe in response to their trauma - the fear, pain, grief, guilt, anxiety, revulsion, hatred, loss of dignity, and sadness - are associated with the

¹⁵⁰Oral Interview, with Mohamed Zeinab, on 26/12/15at Kambios

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Ronda, P. “The Maltreatment of Women and Children in Kenyan Refugee Camps”, Master of Arts Thesis, University of Kansas, 2013,p. 34.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Oral Interview, with Bashir Ubah, on 10/12/15at Dagahley

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

breakdown of social life, the loss of language and cultural meanings, [and] the disruption of experience, of family and community.”¹⁵⁶ Regardless of the level of suffering these women and children have endured, counseling is not the only thing that will help them recover.



Picture 4.3: Ummi Bashir interviewing Somalia refugee woman in Dadaab camp.

Source: Pic taken by Abdullahi Maalim, 24/12/2015

4.1.4 Housing Challenges

The physical structure of organized refugee settlements is determined by the decision to restrict refugees’ rights and freedoms.¹⁵⁷ Based on the belief that human rights and human needs are valid and identical all over the world, the fundamental planning approach for camps is characterized by neutrality.¹⁵⁸ However, this view ignores the reality that the degree to which women refugee rights are protected varies substantially between countries, as well as the effects of the physical environment of refugee hosting regions on the welfare of refugees. In Dadaab refugee camp, the UNHCR’s standardized approach and preoccupation with attaining minimum standards has resulted into only the bare minimum of women refugees’ short-term survival needs being met, thwarting long-term health and human dignity.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶Oral Interview, with Farah Idris, on 12/12/15at Dagahley

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Herz, M. “Refugee camps in Chad: planning strategies and the architect’s involvement in the humanitarian dilemma,” Research Paper No. 147, UNHCR, Geneva, 2007, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ Oral interview, with Hajji Halima, on 11/12/15at Dagahley

The standards for shelter are a prime example of how minimum standards and the technical approach are not synonymous with women refugee welfare. In Dadaab, Somali women refugees have lived under tents and plastic sheeting for an extended period of several years with little effort by the UNHCR to promote or erect more permanent housing. Absurdly, though these tent structures do little to shelter women refugees from the harsh climate, they meet the UNHCR's standards for adequate shelter which is measured by space rather than quality or suitability.¹⁶⁰

The standardized plan of refugee camps and settlements ignores the needs of refugees. The plan of the refugee camps fails to recognize that Somali women refugees are not a uniform group; each household varies in size, number of dependents, physical ability and personal resources, all of which combine to determine the households' needs and capacity to meet those needs. Yet, everything from the layout to the size of plots of land for individual households is predetermined based on what is believed to be ideal, ignorant of the socio-political, environmental and demographic realities of individual women refugee crises.¹⁶¹

The standardized plan for such a refugee camp starts with the tent or the Somali women refugee family as the smallest basic unit. This unit of the family is organized into camp clusters (16 tents), camp blocks (16 clusters), camp sectors (4 blocks) and finally the complete camp (4 sectors), which in its 'ideal' case houses 20,000 refugees. Refugee settlements share the same fundamental structure as camps but differ on three points. Briefly, refugee settlements provide households with larger plots on which to construct dwellings, individual households are allocated a plot of land on which they are expected to produce their own food, and the rights of refugees tend to be somewhat more respected. The amount of cultivable land allocated to refugees varies significantly between settlements, sometimes five acres of land, but occasionally as little as one or two acres. While in some cases this variation may take into account the productive capacity of the land, in many others the size of the plots are determined purely by the quantity of land available with little thought to how this may affect women refugees.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children," P. 34.

¹⁶¹Herz, M. "Refugee camps in Chad: planning strategies and the architect's involvement in the humanitarian dilemma," Research Paper No. 147, UNHCR, Geneva, 2007, p.4.

¹⁶²Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children" p. 10.

At the UNHCR level, there does not appear to be any significant concern regarding the negative effects of this technical approach. Indeed, ignorance of local contexts can have devastating implications for Somali women refugee protection. To ignore these essential points in the design and implementation of settlement policy directly undermines women refugee protection. If the realization of Somali women refugees' basic needs is obstructed at even this initial stage, it is unclear how women refugees can be expected to later exercise the necessary productive activities to maintain a standard of living which even international donors struggle to provide.¹⁶³



Picture 4.4: Above, Households in Ifo.

Source: Picture taken from the UNHCR Archives. Hagarder- 25/12/15

4.2 Negative Attitude Towards Somali Women Refugees

Insecurity has been one of the major issues contributing to the negative perception of women refugees at Dadaab. This perception can be attributed to the explosion in small arms across the porous Kenya-Somalia border that coincided with the arrival of refugees. It has been argued that although insecurity had always been a problem in their area prior to the arrival of refugees due to the *shifita* menace, the onset of civil war in Somalia in 1991 worsened the situation. The most

¹⁶³Ibid, P. 10.

common insecurity-related incidences in Dadaab refugee camp are rape cases, cattle thefts, fights, and murder, which according to a local elder, have contributed to the economic decline of the area.¹⁶⁴

The Dadaab camps are widely believed to be hide-outs for criminals. The local host community members accused UNHCR of overprotecting refugees even when they know that they commonly commit crimes. They allege that refugees usually commit crimes such as theft, rape, and murder outside the camps before retreating into the safety of their camps where it is difficult for the police to trace them due to the large refugee population and the protection the refugees receive from the UNHCR, which manages the camps. A local chief, for instance, alleged that camps are safe havens for Somali warlords who have families inside the camps, which they usually come to visit at night after fighting during the day.¹⁶⁵

The protracted refugee situation at Dadaab also seems to have caused hosting fatigue among the locals, whose leaders constantly call for the repatriation of refugees through the Kenyan media and other forums. For instance, one leader called for the expulsion of refugees due to what he described as “public fatigue that has been occasioned by their staying here too long.” This hosting fatigue is made worse by what the local hosts claim to be the deterioration in cultural norms by the refugees. Some practices deemed by the locals to be immoral according to Islam, such as mixed marriages, drinking alcohol, and playing loud music, which are now evident at Dadaab, are associated with the refugee presence. A local chief also said he was opposed to the introduction of churches for non-Muslim refugees and the “scanty” clothing worn by female agency workers and non-Muslim refugee women. Refugees were also blamed for the introduction of the HIV/AIDS pandemic at Dadaab. “The refugees have polluted our culture and brought AIDS into our midst.”¹⁶⁶ This negative perception held by the local host community has impacted mainly the Somali women refugees who sometimes fear to venture outside the refugee camp due to fear of retaliation.

¹⁶⁴Oral Interview, with Bakari Hussein on 26/12/15 at Kambios.

¹⁶⁵Oral Interview, with Hussein Mohamed - Protection Officer, Care International, on 20/12/2015 at Dadaab Office.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

4.3 Gender Based Violence (GBV)

Only recently has the United Nations recognized the need for safer refugee camps as media has brought to light the atrocities of camp life. This has forced the UNHCR and other organizations to better secure the camps. Before, the issue of safety for women was never acknowledged. It has been claimed that it is mostly Somali men in the camps who did not want to acknowledge the abuse thinking rape is not so bad.¹⁶⁷

Before human rights groups, including feminists, called attention to the plight of women in refugee camps, the gender issues were being ignored except perhaps for a supply of sanitary pads. Now guidelines through UNHCR exist for the protection of women and children, but these are only guidelines that are not always enforced. In 2001, for instance, it was reported that camp authorities overlooked the gender violence believing it was purely political. Over the past year UNHCR has updated their Country Operations Profile page for Kenya acknowledging overcrowded conditions and inadequate shelter in the camps have contributed to an increase in sexual and gender-based violence.

The devastating consequences of GBV can lead to a whole range of violations of rights that include murder and possible death from HIV/AIDS, or acute and chronic physical injury, reproductive health problems, emotional and psychological trauma, stigmatization, rejection, increased gender inequality, and further exposure to other forms of GBV. GBV inflicted on women in the Dadaab refugee camp include rape, female genital mutilation, forced prostitution or slavery, sexual favors for food, torture, forced marriages for safety, child brides, and segregation within the camp.

It has been reported among women seeking safer havens in Dadaab refugee camp that there is always rampant rapes, beatings, stealing of property, and the murders committed by men staying in the same camps. On several occasions women would have to find ways to become dependent on the men to acquire food, shelter, and 'safety'; safety referring to not being raped by other men. It was observed that,

¹⁶⁷Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children,"p. 10.

Somali woman as old as fifty years of age and girls as young as four have been subjected to violence and sexual assault. Most of the women whose cases we investigated were gang-raped at gunpoint, some by as many as seven men at a time. Frequently, the agony was repeated; some women were raped twice or three times in the camps. In the vast majority of cases, female rape survivors were also robbed, severely beaten, knifed or shot. Those who had been circumcised often had their vaginal openings torn or cut by their attackers.¹⁶⁸

Indeed, it was also noted by a Somali woman refugee that,

Somali men bought food with their own money and this situation brought the ladies to be dependent on the men economically and physically. In order to eat and drink and to fulfill basic necessities we have to obey men against our will.¹⁶⁹

With the lack of basic needs in the camp and several instances of receiving inadequate monthly rations, women would have to depend on men regardless of what they thought about the man. If the family cannot afford feeding all children, an early marriage could be the result for the girls in the families so there is one less mouth to feed.¹⁷⁰ For families with younger daughters marriage is many times rushed into for the young girl in an effort to protect them from rape and abduction. Girls are usually married off for their own security or to establish alliances with local militia to safeguard their families.¹⁷¹ And because of the rushed marriage, young girls are subjected to violence that otherwise may not have been as prone to happen because the family took their time to find the right man for their girl. Many men in Somalia are aware of this reality and will seek out families with young girls on purpose and exploit the situation by promising the family he will take care of their child only to turn around and inflict harm on her.¹⁷²

Other common cases documented were women ‘marrying’ for safety and shunning away from communities if found raped. Most rapes are not reported because of the fear of being shunned. Even though it is a mixture of cultures, all have strong beliefs that if a woman is raped, it is her fault and she did something to provoke this. Several women report ‘marrying’ to avoid mass rape

¹⁶⁸Ibid, p. 11.

¹⁶⁹Oral Interview, with SalidaSandeer on 23/12/2015 at Ifo.

¹⁷⁰Oral interview, with Idris Farah on 12/12/2015 at Dagahley.

¹⁷¹ Ibid

¹⁷²Ibid.

from others in the camp. Usually women would endure physical abuse from a partner just to try and avoid being raped.¹⁷³

One of the most common times for women and girls to be raped is when they are out collecting firewood used as cooking fuel. The collection of firewood among the Somali is traditionally seen as a woman's role since it is part of their household duties. Humanitarian agencies provide food that must be cooked and don't provide firewood.¹⁷⁴ Women and girls who leave to collect cooking fuel outside the camp are vulnerable and that is when attacks occur most frequently. This fact is well known to the humanitarian agencies, including the UNHCR who reported this fact in their handbook for protection of women and children but no solutions have been created that keep this vulnerable group safer mostly as a result of funding.¹⁷⁵

These actions of GBV on women and children are usually inflicted by men. Each individual man has their reasoning for committing these acts of violence. However certain situational circumstances can increase these occurrences of violence to happen such as disruption of social structures, men's loss of their traditional roles, poverty, frustration, alcohol and drug abuse, to name a few.¹⁷⁶ Women and girls in these situations may feel obligated to stay with the men committing these acts because they see no other way of surviving independently, because there is a religious or social obligation to stay in the family, or because divorce is not permitted under traditional Somali judicial systems.¹⁷⁷ Tradition includes widows marrying a brother or uncle of the husband without her consent as the family decides for her. The pain is at times not inflicted by men. People in high positions of authority in the camp such as humanitarian workers and peacekeepers to bandits waiting to prey on those who leave the camp temporarily fall in this category of instigators of GBV. Religion in the camps causes more problems, especially when conversion occurs.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³Focus Group Discussion, at Dagahley on 30/12/2015.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Meredith, H. "The Failure of Self-Reliance in Refugee Settlements," *POLIS Journal*, Vol. 2, 2009, p, 7.

When collective forms of housing for women refugees that are more protected than encampments or receptions centres are made available, women (especially if they have children) may have greater access to them as they are more easily considered as a vulnerable group, rather than their male counterparts. Nonetheless, even when they are awarded full recognition of their status, they have greater difficulty in accessing a proper and stable housing solution if they are not in the host country with their husbands. For this reason, single female refugees are more likely to live in emergency housing for a long period rather than their male counterparts who have, among other factors, easier access to the labour market.¹⁷⁹

4.4 Security Challenges

For the last several years, insecurity has been worsening in Dadaab refugee camp, driving the quality of life down. Refugees complain they are plagued by armed groups, including both criminal gangs and Islamic militants. Insecurity is witnessed in various forms.

4.4.1 Location Challenges

The location of refugee settlements has an enormous impact on refugees' ability to exercise economic livelihoods, determining what resources, services and environment refugees will have access to and experience. Even if refugees experience no restrictions of rights beyond the requirement to reside in organized settlements, the location of settlements may effectively prevent refugees from exercising those rights. Land for organized settlements is negotiated from refugee hosting states by the UNHCR. By allocating refugees land which is underused, states tend to place refugees in remote, sparsely populated areas, where local services and resources are underdeveloped. It should be fairly evident from the outset that Dadaab refugee camp is located in remote and unsafe area with a limited access to basic services, such as clean water, health care assistance, heating, and food supplies.

¹⁷⁹Freedman, J. "Protecting Women Asylum Seekers and Refugees: From International Norms to National Protection?" *International Social Science Journal*, January 2010, p. 7.

4.4.2 Proximity to the Somali Border

A general security concern mentioned by most women refugees is the proximity of the Dadaab camp to the Somali border and the security concerns thereof. One senior level program officer who had previously lived and worked in Dadaab describes the security concern in the following way: “Dadaab is a walking distance, from Somalia, and many walk across. The border is porous. Even if we have the police here, there is another area where they can cross and so they cross”.¹⁸⁰ The proximity of the porous border and the ability to walk or drive across unchecked was articulated as the main general security concern. One reason for this security concern is that “militants” from Somalia are able to cross the border into the camps and harass women refugees.¹⁸¹

Indeed, the free flow of militants and criminals along with a vulnerable population of refugees across a porous border presents a security concern for aid delivery at the Dadaab camps. The inability to differentiate between these different people complicates and adds to the general security concerns at Dadaab refugee camp in general and to women refugees in particular.¹⁸²

4.4.3 Abduction and Trafficking

Abduction and trafficking mentioned in the last chapter is still a very real threat in the camps. In the camps there are rebel groups purposely ‘seeking refuge’ just to recruit and abduct bodies for their ‘war’. The UNHCR has reports the presence of rebel groups puts women and girls at a high risk of abduction and trafficking. Trafficking was not so common a few years back. But profits made by selling women and children, the second highest illegitimate business in the world, exploiters cannot pass up preying on dependent women and children. Not all are looking for money but bodies to use to fight in combat or be used in other ways such as ‘comfort women’ for the combatants. Many abductions or kidnappings occur when the woman or girl is in a remote isolated area such as when fetching firewood or water. “Many times when girls disappear the family labels it as ‘elopement’, running away to get married, when in reality she was taken by force and against her will”.¹⁸³ The difficult part is if a woman or young girl is able to return either through escaping

¹⁸⁰Oral Interview, with DahaboQolole, on 25/12/15 at Ifo II.

¹⁸¹Focus Group Discussion, at Kambios on 30/12/2015.

¹⁸²Focus Group Discussion, at Ifo 29/12/2015.

¹⁸³Focus Group Discussion, at Hagadeer on 29/12/2015.

or let go because no longer needed for services.¹⁸⁴ Returning home is not so simple. Several reports maintain that women are stigmatized to the point of being rejected after returning.¹⁸⁵

4.5 Challenges Associated with the Principle of *Non-refoulement*

This principle of *non-refoulement* prohibits returning an asylum seeker or refugee to a country where he/she is likely to face real risks of grave human rights violations or persecution or of further transfer to a third state where there would be a real risk of such violations.¹⁸⁶ This principle places a limit on the right of states to expel someone from their territory as an expression of sovereignty. This principle in international human rights places an obligation on states to recognize, secure and protect the human rights of all individuals within their jurisdiction and for the interpretation as well as the application to be done in a way to ensure its safeguards are adequate and practical. This principle binds all states regardless of signing the relevant treaties such as the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.¹⁸⁷

Accordingly, most States recognize that *non-refoulement* principle is valid from the moment the asylum seeker presents himself or herself for entry hence it encompasses both non-return and non-rejection at the border and implies at least temporary admission to determine an individual's status. Refugee Status Determination to a person temporarily admitted is vital since it prevents an individual from being returned or sent away to a country where persecution is awaiting and possibly a life-endangering situation.¹⁸⁸

Increasingly, however, the Government of Kenya has demonstrated its lack of commitment to protecting this crucial of refugee rights. In 2008, for instance, Kenya *refouled* hundreds who were attempting to cross the Somali border.¹⁸⁹ Not only are such actions a violation of international law, they are also in complete disregard of the provisions of the country's 2006 Refugee Act which guarantees the right to seek asylum. "No person shall be refused entry into Kenya if, as a result of

¹⁸⁴Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children,"p.23.

¹⁸⁵Focus Group Discussion, at Ifo II on 29/12/2015.

¹⁸⁶Porter, "The Maltreatment of Women and Children,"p.23.

¹⁸⁷Government of Kenya Refugee Act 2006.

¹⁸⁸Eva,M. "Refugee Rights in Kenya between Theory and Practice,"*Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift Fur KristischeAfrikastudien*. No. 23/2012, Vol. 12.p. 107-133.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

such refusal such person is compelled to return or remain in a country where the person's life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened on account of events seriously disturbing public order".¹⁹⁰

Other attempts to stem the flow of new women refugees into the country include the closure of the Kenya - Somalia border in January 2007. However, significant numbers of new women refugees have continued to appear at Dadaab, and the border closure has meant that new arrivals at Dadaab are not registered, receive no assistance, and no materials to construct shelters, which has resulted in extremely poor living conditions.¹⁹¹ Human Rights Watch reports that "tens of thousands of refugees arriving since August 2008, when the camps were declared full, have been forced to live on tiny, already overcrowded plots of land belonging to refugees of longer duration or to build their own makeshift shelters outside the camps' official boundaries".¹⁹²

In addition to flouting international law and the principle of *non-refoulement*, women refugees' freedom of movement and right to pursue economic activities are heavily restricted. The 1973 Alien Restriction Act authorized the Government to "require aliens to reside and remain within certain places or districts," but permitted the exercise of this power only in times of war or "imminent danger or great emergency".¹⁹³ In practice, however, women refugees have been confined to camps and reports as far back as the early 1990s describe instances wherein the homes of refugees living amongst the local population were demolished in order to force their removal to camps.¹⁹⁴ The Alien Restriction Act was replaced in May 2006 by the Refugee Act which continues to require refugees to reside in camps.¹⁹⁵ Those women refugees who violate the residency restrictions of the new law face heavily penalties including "fines up to 20,000 Kenya shillings, six months in prison, or both. Work permit fees and laws which prohibit refugees from undertaking permanent employment within the camps also effectively prevent refugees from legally entering the labour market. For those who can afford "work permits which cost 50,000 shillings and are valid for two

¹⁹⁰Government of Kenya Refugee Act 2006.

¹⁹¹Human Rights Watch "Report on Refugees in Kenya," 2009.

¹⁹²Ibid.

¹⁹³Maria, "Refugee Rights in Kenya," p.110.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

years. A work permit does not constitute permission to travel outside the camp and travel passes, at an additional cost, are required.¹⁹⁶

In sharp contrast to the policies of most states, Kenya also restricts employment of women refugees within camps; refugees cannot enter into an employment contract or earn salaries. Refugees may be hired ‘temporarily’ by the UNHCR and other NGOs but they receive only ‘incentives’, a dramatically lower wage compared to that received by Kenyans employed in similar positions. It appears that NGOs are inclined to employ refugees as much as possible as they can be paid lower ‘incentive’ wages; however, precise figures on refugee and Kenyan employment in the camps are not available.¹⁹⁷

A direct consequence of the Kenyan government’s highly restrictive refugee policy is that women refugee well - being is compromised and populations at both camps have remained “dependent on WFP food assistance since 1991”.¹⁹⁸ Evidence to the fact that women refugees are merely surviving is found in the poor health of many women refugees which is directly linked to an insufficient diet. The WFP Protracted Relief and Recovery Operations (PRRO) for Kenya found that anaemia was “exceptionally high in both camps” where over 70 per cent of children are anaemic and the percentages of women with anaemia range from 31 to 66 percent. Indeed, rations do not include fresh foods, so women refugees have little choice but to make do with the little they can produce with scarce resources.¹⁹⁹

Land for cultivation is not available to the refugees within or outside the camps and as a result all food production is done “on the few open spaces between shelters or on the verges of the main roads.”²⁰⁰ Prior to the arrival of the refugees, the region was sparsely populated; local people are mostly nomadic and engage in very limited localised farming and animal husbandry.²⁰¹ The economies of the two regions have not dramatically improved since the arrival of women refugees, and are largely supported by the ongoing humanitarian assistance and the jobs it creates at the local level. However, at the same time the continued presence of thousands of refugees in the region has

¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷Marc-Antoine, P. et al, “Refugee Camps or Cities: The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma Camps in Northern Kenya”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol.13, No. 2.2000, p. 218.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹⁹Ibid.

²⁰⁰Maria, “Refugee Rights in Kenya,” p. 112.

²⁰¹Ibid.

placed added stress on local resources, creating tensions between refugees and the local population as traditional livelihoods is increasingly threatened. Any expectations that women refugees can become self-sufficient under these conditions are either wildly optimistic or incredibly misguided.²⁰²

4.6 Failure by UNHCR to Provide Leadership in Self- reliance

Though the UNHCR is the foremost organization representing the rights and welfare of refugees, there are concerns that given its dependence on international donors and asylum state cooperation, the UNHCR is not fully in control of its own policy. UNHCR is limited in its ability to develop and implement best practices and women refugee protection often becomes a game of achieving that which is possible now as opposed to what is in refugees' best interest. In many cases, the UNHCR evidences a real reluctance to fight for refugees' best interests; another example of its desire to avoid political entanglements which it feels would tarnish its reputation. Yet, this desire to be 'apolitical' has been severely criticized, and is seen as a means to avoid responsibility for the treatment refugees receive and the conditions under which they live. By shifting the responsibility to host government authorities, however, international agencies can and do side step the political issue of whether a policy of settlement in camps is a good one or not, and are able to confine their attention to more technical matters of camp layout and infrastructure and organization²⁰³

In some cases UNHCR simply makes the best of a bad situation. The UNHCR's self - reliance strategy is entirely founded on the need to address budgetary short - comings rather than a dedication to improve refugee well-being. The UNHCR acknowledges the effects of financial constraints impose on its policy in the Handbook for Planning and Implementing Development Assistance for Refugees which suggests that the renewed interest in self – reliance is due in part to donors' current preferences. "Donors are increasingly interested in providing development aid, rather than humanitarian aid, to support refugees in protracted crises.

Self reliance, as the basis for development, is likely to increase donor interest in a programme"²⁰⁴

²⁰²Maria, "Refugee Rights in Kenya," p 123.

²⁰³Ibid, p 123.

²⁰⁴Meyer, S. "The refugee Aid and Development: Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-reliance of Refugees in Practice," UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR *New Issues in Refugee Research*, p.48.

Meyer pushes this admission a step further, arguing that self reliance under UNHCR policy is fundamentally “a reduction of material inputs, without any other substantive changes in refugees’ lives”. A policy which claims to foster real and meaningful self-reliance but which simultaneously requires a reduction of essential external inputs is counter intuitive and counterproductive.²⁰⁵ Similarly, the emphasis on women refugees’ abilities to meet essential needs in the UNHCR definition of self-reliance is questionable. Real and meaningful self-sufficiency must go beyond immediate and short-term basic needs and allow women refugees to plan for the future and invest in opportunities which in the long-term will improve their quality of life. The emphasis on essential needs raises concerns that the UNHCR’s self-reliance strategies are not substantially different from other encampment policies. Moreover, the inability to address the long term sustainability of refugee situations also highlights the UNHCR’s neglect of the temporal variable in women refugee situations, that is, how women refugees cope with changing needs over time. Though the UNHCR has begun to acknowledge that women refugee situations are becoming increasingly protracted, its policies fail to address how refugees’ needs change with time.

4.7 Coping Strategies

Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp face many challenges including, family disturbances, the loss of close relatives, unsafe situations, physical and sexual abuse, arrest, and torture. Somali women refugees may also experience states of social exclusion or discrimination, which are caused by their exclusion from the social system, lack of social status, unemployment, and financial difficulties associated with low levels of services and lack of social containment. In addition, Somali women refugees are exposed to posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety.

Somali refugee women in Dadaab refugee camp have not resigned to fate. This section examines the livelihood means employed by the refugee women and children to cope not only in the short term, but also on a long term basis. Mechanisms employed depend on individual's choices, experiences, knowledge capabilities and even cultural beliefs. The methods vary from striving to satisfy basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to reaching out for goals like empowerment, respect, dignity and preservation of life at families, household and community level. Somali women refugees are vulnerable in various ways during different phases of their experiences, and

²⁰⁵Ibid. No. 131, p. 50.

critical periods of development take place during forced separations from care givers and other family members. They leave their homelands under great duress and arrive in the host countries after having endured the indignities and horrors of flight and unprepared for what they may encounter here. In addition, they must cope with the trauma associated with the sudden separation from, and loss of family along with the challenges of settling in a foreign country. In this work, the term women refugee livelihood refers to a whole range of issues including basics survival mechanisms, legal, economic, social, educational, security, health, shelter and other concerns. There are several coping strategies used by Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp to cope with their hardships.

4.7.1 Seeking International Protection and Migration

In the first instance, fleeing from one's country to find safety and to protect any remaining assets can be regarded as a livelihood strategy. However, upon settlement in Dadaab refugee camp many Somali women refugees find it difficult to build up a decent livelihood and yearn for a better life elsewhere. For example, one of the reasons why many Somali women refugees dream about resettlement or to migrate beyond Dadaab refugee camp is related to the poor conditions of their life in the camps as well as the slim chances that they will be able to return to their country of origin in the foreseeable future. Most Somali women refugees over the years dream for resettlement has increased since the situation in the Dadaab refugee camp is getting worse and a solution to the war in Somalia seems far.²⁰⁶

Another important factor making Somali women refugees dream about a better life elsewhere is the need for peace and security. Somali women refugees do not only want to migrate in order to leave their harsh living conditions behind but also because they anticipate certain opportunities and conditions elsewhere. When asked many Somali women refugees say that the ultimate solution to their plight is for most to settle in an industrialized country. This yearning could be stimulated by the global communication revolution and the expansion of mass media and global mass marketing which shows images of a life that is easier, safer and that provides more opportunities.

²⁰⁶De Vriese, M. "Refugee livelihoods: A review of the evidence, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2006, p. 12.

However, Somali women refugees often have unrealistic expectations about their chances to be resettled. Only a few eventually resettled. Many others try to find their way through other channels. And even though Somali women refugees often become prey to human smugglers and traffickers, migration is still seen as the ultimate solution to rebuild their livelihoods and the livelihoods of many members of their families they leave behind.²⁰⁷

4.7.2 Receiving Humanitarian Assistance

On first arriving in the camp, an input of material resources is required to ensure that Somali women refugees are able to meet their basic needs. This constitutes the first line of coping strategy. In this regard Somali women refugees in the camp play an important role as safety nets. The camp serves as an important emergency protection function. The Camp provides a safety net by enabling the rapid and efficient disbursement of assistance in emergencies. Also some refugees may venture out knowing that their family members left behind in the camp will be cared for and that if they fail to make ends meet outside the camp, they themselves may return. Even though the camp may supply protection and security, they are not designed to enhance freedoms. The camp may provide security from persecution but if - in the long run - refugees are to prosper, and prove less of a burden, refugees must be given the freedom to make their own choices and to lead productive lives.²⁰⁸

Somali women refugees feel discomfort and fear to reveal their individual and collective efforts to sustain and plan for themselves. They believe that by their resourcefulness and hard work to survive, they will not be eligible anymore for UNHCR's assistance. Indeed, number of Somali women refugees had developed a dependency on receiving humanitarian assistance. Hence, humanitarian aid becomes a component of Somali women a refugees' livelihood strategy. When faced with a set of external interventions that can provide them with benefits, Somali women refugees will present themselves as needy and will try to receive what they can. Some refugees will even try to maximize the assistance to better support themselves and their households by ration card fraud or splitting households into smaller groups.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷Ibid.

²⁰⁸Machtelt, "Refugee livelihoods: A review of the evidence," p. 12.

²⁰⁹Ibid.

Consequently, resources from international assistance can provide basic needs as well as opportunities for livelihoods-strengthening. First, relief interventions target many parts of the livelihood system, ranging from food, water, shelter and health. Humanitarian aid and assistance in kind are often translated into commodities for trade often creating new regional economies. For example, it is common for some parts of the humanitarian package to be bartered or sold to obtain access to essential or desired items of food available locally in the host community. Secondly, aid agencies implement formal livelihood support programmes, such as income generating activities. And thirdly, livelihood opportunities are indirect economic stimuli to the local economy.²¹⁰

4.7.3 Relying on Social Networks and Solidarity

Communication and ties with relatives and friends living abroad has helped Somali women refugees survive the harsh conditions of their displacement. Assistance from family and friends abroad can include financial resources, such as remittances, as well as the social capital that comes with refugee networks which increase information flows and enable trade and relocation. These trans-national resources often complement assistance provided by humanitarian agencies and the Kenyan government.²¹¹

Many of the Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp rely on remittances sent to them by family members living abroad. Remittances are not solely to be considered as a form of social security, the money also serves as investment in business, to assist others, or for education purposes and hence support or help rebuild livelihoods. It has been noted that remittances has become an important source of support for Somali women refugees' daily subsistence in that, such remittances have helped Somali refugee women to join and become a number of businesses in the camp. One Somali woman refugee wonders what her life at the camp could have been without the financial help from her relatives. The camp resources are barely enough to sustain large families hence the financial help from the relatives comes in handy.²¹²

²¹⁰Ibid.

²¹¹Focus Group Discussion, at Hagader on 29/12/2015.

²¹²Oral interview, with ZeinabAbdi, on 25th /12/15at Ifo II.

Apart from social networks abroad, Somali women refugees also turn to social networks in Kenya. Kenya has no functional social welfare system for the refugees; hence the Somali Women refugees often try to fall back on solidarity. These networks have allowed the Somali women refugees to rapidly improve their livelihoods.²¹³ Another important strategy a number of Somali women refugees have readily adopted is the development of inter-household economic and social networks. These networks, based on solidarity, provide a safety net built on mutual aid in coping with limited income-generating opportunities and social insecurity. Such networks include the formation of micro-finance schemes. Somali women refugees have formed groups and approached organizations for start-up loans. The UN has financed Somali women refugees through their micro-finance schemes. The organizations lend money to women groups. Members of the group then borrow according to their needs. Micro-credits are often used to help Somali women refugees set up a small business or other income-generating activities.²¹⁴

4.7.4 Engaging in Trade and Services

As part of their livelihood strategy, Somali women refugees engage in petty trading, such as buying and selling goods like firewood, charcoal, vegetables, prepared food, cigarettes and sweets or in providing services including hair dressing, mechanics, food preparation, telephone booths, language tutoring or interpreting and money transfers. In most cases, cooperatives increase purchasing power with economies of scale in the purchase of materials and also reduce marketing costs. As such Somali women refugees have created a climate of trust, sharing and willingness to engage in group activities as a coping strategy in business.²¹⁵ Using cooperatives, Somali women refugees have started a wide range of self-reliance business projects to move away from being dependent on humanitarian agencies. Women have managed to save money meant for food, soap, and other household items to invest. The merry-go-round schemes have been started by women refugees groups where they contribute equal amounts of money and give it to one member at a time and the cycle continues until every member gets then the cycle starts again.²¹⁶

²¹³Oral Interview, with ZeinabAbdi on 25/12/15at Ifo II.

²¹⁴Wangui, "Settlement, Coping Strategies and Challenges," p.50.

²¹⁵Oral interview, with Fatuma Said Musa, on 28/12/15at Ifo.

²¹⁶Oral Interview, with FalisWeerar on 19/12/2015at Dagahley.

This has helped refugee women to start many types of businesses including retail shops, selling of alcohol, restaurants, kiosks, tables sales stocked with provisions and all sorts of food and non-food items, on the streets, in front of houses, selling literally anything that can be bought. Refugee women have also taken advantage of the hot temperatures at Dadaab to set up fruit processing stalls in the camp. Juice is processed from fruits like mangos, avocados and oranges. In doing the above, Somali refugee women at Dadaab have displayed ingenuity, industriousness and resourcefulness in managing their vulnerable situations. They managed to turn around what would otherwise be a miserable situation.²¹⁷

4.7.5 Investing in Education and Skills Training

Skills training and education are no luxuries. A society's level of economic growth and prosperity is intimately linked to the quality of education and training. Education and training should not be seen as ancillary but vital, primary and no less important than the provision of food and health care.²¹⁸ Somali women refugees regard education and training as anti-conflict strategy and as the principal means of making capital out of their exile and perceive education as a key to escape poverty. Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp struggle to ensure that their children could go to school. A mother at the Dabaab refugee camp is willing stay hungry but she feeds her school child.²¹⁹ Providing skills training for youth is a key component in promoting livelihoods for Somali women refugees. Women refugees argue that it is important for young people to develop the practical, intellectual and social skills that will serve them throughout their lives. Indeed, Somali women refugees see a close correlation of education and skills training to income-generation in the field of trade and services.²²⁰

4.7.6 Adopting New Roles

Somali women refugees have assumed the primary role of breadwinner. Women refugees have taken greater responsibility for their families often because men are absent, disabled or unwilling to do the lower status and lower paid jobs that are available. Faced with several hindrances in their attempts to establish a livelihood, Somali women refugee try to build up their social capital for

²¹⁷Wangui, "Settlement, Coping Strategies and Challenges,"p.50.

²¹⁸ UNHCR, Operational Update, September 2017, p. 3

²¹⁹Focus Group Discussion at Hagader on 29/12/2015.

²²⁰Oral Interview, with MuuminaMuhammed, on 19/12/2015 at Dagahley.

example by forming groups through which they harness their joint labour. Social capital helps to increase Somali women refugees' productivity, improves their access to income generating activities and facilitates knowledge sharing. Often, Somali women refugees do not earn cash income but exchange their labour for food or housing that contributes to their household's survival.²²¹

In their attempts to establish a livelihood, Somali women refugees and girls face particular risks. For instance, girls are the first to be pulled out of schools or face early marriage when household livelihoods are on the downturn, and women even risk sexual abuse or enter into prostitution to protect their families' lives and livelihoods. Somali women refugees are particularly susceptible to dependency on relationships with men as a way to sustain themselves and their families financially. As a result, teenage pregnancy is common in the camp, giving many young women the added burden of providing for a child and thus perpetuating the need to be dependent on a boyfriend.²²²

Somali women refugees' families are also obliged to make their children work. They often combine begging with paid activities such as selling water and food. Somali women refugees face particular risk from negative coping strategies. They are more likely to bear the brunt of food shortages, affecting their health as well as the health and long-term potential for their unborn or young children.²²³

4.7.7 Settlement in Urban Centres

An increasing number of Somali women refugees from Dadaab refugee camp make attempts of settling in urban areas in Kenya.²²⁴ This group of Somali women refugees often perceives urban areas as havens of modernity and democratic and economic prosperity. They hope to find safety and anonymity and better conditions allowing them to improve their livelihoods.

Somali women refugees are drawn to the city by opportunities to trade and use their skills to offer services to better-off city residents, the presence of hospitals and private medical services,

²²¹Oral Interview, with Muumina Muhammed, on 19/12/2015 at Dagahley.

²²²Oral interview, with Nunow Sofia, on 20/12/15 at Dagahley.

²²³ Oral interview, with Ramla Ahmed, on 12/12/2015 at Dagahley.

²²⁴Focus Group Discussion, at Hagader on 29/12/2015.

accommodation, schooling and vocational training, internet access to maintain contacts with relatives, transfer money and explore business opportunities, recreational and intellectual activities. Somali women refugees in urban areas are economically, politically and culturally tied to the larger urban community, therefore their livelihoods are inextricably interdependent upon local relationships and processes. Urban settings present specific opportunities for Somali women refugees seeking to improve their livelihoods.²²⁵

4.7.8 Religious and Spiritual Beliefs

Many of Somali women refugees use religion to cope with their situations. Religion bounds together refugee women through shared allegiance to institutions, beliefs, history and identity. Faith groups have been central to strengthening resilience and reinforcing the local processes of identity and connection that comprise the social fabric of women refugee communities disrupted by disaster or conflict. There is increasing recognition of religion's roles by the mainstream humanitarian community, as evidenced by emerging research and international dialogues on faith, such as the UNHCR Dialogue on Faith and Protection in December 2012.²²⁶

4.7.9 Commercial Prostitution

Commercial prostitution is another coping strategy among the Somali Refugee women In Dadaab refugee camp. Most of the women refugees abandoned the trade when they have earned some money, and started businesses such as saloons, tailoring and food vending. They were able to feed their families, pay school fees and also pay their monthly subscription to the merry-go rounds.²²⁷

4.8 Conclusion

The chapter has established that Somali women refugee in Dadaab refugee camp who flee their homes in search of sanctuary from violence too often find that there is no meaningful refuge; they have simply escaped violence in conflict to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps.

²²⁵Wangui, "Settlement, Coping Strategies and Challenges," p.52.

²²⁶ De Vriese, M. "Refugee livelihoods: A review of the evidence, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit," United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2006, p.13.

²²⁷Wangui, "Settlement, Coping Strategies and Challenges," p.51.

Women face particular protection and security risks in refugee camps, as well as the challenges of heading households while suffering from their disadvantaged status as women.

Somali women refugees are vulnerable to rape, sexual assault, and other forms of sexual violence. Moreover, women's feelings of shame and fear of community recrimination prevent women from reporting violence against them to local authorities and their families. Moreover, extended networks of family, neighbors, and community leaders that may have acted as a deterrent to abuse under normal circumstances no longer exist in the abnormal conditions and unfamiliar territory to which women refugees are exposed. Yet, generally women refugees have limited, or no, legal remedies against sexual and domestic violence, due to their unfamiliarity with, and wariness of, local police and judicial authorities, and because of a lack of proactive, timely, systematic, and sensitive responses by the relevant international and local authorities.

Somali women refugees, have not, however, given up in their efforts to surmount these challenges. Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp have devised used a wide range of livelihood strategies to cope with the situation, ranging from small businesses to dependence on remittances from relatives abroad. They demonstrated remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in dealing with an otherwise difficult situation. Most of these, however, were at best short term in addressing the numerous challenges they faced in a protracted situation. There is a need for knowledge and skills that have a long-term effect whilst aiding in reconstructing minds and providing vital tools for the future.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

This study on the challenges faced by Somali women in Dadaab refugee camp was an attempt to assess the life of refugees from agenda perspective. This study obtained several findings when considered in light of its objectives, hypotheses and theoretical framework. Several aspects deemed pertinent to the study were unraveled.

Chapter two of the study observed that Somalis use the word *burbur* ('catastrophe') to describe the period from December 1991 to March 1992, when the country was torn apart by clan-based warfare and factions plundered the remnants of the state and fought for control of rural and urban assets. Four months of fighting in Mogadishu alone in 1991 and 1992 killed an estimated 25,000 people, 1.5 million people fled the country, and at least 2 million were internally displaced.²²⁸ The chapter thus concludes that it was this crisis that led to the massive displacement of Somali women who ended up in Dadaab refugee camp as refugees.

Chapter three of this work introduces Dadaab refugee camp in north-east Kenya which was established in 1991. The status of the camp is not favorable because of the large number of refugees it hosts. Dadaab is home to close to 400,000 refugees as of 2017. This is 5 times the number it was originally designed to accommodate. This makes Dadaab the third-largest population centres in Kenya after Nairobi and Mombasa. The location of Dadaab camp is also unfavorable since it is located in the arid part of Kenya with temperatures of up to 48 degrees Celsius. The set up of the camp is such that the main Dadaab camp consists of the 'older' Dagahaley, Hagadera and Ifo refugee camps, with three further sites, Ifo East and Ifo West (combined they are known as Ifo 2) and Kambios.

²²⁸Ali, O. "Somali Refugees and State Security: Kenya as a Case Study, 2002-2012," Master of Arts Thesis University of Nairobi, 2014.

The study sought to establish the settlement of Somali women refugees in Dadaab Refugee camp. The study established that given the situation in Somalia, Kenya has become a favoured destination for asylum seekers fleeing the war affected Somalia looking for safety in Kenya. Most of these asylum seekers are women and children who end up at Dadaab camp as refugees. The five camps are managed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and food is provided by the World Food Program (WFP) as a dry ration. Upon their arrival the refugees have to adjust to the change of environment and scenery. Their hope is always that the situation at the camp would be much better than how the situation from Somalia. However, this is not always the case. The Somali women refugees have to come to the reality of the drastic change in their life. Their human rights of movement and the freedom to work, own property are taken away by the encampment policy. Women refugees also have to face the changing roles as men are absent at the refugee camps. Women hence have to take up the role of protecting and providing for the family. The encampment policy also means that the Somali women refugees have to fully dependent on external support, including humanitarian assistance.

Through interviews, the study established that settlement in the refugee camps wasn't easy and it comes with its challenges. The refugees having run away from danger of conflict in Somalia are hoping for a better condition that they don't get. The refugees go through the difficult process of adjusting to the harsh conditions in the camps. While at the camp, the Somali women refugees also come to term with the loss of their loved ones during the conflict back in Somalia. Hence upon arrival at the camp, some of the Somali women refugees suffer from traumatic stress disorder, depression, and anxiety hence are in need of counseling, something they don't get. Instead the Somali women refugees have to brave the unfavourable camps condition and set up their families in the camps.

Chapter Four is the main section of this project. The forced migration of Somali resulted in Refugeehood with the consequence of loss of freedoms and rights that are critical for human existence. In this sense, Somali refugees and women refugees in particular where exposed to a complex emerging crisis that was deliberately created. Their livelihood is stopped due to ongoing conflict or the fear they are running away from. Refugeehood in itself threaten self-sufficiency of refugees, since they left behind most of their assets and may have limited access to land, livestock, jobs and other sources of living during their time in camps.

The study looked at the challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp. Somali women refugee in Dadaab refugee camp who flee their homes in search of sanctuary from violence too often find that there is no meaningful refuge; they have simply escaped violence in conflict to face a different type of violence in the refugee camps. Generally terms therefore women in refugee camp face many livelihood challenges. These challenges include lack of basic needs, self-reliance challenges, sanitation and health challenges, housing challenges and negative attitudes toward women refugees. Other challenges that Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp face are gender based violence, security challenges, abduction and trafficking, challenges associated with the principle of *non-refoulement* and failure by UNHCR to provide leadership in self-reliance.

To further prompt the challenges facing the Somali women refugees at the camp, the researcher went out to the field to carry out interview and get first hand information from the respondents. The respondents who were mainly Somali women refugees explained how women face particular protection and security risks in refugee camps, as well as the challenges of heading households while suffering from their disadvantaged status as women. Somali women refugees are vulnerable to rape, sexual assault, and other forms of sexual violence. Moreover, women's feelings of shame and fear of community recrimination prevent women from reporting violence against them to local authorities and their families. Moreover, extended networks of family, neighbors, and community leaders that may have acted as a deterrent to abuse under normal circumstances no longer exist in the abnormal conditions and unfamiliar territory to which women refugees are exposed. Yet, generally women refugees have limited, or no, legal remedies against sexual and domestic violence, due to their unfamiliarity with, and wariness of, local police and judicial authorities, and because of a lack of proactive, timely, systematic, and sensitive responses by the relevant international and local authorities. The study of objective was met as the challenges facing women refugees were investigated, explained and analysed.

The study also set out to examine coping mechanisms of Somali women refugees at Dadaab refugee camp. The study established that despite the challenges Somali women refugees face at the camp, they have not resigned to the helplessness of the refugee situation. Instead, Somali women refugees have several coping strategies so as to try and surmount the challenges caused by refugee hood. Such strategies include, seeking international protection and migration, receiving humanitarian assistance, relying on social networks and solidarity, settlement in urban centers,

engaging in trade and services. Other strategies include, religious and spiritual beliefs investing in education and skills training, engaging in commercial prostitution and assuming the role of a breadwinner due the absence of men in the camp. Consequently, Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp have demonstrated remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in dealing with an otherwise difficult situation.

The study found out that Somali women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp devised wide range of livelihood strategies to cope with the challenges faced at the camp, ranging from small businesses to dependence on remittances from relatives abroad. The respondents, who were mainly women because of their interest to the study and their large numbers at the camps, agreed that Somali women refugees have demonstrated remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in dealing with an otherwise difficult situation.

From the research findings on the challenges facing Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp, proponents of both feminist theory and the resilience theory would find ample material to support their contention, that Somali women refugees face a number challenges associated with their gender. These challenges have forced the women refugees to take up new roles including adapting to the new circumstance they found themselves in. In sum, therefore, the study on Somali women refugees in Dadaab camp represents an attempt to understand the livelihood daily struggles among women refugees and how these challenges can be solved through the partnerships of the various stake holders dealing with the women refugee problems.

5.2 Study Findings

The study has shown that displacement within and from Somalia is one of the longest-running crises in the world today. Somalia's history of conflict reveals an intriguing paradox—namely, many of the factors that drive armed conflict have also played a role in managing, ending, or preventing war. For instance, clannish and clan cleavages are a source of conflict—used to divide Somalis, fuel endemic clashes over resources and power, used to mobilize militia, and make broad-based reconciliation very difficult to achieve. Most of Somalia's armed clashes since 1991 have been fought in the name of clan, often as a result of political leaders manipulating clannism for their own purposes. Yet traditional clan elders are a primary source of conflict mediation, clan-

based customary law serves as the basis for negotiated settlements, and clan-based blood-payment groups serve as a deterrent to armed violence. Likewise, the central state is conventionally viewed as a potential source of rule of law and peaceful allocation of resources, but, at times in Somalia's past, it was a source of violence and predation. Economic interests, too, have had an ambiguous relationship with conflict in Somalia. In some places, war economies have emerged that perpetuate violence and lawlessness, while in other instances business interests have been a driving force for peace, stability, and rule of law. Understanding under what circumstances these and other variables serve as escalators or de-escalators of violence or both is the subtle challenge conflict analysis faces in the Somali context.

The study established that other than the negative impacts that face the refugees in Dadaab camps, the camp has also had some positive impacts on the refugees and host communities. The positive impacts of refugee camps are in terms of trade and creation of employment opportunities. Some refugees and the host communities have benefited from the camps in terms of trade. In a bid to cope with the difficult life at the camps, some refugees have set up small business and trade as a coping mechanism. On the other hand the host communities have also benefitted from the presence of the refugees in the camps by trading food stuffs like meat and milk. The researcher was able to observe refugees who have lived their lives in the camps and developed thriving business.

The establishment of Dadaab refugee camps has also created employment opportunities that have been filled by both the locals and the refugees themselves. As observed, the locals have been employed as camp managers, teachers, security officers and UNHCR staffs. Likewise some skillful refugees have also been employed as teachers or translators in the camps. The schools in the Dadaab camps have employed both the local communities and the refugees as teachers. Dadaab had 22 primary schools, 6 secondary schools, 22 early childhood education center and a further 9 alternative basic education center. However, after the government directive to close the Dadaab refugee camp, 15 schools were closed. An observation that the researcher made was that there a number of Somali refugees were employed as teachers in the early childhood centers and alternative basic educations centers.

The schools in Dadaab refugee camps have also benefited the refugees. Some refugees have been successful and passed their exams to join good universities and make a better life for themselves. As established by the study one of the refugee student Ms. Deco Mohamed Ahmed after scoring

B-in Kenya certificate of secondary education qualified for a scholarship to study at a Canadian University.

The insecurity around the Dadaab camp has also come as a blessing in disguise to the refugees. The insecurity in the camps has scared off aid workers from the camp, leaving the refugees without important services. The situation forced aid agencies to finally hand over supervisory and management responsibility to the refugees.

The study established that the women face peculiar problems apart from the general problems faced by the refugees. Women and girls in the refugee camps face problems that are specific to them only. The problems they face in the hostile environment at the camp, makes them vulnerable.

The study also established that there are numerous laws that touch on the rights of women, these include, the Women's Protocol to the African Charter, to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislations of the woman's political rights and which obligates the host state to protect women asylum seekers. The penal code section 139, CAP 163 law of Kenya, which touches on the sexual offences act, backed by international laws like CEDAW, DEVAV and other laws that protect women. Despite such strong national and international legal tools, the level of such awareness is very low among women and also the level of implementation. As much as the laws exist, women refugees in Dadaab refugee camp are still faced with numerous challenges that directly touch on their rights, freedoms and needs.

The study also highlighted the resource scarcity in the camps. The camp provisions are never enough; the woman is forced by the above circumstances to go out and look for supplementary ways to survive at the camp. The process they are open to other forms of vulnerability like rape. For example, a women refugee is forced to go out to get firewood, water and small jobs in order to make ends meet. While out fetching firewood or water they are vulnerable to kidnaps and rapes. The woman is raped even when she goes to answer the call of nature, since these facilities are far off their shelters.

The refugee's main reason for running away from their country was that they can no longer trust their mother country to offer them the much needed safety and security which is much of the major things that women in general look for in their everyday life. Therefore coming to a refugee camp after leaving a ravaged country because of conflict and the resultant insecurity, brave it to make it

either on foot or by buses from a long journey expecting nothing but a better life at the camp. However at the camps they are faced with numerous challenges, some worse than the ones they are running away from.

Protection is one of the major challenges the study faced by women refugees in Dadaab. Somali women Refugees in Dadaab refugee camp continue to face significant protection threats. The Somali women refugees are vulnerable both in and out of the refugee camps. This is made worse by the security situation in the North Eastern region, where Dadaab is located. The region is mainly known for its insecurity. The North Easter region also has a porous and insecure border. The situation in Dadaab refugee camp and along the border with Somalia is highly volatile, leading to growing concerns for the safety of humanitarian workers. This further puts the Somali women refugees at risk since their protection is not guaranteed.

Basic needs are basic to anyone, refugees included. However at the Dadaab refugees' camp, Somali women refugees are faced with challenges of meeting their daily basic needs. As much as they are away from their hostile mother country, the situation is no better at the camp. Somali women refugees lack a stable means of livelihood. The camp is more of an encampment place rather than a place for providing and ensuring the good welfare of women refugees. Somali women refugees lack the basic means of living. These assets comprise human, natural, social, physical and financial assets. For most Somali women refugees they are often forgotten the moment they are in the camps. Their welfare is often at the mercy of the small resources they receive at the camps. The relief food and other necessities are barely enough to cater for them and their families. They are often forced to look for an alternative which makes them vulnerable to other forms of attacks and harassments.

The UNHCR is which the body tasked with looking at the welfare and safety of the refugees among other duties, hasn't done enough to ensure that the refugees are safe and their welfare is well looked after. The UNHCR depends on other international donors for funds that help them run the refugee camps. This has been a major concern. UNHCR ability to clearly set and implement policies and practices that will cater for the needs and safety of the women refugees is limited by its dependence on international donor funds. For often than not UNHCR is forced to work with what they have rather than what needs to be done. The UNHCR actions and mandate is directly linked to the willingness of international donors to provide funds.

The location of the Dadaab refugee camp is also a contributor to the challenge faced by women refugees at the camp. This is both security wise and resource related. Dadaab is located in Garissa County which is an arid resource scarce area. The area has also been faced with security concern and resource conflict for major part of Kenya's history. The area is also marginalized historically. Other than that, the region is closer to Somali border and the security concerns thereof. The border is porous. This therefore clearly shows that just by the fact that Dadaab is in Garissa County; the refugees are already facing serious security and resource challenges. For a women refugee it becomes worse because apart from her role as a provider, she must embrace the tough and harsh condition in the area to provide for her family.

Housing was also a major challenge. This is because Dadaab refugee camp hosts 3 times the number of refugees it was intended to. However despite this no major renovation has been done in the camps. The tents were still the same size as they before, other than the new set of tents. The Dadaab refugee camp set up ignores the needs of refugees. The houses in the camps in forms of tents are uniform. This means that it does not take into account that other households may be larger than others. Some families were forced to squeeze themselves in the small space provided in the camps. As for a woman refugee she is more focused on ensuring than her children are safer at the expense of her own safety. The woman refugee is willing to be rained on as long as her child is warm.

GBV is a common form of violence against Somali women refugees at the camps. The women are vulnerable to rape and other forms of sexual harassments both in and out of the camps. The devastating consequences of GBV can lead to a whole range of violations of rights that include murder and possible death from HIV/AIDS, or acute and chronic physical injury, reproductive health problems, emotional and psychological trauma, stigmatization, rejection, increased gender inequality, and further exposure to other forms of GBV. GBV inflicted on women in the Dadaab refugee camp include rape, female genital mutilation, forced prostitution or slavery, sexual favors for food, torture, forced marriages for safety, child brides, and segregation within the camp.

Other than the above mentioned challenges, Somali women refugees are often in constant fear of being refouled at any given time. In the face of terror attacks, the Kenya government has often disregarded the principle of non-refoulement. This principle in international human rights places an

obligation on states to recognize, secure and protect the human rights of all individuals within their jurisdiction and for the interpretation as well as the application to be done in a way to ensure its safeguards are adequate and practical. This principle binds all states regardless of signing the relevant treaties such as the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. However, in their security crackdown and as a security measure, the Kenyan government has in some instances refouled the refugees back to Somalia, given the fact that Somali women refugees form 80% of the refugees, they are often the main victims of the refoulements.

5.3 Recommendations

The government of Kenya should draft a Refugee Policy Manual on how to treat the refugee women in a more humane and dignified manner as opposed to the law of the jungle attitude at the camps.

The UNHCR should find a way to be self sufficient rather than waiting for international donor funds. This can be done through annual contribution by which is solely for refugee welfare and protection. This will help deal with issues of resource scarcity in the camps hence addressing the challenges of housing and basic needs.

The stakeholders should have a consultative forum to ventilate very seriously on why the legal framework in both local and international law are very good on paper but very wanting in implementation. The refugees, host countries and refugees related organizations should come together in consultative forums and address the challenges faced by the refugees.

Despite the fact that Somali women refugees have devised mechanism to cope with the challenges in Dadaab refugee camp, most of these mechanism however, were at best short term in addressing the numerous challenges they faced in a protracted situation. Hence, there is a need for knowledge and skills that have a long-term effect whilst aiding refugees to overcome some of these challenges.

There should also be laws to address the refugees who are born in Kenya at the camps. What happens to them, are they Kenyans or Somalis? This is because close to 10,000 refugees are third generation citizens hence were born in the camp. What happens to those Kenya refugees who were born in the camps and are repatriated?

5.4 Suggestions for further study

Further research could focus on an intersectional approach that factors the different cultures of women in Daadab Camp and their ways of resisting sexual violence.

A further research should be done on the challenges of refugee life on the physically and mentally handicapped.

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APPENDIX I: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Umami Kaltuma M. Bashir a Masters in Arts student in the History and Archeology Department, Faculty of Arts. University Of Nairobi (UON).

Topic: **CHALLENGES FACING SOMALI WOMEN REFUGEES IN DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP, 1991-2014.**

SECTION A

(Please complete this section by checking the correct answer)

1. What is your gender?

Male Female

2. What is your age Bracket?

20-28 28-35 36-43 44-51 Above 51

Section B: Vulnerability of the Somalia women refugees to attacks in the refugee camp

3. How did you come to Dadaab Refugee Camp?

.....
.....

4. What are some of the challenges you face in the Camp?

.....
.....

5. How are you managing living in the Camp?

.....
.....

6. How is your relationship with the Host Community in and around the Camp?

.....
.....

Section C: Somalia women refugee experiences in refugee context

8. Are women secure in the camp?

.....
.....

9. Are there instances that you barred from integrating freely with other Kenyans?

.....
.....

10. In your own opinion, what bars you from integrating freely with other Kenyans?

.....
.....

Section D: Sexual violence among Somalia women refugees

11. Are Somalia women refugees sexual harassed in the refugee camps?

.....
.....

12. If so, state how the Somalia women refugees are sexually harassed in the refugee camps.

.....
.....

13. In your own opinion, explain measures undertaken to reduce sexual violence among Somalia women refugees?

.....
.....

14. Do you experience Gender Based Violence in the Camp?

.....
.....

Section E: Legal and other protection measures in place for women refugees in regards to insecurity

14. Are there Legal and other protection measures in place for women refugees in regards to insecurity?

.....
.....

15. How effective are they?

.....
.....

16. In your own opinion, what should the government and other policy makers do to enhance legal and other protection measures against women refugees from insecurities?

.....
.....