

**KAKUMA'S SHADOWS: EVERYDAY VIOLENCE IN THE LIVES AND
LIVELIHOODS OF YOUNG PEOPLE LIVING AT THE TURKANA-KAKUMA
REFUGEE CAMP NEXUS**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an ethnographic case study of how ‘everyday violence’ impacts the lives of refugee and host community young people living in and around Kakuma refugee camp in Turkana County, northwestern Kenya. By engaging with scholarship on structural violence theory and the social determinants of health, this study demonstrates how structural and political exclusions intersect with age, gender and ethnicity to produce insecurity for both refugee and local host young people, and for young mothers in particular. It also demonstrates the complex forms of exploitation that refugee and host young people experience in their efforts to protect themselves against violence in their everyday lives, and how they use their bodies to mitigate the resource, rights and protection deficits that shape their life worlds. Fourteen months of qualitative fieldwork in Kakuma and its environs revealed that informal labour, intermarriages, practices of relocation and, sometimes, rape itself, have become multidimensional strategies used by both refugees and hosts to overcome the rights and protection deficits they face and to access the basic needs the humanitarian regime and the nation state have failed to provide.

I argue that these complex forms of exploitation and coping are forced by a continuum of systemic neglect and entrenched refugee-host co-dependency and co-survival. They also rest outside the purview of normative humanitarian policy and practice at global and national levels; they operate in the background of, and are unconsidered within child protection policies, host inclusion policies, and current institutionalized vulnerability categories. As a result, they are normalized, persist unabated, go beyond mere survival, and are not temporary. Yet, they result in only temporary safety nets. In the long term, these strategies lead to increased discrimination, lowered social capital, a lack of access to supportive resources, and further destitution for both refugees and hosts. I conclude that these are the shadows Kakuma casts. Because the shadows are symptomatic of power and of policy deficits, young refugees and hosts are systematically denied the right to dignity, health, education and well-being, the impacts of which are overlooked with grave consequences to human rights.

DEDICATION

For Simon and Oscar

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a study of how the ‘violence of everyday life’ endemic to Kakuma refugee camp and its outskirts of Turkana County¹ in northwestern Kenya impacts the lives, well-being and livelihoods of refugee young people and host Turkana young people working and at times living in the camp. It engages with structural violence theory and the social determinants of health scholarship to explore how hunger, poverty, health inequity and exclusion become embodied and expressed in the material, social and sexual relations among and between both groups. The objective is twofold. First, to understand and analyze how refugees and hosts experience, use and negotiate ‘everyday’ violence and exploitation as a livelihood measure to self-protect, and/or to mitigate and overcome these resource, protection and rights deficits. Second, to consider how a 27-year shared history of material, food and rights deprivations may be intersecting with age, gender and ethnicity to produce insecurity for both refugee and local host young people, particularly young mothers.

Fourteen months of multi-sited qualitative fieldwork in Kakuma refugee camps and environs revealed that, at the confluence of various discriminations between the refugees and the Turkana, their mutual dependency on aid, and similar levels of political/social marginalization in both settings, a continuum of refugee-host co-dependency and co-survival has emerged that forces complex gendered and at times sexually violent forms of exploitation to happen between and amongst young people from both communities. Profound food scarcity and the social and political marginalization endemic to both Kakuma refugee camp and its outskirts of Turkana County, the lack of durable solutions for refugees, and the systemic health inequities in the host community were found to be driving informal labour,

¹ Turkana is one of Kenya’s 47 counties, and is considered to be the most politically marginalized, highly remote, harsh, and insecure county with low levels of Government investment in infrastructure and delivery of basic services, including health and education.

transient inter-marriages, debt bondage, transitional ‘familyhood’ and, sometimes, rape itself, to become normalized strategies used by both refugees and hosts to secure the rights and access to basic needs that humanitarian agencies and the nation state have failed to provide. These self-protection strategies were also found to be intersecting and interlocking in one space—Kakuma refugee camp—to produce complex forms of exploitation and gender-based violence within the social, material and sexual relations between the refugees and the Turkana. To this end, though it is frequently acknowledged that refugees in Kakuma are better off than those from the Turkana host community, this dissertation demonstrates how it is the protection, resource and rights deficits as well as refugee entitlements *inside* the refugee camp itself that directly impact the host community in deleterious ways. Departing from mainstream literature on refugee-host relations, this finding reflects an under-researched phenomena: that the various and complex forms of gender-based violence situated in humanitarian long-term sequestered sites may lead to serious deleterious spill-over impacts on poor host young people.

I argue that the proliferation of these forced, complex and intertwined forms of exploitation and coping is symptomatic a continuum of systemic neglect and deprivation, and comprises the shadows Kakuma casts. As the empirical chapters will demonstrate, they operate outside of what Farmer (2004) calls the “ethnographically visible” (p.305) and are arguably an embodiment of what Nordstrom (2010) calls a vanishing point: “places where formal analyses and policy effectively cease” (p. 163). On the one hand, some of the forms of exploitation experienced by young refugees as examined in this dissertation rest outside the purview of normative humanitarian policy and practice at global and national levels; they operate in the background of, and go unconsidered within child protection policies and current institutionalized vulnerability categories. Young people themselves are in the shadows of humanitarian policy and aid, with no formal policy attending to their needs or

rights. As well, the Turkana are in the shadows of Kenya, as among the most politically marginalized citizens living in a remote, harsh, and insecure county that receives the nation's lowest levels of government investment in infrastructure and delivery of basic services, including health and education.

On the other hand, because these forms of exploitation are perpetually re-constituted through entrenched poverty, political exclusion and refugee-host co-dependency and co-survival, they have produced a functional yet intangible nexus between the host and refugee communities that is spatial, ontological, material and political. I define nexus herein as a juncture wherein social identities, lives and relationships of refugees and hosts overlap and, yet, rights do not. Spatially, there are no boundaries to this nexus in terms of roads, borders, homes and territory; it is not a 'place' but a social world whereby boundaries are marked not geographically but, rather, by identities and ethnicities. Ontologically, it is a crossroads between what is normative (i.e. addressed in policy), and the actual lived experiences of young people, that often go either undocumented and unknown, or known yet unaddressed. In this ontological space, not only do the Turkana live similar lives to the refugees but their coping mechanisms interweave with those used by the refugees and are mutually reinforcing; their vulnerabilities are shared, and their 'survival tactics' and livelihoods are entangled, co-dependent and sexualized such that, at times, reproductive practices and intimate unions such as marriages, and having children together constitute their relations. Politically, although their access to rights and protection is normatively considered distinct by virtue of one group being refugees protected under International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Refugee Law (IRL), and the other group being Kenyan citizens with sovereign rights, at this nexus, both groups experience political exclusion and deprivation to similar degrees.

I conclude first, that, materially and physically, lives are fundamentally insecure for *both* refugee and local host young people, particularly young mothers from both

communities. Second, these ‘everyday’ instances of sexual and non-sexual violence and exploitation have become normalized, proliferate and persist unabated, go beyond mere survival, and are not temporary. And, yet, they result in only temporary safety nets. In the long term, these strategies result in increased discrimination, lowered social capital, a lack of access to supportive resources, and further destitution for both refugees and hosts. This leads to an increased need for, and dependency on, humanitarian aid to survive. Third, these shadows leave young refugees and hosts to bear the burdens of deficits with their bodies in both sexual and non-sexual ways, whilst being denied their rights to dignity, reproductive health, and education. Both groups are forced to exist with no one institution accountable to address the vulnerability in their everyday lives. To this end, these complex forms of coping and exploitation have implications for policy makers, especially as the impacts of being relegated to the shadows are overlooked with grave consequences to health and human rights.

Research Study and Objectives

My dissertation research methods consisted of in-depth fieldwork. I spent a total of 14 months conducting qualitative fieldwork in three sites: Kakuma, Turkana County and Nairobi. Between June 2013-October 2014 and again in late 2015 and late 2016, I conducted key informant interviews and focus group discussions in Kakuma refugee camp with (1) young refugees; (2) both international and local NGOs; (3) host community Turkana families and local Turkana organizations; and (4) in Nairobi with staff working in UN offices and major NGOs (details and limitations are described in chapter three). I conducted open-ended unstructured focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews with the view to broadly understanding how ‘everyday violence’ impacts the lives of refugee and host community young people, as well as the social, sexual, familial and material relationships shared amongst and between each other. This overarching query was structured by the following sub-questions:

1. Though refugees and host communities may not be inherently vulnerable, how do the geopolitical, social and policy environments in which they live produce physical, social, and structural vulnerabilities?
2. What are the day-to-day lived experiences and varied impacts of resource and protection deficits on young refugees and the young hosts working and living in the camp?
3. How do entitlement losses, such as food insecurity, the deprivation of the host community and refugee economies intersect with child labour/sex work, ‘motherhood in childhood’ and reproductive health equity for both refugees and their hosts?
4. In what ways are child labour, sex work and early motherhood functioning in these environments as protective mechanisms and/or sources of resilience and acts of agency at household and community levels for both populations?

My objective in asking these sub-questions is to broadly explore and politicize how the impacts of the violence of poverty, food scarcity and social and political marginalization endemic to Kakuma refugee camp and its outskirts of Turkana County operate out of plain view and, yet, are systemic and normalized in the everyday. Thus, the primary purpose is to make that which is largely invisible or normalized both visible and politicized, and to put young people and their lived experiences and material struggles for shelter, food, medicine, income and need for protection at the center of the analysis of gender-based violence.

Rationale and Context

Located 95kms from the border of South Sudan (see Figure 1 below), the four camps comprising the Kakuma refugee situation are currently home to 190,000 refugees from 15 nations who have fled civil conflict and persecution in their own country.² Being one of the

² According to the 1951 Convention, a refugee is defined as a person who “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a



Figure 1: Map of Kakuma. Source: Oka, 2011.

oldest ‘protracted refugee camps’³ in East Africa, Kakuma is now moving into its 27th operational year. Within this context of protracted encampment, many refugees living in Kakuma survive with increasingly limited resources and decreasing access to basic entitlements such as food (WFP, 2014) and periodic and severe ration cuts (of up to 75% at times).⁴ Scholars have considered how a ration cut reduces the already meager food basket that some have described to be a measure on the part

of the UNHCR (and the international humanitarian and donor communities that comprise and shape the policies and politics of UNHCR) that ensures “physical survival, meeting the humanitarian imperatives that protect the right to life, but does not respect other basic human rights” (Hyndman and Giles, 2011, p. 362; Horst, 2008). Hyndman and Giles (2011) have noted that this gap between what is normatively accepted and reality has often resulted in refugees experiencing what one of their informants described as “don’t die survival” (p. 362).

Recently, a handful of scholars have highlighted that Kakuma’s refugees may engage with the thriving informal camp economies to fill resource deficits (Oka, 2011; 2014;

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” (UNHCR, 1951, p.1).

³ In 2009, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) revised the 2004 category of ‘Protracted Refugee Situations’ (PRS) from 25,000 refugees in exile for more than 10 years to a category to be applied to refugees and situations where ‘for 5 years or more after their initial displacement, [they remain] without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions’ (Hart, 2014, p. 220).

⁴ Shortages in funding for WFP to provide food assistance for protracted refugee situations are largely due to global increases in refugee emergencies (Interview, Food Security and Nutrition Advisor, UNHCR, March 2014).

Newhouse, 2015). Broadly speaking, these informal economies largely center on barter, trade, and credit. Though considered ‘attritional’ (Newhouse, 2015), Kakuma’s ‘informal economies’ involving barter and trade of food rations to obtain non-food items are increasingly positioned as ‘essential’ for three reasons: first, because they fill relief gaps and deficits with food, commodities, and non-food items not included in the relief package (Werker, 2007; Oka, 2011); second, they allow refugees to “regain a sense of normal” (Oka, 2011, p. 228); and third, they generate upwards of a million dollars a year (Ibid.). Oka (2011) further elaborates on the specific importance of the market in food as a community builder among refugees:

The relief workers at Kakuma have made their peace with the informal economy as they recognize its role in reducing the two main malaises that routinely affect forcibly displaced populations: ennui or lethargy and/or violence...the same traders [who sell food] also supply clothing, cosmetics, electronics, books, and other goods and services that enhance the quality of refugee life. However, it is the trade in food that enables the refugees to engage in relationship and community building through food sharing and feasting and hence is the primary mechanism by which the amount of lethargy and/or violence is reduced (p. 257).

Though Oka’s (2011; 2014) general observations are likely true for many refugees inside Kakuma, he does not consider the ways in which entitlement losses and refugee economies intersect with age, ethnicity, sex work and ‘motherhood in childhood’, or how resource deficits relate to rights and protection deficits. My dissertation considers how the self-protection strategies of young refugees and hosts, and the needs of young mothers from both host and camp communities, may give way to additional ‘economies’ that involve barter and trade to occur, not in the market, but in the home. I ask whether or how the informal economies of barter and trade traverse the physical market stalls to encroach on the homes and bodies of young people; how the markets may have become sexualized for young people through coercive relations, or as a possible vector for discrimination, exploitation and/or informal labour. In short, I consider how, for young people, violence may or may not operate

within and alongside the enhancement of lives, particularly in how they cope with or respond to resource deficits with their bodies.

This dissertation also considers how and whether practices of barter and trade, against a backdrop of resource deficits inside the camp, have encroached on the health and productive livelihoods of young Turkana hosts who work and live inside the camp. This is relevant as Kakuma is no exception to the cartography of containment characteristic of



Figure 2: Map of Turkana District/County. Source: The New Humanitarian (IRIN), 2018.

refugee camps, which “typically occurs in the most desolate and dangerous settings in harsh, peripheral, insecure border areas” (M. Smith, 2004, p. 38), often set along the periphery of neighboring countries, on infertile, arid lands (Goodwin-Gill, 2001; Napier-Moore, 2010). The immediate outskirts of the camp are vast semi-arid lands

home to the Turkana⁵, indigenous agro-pastoralists known not only for violent and internal cross-county border and inter-communal cattle raiding with neighboring Kenyan, South Sudanese, Ethiopian and Ugandan tribes (see Figure 2, Map of Turkana County), but also for their abject poverty, with rates of hunger and malnutrition four times the national average (UNICEF, 2014). According to Aukot (2003), Turkana County⁶ can be described as a complex humanitarian emergency, which is characterized by “political instability, armed conflict, large population displacement, food shortages, social disruption and collapse of

⁵ Turkana refers to the ethnic group as well as the region of Kenya in which they live.

⁶ From independence Turkana was referred to as Turkana District. Since the new constitution and devolution of Government the country has been divided into 47 Counties, one of which Turkana County.

public health infrastructure” (Brenner & Nandy, 2001, p. 147; Toole and Waldman, 1990; 1997; Iqbal, 2010), and a context wherein “scores of people have been left dead, starving, displaced, homeless and hopeless” (Klugman, 1999, p. 22). As Oka suggested in 2011, Turkana is “one of the harshest landscapes in East Africa” (p. 225).

Given the marked deprivation in the region, and the level of food insecurity inside the camps, refugee studies scholars have often cited violent and contentious relations between the Turkana and refugees due to fierce competition over scarce natural resources as well as livestock. This is of import to my study because it has long been emphasized that young refugee girls and women in Kakuma are highly vulnerable to rape at the hands of the Turkana hosts, sometimes due to retaliation for the perceived refugee encroachment on their land and resources. Scholars have documented that girls and women refugees in Kakuma are raped in their homes (Horn, 2010), in the camp communities or outside the camps by the Turkana while attempting to fetch firewood (Crisp, 2000). Little research has explored, however, the degree to which Turkana are exploited—physically, sexually and materially—by refugees.

As this dissertation will demonstrate, the circumstances are ripe for various forms of exploitation to occur against the more marginalized host community members by the refugees, mostly given that in terms of economic destitution, the refugees are generally better off than the Turkana. Most explicit, however, is the dynamic that has been observed since 1992: the deprivation of the Turkana host community that has led to a dependency of some Turkana on the refugee camp—and its informal economies of barter and trade—for their livelihoods. The Turkana cross the camp boundaries everyday as part of a livelihood strategy that includes child labour, most notably domestic work. As observed by Grabska (2011), “[s]ome younger [Turkana] girls and women offer sexual services to the predominantly male refugee population” (p. 83) inside the camp. However, few attempts have been made to understand or critically analyze how these relationships produce health inequities, unintended

pregnancy and fissures within the social and moral fabric of Turkana culture. The empirical chapters of this dissertation offers three windows through which to view and better understand these relationships and their ill-effects on the Turkana host community.

My research also comes up against a backdrop of recently emerging NGO and UN agency reports disseminating the results of large-scale research into refugee-host relations in Kakuma, that lack any in-depth analysis into the lives of young people. Most recently, the World Bank Group (Vemuru, Oka, Gengo, and Gettler, 2016) published a report showing beneficial relations between the two groups of young people, including intermarriages. Yet, power relations that shape protection strategies, livelihood and impoverishment among the refugees and the Turkana remain unexplored. For example, the degree to which informal marriages between the refugees and the Turkana are based on access to food, and by extension are impacted greatly during ration cuts, is unknown. Nor is there data on the transient or disrupted nature of intermarriage when a refugee is resettled or repatriated or does not pay dowry. Likewise, it is not generally known what happens to children of these unions, in the case of familial relocation if the child's father is a refugee. In short, our gaps in knowledge abound. Further, given that poverty fuels gender-based violence and gender-based violence fuels poverty, that 51% of Kakuma's refugee population are under the age of 18 (UNHCR, 2014), and that over 60% of Turkana's population are under the age of 19 (UNHCR, 2018), it is imperative to include young people from both communities in the broader narrative of gender-based violence in refugee settings.

Significance of Study

My aim has been to engage in a research project that contributes to the above neglected areas of concern. In doing so, this study marks a contribution to critical and multi-disciplinary feminist literature on gender-based violence in refugee contexts as well as expands health equity scholarship to humanitarian, refugee and migration studies. Few

scholars of refugee or health studies have centered their attention on how protection, rights and resource deficits characteristic of protracted refugee situations intersect with health inequities in the everyday lives of young refugees to further contribute to experiences of sexual or gender-based violence. Fewer still have considered how the health disparities and food insecurity in the everyday lives of young people from the poorer host community who engage with camp life for livelihoods, health care or social/sexual relationships fuel gendered forms of exploitation inside the camps, and the violent relations between refugees and hosts. With a focus on both young refugees and the host community living in and around the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camps located in northwestern Kenya, these largely unstudied dynamics form the foci of this ethnographic case study.

Further, though there is no shortage of literature on refugee-host relations, there is little research about how refugees enter spaces that are politically and economically deprived and socially marginalized; sites where hosts are more impoverished than refugees and more exposed to environmental insecurity and resource depletion. There is also dearth of attention paid to the young people whose homes are the harsh, remote and resource poor environments in which many long-term camps are located, and which are prone to drought and near-famine conditions. These young hosts experience worse degrees of vulnerability to hunger, abject poverty and exclusion than refugees, and may be subject to similar gendered forms of exploitation and gender-based violence when crossing the porous borders into the refugee camp to work and vie for food security and livelihoods. This study will contribute to scholarship in these areas by focusing on (1) young people who are hosting refugees and who are pastoralists vulnerable to severe food shortages and marginalization; (2) how famine and drought disrupts relations and may lead to or exacerbate gendered forms of exploitation; and (3) how or whether health inequities already featuring in the host community contribute to further marginalization and exploitative relations among and between the communities.

Lastly, my key findings also build on—and largely complicate—the literature regarding ‘motherhood in childhood’ (UNFPA, 2013) and ‘safe motherhood’, as well as research on familial relocation for pastoralist young people subject to drought, conflict and impoverishment, and the increasing scholarship on age and gender in protracted humanitarian situations.

Terminology and Assumptions

Though these will be fleshed out in the following chapters, I wish to point out the assumptions on which this study and its argument are premised, interpreted and designed. First, building on critical research that argues that “women refugees are not vulnerable in any essential way” (Hyndman, 2004, p. 200), this study assumes that no young person from either the refugee community or the Turkana host community is inherently vulnerable. Rather, their vulnerability is a product of, and perpetuated by, structural, social, political and economic circumstances and power relations. Thus, life choices and coping mechanisms are largely reflective of tensions between agency and structure, between the individual self and the social bodies wherein vulnerability is relational and contextual (Clark-Kazak, 2007). To this end, I am not suggesting that they do not experience vulnerability, but I am working on the assumption that they are also not passive victims resigned to circumstances.

Second, this study does not apply normative standards to age categories, which are largely a western construct that demarcate childhood from adulthood, used to define and segregate groups for easy administration of programs and policy (Boyden and Howard, 2013; Malkki, 2010). According to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) (OAU, 1990), to which the Kenyan Government, UNICEF and UNHCR conform for operations in refugee contexts, a child is considered to be anyone under the age of 18. In speaking with refugee girls and refugee young women who have been engaged in sex work from the ages of 13,

their lived experiences, choices and decision-making power do not reflect the argument that children are dependent or ignorant or apolitical (Boyden, 1994). Though the ‘needs’ of young female sex workers weave in and out between ‘child’ and ‘adult woman’, they are social beings with a highly political ‘age-position’ (Hart, 2014) and so their choices and lived experiences challenge, resist and contest the normative identity constructions of chronological age and/or physical development as a marker of childhood. Further, young refugee mothers, even those who are 15 years old, are indeed mothers. They are engaged in work and taking care of a child, and as full-fledged social beings are able to exercise self-determination and agency.

Likewise, the Turkana culture does not conform well to institutionalized legally codified chronologically age-related categories such as ‘child’, ‘youth’ and ‘adult’. A Turkana girl/adolescent enters ‘womanhood’ upon puberty (personal communication, various communities in Turkana, 2013; 2016) and upon marriage (Chetail, Scarborough, Tesfaye and Gauntner, 2015), whether she is 10 years of age or 19 years. Boys are considered to have reached ‘manhood’ once they have their own herd, and tend not to get married until age 30-35 years (Interview, Host Community, December 2013). I thus use ‘young people’ in this context when referring to those married and unmarried, post-pubescent and roughly under the age of 30. It should be noted that the most economically active young people in Kakuma camp are Turkana boys and young men between the ages of 8 and 17. Yet, with respect to Turkana culture, even those who are 8 years old are considered to be ‘young people’. To this end, references to young people for both refugee and host contexts will be inclusive of adolescents from the age of puberty to 30 years of age. If the terms child or children are used, it is likely reflective of an interview with NGO or UN staff, who rely on policies pertaining to child protection, or with a refugee who self-identifies as not yet having reached puberty.

Chapter Outlines

The first three chapters ground the dissertation in the theoretical frameworks, debates and methods employed to analyze the key findings. Chapter one offers a further backdrop to the study's wider significance and rationale by providing the theoretical, conceptual and thematic parameters of the dissertation. It details the frameworks of health equity, structural violence and the concept of 'bare life', explores literature on refugee camps, and ends with a review of scholarship that focuses on refugee-host relations. Chapter two reviews gender-based violence within protracted camps, policies related to child protection as well as the debates regarding the failure of policies to effectively address the needs and protection of young people in refugee settings. Chapter three details research design and methods. It explores critical ethnography, feminist principles of reflexivity and reciprocity. I describe the evolution of the methods chosen to collect, transcribe and analyze the data, as well as to ensure that ethical standards were followed. I also outline the limitations of the study.

Chapter four presents the context and history of the ways in which rights violations, inequities and structural vulnerabilities came to be and why they persist both in Kakuma camps and within the Turkana host community. I then review Kenya's history of playing host to refugees and its encampment policies. I contextualize the social disadvantage, famine conditions and impoverishment characterizing Turkana, beginning with the colonial encounter. The last section traces the intersections between the refugees and the Turkana from 1992-2012 through three windows: livelihoods and land, gender-based violence and dependency on the camp.

Chapter five draws from fieldwork to situate the resource and protection deficits that the Turkana and refugees face on a daily basis. The objective is to establish the foundation for the argument that deficits in food, health care and education, combined with drought/environmental degradation and human insecurity, are contributing to the complex

forms of exploitation operating at the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus. Chapter six explores how informal labour and sexual exploitation are linked with broad configurations of social exclusion and marginalization for both communities, and how these protection mechanisms are the ways refugee and host youth individually cope with their geo-political, structural, ecological and material environments, and the ways in which they navigate inequities and resource deficits, and how these intersections and inequities impact health, choices, and access to protection.

Chapter seven considers how young refugee and young host mothers actively mitigate the politics of hunger and actively navigate structural violence. I illustrate that the same limited access to justice, food insecurity, limited health care and social services that drive voluntary engagement with sex work or child labour are the same factors driving reproductive/maternal health inequities. Further, this chapter demonstrates how health inequities, food insecurity relate to exclusion, practices of relocation and intermarriages, and are at the root of the gendered forms of exploitation and co-dependence that detrimentally impact the bodies, health, choices, lives and livelihoods of both young people from the camp and from the host community.

Chapter eight concludes the study, and presents an analytical discussion summarizing the contributions of this study to research and policy in light of the broader literature and debates reviewed in the first two chapters. As well, key findings from the empirical chapters are revisited and ideas for future research are raised.

CHAPTER ONE

Literature Review: Theoretical and Key Frameworks

This chapter presents the broad conceptual and thematic parameters of the study and the theoretical frameworks and literature most relevant to the analytical tasks of the dissertation. I begin with a review of scholarship centered on the theoretical lenses that frame this study: health equity, structural violence, and the concept of bare life. I then move on to the areas in which this dissertation makes a contribution, namely literature on camps and refugee-host relations. I conclude with a brief summary of key debates reviewed, how they overlap, and further justify the key methods and frameworks used to direct this study.

Two caveats should be highlighted: first, a comprehensive review of the excellent scholarship in any of these areas of focus is beyond the scope of the study. I have limited this literature review to research focused primarily on health equity, the anthropology of violence, and refugee studies. Second, the literature review in this chapter does not include a description or overview of scholarship on gender-based violence concerning protracted refugee situations, young refugees, or policies or Conventions as they relate to the protection or the rights of young people. These latter will be addressed in the next chapter.

The Political Economy of Vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability, as well as how it is lived out in different ways in different contexts, is a core focus of studies centered on contexts of disaster, war and displacement. The discourses, definitions and policies concerning vulnerability are largely sector-specific and span areas such as public health, sociology, and anthropology and health equity, among others. Therefore, conceptually, vulnerability is ubiquitous, but there are a few clear definitions of this term. Broadly, it is agreed across disciplines that vulnerability is multifaceted and intersectional, and may include overlaps of social exclusion, poverty, natural disaster, and various forms of human insecurity, all of which pose risks to individuals, households, and communities.

A somber reminder of the limited potential of humanitarianism to address vulnerability to sexual exploitation and gender-based violence in conflict and displacement settings was given in the lead-up to the First World Humanitarian Summit held in Istanbul, Turkey in May 2016: “Humanitarian agencies have clearly improved their ability to provide assistance. Mortality and malnutrition are down; disease control and education are up. In contrast, the protection of vulnerable women and children has not improved over the last decade” (England, IRIN news, May 2016). Critical humanitarian scholars assert that the failures of the many efforts in both policy and praxis that focus on vulnerability to gender-based violence (GBV) in varied contexts are due to more attention being paid to the “symptoms of risk rather than the underlying causes of inequality and poverty” (Pells, 2012, p. 562). Such underlying causes include a lack of funding or resources, inequitable and/or non-inclusive policies, social segregation and marginalization, the lack of adequate health care, hunger and food insecurity, and political and social exclusion. These underlying causes are what I will refer to as protection, rights and resource deficits, which add up to what anthropologists call “the violence of everyday life” (Kleinman, 2000) and “structural violence” (Farmer, 2003); and to what health equity scholars posit as the social and economic determinants of health (Wilkinson, 1996; Braveman, 2006; 2014); or to what Agamben (1998) considers to be constitutive of “bare life”.

As reviewed in the introductory chapter, the aim of this dissertation is to show how the impacts of protection, rights and resource deficits on young people are overlooked with grave consequences for gender-based violence, refugee-host relations and human rights. Of particular import is the human right to health and to food, and how the lack of availability or access to health care resources and services, as well as food shortages, have led to various survival tactics that perpetuate gendered forms of violence among *and between* two groups. I draw primarily from the anthropological lens of structural violence and from health equity

and the social determinants of health scholarship because these frameworks take an ‘underlying causes’ approach to render visible the effects of the political economy of vulnerability. This means they help to illustrate the degree to which poverty is a key circumstance under which a range of rights (and thus freedoms) is denied, including the right to food and the human right to health. Drawing upon structural violence theory will help frame my central analysis of how poverty and health inequity - rights, resource and protection deficits in the refugee camps are exacerbating forms of exploitation for both populations.

Finally, bare life is an important concept for two reasons. First, it provides a framework for understanding the structurally imposed everyday suffering within a complex ontological and politico-spatiality that I refer to as a nexus. Second, though this study challenges the strict binaries Agamben (1998; 2005) has invoked in his work, the concept of bare life draws stark attention to the impacts of geo-political practices of exclusion/inclusion that are imposed and organized in the everyday lives of the most marginalized. This study aims to further illustrate the impacts of practices and embodiments of exclusion/inclusion on young people, their social, material and intimate relationships, and their bodies.

The following sections describe each of these frames.

Health Equity

Health equity scholarship departs from the normative and dominant paradigms of public health by maintaining that health, and health disparities, are determined not solely by behavior or individual choice but more so by social, economic and political conditions, distributive justice, social inequality and relations of power. Inequality and poverty in particular have been shown globally to have considerable influence over one’s health and life expectancy (Virchow, [1848] 1985; Wilkinson, 1996; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010). Scholars have further shown that the unjust embodiment of poverty and social inequality often manifest as disparities in health amongst the most marginalized, racialized minorities and/or

socially segregated or economically disadvantaged members within a group (Braveman, 2014). As an ethic, health equity thereby brings into view the injustice of “plausibly avoidable health differences” (Braveman, Kumanyika, Fielding, Laveist, Borrell, Manderscheid and Troutman, 2011, p.149) or health disparities, including early deaths and chronic disease. Since social exclusion and poverty are understood to be very much a “part of a wider economic, social and political system” (Eikemo & Bambra, 2008, p. 187; Hofrichter, 2003; Daniels, Kennedy and Kawachi, 2000), and because solutions to inequity rest in policy and the will of those in power, disparities in health are considered to be political. Overall, scholars working with a health equity lens share “concerns about social justice—that is, justice with respect to the treatment of more advantaged vs. less advantaged socioeconomic groups when it comes to health and health care” (Braveman, 2014, p. 5).

Three aspects of the broad political economy of health, and health equity as an ethic, and the literature focused on health disparities and their social determinants are of import to this dissertation. The first is the idea that policy plays a central and powerful role in how an individual or a community is entrenched in the production of the everyday social relations and the material, economic, social and political conditions that work to either increase or decrease levels of social exclusion, social inequality and marginalization experienced at individual and community levels. Policy can largely shape the conditions of social inclusion/cohesion, racism, dispossession, and systemic disadvantage through their dictates for resource distribution (or misdistribution) and through prescribing the location and conditions of access and availability of health services. A large body of the social determinants of health literature thereby assert that class-based living conditions (nutrition/food security, housing, neighborhood conditions, access to public health programs/health care services, ethnic and aboriginal status, and transportation) and *social policy and government regulations* (income and poverty, social safety net, education, work

conditions/ employment status) are underlying determinants of health and health inequities, and thus offer protection against rights and resource deficits. In turn, public policy reform within these sectors is considered the pathway to changing the conditions of peoples lives that leave them marginalized and with only limited access to their rights, and to achieving health equity (Raphael, 2006; 2009a; 2009b; Birn, 2009; Dahlgren & Whitehead, 1992; Wilkinson & Marmot, 2003; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010).

Second, two health disparities, or embodiments of inequality, are of particular import for this study: poor reproductive health outcomes/services, and malnutrition vis-à-vis hunger and food insecurity. Scholars have mounted significant evidence since the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development that reproductive health and reproductive suffering in contexts of displacement runs alarmingly parallel to levels of social disadvantage, deprivation, food insecurity and various forms of violence: militarized, gender-based, symbolic and interpersonal (Whiteford, 2009; Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; 2010; Petchesky, 2008). As will be further documented in chapters two and seven, it has also been long acknowledged that, while policies and field guides addressing reproductive health rights, gender-based violence and the economic resources of refugee women abound, reproductive and maternal health outcomes for those most at risk in settings of conflict and displacement remain poor (McGinn and Guy, 2007). Of import to this dissertation is that, though there is increasing attention paid to how gender-based violence is a determinant of reproductive health (Austin, Guy, Leejones, McGinn, and Schlecht, 2008), there is a paucity of focus on the material, political and moral antecedents of the social determinants of reproductive health in conflict-affected and refugee settings. This includes the stigmatization of “survival sex” and what politico-moral norms or circumstances delimit access to safe health care and thus influence the decision to have an unsafe abortion, for instance. Little attention has also been paid to how reproductive health disparities and inequities between groups can further

exacerbate the conditions that increase risks to gender-based violence and complex forms of exploitation occurring among them.

Third, the framework of health equity allows for a more in-depth understanding of the politics of hunger along the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus, which is a drought-prone semi-arid land. When one imagines drought, we may imagine famine, leading to death and unavoidable starvation. According to de Waal (2005) and other famine scholars (Watts, 2013), famine discourse and praxis, measurements and the definition of famine as being “mass starvation onto death”, are connected to the population theories of Thomas Malthus. Malthus (1798) suggested that famine was nature’s way to curb population growth. Scholars have discredited Malthus’ ‘common sense’ theories, the most notable being Amartya Sen (1981) who argues that famine is not the phenomena of there “not *being* enough food, but in people not *having* enough” (Sen, 1981, p. 1 as cited in de Wall, 2005, p. 11; see also Keen, 2008; Watts, 2013). Famine is an outcome of inequitable distribution and is a matter of social vulnerability at global and local levels. Drawing largely from Sen (1981), many other scholars have further disrupted the hegemonic Malthusian view of famine by showing convincingly that famine is more so a matter of health equity, namely the maldistribution of resources, social security and capital, as well as social disruption, lack of medicine and health services, water and constrained livelihood opportunities, as opposed to simple food shortages (Keen, 2008; de Wall, 2005; Watts, 2013). Famine is, in short, an issue of social injustice.

Moreover, as de Waal (2005) writes:

Several kinds of famine are identified; those that involve hunger, those that also involve destitution and social breakdown, and ‘famines that kill’. This concept of famine is based upon the trinity of hunger, destitution, and death. Of these, destitution and its corollary of social breakdown are most important. (pp. 6-7).

Importantly, the corollaries of social breakdown and destitution for pastoralists the world over is highly gendered. Like refugees living in protracted states of limbo, contending

with food insecurity and limited rights, pastoralists contend with marginalization on multiple levels—economic, social and political—and are thus socially vulnerable. To this end, both pastoralists and refugees are subject to ‘extreme adversity’ (Boyden and de Berry, 2004). The impacts of severe food insecurity and drought not only include erosions of livelihoods through the erosion of livestock but the malnourishment of children, and increased burdens of care placed on women. These impacts will be explored in detail in the empirical chapters five through eight.

Structural violence

The linkages between hunger, health and poverty provide an entryway to a discussion of structural violence. Johan Galtung (1969; 1975) was the first to coin the term *structural violence*. In differentiating structural from institutional violence, he asserted structural violence to be “the indirect violence built into repressive social orders creating enormous differences between potential and actual human self-realization” (Galtung, 1975, p. 173). Since the 1990s, scholars have used this term to examine and expose the invisibility of political exclusion and social inequality and their impacts on people’s everyday lives (Bourgois, 2009; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004). Building on the notion of structural violence, Klienman (2000) and Bourgois (2001), for instance, employ the anthropological concept of the ‘violence of everyday life’ to explore and explain the ways in which political-economic, historically engrained forces can inflict devastation on those who are socially vulnerable, especially “people who experience violence (and violation) owing to extreme poverty. That violence includes the highest rates of disease and death, unemployment, homelessness, lack of education, powerlessness ... day-to-day violence of hunger, thirst and bodily pain” (Klienman, 2000, p. 227). Medical anthropologists have further illustrated in various contexts that the outcomes of structural violence are starkly explicit (e.g. high child death rates, malnutrition, food insecurity, and poverty) and deny equitable access to rights

and resources. Scholars have also paid attention to the insidious nature of structural violence in that it can become so normalized that scarcity is perceived as natural (Bourgois, 2001).

The normalization of violence and naturalization of scarcity are of significance to this study, namely for understanding the linkage between the naturalization of scarcity and the normalization of the varied and complex forms of exploitation which I argue are operating in plain view at the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus, and have encroached on and have become embodied within the social, moral, emotional and economic relationships among and between refugees and hosts. Of particular import to my effort to show this linkage are the ways in which “Life choices,” writes Paul Farmer (1996), “are structured by racism, sexism, political violence and grinding poverty” (p. 263), and how the embodiment of structural violence and limited agency can be seen through experiences of profound hunger, malnutrition and health conditions such as preventable communicable diseases. To this end, Paul Farmer’s and Nancy Scheper-Hughes’ scholarship has been influential in my analysis.

In *The Mindful Body: a Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology*, anthropologists Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock (1987) proposed the idea of using a ‘three bodies’ metaphor as a tripartite model for understanding how sickness, health and well-being and inequality are imprinted and expressed at the levels of the individual body, the social body and the body politic: through control and regulation over bodies. With a view mainly to the body politic, Scheper-Hughes (1993) purports an existential view of health and power in *Death without Weeping: Everyday Violence in Brazil*. By arguing that the embodiment of large-scale social forces leads to suffering that becomes internalized, embodied, and, therefore, naturalized, she exposes how starvation from extremely low wages in a shantytown sugar cane factory in Bom Jesus leads to suffering vis-à-vis food insecurity, malnutrition and death. These experiences of suffering were so common that over time ‘nausea’ (from hunger and pain brought on by malnutrition), for instance, became a natural

‘cultural disease’, as opposed to an issue of precarious labour, poverty and rights deficits in terms of fair wages.

A decade later, borrowing from Marxian liberation theology, Farmer (2003) revised Galtung’s definition of structural violence to also advance ideas about a political economy of suffering. In his most notable work *Pathologies of Power*, Farmer (2003) examined the intersections of structural violence, economic injustice and HIV in Haiti. Intending to trace the distribution of suffering along multi-axial models embedded in social structures of gender, race and class, he mapped how geopolitics—local, global and territorial power relations—drive these intersections to become detrimental to people’s lives, health and choices. Inequality and poverty are embodied as sickness, disease and premature death. With a focus on a refugee context located in a resource poor area, this dissertation aligns with Farmer’s (1996; 2003; 2004) concerns that if structural violence goes unaddressed, even the best policies and interventions are merely ‘managing’ social inequalities, and thus doing little in the long run to consider the fundamental problem, and address the individual, community, societal and intergenerational effects of embodied exclusion and social suffering.

The frameworks of both structural violence and health equity also lend a way to map social and political economies of health, and the ways in which economic and entitlement collapse, and thus health disparities, are “shaped by race, ethnicity, nationality, gender and sexuality” (Suchland, 2015, p. 5). A key concern in this study are the processes by which the racialized and gendered body—especially marginalized bodies—becomes violable, expendable or disposable vis-à-vis social structures, discourses and what Das (2007) calls ‘founding violence’ (the root of structural violence): the patterns of structural and identity violence directly and indirectly conducted by colonial administrations. With a view to colonial histories and drawing from Ann Stoler (1997), Andrea Smith (2005) makes a convincing argument for the internal processes of racism that connect structural policies with

class and capitalism. Specifically, Smith (2005) sheds light on the impacts of colonization of indigenous populations in North America and the use of state sanctioned violence as a way of controlling and violating indigenous bodies, land, knowledge and psyche. She notes that once rape, sterilization, cleansing, and violence are normalized, it may not just become embodied but it may be performed with impunity. Since these increasingly normalized violations penetrate the body and also the psyche, land and political agency of indigenous women through discursive-materialist justifications and policies that render void their rights and control over their own bodies and their humanity, *structural violence is sexual violence; sexual violence is structural*. In the end, Smith (2005) proposes, “sexual violence is a tool by which certain peoples become marked as inherently 'rapable'” (p. 3).

Becoming ‘void of humanity’ speaks to a broader theme that is significant to the context on which this dissertation focuses, namely the debates and scholarship centered on the question of bare life and practices of exclusion.

Sites of exclusion and bare life

Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (2005) is perhaps the most cited and controversial theorist of ‘exception’ and ‘bare life’ to date. Expanding Foucault’s (2003; 2008) framework of biopolitics in his seminal works, drawing from Schmitt (1976) and heavily so from Arendt (1958; 1968 [1951]), Agamben (1998; 2005) queries ontologically how the administration of life occurs in what he calls spaces of exception: sites or spaces of political exclusion wherein the domains of a specific population are subject to a temporary juridical system set up to deal with an emergency that may become indefinite. In this space, he asserts, mechanisms of violence and discipline combine with the lack of human rights and citizenship to produce racialized bodies that come to embody bare life, a state in which the human being is effectively depoliticized, subject to sustained precarious conditions (Agamben, 1998), minimal existence, or ‘animality’ (Nyers, 2006; see Nyers, 2007; 2000).

This bare life, or the state of being physically alive but politically abandoned, “finds its expression in the figure of *homo sacer*” (Nyers, 2006, p. 40). According to Agamben (2005) this masculine figure originating in Roman law comes to life in the 20th century through a multitude of spaces of exception: concentration camps, prisons (such as Guantanamo), refugee spaces and camps for internally displaced persons (Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; 2010). *Homo sacer* is one who is shunned from bios (political life) and embodies the politicization of zoe (biological life). Through a collapsing of bios and zoe, banishment for *homo sacer* is indefinite—*included only through exclusion*.

Because this dissertation focuses on gender-based violence and primarily young mothers from refugee and indigenous groups, of import to this study are the ways in which feminist geographers have acknowledged the androcentric undercurrents in Agamben’s contemporary theory of exclusion and contend that “modern *homo sacer* is always already a woman” (Mitchell, 2006, p. 103) and that banishment/exclusion from the polis is highly gendered and racialized. Sanchez (2004), for instance, critiques Agamben on this issue of ‘banishment’ through an examination of prostitution free zones in Portland, Oregon. By positioning a prostitute “as a subject who is always already out of place” (p. 862), she illustrates a distinction between *homo sacer* and the prostitute. According to Agamben (1998), *homo sacer*, like a refugee, may return to citizenship under appropriate political circumstances under the discretion of those who govern and manage the ‘right to return’ (Agamben, 1998; 2005). For the prostitute, however, the state enforces a *permanent banishment* from specific public areas; their banishment serves as a reminder of the role of the state as a boundary-maker (Sanchez, 2004). Being *a priori in exile*, she represents *excluded exclusion*, as opposed to included exclusion that we find in Agamben’s (1998; 2005) theorization. Drawing from this context of sex work and the gendered spatial politics of ‘security’, Sanchez’s (2004) feminist geopolitics of exception raise a crucial point: not

only is territory exempt from normal laws, but banishment from geographical spaces almost always includes racialized women's bodies. Geraldine Pratt (2005) also finds it "inconceivable" (p. 1057) that Agamben generalizes or sidesteps gender in his analysis in any context. "There are real limitations to generalizing across the experiences of men and women, and across racialized and gendered forms of abandonment" (Pratt, 2005, p. 1057). She invokes Agamben's distinction between political and biological life to repoliticize how the public and private spheres collapse within gendered spheres of exception under the auspices of migration and globalization.

Feminist geopolitics of exception and the attention paid to ethnicity and gender also serve as essential foundations to begin to critique the well-circulated yet genderless theorizations of aid and critiques of humanitarianism (Fluri, 2011; Sanchez, 2004). Agamben (1998), for instance, emphasizes that contemporary homo sacer is almost always "made into the object of aid and protection" (p. 133) On this matter, Secor's (2006) examination of the discursive mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that help enact and sustain sovereign power over particular and marginalized bodies in Turkey is also of import. She provocatively argues that control and power over life are sustained not only through physical control but also through *metaphysical structures*. By mobilizing particular discourses, a deep and profound embodiment of exceptionalism is produced and sustained. She writes, "made into a shit nation, dirty and guilty, Kurdish identity becomes the guilt-mark of the state of exception," and the "guilt-mark comes to meditate interactions of everyday life" (Secor, 2006, p. 44).

Finally, by noting, "the reproductive body is a blank spot in Agamben's definition of bare life" (p. 53), Latimer (2011) uses Agamben's distinction of "life exposed to the force of death" (p. 56) to trace the gendered ways in which the reproductive body further collapses the political and biological spheres in relation to "fetal citizenship". She claims that the pregnant

body may actualize political life more readily than a non-pregnant body. The body that is not yet alive (fetus) may not be as politically abandoned as the woman carrying the child.

Deutscher (2008), however, argues that the fetus “is figured neither as zoe, bios, bare life, nor homo-sacer. It is rhetorically and varyingly depicted as all of these. As she is figured as that which exposes another life, she is herself gripped, exposed, and reduced to barer life” (p. 66).

The empirical chapters of this dissertation will build upon the above feminist theorizations in three interrelated ways. First, I explore the ways in which sexual violence in contexts of protracted encampment in its relations to power, may also contribute to bare life and the lack of dignity characteristic of it; for instance, how rape, even as an economic transaction, is justified through social and metaphysical structures of banishment (exclusion) and disposability to render bare life not just a condition of being void of rights but a life which is fundamentally unsafe. Second, I examine how reduced access to health services and increasing sexual and structural violence further recasts bodies as being depoliticized, devoid of freedom and control over their own bodies, thus living with a lack of power and dignity. Finally, and coming back to health equity in protracted refugee situations, Petchesky and Laurie’s (2010) claim is of relevance: “sites of exclusion both mark the limits of human rights as currently understood and help to illuminate how gender equity in health access and outcomes always and everywhere intersects with a whole series of social, economic and cultural forces” (p. 99). Further, they argue, the refugee camp is the quintessential gendered “site where the state of exception is manifest in the contemporary landscape” (Ibid., p. 96). This study will further illustrate how the shadows that the camp casts also mark the limits of human rights enjoyed by the host community, as do the decisions about who deserves attention in policies that facilitate access to those human rights.

Refugee Encampment: a humanitarian “solution” to structural and social vulnerability?

A mass refugee influx is often characterized by sizeable groups of women, children, youth and men crossing international border in an effort to flee war or civil conflict, violence and persecution, disaster or famine conditions occurring unmitigated or without adequate intervention in their home countries. Once they cross these porous borders, refugees are oftentimes segregated from the host country’s citizens by being placed into a camp. The ‘camp’ as an immediate response to any mass influx of *prima facie* refugees⁷ has become a contemporary tool of humanitarianism to save lives and provide security, as well as an increasing semi-permanent de facto solution to the refugee problem in light of dwindling chances for a more formal and durable one: integration, repatriation or resettlement. In principle, the host government should provide protection and security for encamped refugees, with support from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Under the auspices of UNHCR and in a quasi-temporary manner, an assemblage of actors come together to engage with, organize, govern and operationalize the camp based on minimum standards of what is defined to be ‘essential needs’ for biological survival (Jansen, 2011). Within the confines of porous and at times invisible borders separating refugee space from its outskirts, food is distributed, shelter is provided, water is given, necessary medicines are made accessible and schools and child friendly spaces are quickly constructed so as to preserve the protective environment for children. In a normative sense, safety and asylum

⁷ “A *prima facie* approach means the recognition by a State or UNHCR of refugee status on the basis of readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin or, in the case of stateless asylum seekers, their country of former habitual residence. A *prima facie* approach acknowledges that those fleeing these circumstances are at risk of harm that brings them within the applicable refugee definition” (UNHCR, 2015, p. 2). Only a tiny minority of refugees receives Convention status – most receive *prima facie* status which only guarantee non-refoulement (see Hyndman and Giles (2017, p. 3). The approach is employed usually on a group basis, i.e. acceptance and status determination of the influx of refugees from South Sudan into Kakuma beginning in 2013 was done on a *prima facie* basis.

from the conflict, war, persecution or famine in the country of origin from which refugees flee is largely guaranteed.

The reality in situ is often dismal and it is most often the case that population needs for shelter, water and food are not adequately met. Refugees studies scholar and founder of the Oxford Refugee Studies Center Harrell-Bond (2000) titled a paper, *Are camps good for children?* “Camps”, she concluded, “are good for no one” (p. 3). Protracted refugee situations in particular have become, as Milner and Loescher (2011) lament, “one of the most complex and difficult humanitarian problems facing the international community today” (p.1). The contemporary camp is far from unproblematic and impermanence (Kaiser, 2006). Twenty years is now the norm for large numbers of people living in ‘protracted refugee situations’ that are characterized by structural deprivation, limited access to basic human rights and poverty. In these situations, the emergency phase has long waned and the efficacy of the ‘Care and Maintenance’ approach is questionable. This approach is normally employed after the first 5 years of the emergency phase, and it guarantees continued and indefinite provision of basic entitlements to food, shelter, sanitation and water, health services and primary education.⁸ The Care and Maintenance approach is inadequate for several interrelated reasons (Kaiser, Sondorp, and Zwi, 2002).

First, the more protracted the camp, “the more likely it is that the overall budget shrinks and assistance is repeatedly cut” (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 23). Funding deficits within

⁸ In light of increasingly protracted situations characterized by poverty and limited access to basic human rights, protection and assessment tools are a product of what is now known as the Humanitarian Charter, and the SPHERE Standards for Humanitarian Service Delivery (see Sphere Project, 2011). SPHERE, which was drafted by NGOs by 1998, provides the international community “a framework for conceptualizing standards that specifically address the needs of people living in protracted displacement” (McDougal and Beard, 2010, p. 88) and serves to institutionalize sets of operations, discourses and ‘best’ practices in emergencies. Needs assessments combined with minimum benchmarks of entitlements and a Minimum Initial Service Packages (MISP) serve as guidance for a baseline of services, and sometimes rehabilitation programs, psychosocial support, family reunification, and vocational training.

these spaces have a profound impact on the provision of basic entitlements as well as the overall health, safety, dignity and human rights of a refugee population (Loescher and Milner, 2005; Hyndman and Giles, 2011; 2017; Horst, 2008; Ticktin, 2017; Feldman 2012; 2018; Fassin 2010). Second, in the face of limited legal recourse, the precarious conditions inside protracted camps that lead to/produce the vulnerability and risks related to hunger and malnutrition are further exasperated by limited livelihood opportunities and immobility, as Loescher and Milner (2009) describe:

The prolonged encampment of refugee populations has led to the violation of a number of rights contained in the 1951 Convention including freedom of movement and the right to seek wage-earning employment. Faced with these restrictions, refugees become dependent on subsistence-level assistance, or less, and lead lives characterised by poverty, frustration and unrealised potential (p. 10)

Finally, the situation at hand is noted as progressively dehumanizing for most, if not all, protracted and encamped refugees (Hyndman, 2000; Hyndman and Giles, 2017; Agier, 2011). That is, camp life has been documented to be not only one of limited access to basic resources, but also a life in which “major problems extend beyond basic needs (health, food or security), to broader challenges to human dignity– lack of future, lack of choice and boredom” (Holzer and Warren, 2015, p. 485).

These conditions of violated rights, limited mobility, a lack of dignity and social exclusions raise the issue of the “limits and ethical constraints of humanitarian action” (Feldman, 2012, p. 155). Ticktin (2017), for instance, turns attention to the ways power-relations form the very foundation of contemporary forms of institutionalized humanitarianism, including the donor and policy circles that underpin aid and relief. In her view, “humanitarianism actually maintains *inequality*, in that it separates out two populations: those who can feel and act on their compassion and those who must be the subjects (or objects) of it; those who have the power to protect and those who need protection” (Ticktin, 2017, p. 256; see Fassin, 2010). With a focus on Palestinian exile,

Feldman's (2012) research into the "humanitarian condition"—or the "politics of living in humanitarian spaces" (p.156) also offers further insight into the fluid ways in which the life worlds of individuals and communities shift and transform overtime, and in tandem with the changes in the humanitarian apparatus when it necessarily shifts from emergency phase to chronic relief and development, and come to live in the humanitarian condition (see Feldman, 2018).

It is at this juncture that Agamben's (2005) notions of exception, exclusion and bare life gain traction in refugee studies. Several scholars in international relations, anthropology, geography and political science have attended to questions of governance, humanitarian agencies, territoriality and state sovereignty and "regimes of exception" in relation to this stark denial of rights in refugee settings. Critical refugee scholars have produced an impressive body of theoretical and empirical research that frames refugee camps as sites of political exclusion as conceived by Agamben (Petchesky, 2008; Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; Hyndman and Giles, 2017; Nyers, 2000; Bousfield, 2005; Agier and Bouchet-Saulnier, 2004). Spatially and materially, however, the configuration of the camp as a sort of incarceration, a space of exception (Agamben, 2005), a site of disposable humanity (Agier, 2011) or site of wasted humanity (Bauman, 2004) have also been juxtaposed against arguments that camps are also akin to being cities or towns (de Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000), urban slums (Oka, 2011), or accidental cities (Jansen, 2011). That is, although refugee camps are spaces of containment and are problematic, they might also be considered spaces of relations, places of becoming, of "cosmopolitan crossroads" (Agier, 2014, p. 19; See Turner, 2016). Bram Jansen (2016), for instance, has produced work that contests "the imagery of refugee camps as seclusion sites and warehouses of wasted lives" (p. 149). In his dissertation he fronted the concept of accidental city, with reference to the internal workings (and re-workings) of the 'entitlement arenas' that manifest in Kakuma's formal and informal

markets, and which function to empower refugee lives (Jansen, 2011). Agier (2011) further hypothesized Dadaab, one of the largest refugee complexes in the world located in northeastern Kenya, as being akin to a naked city, wedged between humanitarian space and that which constitutes a city, albeit inherently on the outside.

Materially, Horst (2008) and Jacobsen (2005) have made evident that camps are also transnational spaces wherein remittances sent into the camps from the diaspora build the livelihood and investment opportunities of the recipients and help further facilitate ‘refugee economies’ (Jacobsen, 2005). Further, aid and relief also contribute, to an extent, to refugee economies and livelihoods through the injections of commodities and through providing opportunities for employment such as incentive work with NGOs.⁹ This means that, though the political exclusion remains, the violence of, and social vulnerability to poverty and social exclusion even in spaces of exception may be mitigated by some refugees through engagement in transnational economies via their diaspora networks, or employment by NGOs, which increase levels of social capital and social inclusion. This safeguards some refugees, and allows for opportunity, increases social and economic capital to positively impact on young people, and reduces social exclusion. According to Acosta’s (2011) research in El Salvador, remittances may reduce child labour to a significant degree, increase school attendance and access to medicine, and allow for more diversity in food consumption, such as eggs or vegetables, which in turn improves health and nutrition.

There is also an informal economy in Kakuma refugee camps wherein WFP food rations or non-food items are sold or exchanged with locals for items not in the rations, such

⁹ Refugee incentive workers are beneficiaries of the UN and NGO Cash for Work scheme, which provides monetary incentives to refugee volunteers who work with various agencies in various capacities such as community development workers or mobilizers. Incentive workers’ salaries are paid on a scale according to experience, but are greatly reduced compared to national salaries and can be as low as a one-tenth the salary of a citizen of the host country doing the same job (Personal communication, Wenona Giles, 2017).

as sugar or tea. Refugee vendors often stock the ration sold to provide a safety net of commodities when there are food shortages or ration cuts, as is often the case in Kakuma (Jacobsen, 2002). Finally, Wilde (1998) suggests broadly and generally that some camp spaces, such as Kakuma, might be referred to as “development camps” with “sophisticated polities, with marketplaces, schools, hospitals, mosques, churches, running water, and decision-making fora” (p. 108; as cited in Hillhorst and Jansen, 2013, p. 191), and wherein refugees are avid consumers and producers of information (see Oka, 2011). Though overall largely remaining un-urban, and located along ‘the margins of society’ (Turner, 2016), what this research suggests is that, though contained and depoliticized, refugees are nonetheless engaged in the production and reproduction of material and knowledge economies. As Werker (2007) asserted a decade ago, “No camp is totally closed to traffic in goods, capital and people; as such, the markets in the camp are connected with domestic (and therefore international) markets through refugee and national traders” (p. 462).

These studies imply a critique of Agamben’s straightjacket approach to agency, and provide much evidence to suggest that, existentially, camp ‘life’ is not altogether bare (Belcher, Martin, Secor, Simon and Wilson, 2008; Mitchell, 2006; Owens, 2009; Pratt, 2005) and that refugees do not live out their lives in limbo as one-dimensional passive victims (Nyers, 2006; Hyndman and Giles, 2017). In addition, and generally speaking, many refugees—young and old—do not arrive unskilled or inexperienced; some are nurses, doctors, teachers, trades people and social workers. It is further documented in some instances that being displaced from one set of social norms provides opportunities to become emplaced in another set wherein women, in particular can become empowered and leaders of their communities (Hyndman, 2004; Jacobsen, 2005). As Karen Jacobsen (2002) remarked, refugees are not simply “passive victims, who wait for relief handouts.... For women in particular, their efforts to survive mean they engage in trade and other economic activities

that give them more control, autonomy, and status at both household and community levels” (p. 96). To this end, a critical look into scholarship that speaks to social relations, social networks, trade and market relations which transgress the spatial containment and political exclusion of refugees, and the formal and informal economies transcending porous camp borders, is critical to reframing refugees as human beings with agency, as opposed to passive recipients.

Of import to this dissertation is how these studies impart a need to grapple with the tension between the political condition of ‘bare life’ and the ‘social lives’ that emerge within—and despite—the very real constraints that bare life imposes, and the structural violence inherent to spaces of exception/exclusion. As this dissertation will further illustrate, on the one hand, at individual and existential levels and notwithstanding diminishing resources and limited mobility, young refugee women living in protracted camps are not inherently vulnerable, nor are they static human beings merely trying to survive. They are people who love, marry, grow, make choices and act on opportunity. On the other hand, as this dissertation will also illustrate, agreement with this critical vantage point and scholarship does not annul the argument or very stark reality that young encamped refugees are severely denied their *rights* to movement or livelihoods in the host country or region. Nor does it curtail the need to examine how the choices of some refugees are too often made, and informal markets and ‘refugee economies’ too often flourish against backdrops of fading physical, material and human securities, which, in turn escalate and sustain the proliferation of gender-based violence and gendered forms of exploitation. As scholars and practitioners have reported for decades, refugee girls and women encamped in these highly insecure borderlands are raped, seemingly with impunity, in their homes and communities, and outside the camps while attempting to fetch firewood with which to cook (Whiteford, 2009; Hyndman, 2004; Ferris, 2007; Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; Hynes and Cardozo, 2000).

A handful of scholars traverse the scholarship reviewed above to highlight the impact of protection, rights and resource deficits on gender-based violence and attend to how vulnerability is structural and socially produced and sustained through relations of power and political exclusion (Hyndman and Giles, 2004; Whiteford, 2009). For instance, Whiteford (2009) argues that, in light of the inherent political exclusion of refugees, rape in the contexts of war becomes not an act of violence, but a natural condition of being a refugee woman—of bare life. Through the geopolitical relations of power over both territory and body, the safety or worth of a refugee woman becomes negligible or inconsequential. In her research with an aid worker called Maxwell who had worked in camps within Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia and Sudan, Whiteford (2009) noted (without specifying the camp):

Maxwell told me that the rapists were known local men, men who lived in the areas around the camp, men who know that they could rape with impunity because women's bodies were not respected and the women themselves were not members of local families, or of local ethnic or religious groups.... The camp women were, in short, inconsequential. And rape was not considered a crime... they would not be held accountable for it” (p. 98).

Hyndman (2000; 2004) and Whiteford (2009) have also cited a link between camp logistics, material deficits and vulnerability to violence. As Hyndman (2004) observed in Dadaab: “Those who leave the camps in search of fuel with which to cook—predominately women and girls—are at risk of being attacked” (p. 193). Whiteford (2009) writes:

The story is hauntingly familiar: as young girls and women leave the refugee camp to gather firewood, they are raped by men and boys from the surrounding area. Too often they are targets of sexual violence inside the camps as well, and all too frequently they are sexually assaulted during the social upheavals that force them into camps. For girls and women in shelters, there is no safe space. (p.91).

Other scholars have observed that increased vulnerability is also justified through cultural ‘relativity’ and gender-relations: “Families frequently decide to send out women and girls to do these tasks because it is considered “less dangerous” in armed conflict and displacement zones; females are seen as risking “only rape,” while it is believed that men and boys will

most likely be killed” (Marsh, Purdin & Navani 2006 as cited Miller, 2011, p. 78). Abdi (2005) gives a stark example of a woman in Dadaab who expressed the internalization of the above critical junctures of power:

How many times have we been raped now? We have become grateful that it is only rape. Being only raped by this stranger becomes a luxury (caano iyo biyo). When you have to choose between being raped and being killed, you think that it is better to be raped.” (p. 223).

This dissertation engages with this literature, as well as the tension between the social and the political/structural throughout each chapter and, though this dissertation does not focus on rape per se, it does feature in all of the empirical chapters. From a more micro perspective, I situate rape along a continuum with other forms of gendered exploitation experienced by young mothers and accompanied and unaccompanied young refugees—in the market, in the home, through familial relocation—that are not necessarily sexual. Fieldwork described in chapter six, for instance, illustrates how rape itself may be an economic transaction used by the refugees to secure a durable solution that may free them from encampment—from exclusion, from bare life or from being forcibly stripped of rights any further. This study also builds upon what Miller (2011) stated a decade ago, that due to economic deprivation and social vulnerability, “Refugee women are more affected by violence than any other population of women in the world, and all refugee women are at risk of rape or other forms of sexual violence” (p. 77). In the case of Kakuma, the host community is also at risk of sexual violence, with young men and boys from the host community being exploited, sexually and economically, and with refugees being the perpetrators. Though the example of refugee women being assaulted by the host community is well documented, the inverse example has never been reported, even though both phenomena have the same driver of violence: the deprivation in hosting communities.

To ground my efforts in this dissertation to include young hosts and expand on scholarship pertaining to impacts of refugee presence on poorer hosts, the following section turns briefly to refugee-host relations literature.

Refugee-Host Relations

It was 1986 when Robert Chambers put the spotlight on the lack of scholarly attention within refugee studies on the impact of encamped refugees on poorer hosts. Over the last 30 years, the central and dominant entry-point for understanding the interface of refugee and host 'relations' has been the marketplace and informal exchange through barter and trade relations that occur between them over time. This set of relations has largely been framed by the overarching question of 'who are the winners and who the losers' (Chambers, 1986) are. This question is rooted in previous assumptions, blanket generalizations and the common thinking that refugee-host relations are fundamentally anti-social and onerous. Yet, the late refugee studies scholar Barbara Harrell-Bond (1986) dispelled these assumptions over 30 years ago by illustrating how benefits and opportunity arose in southern Sudan where Ugandan refugees infused cash into the local economy, thus advancing host community's trade and networking routes. Callamard (1994) also noted how a trading system in Malawi that included income generation and benefited both populations given the lack of dietary diversity in the food rations for the refugees coupled with willing subsistence farmers in the local population.

Since the mid-1990s, however, scholars have collectively found in other locales that pre-existing economic structures and social service provision in the host community are important variables in predicting trade, opportunity and positive social interactions within refugee-host relations. In cases where the locals are better off, scholars have noted a trend of decreasing wages for casual labor with an increase in refugees willing to work for next to nothing, or simply work for food. This was the case in Uganda in early 2000 where the local

farmers solicited Sudanese refugees into precarious labour, often compensating them with small in-kind payments that amounted to very little benefit (Kaiser, 2000; 2006). More recently in Uganda however, refugees and hosts are able to share in the formal economies of commodities provided through vendors and entrepreneurs inside the camps who have capital, cash-based transfers, or receive remittances and run businesses, as well as through the local entrepreneurs who have access to capital and sell goods to refugees (Kaiser, 2006). Largely the latter is due to government policy legally allowing for camp boundaries to be crossed every day for trade and/or barter within the formal economies of local produce, handmade beaded baskets, jerry cans for water, or firewood for cooking, to name a few.

In general, social networking and trading systems between refugees and hosts are found to be more complex and contingent on social ties (Veney, 2007), where the trading takes place and where the goods and capital are derived from (Matstadt & Verwimp, 2009). Though trade routes and opportunities have been observed to happen strictly within the local communities or along the roads (Callamard, 1994; Veney, 2007), many other opportunities do occur inside camp markets or within pockets of camps (Jansen, 2011). Yet, if boundaries are crossed outside of the informal and formal networks and the established spaces and times of trade, resentment, violence and/or exploitation may ensue. According to Betts (2004) “many of the numerous reported conflicts between the refugee and host communities in a number of refugee-affected areas are directly related to the environment and environmental degradation” (p. 12; see Martin, 2005), including the cutting down of trees for firewood or charcoal. As above noted, many scholars and organizations have observed and noted the increased exposure to sexual violence when venturing beyond the boundaries of the camps to gather firewood for cooking fuel (IRC, 2005; Hyndman, 2004; Jansen, 2011; Verdirame 1998; Crisp 2000).

In the case of Kakuma, scholars primarily understand the sometimes-hostile relationship between the Turkana and refugees to be based in environmental degradation and violations of the in/formal modes of trade. Similarly, in contexts where the locals are poorer than the refugees, and have little to no access to health care, no employment opportunities, little infrastructure such as schools, no businesses with which to engage in trade, and no agricultural or subsistence farming, local economic effects such as employment and competition over resources have also spurred exploitation and retaliation (Porter, Hampshire, Adjaloo, Rapoo, & Kilpatrick, 2008). In addition and in many other contexts, including Kakuma, “Local host state communities increasingly view the prolonged presence of refugees as a burden and refugees as competitors for jobs, land, food and welfare needs” (Milner and Loescher, 2011, p. 1). These disparities in service provision and access leads to strong feelings of resentment amongst poorer locals toward refugees (Crisp, 2003), particularly in food insecure locations where hosts are not permitted to avail of the food ration (Veney, 2007) or where they experience differential access to aid and livelihoods projects and services (Ketel, 2002). Important to this study is the evidence of how any competition over resources is exacerbated by and entrenched in structural violence, namely government neglect to afford local communities basic health and social services. Further, as chapter four will show, the local Turkana harbor similar feelings of resentment toward the refugees and the presence of the camp. However, my in-depth fieldwork also allowed for additional insight into the situation, including how the local Turkana feel that the Kakuma camps have disrupted the sacredness of their lands, and that their presence is the reason why their lands have become dry due to cycles of drought.

In the mid-1980s and throughout the 1990s, scholars also began to focus on the relationship between health of refugees, that of the hosting communities, and the environment as an agent of disease (Dick, 1985). Though the number of studies published to

date on these intersecting variables is limited, the findings are overall largely mixed. On the one hand, Dolan, Tollman, Nkuna and Gear (1997) found that refugees have worse environmental health indicators than hosts in South Africa due to limited legal rights and political vulnerability. Likewise, drawing from a political ecology approach, Kalipeni and Oponng (1998) claimed that the overcrowding, deprivation and destitution in refugee camps serves as grounds for the spread of diseases such as cholera. On the other hand, Baez (2011) recently focused exclusively on the impact of Rwandan refugee presence on host children's health in Tanzania measured by height (which is a sign of chronic malnutrition and stunting). He found the health of children in the host community to be negatively impacted by refugee presence. He concluded that the increases in water borne diseases or vector specific infections, as well as competition over valuable commodities and resources such as food are the primary drivers of malnutrition.

In summary, what has been shown to be relatively common in most contexts are the benefits of integrating health services for refugees and hosts, whereby hosts may enjoy improved health services, staff capacity and infrastructure due to refugee presence (Van Damme, De Brouwere, Boelaert, and Van Lerberghe, 1998; Orach and De Brouwere, 2006). Further, scholars have collectively found that pre-existing economic structures and social service provision in the host community are important variables in predicting trade, opportunity and positive social interactions within refugee-host relations. Overall, Whitaker's (2002) early finding in Tanzania is generally emblematic of most situations, including the case of Kakuma: "hosts who already had access to resources, education, or power were better poised to benefit from the refugee presence, while those who were already disadvantaged in the local context became even further marginalized" (p. 339).

Conclusion

This chapter provided a literature review focused on the debates most relevant to the dissertation. We began with a review of the frameworks guiding the analytical tasks of this dissertation: structural violence, health equity and the concept of bare life. This was followed by a review of the literature on the ‘camp’, including a brief description of gender-based violence. This section highlighted how, though a camp may be a place of ‘becoming’ it is still a place of danger for refugee women and girls. The last section reviewed the literature on refugee host relations. In each of these sections I have identified the gaps in the literature, some of which this dissertation will address. The next chapter continues this review of literature with specific focus on young people.

CHAPTER TWO

The Protection of Young People and the Perils of Policy

This chapter extends beyond the literature review in the previous chapter to illustrate how the lived experiences of exploitation are not only contextual and embedded in *place* (i.e. the camp), but are also shaped by policy and policy environments. This argument is aligned specifically with what Boyden and Howard (2013) describe to be the *power* of policy: “In the modern world, policy can fundamentally impact children’s lives, for better or for worse; hence, the assumptions and approach of policy are absolutely central to the well-being of the young” (p. 364; see Boyden, 1997).

In this chapter I demonstrate that though the assumptions and approaches of policies toward young people living in and around protracted situations emphasize the importance of addressing the rights of young people, they are lacking specific attention to their actual needs and context-specific living conditions, and thus function to compromise access to the rights to which they are entitled. Further, the notion of the ‘power of policy’ relates to the broader themes and theoretical frameworks of the dissertation in that, first, as Mark Duffield (2001) argues, “the logic of exclusion informs and shapes public policy in many ways” (p. 7). Second, as Whiteford (2009) claims, policy is often privileged above justice; that is, policies protect structural violence: “That women and children are not protected speaks to a larger issue: the structural violence against the poor and disenfranchised, the consensus among global powers to ignore or condone the gendered violence against people in their protection” (p. 110). These are important considerations for my argument that the multiple and complex forms of exploitation are ultimately symptomatic of structural violence and thereby systemic. This chapter therefore sets the groundwork for my conclusion that the protection, resource and rights deficits being examined throughout this study are, ultimately, reflective of policy deficits.

The first section of this chapter provides a brief review of gender-based violence in protracted refugee camps. The second section explores the dominant discourses that frame child exploitation and the assertions and debates most relevant to this study, particularly the protection of young people against child labour, young marriage and unintended pregnancy. The third section reviews protection policies and conventions related to the child, and specifically UNHCR policies for child protection in refugee settings. The final section details the three areas of concern this dissertation emphasizes in light of key findings: (1) the lack of policy focus on young people and attention to social age; (2) the limited effectiveness and applicability of vulnerability criteria and categories used in policies such as ‘accompanied’ and ‘unaccompanied’ child; and (3) the lack of attention paid in both UNHCR policy and in scholarship to the intersections of age, poverty and protection deficits in pastoralist areas who are hosting refugees.

Gender-Based Violence in Refugee Camps

Against the backdrop of chapter one, as spaces of abject destitution, congestion and social exclusion, a protracted refugee camp is fundamentally problematic for all refugees. It is also evident that the needs and vulnerability of refugee women and girls are noted to be especially profound. Long-term refugee camps are well acknowledged and known worldwide to be excessively prone to gendered violence, wherein there is no safe space for women in particular (Whiteford, 2009; Petchesky, 2008; Hyndman and Giles, 2017). Literature on gender-based violence in refugee contexts abounds, and many studies attest to a starkly explicit and ironic “continuum of violence” (Cockburn, 2004; see Krause, 2015)¹⁰ that the same girls and women who fled war and violence are often very vulnerable to physical,

¹⁰ Cockburn does not reference refugees. In her discussion of a continuum of violence she refers to the violence of the bedroom to the battlefield in her discussion of GBV and militarized masculinity. It is possible to extend this term ‘continuum of violence’ to this discussion of refugee women and girls, as I do here.

emotional and psychological violence in these cross-border safe havens (Kivlahan and Ewigman, 2010). Local authorities, military, rebels and husbands have been known to rape, hurt and humiliate with impunity (Ferris, 2007). Aid workers have been among the perpetrators, promising young girls food in exchange for sex (Ibid.). Latrines are often inaccessible or far away or without locks to ensure safety (Leatherman, 2011). Food and the distribution of other supplies can be unsafe, long queues for water put girls at risk, as do long distances to health centres or schools (Leatherman, 2011). Boys, too, are vulnerable to dehumanizing practices and violence by way of recruitment into rebel armies and to being killed (Abdi, 2005). In *What is the What*, Eggers (2006) recollected Deng's following disturbing experience: "I spent years in a refugee camp in Ethiopia, and there I watched two young boys, perhaps twelve years old, fighting so viciously over rations that one kicked the other to death. He had not intended to kill his foe, of course, but we were young and very weak" (p. 9).

This dissertation provides further evidence that severe deprivation, particularly the limited availability of and access to food and non-food items may be strongly linked to the proliferation of gender-based sexual violence in protracted refugee contexts (Giles, 2012; Ferris, 2008). It builds upon the evidence that, in camps the world over, early marriage, child labour, sex work and/or forced prostitution are common as, in some circumstances, the "only 'currency' that girls have in long-term and hopeless refugee situations is their bodies" (Giles, 2013, p. 91; see Ferris, 2007; 2008; 2011). I also show how this same phenomenon can be seen in drought-affected areas, such as Turkana, and can involve boys as well. To do so, I draw from scholarship that has shown how poverty and marginalization in *resource poor* environments exacerbate vulnerability to the most extreme gendered forms of exploitation experienced by young people, including early marriage and child labour. I also emphasize how shifts in social norms and changes in family dynamics brought on by both migration,

drought and encampment are also drivers of various modes of gender-based violence or complex forms of exploitation for both refugees and hosts.

To ground this effort, the following section reviews the literature pertaining to the general question of how the bodies of young people become sites of exploitation. It explores those forms of exploitation experienced by young people that are most relevant to this study, namely transactional sex work and child labour, and their negative outcomes, namely unintended pregnancy and early marriage.¹¹

How do the Bodies of Young People Become Sites of Exploitation?

Child labour

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), many forms of work constitute child labour, with some being considered the ‘worst forms’. Article 3 of the Convention 182 of ILO defines child labour as:

[A]ll forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. (ILO, 1999, Article 3).

Many of the worst forms of child labour the world over have often been associated with underground or shadow economies within the informal sector. Perhaps what mostly come to mind are brothels in India, sex tourism in the Philippines or Thailand, or child sex trafficking of migrant children. However, even in ‘everyday’ work such as domestic work, the UNHCR, UNICEF and other child-centered agencies advocate for and disseminate policies in line with ILO meta-narrative for a ‘work free childhood’ (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). This means

¹¹ In most countries early marriage is marked by informal or informal marriage with one or both persons under the age of 18.

childhood is a time for school, play and safety from violence or vulnerability within risky environments. Discourses around child rights ground policies and programming, such as the right to education. Assumptions are made and universally generalized. For instance, the ILO largely purports that child labour is a result of ‘under-development’ and that, once a country is ‘developed’, child labour will stop. Turkana is an extremely marginalized County within a country considered to be an economic hub and one of the fastest growing economies on the African continent. Thus, the blanket notion that development is a key factor in ending child labour practices is not always applicable to many contexts and countries in which there are large pockets of deeply marginalized populations, and it dismisses the impact of inequality within a country, regardless of development. Further, the idea of a work-free childhood, one full of play, does not resonate with pastoralists such as the Turkana. It may resonate with the western ideal of refugee camps being a safe place for children and the UNHCR and other agencies working with refugees do seek to create conditions for children to have a work free childhood inside the camp, though this often is not the case in reality.

This dissertation follows in the footsteps of scholarship from multiple disciplines that contest the global tendency to address the ‘worst forms’ of child labour through universal prescriptive policies that seek to abolish certain practices of informal work. This meta-narrative is argued by these critical scholars to be a Eurocentric western ideal with little regard for contextual circumstances (Stephens, 1995; Boyden and Howard, 2013; Malkki and Martin, 2003). In some contexts, particularly throughout Africa and Asia, for instance, informal work is absolutely critical to family well-being and, in some instances, survival. Even within the context of Turkana, child labor including survival sex/sex work may offer families some financial income and social security, ensuring at times ability to pay for food, health care or school fees that otherwise could not be paid. Childhood, migration and refugee studies scholars Jo Boyden and Neil Howard (2013) have also provided evidence that familial

relocation – when a child relocates to be with distant relatives for the purpose of work – is an adaptive and highly contextual coping strategy in Ethiopia and Benin, especially amongst pastoralist communities.

Also disputed by critical childhood scholars focused on children's work is the validity of applying arbitrary minimum age criteria to childhood, whether it is for an enforced threshold for paid work (Bourdillon, Levison, Myers and White, 2010; Bourdillon, 2011). This is in line with research on children in diverse contexts that highlights the significance of social over chronological age (Clark-Kazak, 2009a; 2009b; 2012; 2013), and those studies that provide extensive evidence that young people commonly assume important reproductive and productive roles well before reaching globalized chronological thresholds such as 18 years (Bourdillon et al., 2010; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011). Abebe and Bessell (2011) provide a comprehensive review of theoretical frames and discourses in which child exploitation, particularly their labour, has been categorized, namely the work-free perspective, the social – cultural perspectives, as considered above, and the political economy perspective. A political economy approach links to structural violence and centers on disruptions, distortions and discontinuities in children's lives as a result of economic, political or environmental shifts that impact on social and cultural fabrics of communities, families and individuals. Without a political economy perspective there is a lack of accountability in the analysis.

Survival sex/child 'prostitution'/sex work

Though child labour does not necessarily include situations of sexual exploitation, sex work or prostitution practices by those under the age of 18 years comes under the purview of 'child labour'. Survival sex has been more hotly debated than unpaid work or precarious and/or informal labour. Briefly, though the definition and distinctions between transactional sex, prostitution, sex work and survival sex are largely contested, this dissertation builds on Joanna Busza's (2006) definition: "*Survival sex* describes the use of sexual exchange as a

measure to alleviate extreme poverty or meet immediate economic needs. Survival sex implies that trading sex for money, shelter, food, or protection is undertaken out of desperation, literally to ensure survival” (p.134-135). Expanding this view, this dissertation also illustrates how survival sex can be used not only for protection, but to secure rights such as to education, which must often be bought through payment of school fees or purchase of text books or pencils, and thus the practice of sex work may go beyond mere survival or physical needs.

Survival sex, perhaps more so than child labour, brings into view the ‘body’ as a commodity, or being treated as a commodity for the benefit, profit and pleasure of others, with unequal power relations at the forefront. Volitional commodification of the body through ‘sex work’, which connotes a choice, has also been recognized as a coping strategy on the one hand, as well as an empowerment measure on the other. This continuum of tension between choice and constraint echoes the various debates surrounding the forced/voluntary dyad that pervades much of the western discourse on sex work (Gerassi, 2015). Yet, even if contextualizing child labour or sex work as a ‘survival tactic’ or an empowerment measure, what is of import is that tensions do emerge amongst scholars and activists in relation to whether these forms of self and family protection are simply addressing the symptoms. That is, scholars largely concede that practices of child labour/sex work amongst young people are harmful whether used in the short or long-term. Indeed, there is mounting evidence that child labor and prostitution all undermine human rights to education, increase vulnerability to young motherhood, and decrease reproductive health and protection from violence and social exclusion (Crivello, 2015; Boyden and de Berry 2004; Petchesky, 2008).

Building on this literature, as this study will show in chapter five, the linkage between sex work and such negative effects on human rights is not a guaranteed or straightforward relationship in contexts where structural violence and hunger are rife, such as Kakuma and

Turkana. That is, this study illustrates the inverse situation, namely how against a backdrop of social and cultural marginalization, sex work can increase school attendance amongst refugees. In addition, school attendance can undermine human rights and lead to young motherhood and/or unintended early pregnancy for the Turkana.

Unintended pregnancy and young motherhood

Though sex work may prove protective, unintended pregnancy or early motherhood is often considered an outcome or a risk (UNFPA, 2013). The stark intersection of widespread rape with lack of protection in refugee or displacement settings also renders many women and girls vulnerable to having an unintended pregnancy, infection with STIs and HIV (Austin et al., 2008), a range of gynecological problems and/or “long-term damage to the reproductive tract, including vesico-vaginal and rectal fistula” (Decker, Oram, Gupta, & Silverman, 2009, p. 73). Early pregnancy also carries higher maternal and child death rates (Ibid.). Further, though family planning, including the availability of condoms, is absolutely necessary in conflict or displacement settings, it is often the place where family planning or reproductive health services are most severely lacking. According to Petchesky (2008; Petchesky and Laurie, 2009), a cycle persists in this situation whereby the violence and exclusion that subject displaced women to precariousness leads then to a high maternal mortality rate and an unmet need for family planning (Petchesky and Laurie, 2009). Scholars have pointed out that, in some humanitarian situations reproductive health services were found to actually be non-existent (McGinn, 2000; Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; Petchesky, 2008). Also shown by critical health scholars, and as reviewed briefly in chapter one, poor reproductive health care in protracted refugee camps and emergencies is largely rooted in impoverishment, social inequality, and patriarchal relations (McGinn, 2000; McGinn and Purdin, 2004; McGinn and Guy, 2007).

Though in Kakuma camps and in Turkana there are some reproductive health services available, the provision of and access to family planning are extremely limited. Of import to this study is how limited access to, and thus an unmet need for, family planning leads to a higher risk for unwanted pregnancy, which may in turn lead to increased poverty and/or physical disabilities or chronic illness, stigma and social exclusion—the conditions that constitute the nexus and social determinants of bare life as it relates to reproductive health (Latimer, 2011; Deutscher, 2008). Specifically, chapter seven will illustrate how intermittent and inadequate reproductive health care—especially lack of access to family planning—leads to maternal deaths and health disparities among young people living in and around Kakuma, and how reproductive health is related to food insecurity, practices of exclusion/inclusion characteristic of protracted camps and the structures of aid.

The following section turns to policy. I begin with a historical review of conventions and policies relating to child protection in humanitarian contexts and then move into UNHCR specific policies.

Child Protection: A Historical Review

Child protection in emergencies

In light of the adverse effects and risks in situations of disaster and conflict, “response to the well-being, protection, and developmental needs of children is a major component of contemporary humanitarian intervention in crisis situations” (Ager, Stark, Akesson and Boothby, 2010, p. 1272). The focus on the plight of children began 40 years ago when the year 1979 was recognized as the International Year of the Child, supposedly “an international wake-up call to the deplorable state of children in many parts of the world... to children devastated by famine, warfare, and preventable diseases as documented by publications from organizations such as UNICEF and Save the Children” (Korbin, 2003, pp. 431-432; Stephens, 1995; James and Prout, 1997; Landgren, 2005). A decade later on November 20th,

1989, the now nearly universally ratified United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was adopted.¹² Since September 2nd, 1990, the day the UNCRC came into force, the 195 ratifying countries have been obligated to uphold it. As UNICEF (1996) states:

The year 1990 was, therefore, a watershed for children. The World Summit and the passage into international law of the Convention on the Rights of the Child were crowning moments of twin campaigns: for children at the leading edge of human development, and for children at the cutting edge of human rights (p. 1)

Based on the basic human rights approach enshrined in the UNCRC, UNICEF first declared at this time that it would prioritize children in emergencies and adverse environments by way of nutrition support, psychosocial support, and education (Landgren, 2005). Though the 1951 UNHCR Convention makes no specific priority for children¹³, the UNHCR also declared itself to be responsible for upholding its Convention in contexts of exile, encampment and displacement in accordance to the Convention's three guiding principles: *provision* (of essential resources for a child's survival and well-being), *protection*, and third, *participation*, a principle that "mandates that children and youth be involved in decisions concerning their lives and welfare insofar as their age and maturity allow" (Korbin, 2003, p. 432).¹⁴

The World Summit and UNCRC ensued in the middle of massive geopolitical

¹² There are other legal frameworks for children, the most important for this study being the *Convention on the Protection of Child Against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse*, adopted July 2007, and entered into force three years later, July 2010.

¹³ The 1951 UNHCR Convention and 1967 Protocol explicitly apply to children (anyone under the age of 18) in the same way they apply to adults. The 1951 Convention states: "(1) a child who has a "well-founded fear of being persecuted" for one of the stated reasons is a "refugee", (2) a child who holds refugee status cannot be forced to return to the country of origin (the principle of non-refoulement), and (3) no distinction is made between children and adults in social welfare and legal rights" (UNHCR, 1993, p. 2).

¹⁴ Both UNICEF and UNHCR during the time of the CRC endorsed Western moral values and the common school of thought that children are mainly vulnerable, innocent and dependent (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998). Drawing from Piaget's theories and constructivism, and the entrenched late capital dichotomies of child/adult which was dominant in the 1980s, emphasis is placed on age related development (as opposed to physical or social related development, or age position), trauma and mental health, the need for psychosocial support (Boyden and Mann, 2005).

upheavals occurring during and after the ten-year span between 1985 and 1995, a decade which Jain (2005) describes to have involved “unusual turbulence” (p. 102). By and throughout the 1980s and into the 90s, millions of people in Africa had fled war, prosecution, natural disasters, and/or famine in their own countries to find themselves as refugees under the protection of the UNHCR in a neighboring country (see chapter four). During these two decades there were also hundreds of thousands of children on the African continent who died. “It is estimated that, in the period of conflict from 1980 to 1988, Angola lost 330,000 children and Mozambique 490,000 to war-related causes” (UNICEF, 1996, p.23). Critical to note is that war-related causes are not defined as death from bullets. Rather, they are diarrhea, communicable disease, lack of medical services and starvation (UNICEF, 1996).

Given the linkages between war, poverty and preventable communicable diseases, the 1980s and 90s thereby became decades when child survival initiatives were embedded in disease specific and behavior-focused programming, which in turn informed donor decisions and influenced UNICEF operations and those of other NGOs working in humanitarian contexts, such as Save the Children. NGOs and UN agencies working with refugees were primarily concerned with ‘best interest determination’, family reconciliation and lifesaving practices particularly nutrition and protection against diarrheal diseases. The sheer numbers of children at risk and in need worldwide in the 1990s, however, forced UNHCR to loosen its grip on its primary responsibility of facilitating resettlement, but instead to focus on increasing and standardizing its existing ad hoc ‘care and maintenance’ approach, so as to address acute needs: the delivery of food, health care and medicine (Goodwin-Gill, 2001).

Operationally, for implementing partners and NGOs, protection and assessment tools are largely products of what is now known as the Humanitarian Charter and the SPHERE standards for humanitarian service delivery, which were drafted by NGOs in 1998 (see SPHERE Project, 2011). SPHERE provided the international community with “a framework

for conceptualizing standards that specifically address the needs of people living in protracted displacement” (McDougal and Beard, 2011, p. 88). Within SPHERE, the focus on the child under five was underpinned not only by donor needs and global policy but also by a discursive and Western-based recognition that when children, and childhood as a life stage, are devastated by displacement or famine or war, that any or all material, physical and psychological supports for them may also be compromised. A child’s social ecology, or systems within his or her social world are disrupted, meaning those systems that had provided support and nurturance such as school, home and family, may become spaces of violence and risk (Boothby, Strang and Wessels, 2006).

UNHCR policies

Gender-based violence was not a major sector within the UNHCR prior to 1990, neither by way of assistance nor by way of protection (Baines, 2004). It was with the increasing hostility and displacement in many parts of the world that gender-based violence soon became a concern both to Western donors and to the UNHCR. The use of rape as a weapon of war during the Rwandan genocide and the well-documented rapes in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1992-95 led to what seemed like multiple paradigmatic changes in UNHCR’s policies and programming (Baines, 2004). Specifically, this heightened awareness of refugee women’s needs led the UN to *redefine* gender-based violence as a protection and human rights issue that must be addressed through assistance programs, and they committed to preventing and responding to it in effective ways. The UNHCR published *The Guidelines for the Protection of Women* in 1991, as well as *Sexual-Based Violence: Guidelines for Protection and Response* in 1996. Grounded in the normative goal of gender equality, the *Policy of Refugee Women* (UNHCR, 1990) endorsed gender mainstreaming and differentiation of needs: “becoming a refugee affects men and women differently and that effective programming must recognize these differences” (p. 5). As opposed to special

programming, the objective and philosophical framework for UNHCR during this time aimed to “integrate the resources and needs of refugee women in all aspects of programme planning and implementation” (UNHCR, 1990, p. 5). The 1991 *Guidelines on the Protection* read,

In addition to these basic needs shared with all refugees, refugee women and girls have special protection needs that reflect their gender: they need, for example, protection against manipulation, sexual and physical abuse and exploitation, and protection against sexual discrimination in the delivery of goods and service. (UNHCR, 1991, p. 2).

Drawing from the *Guidelines on the Protection of Women* (UNHCR, 1990), UNHCR published their first rights-based policy relating to the refugee child in August 1993: *UNHCR Policy on Refugee Children* (drafted initially in 1988). A year later they published guidelines on protection and care programming. It was not until the early 2000s, however, with increasing inter country conflicts and swelling refugee camps, that child protection became a major priority for agencies. Programmatically, protection of women and girls from gender-based violence in humanitarian situations is largely influenced by UNHCR’s (2003) *Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons: Guidelines for Prevention and Response*, which identifies the following priority areas of intervention:

- (1) Transforming socio-cultural norms, with an emphasis on empowering women and girls
- (2) Rebuilding family and community structures and support systems
- (3) Creating conditions to improve accountability systems
- (4) Designing effective services and facilities
- (5) Working with formal and traditional legal systems
- (6) Assessment, monitoring, and documentation of GBV

Between the years 2004-2006, the UNHCR revised the SPHERE manual to include gender-based violence and delivered an Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Initiative (SPHERE, 2011). In 2006, the UNHCR adopted a *Conclusion on Women and Girls at Risk* and, in 2008, the UNHCR published a handbook for the protection of women and girls. In 2006 the UN published *Violence against Children*, and that same year the UN did a ten-year review based on the Machel study (Machel, 1996; United Nations, 1996), published in 2009.

UNHCR's *Action Against Sexual and Gender-based Violence: An Updated Strategy* was published in 2012, and the *UNHCR Framework for the Protection of Children* was last revised in June 2012, fronted as a "renewed commitment to the protection of children" (UNHCR, 2012b, p. 7).

This most current framework moves away from children in need approach to a risk approach centered on strengthening child protection *systems*, as opposed to programming or individual behavior. It is organized by 6 core goals that include: "protecting and advocating against all forms of discrimination; preventing and responding to abuse, neglect, violence and exploitation; ensuring immediate access to appropriate services; and ensuring durable solutions in the child's best interests" (UNHCR, 2012, p. 8). The framework is further upheld and advanced by UNHCR's strategic framework for both GBV and education.¹⁵ Child protection is currently a more specific component of the broader protection mandate¹⁶ and includes 6 goals as laid out in UNHCR's Framework for Child Protection (2012) for refugees, IDPs as well as stateless children:

(1) Girls and boys are safe where they live, learn and play; (2) children's participation and capacity are integral to their protection; (3) girls and boys have access to child friendly procedures; (4) girls and boy obtain legal documentation; (5) girls and boys with specific needs receive targeted support; (6) girls and boys achieve durable solutions in their best interests (p. 13).

Despite the impressive number of policies in circulation, the effectiveness of the countless policies addressing children's needs and the provision of protection of those under the age of 18 in refugee settings is under debate. One long held critique in particular has been

¹⁵ Since 2014, and still drawing on the CRC, the Machel study (Machel, 1996; United Nations, 2006) and the other optional protocols and research, UN agencies working to protect children have produced and drafted additional and geographically and context-specific tools, policies and guidelines and toolkits to protect children from exploitative practices such as child labor, sexual exploitation and/or trafficking, such as for MENA (UNHCR 2014).

¹⁶ In contemporary protracted refugee contexts, the UNHCR aids the state in protecting persons of concern through implementing protection programming and mandates consisting of various activities such as registration, reception, detention, legal aid, and resettlement.

that, while policies and field guides addressing the needs and rights of refugee girls and boys abound, few agencies within the UN successfully implement the policy goals or guideline objectives (Palmer, Lush and Zwi, 1999). To use Forbes Martin's (2004) words from over a decade ago: "the gap between rhetoric and reality remain" (p. 157). Broadly, this gap may be symptomatic of at least two issues. First, there is a lack of funding either available or allotted to address sexual and gender-based violence in refugee and humanitarian contexts. The situation is especially dire for protracted refugee situations. Second, and most relevant to this study, is the reliance of global policy-makers and think tanks on a universalization approach which advocates globally under international law for the need to treat all children in the same way. This approach is deficient. As Myers and Bourdillon (2012) state: "They [the policy makers and advocates] show no concern to place the protection of children in the contexts of the communities in which they live, and consequently pay no attention to the needs of children in specific contexts, nor to outcomes for children" (p. 440). Further, they argue, to overcome the current failures and limitations of policies requires an approach that "adapts the implementation of principles such as human rights to the specific needs and characteristics of particular places and cultures" (Myers and Bourdillon, 2012, p. 440).

This dissertation provides empirical evidence to back-up the aforementioned claim by focusing on the specific needs of young people, specifically on their experiences of sexual and material exploitation and how their bodies become sites of exploitation in a context of a protracted refugee camp located in marginalized and impoverished area. I also offer a further critique of how the failure of policy to address or at least account for the specificities of context has left both young refugees, especially young mothers, and young hosts in situations where the burden of securing resources, rights and protection is on them. Bearing the burdens of deficits with their bodies, moreover, has led to grave impacts on health, human rights and dignity. To ground this argument, and building on the literature on the camp reviewed in the

preceding chapter, the following sections focus on literature pertaining to young people in refugee camps.

Young People in Refugee camps: Policy Deficits

Normatively, a camp is considered to be a surrogate protective environment for children and youth while they await a better outcome. At the same time, as reviewed in chapter one, a refugee camp is distinct from other areas of ‘development’ and is very much an institutional settlement with a distinct political economy, with a particular geo-political context and a landscape of formal and informal economies. A manifold of social structures and norms that organizations and the refugees themselves simultaneously impose, construct, and resist, persist over time. Refugees also have different countries of origin, divisive nationalisms, cultures, genders, ages, expectations, divisions of labor, languages, barriers, and perceptions of power and equality that can segregate groups, and differentiate their risks in relation to violence and vulnerability. This creates a diversity of tensions, making programming and prioritization of field policies difficult (Hyndman, 2000).

In this highly political, gendered and diverse context, and by claiming ‘neutrality’, the UNHCR has produced and sustained an organizational structure and culture that fosters a neutral, apolitical philosophy in both assistance and protection (Baines, 2004). What is of import to this dissertation is that the UNHCR, one of only a handful of agencies in the world mandated to protect refugees¹⁷, has as of 2019 yet to publish a policy focused exclusively on young people.¹⁸ At the time of research in 2013, the UNHCR was cognizant of the negative effects of no policy and little attention paid to young people in programming:

Displaced youth may well constitute a majority within the population of concern to UNHCR, but because of a lack of clarity of concept, limited policy focus, little dedicated funding and limited comprehensive youth

¹⁷UNWRA and also national governments are engaged in refugee protection efforts.

¹⁸ Following up on the 2017 Core Actions for Refugee Youth, as of 2019, there is a Youth Policy being drafted by UNHCR. Young people are also a focus within the Age, Gender and Diversity Policy that was published in 2018.

programming, this segment of displaced populations has become largely invisible within UNHCR (Evans, Lo Forte, and McAslan Fraser 2013, p. 53).

The following sections consider the two related limitations in policy and programming with which this study is primarily concerned: the invisibility of youth, and the lack of attention to ‘age position’.

Invisible youth, invisible agency

Despite the high-volume of policies on child protection, including Gracia Machel’s specific recommendation to focus on young people in 1996¹⁹, *adolescent girls and youth* (particularly young single mothers) have historically received little undivided attention within humanitarian action in any context (UNFPA, 2013). This is the case even though the Machel report²⁰ (Machel, 1996; United Nations, 1996) was global in scope and its magnitude compelling. Attending to every sector of child protection, the Machel study on the impact of armed conflict on children was considered trailblazing. And yet, ‘young people’ and their needs (and to some degree young adolescents) remain more or less invisible, while ‘children’ are positioned as the most needy recipients of aid, the most ‘vulnerable’. Therefore, their needs are prioritized in both policy and programming.

The invisibility of young people may be symptomatic of broader systemic issues, and links to debates that have circulated within scholarship focused on gender and displacement

¹⁹ *Recommendation 4: Adolescents*: “Their educational, training and health care needs should be given priority attention to assist their well-being and to discourage their participation in armed conflict, trafficking, prostitution and drug abuse. This cannot be achieved without the participation of youth in their own personal and community development. Child-headed households urgently need protection and care” (Machel Report, see United Nations, 1996, p. 3)

²⁰ The report provided ten recommendations including: establishment of more effective monitoring and reporting of violations of child rights; that health, psychosocial well-being and education be formally recognized as the pillars of humanitarian assistance and programming for these areas be prioritized by the international community; that the UN recognize and protect internally displaced children; and that gender-based violence be a nonnegotiable consideration during response in both emergency and protracted assistance; and that landmines, child soldiers, peace and security and prevention be seen as critical sectors in child protection.

for decades. First, positioning children—especially ‘unaccompanied’ children—as ‘the most vulnerable’ serves to categorize children (those under 18) as one undifferentiated vulnerable mass. Similar to the long held view amongst feminists that the needs of women float somewhere within or around the needs of “womenandchildren”, (to borrow Enloe’s (1991) term that refers to the problematic practice of lumping women and children together into one essential category of people that deserve to be ‘helped’ [see Hyndman, 2004]), young refugees are also in limbo somewhere in between being a woman and a child.

In many ways, like Shilling’s (1993) famous claim that the body was an absent presence in sociology, young post-pubescent yet unmarried bodies are arguably the absent presence in humanitarianism practice, policy and scholarship. They are absent in policy but ever present: “Little data exists within UNHCR on the global displaced population aged 15-24 years and yet evidence suggests that youth form a majority of UNHCR’s ‘Persons of Concern’” (Evans and Lo Forte, 2013, p. 9). I also suggest that, young people and their bodies very starkly draw into view an absent-present-borderland between being a woman (i.e. no longer dependent) and a child (completely dependent and, importantly, innocent). As opposed to innocence, as Malkki (2010) claims, discursively young people’s bodies are either perceived as at risk, risky or in need. The current and historical lack of attention by UNHCR to youth and adolescents’ vulnerabilities in camp settings relative to that given to younger children (under 10 years old) and to women (above 24 years old) may thereby further reflect an entrenched and varied “politicized, ideological and social uses of childhood” (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998, p.1). That is, ideologically, according to Malkki (2010), children are the universal “innocent victims...and the separation between childhood and adulthood [remains] so robustly naturalized” that in effect children are at once both depoliticized and idealized in “various transnational ritual spheres, i.e. United Nations, Save the Children, World Vision, Peace Child, etc.” (p. 77). In short, young people of reproductive age—

especially young women who are sexually active—do not fit nicely into a simple category; yet, young people do not –and will not—embody in all contexts and at all times the innocence that is the foundation of the ‘right’ to be an explicit and valued object of aid.

The invisibility of young bodies is also evidence of a disregard for their vulnerabilities as well as their agency; it is depoliticizing, and results in the denial of access to their right to exercise their agency in ways that can change the system for their benefit. In concrete terms, in policy and programming, these institutional failures impact the UNHCR’s responsibility to uphold the third principle of the Convention: to facilitate their right and ability to be participants in their own future. I thereby align this study with an increasing pool of critical scholars who contest and challenge these dominant paradigms to argue that young people’s participation in and contribution to their own protection is extremely important and far from futile (Powell and Smith, 2009; Hart, 2004; 2008).

Grabska (2010; 2011), Clark-Kazak (2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2012; 2013), Grayson-Courtemanche (2015) and Mann (2010; 2012) are notable scholars, for example, who have exclusively focused on young lives and vulnerability in refugee settings, both urban and encamped. In her work, Christina Clark-Kazak (2007; 2009a; 2009b; 2012; 2013) explores the degree to which the experiences, decision-making, and daily political struggles and agency of refugee young people from the Congo living in Kampala, Uganda, are highly invisible. But, once noticed, what emerges is of consequence: even in situations of extreme poverty and social disadvantage, age and gender are political axes upon which agency and identity manifests; they are not simply apolitical axes of victimhood or oppression. She also interrogates UNHCR’s vulnerability categories in light of what she found to be young Congolese refugees’ actual experience of vulnerability in Uganda. She found that blanket categorizations of the most vulnerable, such as orphans or unaccompanied minors overlook the evidence that vulnerability, risk, as well as adversity, are fluid, contextual and varied

within camps, and cannot be reduced to certain criteria such as ‘orphaned’ or ‘unaccompanied’ (see also Boyden, 1994). Clark-Kazak (2007) thus argues that vulnerability and needs are circumstantial, there is an ebb and flow to these factors, and the static fixed idea of vulnerability within policy frames cannot, and does not, account for the fact that “assumed vulnerable characteristics do not hold true... in all circumstances at all times” (p. 285-6).

Gillian Mann (2010; 2012) also found that amongst young Congolese refugees in Tanzania, any “experience of violence is mediated differently by different people, at different times, in different settings” (p. 451). Grabska’s (2010) ethnographic dissertation work examined social transformation in the lives of Nuer South Sudanese refugee families encamped in Kakuma and upon return when they repatriated to South Sudan. She shed light on how young people (and older people) negotiated the complex social changes in gender and intergenerational relations that underpinned experiences and conditions of exile, encampment and return and concepts of home. Similarly, Grayson-Courtemanche’s (2015) dissertation provides a rich ethnographic study into imaginings of home, perceptions of their country of origin, and the ‘multiplicity’ of notions of ‘belonging’ amongst young Somali refugees born and raised in Kakuma camp who continue to live there. She illustrates, much like the previously mentioned scholars, that “far from being powerless victims, [young] people actively contribute to finding solutions to their exile” (p. ii).

Age-position, social age and vulnerability

UNHCR policies are not ‘age neutral’ per se. But by categorizing children as those between the ages of 0-18 years, the nuances of ‘social age’ are lost and unaccounted for. As noted by anthropologist Jason Hart (2014), attending to ‘age position’ in humanitarianism is a crucial omission in humanitarian action: “attention to the young as ‘aged’ (as well as ‘gendered’) social beings is vital to enhance understanding of the lived experience of long-

term displacement” (p. 220). As Crivello (2015) suggests as well in a Young Lives Policy Brief, the neglect of age position is a dismissal of the ways in which gender inequality is experienced and exacerbated throughout the life-course:

A global policy focus since 2000 on the first decade of children’s lives has resulted in impressive achievements, including dramatic reductions in child mortality and the expansion of primary schooling. To sustain and build upon these gains, however, an additional focus is needed on the crucial period of adolescence, when gender differences widen, particularly for the poorest children, and decisions are made around education, work, marriage and fertility that have a critical impact on long-term outcomes for girls and boys (Crivello, 2015, p.1).

The problem thus goes beyond conceptual concerns. The systemic neglect of age-position (Hart, 2014) or ‘social age’ (Clark-Kazak, 2009; 2013) and experiences of social exclusion (Mann, 2012; 2010) in policies adversely impact the material and emotional, psychological, and political lives of adolescents by dismissing their needs. Though it is recognized that “Adolescent girls are a diverse group with unique needs, whether out of school, orphans, married and/or parenting, living with disabilities or caring for family members who are disabled, or heads of household” (Schlecht, 2016, p. 3), the actual everyday challenges and needs of over half of UNHCR’s global population of concern go unaccounted for in policy and, thus, in programming and interventions.

Research organizations such as the Women’s Refugee Commission and Human Rights Watch, to this end, have been actively urging the humanitarian community to move beyond basic health or mental health assessments to account for the lack of empirical data centered on young people’s lived reality and material struggles, as well as to take more seriously the dearth of lifesaving interventions for adolescent girls in these settings (from the ages of 12-19). Such life-saving interventions include the equitable “provision of food, water, shelter, [and] protection from GBV” (Caton, Chaffin, Marsh, and Read-Hamilton, 2015, p.1). In light of the lack of attention to age-position and ‘young’ people, this study draws from the tenor of more critical scholarship reviewed in this section on the vulnerability of young

people in resource-poor and refugee contexts generally. I also suggest that the increasing protection concerns along the axes of age and gender in protracted refugee situations, coupled with increased influx across borders are increasingly converging with an additional and contemporary global trend: climate change.

Scholars have attended to the nexus between refugees, migration and climate change as well as the impacts of climate change on nomadic pastoralists (Chatty and Sternberg, 2015), but not the impact of climate change in areas where refugees are already encamped, and where hosts are not only poorer but are pastoralist communities prone to drought. There is much evidence to support doing so.

Child Exploitation in Pastoralist Areas Experiencing Climate Change

According to a special issue of the *Lancet* (2009) “Climate change is the biggest global health threat of the 21st century” (Costello, Abbas, Allen, Ball, Bell, Bellamy and Friel., 2009, p. 1693). Between the years 2000 and 2013, 2.3 billion people were directly affected by disasters including droughts and floods, with 100 million children directly affected in 2011 alone (Gupa-Sapir, Santos and Bordre, 2013). In 2014, an estimated 50 million children were affected by a natural disaster, which is half of the total affected population (UNICEF, 2015). UNICEF (2015) projects that “the number of children affected by disasters [will] more than triple over the coming decades” (UNICEF, 2015, p. 2).

Three decades of rigorous and evidence-based research by scholars forces practitioners and researchers to take heed of such a grave outlook. It has been well established, for instance, that children’s development, well-being and progress may be unduly disrupted and possibly harmed by natural disasters such as drought, migration, conflict over natural resources and other environmental perturbations (Ager et al., 2010; Boothby et al., 2006). In contexts of extreme adversity, risks to physical health and well-being are well documented to be marked with high rates of malnutrition, compromised

growth and mental development, increases in mortality of those under five, and increases in morbidity (Ager et al., 2010; Bryce & Boschi-Pinto, 2005; Toole & Waldmen, 1997). The “social fabric” of one’s community, or the protective environment writ large, is also noted to be disrupted by conflict, migration and natural disaster, leading to psychosocial and emotional deprivations; damage to infrastructure including the home, may lead to school dropout, shifts in social norms, and changes in family dynamics and caregiving roles and responsibilities (Summerfield, 1997; Crivello, 2015).

Of critical import to this dissertation are the ways in which drought and subsequent food insecurity intersect with age, gender and health inequalities for pastoralist populations. Indeed, the junctures of climate change with gender, age, food insecurity, limited livelihoods, and poverty are producing particularly dangerous axes of vulnerability for pastoralist children, adolescents and youth throughout East Africa. In 2015, water deprivation alone was converging with climate change, forced migration, and increasing resource deficits in alarming ways to produce violent effects on pastoralist girls and youth in Ethiopia. Unfortunately, famine marriages are common in situations of drought and a lack of social protection:

Child marriage is on the rise in Ethiopia due to the worst drought in decades, the government and agencies said on Friday, as Oxfam warned of a ‘full-blown disaster’ unless more than \$1 billion in food aid is found for 10 million people (Reuters, December 2015, p. 1).

Anthropologists Gillian Mann (2002; 2003) and Jo Boyden (2008; Boyden and Mann, 2005) both provide evidence of the ways in which an overemphasis on ‘trauma’ and mental health in programming can dismiss real concerns young people have in adverse and high-risk pastoralist environments prone to drought. Boyden (2000), for instance, highlights a study conducted in Mozambique during which a survey was given to assess post-traumatic stress syndrome amongst young agro-pastoralists affected by the war. After the survey some children reportedly asked ““Now that we’re finished the survey, can we tell you about our

problems? ... Which, it transpired, were to do with the loss of schooling and farmlands” (p. 35). A loss of schooling and farmlands represents a loss of entitlements, a loss of livelihoods and future security—the material violence of poverty conditions. The material violence of poverty brings us full-circle to the first section of the literature review in chapter one that concerned structural violence. To this point of the circle, I add climate change and drought conditions as socio-environmental determinants of refugee-host relations and the gendered forms of violence occurring inside the camp.

Conclusion: *Protection, rights and resource deficits are policy-deficits*

This chapter first reviewed the literature and debates relevant to the forms of exploitation and vulnerability I examine in this dissertation: child labour and sex work, and young motherhood, marriage and unintended pregnancy. I then turned to the policy environment and historical junctures in which UNHCR’s policy on protection, child protection and protection against violence are embedded. The final section reviewed three limitations this dissertation challenges: a lack of attention paid to age-position; an over-emphasis on bio-medical and behavioural discourses of vulnerability; and the invisibilization of the particular material needs of adolescents and youth.

These gaps in policy are not only institutional failures to consider the whole picture. As the empirical chapters will illustrate, they are unwittingly a rejection of the value of life—of certain lives. These *policy deficits* deny young refugees and poor hosts, who have young, marginalized and racialized bodies, the right to dignity, health, education and well-being. These deficits have contributed to the creation of a nexus without anyone or any institution accountable to address the vulnerability in the everyday lives of those who work and survive within the shadows. By uncritically imposing the normative structures and dominant paradigms and ways of knowing and doing, the rights makers and policy makers—as well as the systems that govern and facilitate access to those rights—are implicated in creating the

conditions in which young people are left without recourse, and without ‘the rights to have rights’ (Arendt, 1958), and without dignity.

Having established the foundation of the dissertation through a review of the literature, the following chapter provides a description of the methods used to collect and analyze the data gathered from fieldwork.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods and Research (re)Design

The introduction and chapters one and two situated the specific issues on which I intend to focus and explore, the purpose and delimitations of the dissertation, the research questions and the theoretical debates, as well as the gaps in the literature. The current chapter provides an overview of my research strategy during my time in the field. I outline the procedures followed to collect, record, and analyze the data. I also embed the personal experiences and circumstances that have shaped, in various ways, and to varying degrees, how I read, discerned, analyzed and observed the data and thematically coded it. I end with ethical issues and limitations of the study.

Methodology: Case Study Framework and Critical Ethnography

I designed this study as a qualitative case study (Yin, 2009). A case study demonstrates “the variety of mutually shaping influences [allowing for] the value positions of the investigator, substantive theory, methodological paradigm and local contextual values” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 42), namely all things needed to execute the research in a productive way. Though Creswell (2009) has separated case study and ethnography, the two often go together. Drawing from Yin (2009), my research project makes use of both, and is framed as an *ethnographic case study*. Though used in many disciplines, I understand ethnography to be the ‘essence’ of anthropology and to a lesser degree, sociology. It entails being in the setting for an extended period, observing and interviewing, and collecting ‘holistic’ data on not only the particular issue under study but also the events and processes that impact and shape these issues (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative methods directed my fieldwork, and my tools included focus group discussions, one-on-one interviews and key informant interviews. In keeping with feminist research methods, focus groups are an effective way to shift the power imbalances inherent in research processes in favor of the research subjects.

'Critical' ethnography came about during the post-modern turn in the 1990s, and leans toward political ends, making obvious the reasons why this particular research inquiry is "intertwined with politics and a political agenda" (Creswell, 2009, p. 9). Overall, Gunzenhauser (2004) delimits critical ethnography to encompass four promises: "giving voice, uncovering power, identifying agency, and connecting analysis to cultural critique" (p. 77). Importantly, in terms of interviews and focus group discussions, critical ethnographic methods allow for an exploration of "empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression and alienation (Creswell, 2009, p. 9) and highlight what all ethnographic accounts tend to do, and that is, to address "the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas" (Creswell, 2009, p. 6). Framing my research as a case study is helpful, as such an approach "is more adapted to a description of the multiple realities encountered at any given site" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40) and demands reflexive reporting and transferability - especially important when doing multi-sited research.

Fieldwork and Research Design: Why, Where, and With Whom?

Why?

Originally, the research for this dissertation was to have been a case study of reproductive health services and perceptions of safe motherhood amongst refugee women living in the Kakuma refugee camps. This interest in 'safe motherhood' is longstanding, beginning in 2002-2003 when I moved to the rural villages of Tshelanyemba and Matabeleland, Zimbabwe with Canadian Crossroads International. I was then a student of Nursing, posted as a community health worker at Masiye Camp for children orphaned by AIDS, and as an aid at Tshelanyemba Hospital helping the midwife deliver babies. A couple of years after returning home from sub-Saharan Africa I completed a Master of Social Work degree, during which time I took up a position in the Philippines in the conflict area of the Autonomous Region Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) where I worked on reproductive and

maternal-child health programming for internally displaced populations in the east. Working in various capacities in Africa and Asia in both Conflict-Affected Areas (CAAs) focusing mainly on the health and psychosocial sectors allowed me a degree of tacit knowledge and at times, uncomfortable lived experiences of the major barriers to effective implementation of reproductive health policies. One example is a mapping onto local bodies various Western health standards and technologies that ultimately lead to the subordination of the local culture, as well as alienation from local communities' ideas about healing. This alienation was compounded by a lack of consultation with local traditional healing or health services providers, who could have worked in partnership with the agencies and helped inform programming that would be more applicable and acceptable. The lack of expansion of resources or infrastructure to support the traditional practices and operations in the long-term resulted in vast inequities and complications in the rural areas and for marginalized groups, not to mention misleading results at the initial stages of programming. These were compelling reasons for further exploration and thus became my initial focus upon entering the Health PhD programme.

In my third year of the PhD programme I became involved with the Borderless Higher Education for Refugees (BHER)²¹ project, which until Spring 2019 was directed by my supervisor Professor Wenona Giles and is based in the Centre for Refugee Studies and the Faculty of Education at York University. This opportunity led to many contacts in Kenya, notably Windle International Trust Kenya (WIK). Through this involvement, I chose Kenya as the site for the dissertation case study as I was able to conduct preliminary proposal research in Kakuma refugee camp in December 2011, which also allowed me to build relationships with health and social protection staff at the International Rescue Committee

²¹ The Borderless Higher Education for Refugees (BHER) Project is based at the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University. See www.bher.org.

(IRC) hospital, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and other NGOs within the camps relevant to my research focus. In short, this position and privilege allowed me to obtain access to a rich network of support, and to maintain rapport and trust with NGO key informants and UN Officers. It happened over a period of years, and I likely could never have accessed Kakuma camps without it.²² These previous positions and established relationships helped me achieve two things critical to field research for the dissertation: I did not have to spend much time acclimatizing myself to Kakuma since I was already familiar with the camp living conditions, layout and scheduled daily power outages and could plan in advance how to conduct research and deal with more technical issues, such as recharging my computer given the infrastructural restrictions. Second, I had managed to build rapport and trust with a circle of key informants from NGOs and the UN community within Kakuma and Nairobi.

However, when I arrived in Nairobi in the spring of 2013 to conduct the dissertation fieldwork, unpredictability, flexibility and contingency planning became a critical part of my research design. On September 21st 2013, three months after I arrived in Nairobi, the horrors Westgate terrorist attack shocked Kenya. Instability ensued, and the effect of this terror on Kenya's refugees was vast. Kenya's lockdown on refugees and on its camps made accessing the Kakuma camps more difficult. As a back-up plan, I subsequently reconsidered my research focus acknowledging that the possibility of not getting into the camps was high. I was introduced to a UNICEF child protection officer, as well as UNICEF's Director of Child Protection for East Africa. UNICEF conducts research projects in Turkana (specifically in Lodwar and Kakuma town – not within the refugee camp) on child marriage and early

²² BHER has only recently (2017 onwards) begun to operate in the Kakuma camps with a small number of students who have moved there from the Dadaab camps, where most of the BHER students are located. Therefore, none of the interviews in these camps, or in Nairobi were impacted by my early relationship with BHER. WIK acted solely as a necessary introduction to the camps, providing me with the required permission to travel to and within the highly restricted area of the refugee camps.

pregnancy amongst the Turkana. I decided focusing on host communities was one such option as I could continue with research regardless of whether or not I gained access to the camps. I also requested from York University and received a new Ethics approval for an amendment to include adolescents/minors from both the Turkana host community and refugee community in my study (see appendix B). During the two-week wait between submission and approval from York, I met with the Director of Windle International Kenya (WIK) and e-mailed all the contacts given to me from UNICEF. I was given access to the camps in late September, and the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) generously offered accommodation in Kakuma, WIK provided transport, and Lutheran World Federation (LWF), UNICEF and the International Rescue Committee offered as much assistance with whatever I needed in terms of contacts.

Even with the inclusion of the host community, my intent was still to focus on reproductive health equity. My research focus shifted soon after I began collecting data. In light of certain conversations and observations, research questions changed or became reframed. Changes in the research occur “because of interactions with contextual circumstances” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 259) and once in the field, usually “things are not as they were imagined to be” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 259). I imagined somewhat clear physical, emotional and spatial distinctions between refugees and hosts. Though in 2011 I had noticed the Turkana inside the camp, lining up at food distribution points or carrying firewood through the camps, my lens was focused on refugees so I did not stop to think much about it. Over the course of my fieldwork in 2013, this imagined distinction between refugees and the Turkana community came undone, and the focus on safe motherhood became peripheral, and the research became materially grounded in emergent data and broad observations. For instance, I observed that some Turkana were not just carrying firewood but were living in the camp. Young mothers who were refugees were not primarily concerned

with issues of accessing reproductive health services, but more so their profound food insecurity and having no baby clothes for their children, or a safe home to sleep in. Securing these basic needs was their priority and discussions about ‘safe motherhood’ did not particularly resonate. Questions I had not previously considered began to direct the case study and its data analysis, coding, triangulation, and theorizations.

To this end, critical ethnography as both a method and a design allowed me to pay increased attention to broader dynamics of protection, rights and resource deficits impacting the situation of exploitation, and as well toward how geopolitics and conflict impacted the processes and logistical considerations such a study requires. Questions pertaining to reproductive health started to reflect an effort to capture the relationship between, and the varied circumstances in which, young women become mothers in the first place, and how young motherhood is lived out in relation to protection and resource deficits. I realized, over time, not only that reproductive health services cannot be studied without considerations of the ‘social determinants of health’ such as housing, food insecurity, labour and/or employment. I also understood that the health of both the Turkana and young refugees is a determinant of the social: of their livelihood choices, as well as their access to rights, resources and the protection allocated to the refugees.

Where?

I expanded the site of research to three places: Turkana County, Kakuma Camp and Nairobi. Lodwar, which is located in Turkana Central, became my living location for fieldwork in Central Turkana, approximately 90KM from Kakuma District (see Map 3.1). My three key informants from UNICEF pointed me in the direction of local Turkana NGOs previously unknown to me. These turned out to be critical players in the areas of child exploitation and labour in Kakuma, and included the small local legal NGO The Cradle, as well as IRC, Merlin and Kakuma Women’s Network (KWN).



Figure 3: Map of research areas, Turkana County.
Source: Mwangi Kihu, 2014

conducted interviews with UN and NGO agency staff, and carried out secondary data collection and research; finally, 4 months was spent in Turkana County. During my time inside Kakuma refugee camps I was housed in the NGO compound next to Kakuma 1 and hosted by JRS. The NGO compound is located just inside Kakuma 1 (See Figure 4, Map of

From 2013-2016, the dissertation fieldwork focused on Kakuma district, Central Turkana, and, to some degree, the northern district of Lokichoggio on the border of South Sudan (see Figure 3.1, Map of Turkana towns²³). In 2011, 2013 and 2014 I spent a total of 3 months inside Kakuma camps, which are located in Kakuma district; and from the spring of 2013 into October 2014, a further 7 months spent in Nairobi where I



Figure 4: Map of Kakuma Camps 1. Source: Grayson-Courtemanche, 2015.

²³ The colours on the map refer to the livelihood zones: pink: agro pastoral; yellow: pastoral; red: formal employment; purple: fisheries.

Kakuma camps). The photo 3.1 below illustrates the yellow gate into the compound, which is heavily guarded. All NGOs operating within the camps have residency inside this compound except for the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) who is located across the main road next to the UNHCR compound. All humanitarian NGO and UNHCR Offices are located inside, as well as cafeterias and accommodation. To move in or out, one has to show their I.D. and camp pass. The Turkana also have informal work inside the NGO compound washing clothes and cleaning.



Figure 5: NGO compound inside Kakuma I. Author's photo, December 2011

With whom? Participants

Most participants came from Kakuma I, II and III, only 3 from Kakuma IV. I spent most of my time in Kakuma I and II, and made three visits to the health post in Kakuma IV (see Map 2.2 in Chapter two for reference). Qualitative research methods were chosen for all three sites. I conducted a total of 24 focus group discussions and 39 key informant interviews. Table 3.1 below is a chart detailing the interviews and focus groups conducted and with whom. For instance, NCKK x1 is one key informant (KII) interview with the NGO the

National Council of Churches Kenya (NCCCK). A description of each organization and their mandate and programming can be found in Appendix D.

Table 3.1: Number of FGDs and Key Informant Interviews and with whom in each location

Location	Key Informant Interviews	Focus Group Discussions	Other: Informal fieldwork/Observation
Kakuma Refugee Camp	NCCCK (x1), LWF (x4) IRC (x5) WIK (x1); UNHCR (x1), WFP (x1)	Young mothers (x3); Most at risk Populations (MARPS) (unaccompanied minors and/or separated children and or accompanied children at risk (x3); Safe Haven (x2; survivors of sexual exploitation, abuse and those in need of protection)	Hospital, Markets, Health Posts, Restaurants, Family homes; NGO compound; one-on-one interviews with young mother (x1) and older sex worker (x1)
Turkana Host Community	UNICEF (x2), IRC (x2), LWF (x4), Merlin (x1), The Cradle (x2), Kakuma Women's Network (x3), ChildFund (x1), Red Cross (x1), Amref (x1), FAO (x1)	Kakuma Women's Network (x2), Communities and families living around Kakuma (x5) as well as remote communities on reserves or more than 35 km from camp (x9)	Hospitals, police posts
Nairobi	UNHCR (x3) WFP (x1) UNICEF (x3) IRC (x2)	None	None

Though I continued to conduct research in various capacities in Turkana for non-governmental organizations in 2014 through to 2016, for this study I prioritize data gathered in 2013 and throughout 2014 for two reasons. First, York University Ethics approval expired in late 2014. Second, I conducted the bulk of my research with young refugees in 2013 and 2014. To this end, while data collected in 2011 and in 2015/2016 in Turkana are interspersed throughout the dissertation, the fieldwork was mainly carried out in 2013-2014.

Research Methods and Tools

Focus Group Discussions with young refugees living in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Focus groups conducted in the Kakuma camps with young refugees consisted of sometimes 6 and sometimes 20-30 participants and involved refugee girls only.²⁴ Overall, I conducted 8 focus groups in the Kakuma camps with on average approximately 10-30 participants in each. Each focus group with young refugees was semi-structured and involved a range of topics. We sat in circles on chairs or on the floor, and after going over my research purpose, ethics and consent forms²⁵, permission to use a recorder, I simply asked openly for someone to share their story – to begin wherever they wished. I did not impose any structure or organization to what they may speak about, as I wanted to capture the lived experiences of social and economic determinants as they are felt and prioritized by participants. Usually a participant would tell her story about coming to the camp, her experiences of the camp, her needs and living situation and wishes. Others would listen, and once finished the next girl in the circle would begin to tell her story. Once willing participants told their story individually, the floor was open to draw more focus to a particular theme or common experiences that had emerged. What most participants—young mothers and those most at risk—emphasized mostly was food insecurity. Topics such as sanitary napkins or even shoes usually evoked a lot of anger and anxiety, as the girls often spoke more loudly and over each other during any discussion of these topics.

²⁴ My intent was to formally include boys and young men in the following trip to Kakuma, and LWF had already facilitated that process. Unfortunately, I did not return to the camps for some time, for the reasons described above. I did speak to many boys but none of those interviews were formal, and no consent form was signed, as these were chance encounters or ad hoc meetings for the purposes of building rapport. I have however, gathered information from key informants about boys in the camp and town, and also who is most vulnerable amongst them (e.g. LGBTIQ youth), and why, for instance, men and boys from the Great Lakes region (Congo, Rwanda) are marginalized and most vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

²⁵ As required by York University Human Participants Review, I reviewed in detail the consent forms with participants, including the guardians who signed their signatures (see Appendix A).

Reciprocity is a central tenet of feminist methodology (Sultana, 2007). The cornerstones of reciprocity include giving of oneself during the research process, engaging in and contributing to the conversations and disclosing information to the participants as opposed to unilaterally ‘interrogating’, being conscious of power differentials, making every effort to decrease imbalances of power, and remaining aware of any possibility for exploitation. Drawing on my experience, reciprocity unfolded differently in each field context and for each group of research participants. During focus groups in Kakuma camp with unaccompanied girls and young mothers, it was all rather organic; the participants were incredibly open and willing to talk. I speak some Kiswahili and usually introduced myself and welcomed them to the focus group in this language, as most refugees are fluent in Kiswahili. My effort usually resulted in the participants laughing together and correcting my sparse vocabulary, which is what I hoped for. After I introduced myself as an independent researcher from Canada, whose purpose was to document and understand the experiences of motherhood, or the challenges and general needs and wishes of a young person inside the camp, I always invited participants to ask me anything they wanted to either at the beginning or the end of our time together. At either time, usually very lively conversation followed this invitation. Discussions ranged from questions regarding my personal menstrual cycle, my access to and use of sanitary napkins, my husband, a general debate about how many children a woman should have in order to be considered a woman, at what age it is normal to have a first child, domestic violence and whether rape happens in Canada. The girls within these groups usually willingly shared personal details about their lives, their opinions, and their stories of displacement and crossing into Kakuma without restraint and without me having to probe, and so I shared as well whatever they asked. Because of this, focus groups tended to last 3-5 hours. There was also an “ethics of familiarity” (Simpson & Kirby, 2004) that transpired. In between scheduled focus groups, I met with girls accidentally—most times in the

market or at the hospital. I sat with girls in outpatients clinics, had casual chats; we laughed or talked about random things.

Minor difficulties were encountered during one particular focus group. The male community support worker who accompanied a group of girls in the Most at Risk Populations (MARPS) programme (as their guardian) became a self-appointed spokesperson for the group, resulting in the participants censoring themselves or not speaking at all. Asking him to step outside the door was a request to which he rightly refused as he was their guardian and they were minors. So, I asked some to write letters to me if they wanted to. I facilitated two more focus groups for unaccompanied minors (in which some of the girls from the first group attended) with two other male refugee community development workers in attendance as guardians. These groups were unproblematic; the participants spoke freely. These men had been in the camps for over 15 years, and the rapport they had with the young women and the trust between them was admirable.

Two focus groups were held in a safe house called Safe Haven, a group home for girls and women (and children under five) who are in danger of exploitation, have been raped and/or beaten and/or threatened and cannot return to any community within the camp. Only rarely is a researcher able to interview girls and women inside Safe Haven since the NGO that runs Safe Haven is extremely closed and protective, for good reason. As a safety precaution, it is hidden inside the camp, does not have a sign, and is not easily found. These focus groups were evidently a little more challenging to secure. Gaining access to these girls to get an interview or focus group took some weeks of building rapport with the Safe Haven counselor and refugee incentive worker, and getting there was not easy.

The rains came last night and the roads were flooded. I got off at a really bizarre corner in Kakuma II as instructed and waded through mud and flooded pathways, hanging on to trees so as not to fall in. A woman was waving her hand at me, directing me in her direction. I made it to Safe Haven. I was invited back next week –remember to bring camel meat (Fieldwork Notes, November 2013).

I returned to Safe Haven once more and for that I am very grateful.



Figure 6: An example of minor flooding when the rains come and the difficulty of walking around. Kakuma II/Authors photo, December 2011

I did not disaggregate the data in terms of age in any focus group because some participants did not know their chronological age, but I did disaggregate according to nationality and ethnicity. As will be described in the following chapters, ethnicity and nationality are particularly relevant because a pattern emerged: vulnerability, risk, and coping strategies differed according to nationality and ethnicity, which in turn is compounded by social and economic capital (e.g. whether you are able-bodied, have dependents, relationship with the Turkana, and how long you have been in Kakuma). My findings in this regard serve to contest approaches that address refugee vulnerability and ‘target groups’ homogeneously, a key discussion in chapters 6 and 7.

Networking is a necessary, sensitive and political process, and having strong rapport with NGO personnel in the field was a balancing act and one not to be taken for granted. Building rapport with refugees required stepping away from an NGO/UN affiliation since such an association is sensitive and political. In the camps and host community I was acutely

aware of the politics of representation; I negotiated the fact that I was never an ‘insider’ on any scale, yet nor was I completely an outsider. To remain faithful to the independent nature of my research and to remain authentic to the constant negotiation and reworking of the multiple scales of power relations I encountered every day, at times I took a motorcycle to interview sites within Kakuma instead of getting there in an NGO vehicle.²⁶ This helped decrease suspicion that I had an agenda that aligned itself with an agency. Some mornings I hitched a ride into the camp from the NGO compound on a scheduled morning NGO vehicle, got dropped a 1/2 km or so from an interview site and walked. During the day, if I encountered familiar NGO personnel in the field such as the markets or somewhere in the camp and I was on foot, they knew not to greet me. I would make my way to the hospital every evening if I was in the camps because around 5:30-6:00pm vehicles come to pick up all NGO staff to take them back to the NGO compounds, outside the camp boundary where, like me, they lived for security reasons.

Key Informant Interviews and Community Mapping: Turkana host community

I conducted research focused on the host community in four different locations: Lodwar, in Kakuma town with local Turkana NGOs, with Kakuma camp NGOs that include the Turkana in their programming, and through a community mapping exercise with 14 communities in Turkana West. In Lodwar town, before going to the camp, I tried to cultivate a practice of integration into the context. I did not know much about the Turkana. In between formal interviews with UNICEF, IRC, ChildFund, and Merlin (now Save the Children), I spent most of my time at a lodge where I had accommodation. Two local women ran the lodge and were very interested in what I was doing, and asked to tell their stories. We sat around a round table for many hours, day after day, and different women would come and go.

²⁶ The only vehicles available in the camps are NGO vehicles and when staying at the LWF compound, one has access to these vehicles.

They invited other women to come in; it snowballed into a women's group. I was told many stories and provided rich description of gender-relations in Turkana, marriage, the role of sons and daughters within the family, how polygamy is both complex and beneficial to family structures. This was important, especially given relatively very little has been published on the Turkana. What is published is agency reports or articles on pastoralism. Many of the more personal stories shared I cannot use for the dissertation as there was no consent form signed. However, in a generalized way, I do blend in some of the rich information provided. Building rapport and trust with a community of women has also led me to have strong ties and friendships, and now Lodwar, Turkana, is a welcoming base for my future research.

In the communities on the outskirts of the more urban centers such as Lodwar and Kakuma, research was 'rapid' and the time needed to integrate was not available. After returning to Nairobi from Kakuma, I returned to Turkana West and Kakuma in the capacity of a lead consultant for CEPSA Oil Company to conduct a gendered Social Impact Assessment, inclusive of the relationship between refugees and local community.²⁷ The method used for the social impact assessment was a community needs assessment, structured as focus groups, and community mapping with 14 communities surrounding the camps. It detailed demographics, assessed community needs (especially health), relationships with refugees, livelihoods and security (an example is given below). Focus groups included men, boys, those with disabilities, women, young girls and young women, elderly and chiefs as well as warriors. The communities themselves identified the participants. Key informant interviews were also conducted with Community chiefs and Turkana warriors, as well as the NGO present in the community at the time.

²⁷ My contract stipulated that the data collected was mine, and that I could use it for dissertation/research purposes.

In researching the outskirts and the diverse landscape of Turkana as well as the varied livelihoods amongst the Turkana, the interview protocol was the same for every community and family visited. Though it was a task for a consultancy, it has enriched this study in fundamental ways. Fieldwork in the Turkana communities was very much in line with what some scholars note to be the “trenchant markers of difference” (Sultana, 2007, p. 375), markers that a researcher must be cognizant of during fieldwork, such as issues of access, power imbalances, literacy, language, class, histories of colonialism, globalization and local realities. With the Turkana in these communities surrounding the camps, a translator was always needed during the community assessments and focus groups. Communities I visited elected men to speak on behalf of community. Within the context of my research, though women spoke directly to me, very few Turkana women within the more remote *adakar*²⁸ groups can speak English. Most chiefs and elders did make note of women’s needs, especially in permanent and semi-permanent communities. When I asked the chiefs to direct my questions directly to the women in the group, I cannot be certain that what they told me they said was actually accurate, and I could not read their body language very easily, which is a limitation to the research.

Another limitation and maker of difference is that I arrived in a helicopter²⁹, and I cannot know how the interviewees perceived me, as a person. However, the helicopter did frighten children, and they ran far away. The adults assumed that we were dropping off food, mainly because their experiences with food aid being dropped from the air by the WFP or

²⁸ An *adakar* group is basically an assembly of multiple family units with animals that graze and travel as one community/family for about 2-4 months a year (see McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986). See chapter four of this dissertation for more information.

²⁹ I arrived in a helicopter as the company research consultancy involved a rapid assessment of 14 communities in extremely remote areas, some of which are impossible to reach by road or it would take many days to reach one community. The oil company hired the helicopter as the most efficient means to complete the scoping mission.

government. Appendix D provides the data collected from the community mapping conducted in 2014.

Key Informant/Humanitarian Community Interviews: local NGOs, INGOs and UN

In interviews with agencies, I aimed to capture the complexity of views and gather a holistic account of how each humanitarian NGO and aid sector addresses (or does not address) the exploitation of young people (or ‘child exploitation and sexual abuse as it is understood and categorized by UN and NGOs), and how each perceives and interacts with refugee and host community through programming and/or policy. I conducted multi-sector semi-structured key informant interviews with national and international staff in Nairobi, Lodwar and Kakuma. In total I completed 34 semi-structured key informant interviews with officials ranging from local and international NGOs and UN agencies operating in Lodwar to UNHCR Regional Support Hub and the Regional World Food Programme, FAO, and UNICEF, government officials and officers based in Turkana.

In January 2014, I was employed at the UNHCR Regional Support Hub in Nairobi, Kenya. I agreed to the post for two reasons. First, due to the South Sudan civil conflict I likely could not access Kakuma over the coming months. Second and relatedly, I needed to continue with fieldwork, and thought this post would allow me to conduct more key informant interviews, network and gain an insider view as to how the UNHCR works. I mention this because, though not a method per se, the post did allow considerable access to the day-to-day activities and particularities of the UNHCR and the ‘performance’ within and between the UNHCR, and donors and/or implementing partners. My role as food security and nutrition officer gave me responsibility for drafting assessments, reports and policies/ guidelines for refugee contexts in 11 different countries, and working with the country offices and operations over a period of seven months. This role was invaluable, especially in the context of the South Sudan crisis and influx of refugees into Kakuma. I accessed data on

Kakuma and was provided documents that would ‘help the dissertation’ and was given opportunity to provide feedback and present at meetings on their operations in Kakuma and other country operations regarding unaccompanied minors, child labour and transactional sex. I was involved in mission debriefs and meetings with donors and implementing partners, and I came to understand firsthand the degree to which many potentially effective UNHCR programs are affected by politics – donor relations, attitudes toward protracted camps, lack of funding and power, the geopolitics of aid and global priorities. It also provided a window through which to view “how institutions fit into the analysis of policy-making and politics.... [and] the way institutions shape the goals that political actors pursue and the way they structure power-relations among them” (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992, p. 2-3).

Recruitment, Confidentiality and Data Recording

For both focus groups and individual interviews in the camp, in Turkana and with various agency staff, I employed purposive sampling (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Purposive sampling means participants are chosen not randomly but recruited in light of the research focus. It was most appropriate in light of my research objectives to focus on young people, particularly young mothers.

Having established relationships with LWF, and having explained my research (which at the time was still on reproductive and maternal health), I asked LWF to first organize focus group discussions with young and/or single mothers. After discussions shifted more toward the determinants of young motherhood, other focus groups were set up inside Kakuma camp, and various organizations helped me organize focus groups with young refugees who were unaccompanied/separated, accompanied and/or with dependents but considered those ‘Most At Risk (MARPS)’ or are already engaged in sex work. These young women and girls are largely considered, or constructed universally, to be the most vulnerable persons within a refugee context (Forbes-Martin, 2004; Ferris, 2007).

In between the focus group discussion with young mothers I conducted Key informant interviews with LWF and protection staff from other NGOs. In each of the interviews as well as the focus group discussions that I carried out stressed that I did not have a relationship with or a commitment to any organization, as I was independent. I was therefore not obligated to report to any NGO except for safety matters (I made sure Windle Trust knew my whereabouts during the day and reported my return once back inside the compound at night). Obviously, even with disclaimers, I cannot ensure that my association with NGOs simply by virtue of staying within the NGO compound, etc, did not affect the responses focus group participants gave me, though I did stress that I was not associated with any NGO or any programming in the camp.

At the beginning of research, once other key informants were identified they often recruited 3 or 4 additional participants. These existing participants then often spread the word to relevant neighbors/friends that there would be a group held, which effectively is snowball sampling. Thus, by default, snowball sampling became the anchor, and a second ad hoc recruitment methodology. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) suggest that snowball sampling is problematic in two ways: ethically and methodologically. In the first instance, snowball sampling is considered non-rigorous and selective, leading to sample bias. Ethically, it may create leakages in confidentiality by way of uncensored attempts to ‘validate’ or test theories by revealing to participants what others have revealed. Though I agree in principle, my own research did not intend to take a ‘random sample’ of the whole population or include a control group. It first ‘targeted’ particular groups. Snowballing thus evolved as a technique to gather more research on the experiences of young people who were outside the known circle of the key informants. I never revealed to one informant or group of participants what another group revealed.

In all field sites, the NGO and UN key informant interviewees were chosen according to expertise and programming in Kakuma: i.e. gender and protection services (sexual and gender-based violence programming), food security, public health, reproductive health, child protection and community services, and food distribution. For individual interviews with NGO and UN staff, once the interview was ending, the interviewee would often suggest one or two others who I might want to talk to, and oftentimes would introduce me over e-mail.

To determine the number of participants, I utilized what Lincoln and Guba (1985) coin as maximum variation sampling (p. 233), meaning I did not place a maximum number on the minors and young adults I interviewed in each setting as I did not want to restrict what could be a be rich and vigorous discussion. For Nairobi and Lodwar, I did not restrict the number of NGO officers or UN personnel I interviewed. However, I followed the principle that once theoretical saturation is reached in the narratives “the sampling is terminated” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 234). As outlined in Table 2.1, after conducting focus groups with young refugees, various focus groups with Turkana and NGO representatives, along with 14 Turkana communities (see Appendix A) and numerous key informant interviews I felt I had enough data to begin analysis.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) two dimensions are essential to proper data recording: fidelity and structure. Fidelity is the degree to which the analysis of data written is in essence the same as the data that emerged. Basically, what is written down and shared is in essence genuinely what the researcher was told and informed of during the research process. A tape recorder ensures fidelity, and so it is somewhat compromised in the use of field notes, though they are considered less threatening to the participants and also maintained my concentration and alertness during the interview process (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 241). They are also low maintenance and unlike audiotapes, are accessible and allowed me as the researcher to share my observations immediately alongside the narrative provided by the

participant. Though I took handwritten notes during each focus group, as well as each individual interview, some FGDs and KII participants gave permission to use more high-fidelity recordings, such as the use of a dictaphone. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) note, “clearly the greatest fidelity [what is actually voiced by participants] can be obtained using audio or video recordings” (p. 240).

Confidentiality is, of course, a cornerstone of ethical research. Those participants from Kakuma camp who were minors often wished to remain anonymous. Within this dissertation, all first names used in cited personal communication are pseudonyms that participants chose for themselves or I have fabricated. For the Turkana families, only the name of the community is used. For NGO and UN interviews, only their official position and agency is used if I have been given permission; if they wanted to remain anonymous, only the name of the NGO or UN agency is used. Names and signatures on the consent forms, letters written and other materials contain participants’ actual names. They were in a locked safe in my home office in Nairobi, and now in my home office in Geneva. I do not travel with these documents, and all transcripts are in the safe as well. USBs as well as all computer documents are in the locked safe while I am not working or when I am traveling outside of Geneva. On my computer, documents are password protected.

Finally, physical protection and security with regards to traveling to the meet-up spots for focus groups was not a concern for most participants in Kakuma camp. The participants often met me at UNHCR Kakuma Field Post II which has a perimeter wall and security guards, and it was considered safe for us to be there alone (under the protection of Kenya police) and it was a central meet-up for the participants who were coming from Kakuma I, II and III. The camp is locked down at 6pm, and NGO personnel have to be inside the NGO compound by 6:30 at the latest.

Transcription and Data Analysis

Though one is right to assume that Kakuma's linguistic environment is diverse, focus groups and interviews in Kakuma and Lodwar were conducted in English. No formal translation service was ever required in these contexts. However, during some focus group discussions, some from South Sudan who identify as Nuer did not speak English. So others from South Sudan, mainly Dinka, who were fluent in both Nuer and English, translated for them. In Lodwar and Kakuma town all interviews and focus groups with locals were conducted in English. Some difficulty was encountered with the dictaphone and its ability to pick up conversations from a few feet away and with softer voices. I have 'lost' some data because of it, aside from the notes taken down during interviews. For the rapid needs assessments with the traditional Turkana communities, no interview was recorded and a translator was used at all times. I have handwritten notes, which were also transcribed. Interviews at the UNHCR were mostly conducted without the recorder, mainly because I would sometimes not bring it to work, and would only find after the fact that someone was available to talk; and some preferred the recorder not to be used. I took handwritten notes for those interviews. I transcribed interviews and FGDs for this dissertation from the recorder verbatim, documenting body language as much as I could remember, and I complemented the transcriptions with my handwritten interview notes.

Triangulation: Coding Themes and data analysis

No software was used for the purposes of coding or thematic analysis. Employing constant comparison method (Creswell, 2009), I first coded the data by manually color-coding relational and sensitizing concepts. The use of sensitizing concepts in qualitative research is considered an interpretive device (Bowen, 2006). "Sensitizing concepts draw attention to important features of social interaction and provide guidelines for research in specific settings" (Bowen, 2006, p. 3). I grounded my data collection in a series of

‘sensitizing concepts’ and material conditions in both the focus groups and interviews, such as ‘access’, ‘agency’, ‘violence’, and various social and economic determinants of child labour, transactional sex, early motherhood and early marriage, such as ‘homelessness’, ‘access to non-food items’ such as shelter and sanitary napkins, ‘food insecurity’, ‘health’, ‘education’, gender. These gave some direction and thematic emphasis during analysis, and provided linkages between invisible modes of violence and those which are explicitly addressed in policies and programming. I then combed through the transcriptions again and again color-coding and mapping themes consistently used, such as ‘being chased’, ‘abuse’, ‘rape’, ‘food’.

To provide research delimitations and boundaries, I began the analysis initially demarcating, dividing and coding the four areas of child exploitation and sexual abuse (child labour, transactional sex, early motherhood and early marriage) and mapped linkages between them through the shared sensitizing concepts and their broad common threads or themes between refugees and hosts (such as gender-based violence, structural violence, marginalization, precariousness). I then analyzed connections between Turkana and Kakuma, and triangulated the documented narratives for both Turkana and refugees of the concepts of debt, homelessness and movements, burdens, access, violence, exploitation, commodification, agency and resilience.

Themes of borders, homes, bodies in relation to material conditions and mechanisms of survival became prominent, and I further triangulated these narratives and experiences to the identified protection and aid deficits in Kakuma, and the institutional discourses of vulnerability. I examined how the focus group narratives and the identified issues emergent from key informant interviews, could be further triangulated and mapped to food insecurity in the region and ration cuts in the camps during 2012-2014, famine in the geographical area of the camp from 2012-2014, increased securitization and encampment policies in late 2013,

underfunded programming over the course of years, the fluctuating camp economy and refugee-host relations. One purpose of doing so was to ascertain the fluidity and seasonality of vulnerability.

A Note on Narrative: Writing up

Refugee studies scholars are from diverse disciplines, such as international relations, anthropology, geography, social work and sociology, and global health amongst others. Some scholars are inclined to policy-oriented work, and some more ethnographical. Across disciplines and with a view to activist/problem-oriented research, Jacobsen and Landau (2003) problematize the “dual imperative” within refugee and forced migration studies, which means working “both to satisfy the demands of the academy and to ensure that the knowledge and understanding our work generates are used to protect refugees, influence governments, and improve the ways institutions like the United Nations or Non-Governmental Organizations do their work” (p. 1). Relatedly, Black (2001) notes the possibility for research to be invited and thus co-opted by agencies working in the field (such as the UNHCR) leading to under-theorization and conflicts of interest. The “problem-solving” problem within refugee studies scholarship bumps up against, to no small degree, scholarly debates of the merits and the motivation of those from the global North to be conducting research in the global South to begin with (Patai, 1991). Conducting research is a political process. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Tuhiwai Smith (2009) writes: “the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (p.1).

Feminist scholars have long felt the quandaries that not only arise with ethnography, and the sensitive nature of narrative representation (Stacy, 1991; Butt, 2002; Razack, 2007), but also how to get it down on paper. As Stacy (1991) claims, “Elements of inequality, exploitation, and even betrayal are endemic to ethnography” (p. 114). Pragmatically, tensions

emerge at the stage of writing when confronted with representation and ‘giving voice’ and authentic presentation of the stories given by ‘the researched’. Razack’s article “Stealing the Pain of Others” (2007) echoes a similar sentiment regarding the presentation and depiction of suffering, and upon whom the story centers. Using the example of how the Rwandan genocide was publicly depicted and made digestible for the global North, Razack shows the damaging effects of unwittingly picking and choosing what to show, what not to show and what the stories are often not about, namely the local experience of the suffering, and what they are about, namely the suffering and experiences of those trying to help those suffering, and the capacity of the ‘carer to care’. The point being, in some instances, the pain of those who actually suffer is unwittingly stolen, rendered tangible and digestible only through the telling of such suffering by a white protagonist. Leslie Butt (2002) turned a critical eye specifically to anthropologists using activist research and first hand personal stories from the poor, especially when the subjects of research are only ‘in the work’ through “truncated first-hand accounts of suffering” (p. 3). Butt (2002) contends that this is done only “in order to validate broader theoretical aims” (Butt, 2002, p. 3). She further claims that, “truncated first-hand accounts do not provide a voice of human experience so much as they mask a set of assumptions about global moralities. In other words, the suffering are finally talking, but is anyone really listening?” (Butt, 2002, p. 3). Butt’s (2002) claim brings into view the importance of contextualization, for without such, ‘the suffering stranger’ remains dehistoricized leading to “a discursive construction that reduces global entanglements, and potentially rich human stories, to a moral model that allows for a sustained dependency between one group of people (i.e., those coded as needy) and another group of people (i.e., those coded as expert)” (Butt, 2002, p. 17).

As such, and with these caveats and the call for conscientious research in mind, I aimed to be as mindful as possible of the disparities of power while in the field, In my coding

and theorizing, I allow the experiences of participants “to set the parameters of what is perceived as problematic” (Butt, 2002, p. 5). All quoted field notes as well as shared interviews and stories that came from participants are verbatim, and I use them extensively and attempt to not truncate them as much as possible. Instead I try to flesh out their meaning through contextualization of the stories in the culture, politics, and social conditions surrounding the narratives.

Ethics and Limitations of the Study

York University Ethics Committee granted both initial ethics approval (Appendix B) as well as the amendment to include minors (see Appendix C). I was a social worker in Canada, and have experience interviewing children who have been survivors of sexual abuse, needed removal from their home, or were charged with assault and rape. I am, in other words, trained in interviewing children in difficult circumstances. However, in the social science research context, interviewing children is unlike the above examples, as it requires more of a conversation, and awareness of exploitation. To this end, their guardians were always present, and also signed the consent forms, which may have restricted the amount of detail given about their daily lives.

There are several limitations to this study. First, I did not interview Turkana young people who work and/or live in the camps. However, as mentioned, I collected much of my information on cultural norms and work by the Turkana through local Turkana NGOs, such as Kakuma Women’s Network, as well as in the communities, and from the staff working inside the refugee camp. The Head of the therapeutic feeding centers for IRC Hospital is herself a Turkana, as well as the health officer at the IRC health post in Kakuma IV. LWF’s Senior Protection Officer for Kakuma camp is a Turkana, as was UNICEF’s Child Protection Officer in Lodwar and the IRC Gender and Protection Officer working in both Lodwar and Kakuma Camp.

Second, I was unable to interview persons with disabilities. On two occasions I was sent to a meet up place within Kakuma camps and no one showed up. The focus groups were to be with 2-3 adult refugees with disabilities and were organized by a community development worker with an NGO known to be very closed off to public attention or interviews. No explanation was given other than the participants likely may not have remembered. I have asked questions regarding persons with disabilities in my UN and NGO interviews but not speaking to this group directly serves as a limitation.

Finally, ethnography in general has some limitations as it is difficult to generalize ethnographic accounts due to the small sample sizes and a case study is bounded to a glimpse of a particular place at a given time. In this case, all focus groups with young refugees living in the Kakuma camps were conducted before the influx from South Sudan in 2014. On December 14th 2013, South Sudan fell into a civil war. I contacted my key informants, specifically those from LWF, regarding a research pending trip I had planned, during which time I would do further follow-up focus groups discussions and validation exercises. They advised that due to the fact that I was considered non-essential and they were in an emergency influx situation (I.e. one where many humanitarian personnel would be traveling to Kakuma to assist large numbers of refugees arriving from South Sudan) it might be some time before I could come back. Thus, my camp data largely captures Kakuma prior to the emergency phase, and does not have in-depth observation of the impacts of the conflict on any phenomena under study. Second, due to the expenses and costs related to fieldwork in the camps, as well as the investments already made, I chose to stay and work, in order to support myself. Doing so did allow me to return to Turkana and Kakuma (through work related contracts), though after ethics approval had expired. Not returning to Kakuma camp after telling many participants that I would (in early 2014) is still emotionally difficult, and a limitation to this study, as it also affects data validation. I do keep in contact with the many

key informants and some participants through e-mail and phone. I cannot use any of the correspondence as data given my approval for fieldwork has expired, but I do validate my data through this informal channel of communication.

Conclusion

To capture and collect the necessary data, I spent a total of 14 months conducting fieldwork in three sites: Kakuma, Turkana County and Nairobi. Fieldwork was not a neat and tidy process and took longer than expected. The research focus and questions changed throughout my fieldwork. The triangulation of the data led to a multi-level analysis with multiple perspectives and identification of multiple factors involved in the situation, and their complex interaction. Critical ethnography as a method and a design allowed me to pay increased attention to broader geopolitical dynamics impacting the situation of child exploitation, and as well toward how geopolitics and conflict impacted the processes and logistical considerations such a study requires. Drawing on intersectionality theory and with the critical caveats posited by feminist scholars, in the empirical chapters which follow, I attempt to do justice to the stories shared with me by young refugees and the host community living in and along the periphery of Kakuma's camps. By 'do justice' I mean make their stories not only meaningful, but to show how their narratives are political statements, how their material struggles are political struggles.

CHAPTER FOUR

Contextual and Historical Review of the Turkana-Kakuma Refugee Camp Nexus

Before turning to the empirical chapters, this chapter provides a historical overview of the context on which this case study is based: Turkana County and the Kakuma refugee camps. The purpose is to link what Farmer (2004) calls the ‘ethnographically visible’—hunger, malnutrition, conflict and violence, to their politico-historical determinants, and to highlight the historical parallels between the situation of the Turkana hosts and the refugees living in Kakuma camp. Both Turkana County and Kakuma refugee camp experience high levels of poverty, food insecurity, conflict, and protection deficits. Both are places wherein aid and/or government largely ensure lifesaving assistance but do not attend to the underlying causes of poverty or resource deficits. In short, both communities are contending with deeply embedded forms of everyday and structural violence which makes the refugee ‘humanitarian condition’ difficult to distinguish from that of the host community (see Feldman, 2012).

I begin with an overview of the geopolitical history of the global refugee regime that largely underpins Kenya’s refugee regime and the development of Kakuma camps. The second section describes the Kakuma refugee camps. The third section traces the colonial histories of violence in Turkana and the histories of hunger that have characterized the County since the early 1900s. This is followed by an overview of the intersections between the host and refugee populations since the camp was constructed.

Global to Local: The geopolitics underpinning the formation of Kakuma refugee camp

Dealing with the displaced and stateless populations that WWII left in its wake required an agency that would protect and uphold the rights and wellbeing of those exiled all over Europe in a standardized way (Malkki, 2002; Napier-Moore, 2005). In 1944 that responsibility fell to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and in 1947 the United Nations International Refugee Organization (IRO) took over the task until 1951 (Gallagher, 1989). The IRO ceased operations and gave way to the UNHCR on December 14,

1950. The legal foundation and statute directing UNHCR's work and mandate to protect vis-a-vis resettlement were solidified with the adoption of the United Nations 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* on July 28 the following year (hereon referred to as the 1951 Convention) (Gallagher, 1989; Campbell, 2006).

According to the 1951 Convention, which is an agreement primarily applicable to and intended for refugees in post-WWII Europe (Hyndman, 2000), a refugee is defined as a person 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” (UNHCR, 1951, p.1). Three durable solutions underpin the 1951 Convention: repatriation to country of origin, local integration into host countries, which lead to broader rights to employment and livelihoods, or resettlement in a third country. Enshrined in the 1951 Convention is the principle of non-refoulement, which means a host country cannot force involuntary return of refugees to country of origin.

Building on Hyndman (2000), Napier-Moore (2005) contends that the 1951 Convention was a “Eurocentric agreement emphasizing burden-sharing among states, as well as civil and political rights for refugees... [But] minimized social and economic reasons for flight in determining the definition of refugee” (p. 4). Indeed, given the refugee problem was assumed primarily to be temporary and European, at the advent of the 1951 Convention the intent and the idea were relatively simple and straightforward: with only 34 staff members, 300,000 dollars and a temporary mandate of only 3 years (Achiron, 2001), the UNHCR would provide protection (primarily resettlement) to those in exile and displaced by the ravages of WWII while awaiting one of three durable solutions – repatriation, resettlement to a third host country, or ‘assimilation’ into host country of asylum (Gallagher, 1989; Napier-Moore, 2005; Hyndman, 2000; Sytnik, 2012) .

By 1956, UNHCR's caseload was growing. With the agency facing multiple emergencies in North Africa and Eastern Europe, the early 1960s marked the beginning of the transformation of UNHCR's mandate from a focus on Europe to being global in scope, with its protection operations and budget slowly being centered on the Horn, East, and Central Africa (UNHCR, 2001). Because the 1951 Convention was "never intended to be universal" (Hyndman, 2000, p. 11), subsequent agreements and mandates came into force to accommodate the new global crisis of displacement: the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, and the 1969 OAC Convention. The 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees does away with geographical limitations placed on the refugees stipulated in the 1951 Convention, namely Europe, and provides a universalist inclusivity to the initial agreement. The Africa Union in 1969 added reasons and context for flight in the OAC Convention, which sets forth the aspects of the refugee problem specific to Africa: "the term refugee shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country ...is compelled to leave...and to seek refuge in another place" (Article I). Durable solutions remained the same in all protocols. Importantly, however, attention shifted away from Convention refugees and individuals who needed to prove persecution to groups, and to assessing refugee status on a "prima facie basis" meaning they are granted status (sometimes en masse) by virtue of objective, documented, and readily apparent circumstances such as civil conflict or natural disaster such as famine.

In 1978, UNHCR became a key player in managing Kenya's Refugee Program. Their mandate and operations focused on refugee status determination. Ten years later, during the Moi regime in 1988, Kenya became party to the 1967 Protocol, and at this time hosted a total of 12,000 refugees, primarily from Uganda who identified as 'political refugees' seeking asylum from Idi Amin's regime. At this time, Ugandan refugees enjoyed 'full status rights'

under humanitarian law, including “the right to reside in urban centres and move freely throughout the country, the right to obtain a work permit and access educational opportunities, and the right to apply for legal local integration” (Campbell, 2006, p. 399; Lambo, 2012; Pavanello, Elhawary, and Pantuliano, 2010). Scholars note that many of the Ugandan refugees were highly educated professionals and thus were at this time granted the freedom of movement and employment to contribute the rapidly growing post-independence economy within Kenya.

The African Charter, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAC Convention were largely put into practice in the region when the 1980s and the following decade brought with them record-breaking increases in the number of complex humanitarian emergencies (Crisp, 2003). War, conflicts and complex humanitarian crises erupted in the East and Horn of Africa regions in the late 80s and early 90s when Ethiopia, Sudan, Southern Sudan, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and Somalia were each embroiled in civil conflict or natural disaster. According to a host of scholars, “Complex humanitarian emergencies have been a major feature of the international landscape since the end of the Cold War” (Brenner & Nandy, 2001, p. 148; Davies, 2010; Duffield, 2001; Ferris, 2011; Hyndman, 2000). Characterized by forced displacement, political upheavals and human insecurity, complex humanitarian emergencies also leave scores of people in need of exile and protection, and in need of durable solutions.

Being positioned in the middle of East Africa and bordering conflict-affected countries in the Horn and Great Lakes regions, Kenya’s responsibility to play host to refugees thus became crucial from the late 1980s and early 1990s, when thousands migrated into Northern Kenya from all sides: Somalia, South Sudan (then Sudan), Ethiopia, Congo. Scores of refugees entered the country and were given refugee status on a *prima facie* basis. As Abuya (2007) writes, “By 1991 Kenya, which had previously hosted some 15,000 refugees, was playing host to some 130,000 refugees—an increment of more than eight fold. Just over

a year later this figure had shot to almost 400,000” (p. 84). Given such a sharp increase in numbers of those seeking exile within its borders in 1991, the country’s post-1991 refugee regime quickly morphed into one of “abdication and containment” (Milner, 2006, p. 116), characterized by a shift from openness to rights for refugee to employment and movement, to being closed, restrictive and inhospitable. Importantly, the collapse of the hospitality underpinning Kenya’s early refugee regime and the increased reliance on encampment as opposed to resettlement, assimilation, and voluntary repatriation also strongly correlates to global historical, geopolitical shifts that have led to a greater reliance on encampment.

According to Chimni (2004), for instance, during the decades from 1945 through to 1985 the favored durable solution for refugees was resettlement, as this was UNHCR’s primary protection mandate at the time. This was easy to achieve during the Cold War era when “refugees were accepted by Western countries as ‘agents of change’, thereby acting as the physical manifestations of the fight against communism” (Smith, 2004, p. 44 as cited in Sytnik, 2012, p. 7). With the gradual shifts in political-economic and international relations, however, mainly the ending of the Cold war, ‘resettlement fatigue’ (Napier-Moore, 2005, p. 6; Hyndman, 2002) set in once “the number of refugees doubled from less than two million in 1970 to over 4 million by 1980” (Smith, 2004, p. 44 as cited in Sytnik, 2012, p. 8). By the mid-1980s, repatriation became discursively “the only viable solution” (Crisp, 2003, p. 3 as cited in Napier-Moore, 2005, p. 6). This ‘repatriation culture’ prevailed (Barnett, 2002, p. 33) when “about 2.4 million refugees did so [i.e. repatriated] in 1992 alone” (UNHCR, 1993, p. 1). With ongoing civil conflicts in their countries of origin, consideration of repatriation as the preferred and most feasible solution was short-lived as a realistic solution to the refugee problem. The mass population movements within East African countries in particular, resulted in unprecedented numbers of both internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in exile from countries such as Sudan, Somalia, and Congo. This left repatriation for many

from these countries a distant reality, and the impact on internally displaced and refugee children, families and communities undeniably severe.

It was also quickly recognized by UNHCR and national states that the burden placed on refugee-hosting countries might also be severe. Serious questioning regarding the integration of the more vulnerable and deprived host communities into refugee assistance began with the first and second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA) in 1981 and 1984 respectively. To clarify, this is different than the third durable solution, namely to integrate refugees into host communities or countries, which would allow refugees more rights regarding livelihood options, economic opportunities and, of course, freedom of movement. Rather, the emphasis was on incorporating or integrating *host community* populations into the development programs, and relief programs, as opposed to creating parallel systems of aid (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, 2005). Specifically on the agenda at the ICARA I was to bring international attention and awareness of “the plight and needs of refugees in Africa” (UN General Assembly, 1981, p. 4; Gorman, 1986), including the burden placed on host countries, and to “mobilize additional resources” (Ibid.).

ICARA II built on the previous conference to specifically address the economic, environmental and material burdens placed on host countries under the Refugee Assistance and Development (RAD) programme, which linked humanitarian relief programs with local development strategies in partnership with UNDP (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2017). The intention was to discuss claims that integration of services and resources is a matter of equity and fairness, as host communities are usually no better off, and also as a matter of efficiency, as a way of mitigating conflict over resources and exploitation (Callamard, 1994; Chambers, 1986; Dryder-Peterson & Hovil, 2003). It was a stopgap measure while refugees awaited the durable solutions. The RAD approach was short lived and, as Betts (2004) notes,

“the ICARA conferences had little lasting legacy and disappointed many of the African states and donor states” (p. 2; see Betts et al., 2017). Since ICARA II, agencies and actors involved have faced impediments to moving forward with this level of integration, mainly due to the almost complete lack of donor support, weak coordination, and increases in refugee populations (Betts, 2017; Gorman 1994).

Globally, by 1995, with internal conflicts and state dissolutions occurring the world over, “the number of people of concern to UNHCR [had] risen substantially... 17 million in 1991, 23 million in 1993 and more than 27 million at the beginning of 1995” (UNHCRa, 1995, Chapter One, p. 2). Yet, not only did the proportion of those displaced and living in refugee situations increase intensely from the 1990s onwards due to conflict, so too did the “likelihood that a refugee crisis will become protracted” (Crawford, Haysom and Walicki, 2015, p. 12). In the period between 1993 and 2003, the camp situations that became protracted globally reportedly increased from 45% to 90% (Napier-Moore, 2005, p. 3). Once the UN Refugee Convention passed its 50th anniversary in 2001, the war on terror continued to escalate, which “further intensified an already growing fear and disparagement of foreigners, including refugees. The wealthy countries have fortified themselves against the entry of all but a very few of the global number of refugees” (Giles, 2012, p. 95). As a result, by 2003, three million refugees in Africa alone found themselves in a state of limbo and spread over 170 camps (Jamal, 2003).

Geopolitical perils and increasing numbers of those being forcibly displaced complicated any protocols for refugees, such as efforts to resettle, locally integrate or repatriate. This further limited any assumption supporting the Convention that the refugee problem is temporary, as well as the feasibility of repatriation and resettlement as the most durable solutions for the post-Cold War era (Crisp, 2003). The camp became a de facto fourth solution to the ‘refugee problem’, which Kenya has endorsed with an informal policy of

requiring all refugees to reside in camps. By 1990, Kenya alone was home to 13 refugee camps and by early 1992 the country had nearly 500,000 refugees spread about the coastal and northern regions. Following the closure of refugee camps on the Kenyan coast, thousands from [South] Sudan had made their way from Ethiopia to Turkana County once the government began the shuffling of refugees into Dadaab³⁰ and Kakuma.

Kakuma Refugee Camp

Located 90 km from South Sudan and coordinated by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Kakuma camp was established and opened in July



Figure 7: Map of Kakuma Refugee Camps in relation to neighbouring countries. Source: UNHCR, 2016.

1992. The UNHCR is assisted in its duties by a wide range of organizations, including the World Food Program (WFP), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the Jesuit

Refugee Services (JRS), the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), Windle Trust Kenya (WTK), Film Aid International, and the Silesians of Don Bosco in Kenya. Though coordinated by the UNHCR, the camp falls under the jurisdiction of the Government of Kenya (GoK) and was managed from 2006 up until May 2016 by the Kenyan Department of Refugee Affairs.

³⁰ The Dadaab refugee complex currently consists of three refugee camps and is located in Northeastern Kenya near the border with Somalia. It hosts approximately 211,701 refugees as of May 2019 primarily from Somalia (UNHCR, 2019). The Dadaab refugee complex is the second largest refugee camp operation in the world. At its height, in 2011, it hosted over 500,000 refugees in five camps.

In 1996, five years after construction and hosting more than 25,000 persons of concern, Kakuma refugee camp was an officially protracted refugee situation, one located in a harsh, insecure and semi-arid resource poor environment prone to drought. In 2000 the UNHCR claimed that Kakuma Camp in Kenya was one of the oldest and largest refugee camps in the world (Mareng 2010). Today, sixteen years later, Kakuma camp consists of four zones (or camps) (Kakuma I, II, III, IV) as well as a new settlement 3.5kms from the Kakuma camps called Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement (9km when using the main road), which serves both refugee populations and the host community and was constructed after the research for this dissertation was completed. See Figure 2.1 below for the location of Kakuma camps I-IV. At the beginning of 2018, Kakuma and Kalobeyei together host 185,000 registered refugees (Kakuma has approximately 147,000 registered refugees from 19 countries and Kalobeyei hosts 38,000 registered refugees mainly from Ethiopia and Somalia). Today, those from South Sudan comprise 56% of the overall refugee population in Kakuma (UNHCR, 2018). At the time of research in 2013-2016, the population of concern was also predominately South Sudanese.

Protection services and programming in Kakuma are delivered on behalf of UNHCR mainly by LWF but also by IRC, NCKK and JRS. In line with the goals as set out in the Protection Framework discussed in chapter two, Kakuma does host child friendly spaces; child friendly procedures are in place; targeted support is available, such as programming for Most at Risk Populations (MARPS); and ensuring unaccompanied and separated children have alternative care and guardianship. In keeping with the SGBV strategy, the NCKK runs livelihoods programmes for former sex workers as well as those who are currently involved in prostitution but want to stop. The IRC runs a Safe programming initiative in the camps, which aims to mainstream protection in all programming involving adolescents and children primarily those who are unaccompanied or separated who are at risk of SGBV and/or

exploitation. There is also a counseling room for survivors of sexual violence and rape at the IRC Kakuma Refugee Hospital. JRS operates and manages Safe Haven, which provides safe shelter for women and young girl survivors of abuse and violence and who feel it is unsafe to return to the camp or to their community inside the camp.

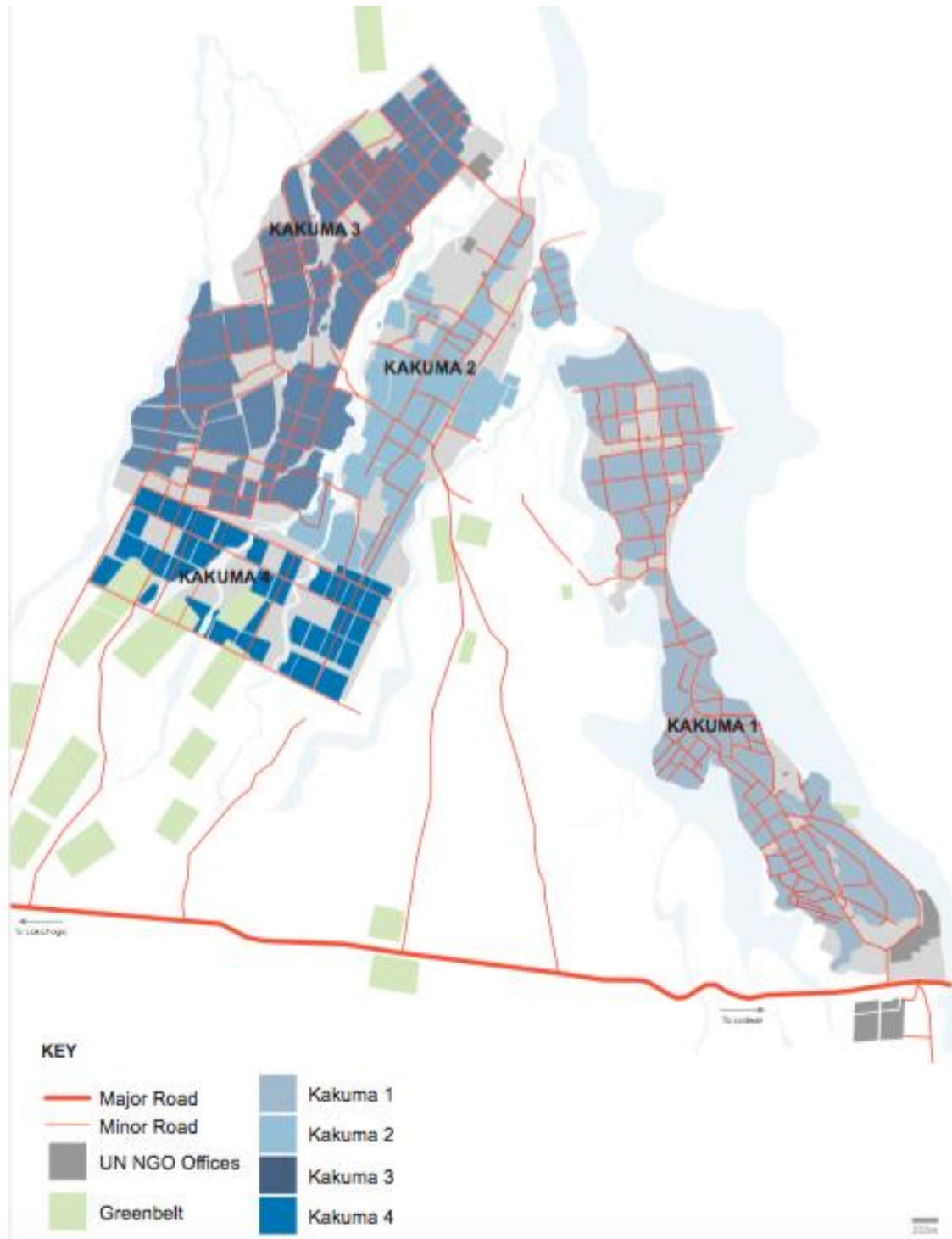


Figure 8: Map layout of Kakuma camps I-IV. Source: UNHCR, 2016. (There is now at the time of writing a settlement attached to Kakuma in Kalobeyei. It was not constructed at the time of research.)

Despite years of playing host, most of Kenya's current caseload of approximately 600,000 documented refugees are denied full status rights, and are restricted in their rights to movement, employment and livelihood opportunities. Neither encamped nor urban refugees were permitted to work or to move freely. With no legal right to work, Kenya's encampment policy effectively limits any rights to livelihood opportunities, freedom of movement and rights to employment. Kakuma, to this end, is a camp that is no exception to the violence, bare life and vulnerability that increasingly characterize protracted refugee situations explored in chapter one. Further, despite millions of dollars being invested in camp infrastructure and aid and relief for the refugees, at the time of research, at least 10,000 additional latrines were required to cover the needs of the refugee population and only 67% of families had adequate shelter. There were also periodic but severe food shortages and ration cuts in Kakuma (described in chapter five). Many sections of Kakuma's camps were overcrowded, and negatively affected with crime and gender-based violence.

Kakuma's camps are also located in a similarly resource-poor area. As described in the Introduction, the relationship between refugees and the host community in Kakuma has been described as contentious and at times violent. There is a dearth of attention paid, however, to how Kakuma's hosts themselves also contend with a violent colonial history, displacement and conflict, and how this history may contribute to current day deprivation as well as to the 'geographic concentrations of violence' (Crisp, 1999) around the Turkana-Kakuma camp nexus. As Aukot (2003), a legal and refugee studies scholar who is himself a Turkana, argued:

The [Turkana] hosts' history of displacement meets the expanded UNHCR mandate for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). It is arguable that the hosts could meet the criteria of refugees under the OAU Convention and any attempt at selective protection defeats the principles of human rights protection.... The intervention by UNHCR and GoK on behalf of refugees cannot possibly be comprehended by the hosts because of their own expectations; hence their many accusations, which threaten refugee protection. In the hosts' minds linger the questions, why and how are

refugees different from them? Are the GoK and the international community being selectively compassionate in humanitarian assistance? Doesn't that compromise humanitarian principles? Aukot, 2003, p. 75).

The case of the Turkana being able to meet the criteria of a refugee partially reflects Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's (2016) recent claim (as per refugees encamped in the Middle East), that, in contexts where host communities also suffer from protracted crisis, there are 'overlapping displacements' which require reassessment of programming and policy for integration and/or host-refugee relations. In Kakuma, however, the displacement of the Turkana is a movement into the camps to look for livelihoods, food, and survival. There are also overlapping vulnerabilities, overlapping ways of coping and overlapping lives and heritage, which require in-depth consideration.

With this in mind, the following section thus describes how the histories of the Turkana and the refugees have overlapped, and how the situations of conflict and lack of resources and rights that have caused many refugees to seek exile in Kakuma camps are mirrored in the everyday experiences of the Turkana host community, who are also refugee-seekers. This section begins with a description of the conditions for Turkana's 'founding violence' (Das, 2007): the identity violence performed by the colonial administration.

Outskirts of Kakuma Refugee Camps: Turkana

Colonial History of Turkana

Spread across northwestern Kenya, Turkana County (formally called a District prior to 2013 Constitution) borders Uganda to the west, South Sudan to the north and Ethiopia to the northeast. It also borders four Kenyan counties: Baringo and West Pokot to the south,

Marsabit to the East and Samburu to the southeast, and falls within “the Karamoja cluster” (Cordaid, 2014). This cluster includes different tribes of the Jie (Uganda), Pokot (Kenya), Toposa (South Sudan), Karamojong (Uganda), Nyangatom and Didinga (or sometimes called



Figure 9: Map of Turkana’s borderlands and neighbouring tribes.
Source: Resilience Focus Magazine, FAO, 2019.

Dassenitch) (Ethiopia). Throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, what was then called ‘Turkanaland’ was reportedly lush and largely unoccupied. Count Samuel Teleki von Szek was the first European to first set foot in Turkana in the late 1800s once

the first Swahili caravans and Ethiopian Ivory Hunters made the trek into Southern Turkana in the search for ivory (McCabe, 2004; 1990). From 1888, Teleki lived among the Turkana in peace, which quickly changed once other European explorers arrived. Their arrival was preceded by a series of conflicts between the Turkana and the British (McCabe, 2004). And, “By 1902, the British began to form an impression of the Turkana as ‘an incorrigibly aggressive people whose inexorable conquest would swallow up much of East Africa if not quickly checked’” (Lamphear, 1992, p. 69 as quoted in McCabe, 2004, p. 50).

The British ‘checked’ the Turkana in a number of ways and for a number of reasons. Though a district in northwestern Kenya, Turkana fell under the British colonial administration of Uganda, yet the Turkana people were seemingly more closely aligned with and loyal to the Ethiopian empire at this time, as it was with the Ethiopians that the Turkana traded arms, and were provided with supplies during Ethiopians’ frequent trips into Turkana (McGabe, 2004). These factors presented two problems for the British: (1) the Ethiopians

kept entering Turkana; and (2) the Turkana kept welcoming them. The response was predictable: to stop Ethiopians from entering, and to pacify the Turkana, the British administration militarized the borderlands, introduced a 'hut tax' and "institutionalized the role of chief in an attempt to provide structure with which to rule this 'chief-less' society" (McCabe, 2004, p. 50). This left the Turkana without their support system of the Nyangatom of Ethiopia, and also with a new and unfamiliar interpersonal social structure.

Between drought and a series of epizootics (disease events that killed livestock) in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Turkana were desperate to secure some wealth lost through the death of livestock. They took to their rifles given to them by the Ethiopians, and raided their pastoralist Kenyan neighbors just southwest of Turkana, the Pokot,³¹ for livestock. The British responded by instigating a series of punishments against the Turkana that unfortunately became commonplace and included "massive confiscation of livestock and killing of those people who resisted" (McCabe, 2004, p. 50). But internal conflict between the Pokot and Turkana did not cease completely, and the conflict increasingly compromised the safety of white settlers living on farms. Because of the significance of the colonial reaction I quote at length:

Jeopardizing the security of the white settlers was unacceptable, and in 1918 a combined force of over 5,000 well-armed men, consisting of Sudanese troops, troops of King's African Rifles, and levies composed of warriors from groups antagonistic to the Turkana, launched what came to be known as the Labor Patrol. . . . The Turkana lost hundreds of thousands of livestock, and hundreds, perhaps thousands of people were killed or died of starvation or disease. Lamphear refers to the impact of this military expedition on the Turkana as 'the most cataclysmic event this society has ever experienced' (1992, p. 196). (McCabe, 2004, p. 51).

³¹ An ethnic tribe based in western Kenya in West Pokot County. The Pokot are part of the larger Kalenjin tribe, which is very different from the Turkana, who are part of the Karamojong cluster that includes the Toposa of South Sudan, Dodoth of Uganda and Nyangatom of Ethiopia, the Jie and Karamojong, all Nilotic speakers.

From the time of Labor Patrol until the end of the World War II, 'Turkanaland' was relatively peaceful. This changed once the war was over. Though during the war the Turkana were provided arms to fight alongside and to protect the British, they were immediately disarmed at the end of WWII. This then left the Turkana extremely vulnerable to raids by neighboring tribes who still had arms, such as the Pokot. Yet, the British refused to protect the Turkana and their livestock from any conflict. The increasingly deprived Turkana grew resentful toward the colonial administration and they did what they considered imperative. They took it upon themselves to protect their land (called an 'ere', which is a generational family plot with sacred properties, as described below) and their livelihoods against other tribes. This resulted in more and more frequent subjugations of the Turkana. From the late 1940s Turkana was reputedly classified by the British administration as a 'closed district' (McCabe, 2004; UNDP, 2015)³² and as a result violence ensued when "the Turkana remained isolated from the rest of Kenyan society" (McCabe, 2004, p. 52). Until independence in 1963, the British continually enacted punitive murderous sprees on the Turkana in an effort to control and subdue (McCabe, 2004).

A decade after independence in 1963, with Kenya making steady progress towards development, the Turkana district was slowly opened up, the already invisible border made

³² The colonial administration as well as the first president post-independence, Jomo Kenyatta, enacted policies of segregation that physically barricaded Turkana from the rest of Kenya by having no direct access roads. Yet, these policies and practices of segregation went beyond physical roads. According to Chemelil (2015), "...[t]he District Commissioner together with the police, [held] the power to issue or not issue a pass to persons who wished to enter or get out of the district. Through the Ordinance Order, the county was declared a closed district. Upon receiving a pass, the government dictated especially to traders on where and when they could conduct business.... Until 1968, the county was a restricted area and people traveling through it had to have a special administrative and police permits as indicated above. At times too especially among natives, it was forbidden to enter the county without dressing traditionally" (p. 14)

less pronounced when missionaries arrived, roads and trading centers were constructed, and schemes encouraging the development of a fishing industry in Turkana began (McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986; Hogg, 1985; 1982; 1986a; 1986b). Any potential post-independence economic or prosperity for Turkana was short-lived as development schemes also came on the heels of not only complex humanitarian emergencies in neighboring countries that led to the influx of tens of thousands of refugees into this sparse, dry, overpopulated, closed-off district, but a series of droughts that led to famine conditions, encampment, and depletion of land and livelihoods.

Histories of hunger and dependence on aid

Drought swept through the district in the 1920s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s and into the new millennium (McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986; Hogg, 1985; 1982). After the 1961 drought, it is estimated that 11,000 Turkana lived in relief camps throughout the County. The post-independence drought of 1967 forced thousands more pastoralists into famine relief camps hosted in Lodwar and Kakuma, and “many destitute were settled along Lake Turkana as fisherman, or at irrigation schemes on the semi-permanent Turkwell and Kerio rivers” (Hogg, 1982, p. 164). Disaster hit between 1979 and 1980 when 90% of cattle, 40% of camel and 80% of small stock flocks across Turkana were destroyed by a severe drought (Hogg, 1982; 1985; McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986). At this time, approximately 80,000 people out of a population of 160,000 left pastoralism and migrated into relief camps spread about the district including Kakuma town (Hogg, 1985). Brian Hartley, who worked with Oxfam at the time of the 1980 famine, published a letter to the Editor in *Disasters* in 1983. He observed that:

By May 1980 people in many of Kenya’s populated areas were queuing for maize meal. But no food was allocated to Turkana—or if it was little or nothing actually reached them.... Animals could not be sold for food or cash. The Turkana then starved (p. 156).

Animals could not be sold given the poor condition of the livestock. That is, famine not only impacts human lives, but the livestock upon which pastoralists depend for food, income, milk and marriage dowries. Having barely survived the drought of 1980, “by 1985 about half of the Turkana population was living in or close to famine relief camps” (McCabe, 2004, p. 39). Another five years proved devastating. The drought that began in 1990 culminated with soaring malnutrition rates and deaths amongst children and the elderly, and left 224,000 Turkana people depending on food assistance by October 1992 (Bush, 1995).

In late 1991, against this backdrop of drought, famine and limited development in their own district, a series of ‘new wars’ were raging in neighboring countries and Turkana was soon to play host to thousands of refugees. The County was first used in the late 1980s, however, as a base for humanitarian operations attending the civil war in South Sudan.

Turkana as humanitarian base before Kakuma

Turkana Central and West at this time had three major towns: Kakuma, Lodwar and Lokichoggio.³³ Lokichoggio is 20km from the border of South Sudan and 90 km north of Kakuma, and it is the entry point of refugees coming in from South Sudan. Prior to 1989, ‘Loki’ was a sleepy village with a few shops and trading posts that the Turkana used along their migratory routes in search of grass and water. In 1989, with Southern Sudan (now recognized as its own country of South Sudan) into their second civil war, drought stricken northern Turkana proved to be a safe zone and airbase for Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS). OLS was a massive humanitarian effort that allowed 35 NGOs and two UN agencies (UNICEF and WFP) a base from which to provide humanitarian assistance to drought and conflict affected areas in neighboring Southern Sudan. During the OLS years (1989-2006), WFP made 40 daily trips from Turkana’s Lokichoggio airbase to drop approximately 700

³³ Kakuma and Lodwar are the other major towns, with Lodwar being the administrative unit of Turkana, hosting the municipal government and county government.

metric tons of food a day in 300 locations in South Sudan and Darfur (Informant, personal communication, December 2013). The sheer weight of both the crisis in Southern Sudan and the humanitarian effort reportedly drew the attention of and visits by President Jimmy Carter and Princess Anne in the 1990s. The International Committee of the Red Cross' relief and humanitarian hospital was the largest and best in the region, and almost overnight the small Turkana town went from being a sleepy corner of Kenya to hosting 12,000 NGO and UN workers (England, 2005). Then, by July 1992, Turkana was hosting another camp constructed primarily for the 'lost children of [South] Sudan' who decided to flee civil war and cross the borders from South Sudan or Ethiopia into Lokichoggio and make their way to Kakuma.

The following section draws from secondary data as well as fieldwork to 'unpack' some of the everyday lived-out tensions between Turkana hosts and refugees and how they relate to these historical and current-day geopolitical and structurally violent inequities. To build the foundation for the following empirical chapters, I focus on three interrelated dynamics of refugee-host relations along the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus that are of most relevance to this dissertation: land and livelihoods, gender-based violence and informal economies.

Intersections: The Turkana-Kakuma Refugee Camp Nexus 1992-2012

Land and livelihoods

The early years of Kakuma camp were difficult for the Turkana. Two years after Kakuma began hosting refugees in mid-1994, and though "Oxfam was still providing food to 155,000 people" (Bush, 1995, p. 251), the UNHCR and other agencies managing and servicing Kakuma were already providing shelter, food and health care to 11,000 newly arrived Sudanese boys and girls. According to Aukot (2003), "What emerged shortly after refugees settled were boreholes, schools, hospitals, a police station, and free food for refugees. The question then arose as to whether the refugees were taking over their land" (p.

79). Indeed, after much negotiation, the Turkana gave their community land over to the Government of Kenya, as well as the UNHCR for the Kakuma camps. The 477 Turkana people, comprising 27 families who lived on the land and were subsequently displaced, were promised donkeys as compensation (Aukot, 2003). With the increase in influx of refugees, Kakuma II, Kakuma III and Kakuma IV were constructed over 25 square kilometers, and more Turkana families and households were uprooted. Aukot (2003) notes “the extension of this camp sparked disagreement because the Turkana living in that area were pushed further away from services already delivered in Kakuma. This was seen as an act further marginalizing them” (p. 79).



Figure 10: Turkana homes next to Kakuma I. Author's photo, December 2011



Figure 11: Refugee homes inside Kakuma I. Author's photo, December 2011



Figure 12: Host community homes outside Kakuma I. Author's photo, October 2013

My own research findings indicate that displacement from their land was devastating for the moral, cultural and social fabric of the traditional pastoralist Turkana communities. Drawing from my fieldwork with traditional pastoralist community chiefs, warriors, and elders throughout the remote areas of Turkana County, as well as community members living

in and around urban centers of Kakuma, Lodwar and Lokichoggio, I came to understand that their land is sacred to them. On a political and cultural level, all land in Turkana is considered community land, with an *ere* (a family/generational plot) bearing spiritual, livelihood and protection properties.³⁴ The impacts of displacement, ‘lending land’ or degrading the land in Turkana are profound. From research I conducted in 2014 and 2016, I learned that an *ere* is ancestral and generational, providing territorial protection which is highly gendered. For women, an *ere* is considered a space of livelihood, security and a source of food, charcoal and other resources; they cannot go to another’s *ere* to get these things. Animals also depend on the *ere* – “it is where they are used to”. An *ere* also encompasses profound cultural attachments: for example, each group connected to an *ere* has its own prayers, or different modalities of prayer, behavior, and communication with their god. Thus, forced displacement interferes with the Turkana’s idea of the sacred. Structures of governance are also embedded within each *ere*, so that if people are moved and displaced, systems of governance are also disrupted. Because graves are located in the *ere*, and it is not acceptable to abandon them, as spirits are tied to the living family members, and are respected; if you move from an *ere*, the dead will be disconnected and abandoned. The role of the dead is to advise, and to abandon them will break attachments and results in those who leave being haunted: “to leave the dead, to move, is a nightmare” (Community Warrior, Turkana South, December 2016). Many Turkana I spoke with feel the refugee camps have disrupted the communications of the *ere*, and have disrupted the prayer patterns and cultural systems and beliefs, as well as the role of the dead, who rest beneath the ground of Kakuma camp. They suggested that it is because of these disruptions that rain has not fallen. And “no rain means no food, for human or animal consumption” (Personal Communication, Community Elder, December 2016).

³⁴ Though the Turkana pastoralists are generally nomadic, each family has its own homestead on an *ere* that they return to.

From a political economy lens, it is important to consider how it is not only the refugee camp that has caused displacement and land degradation. Arguably, much land degradation and entitlement have collapsed in Turkana today as a direct result of climate change coupled the continuum of the founding violence (Das, 2007) of the continuous and repetitive enforced migration of the Turkana by the colonial administration, and the structural violence of the government and NGOs over the course of 100 years. By establishing famine camps, for instance, the government and NGOs effectively concentrated people in particular areas, and in doing so produced permanent settlement by the rivers (Hogg, 1982; McCabe, 1990). Hogg (1982) predicted the long-term effects of these famine camps in 1982:

Given such a concentration of people (all of whom need firewood or charcoal to cook) and the widespread garden clearing, destruction of riverine forest was only to be expected. The tragedy is that this destruction of forest deprives stock of fodder and will leave Turkana increasingly exposed to the ravages of future droughts (p. 166).

Hogg's prediction was true. It has been reported that, between 1999-2001, "As a direct result of the drought, an estimated two million sheep and goats, over 900,000 cattle and 14,000 camels worth some six billion Kenyan Shillings (\$80m) were lost" (Aklilu & Wekesa, 2002, p. 2). As some well-known Turkana scholars have previously asserted, the historical establishment of famine camps in the district and along Lake Turkana has also diminished the grazing land within Turkana (McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986; Hogg, 1985; 1982).

At the time of research, government interventions to improve the sustainability of pastoralism during or after periods of profound drought had not improved much since the early 1980s. After the 2011 famine, for instance, the government made efforts to secure alternative and more sustainable livelihood opportunities for Turkana livestock holders during both prosperous and drought situations. In Lomidat there is a slaughterhouse, for instance, which I visited in late 2013. It was constructed in 2011-2012 to benefit the community, sponsored by AMREF, to allow the pastoralists to make pastoralism a viable

business for selling or trade, even in the refugee camps. It was running for a few months and “it has helped no one” (personal communication, Community Elder, December 2013). To run a slaughterhouse in the middle of semi-arid desert requires cold stores, refrigeration, a generator, and then transport for the parts to Nairobi. In an interview with a UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) staff member knowledgeable about this slaughterhouse, he said there are no cold stores, and no promise of the necessary generator. Further, “the meat would be *takataka*’ (below average or, at worst, garbage), so no one in Nairobi would buy it. It would not be a reasonable business for the Turkana to engage in” (February, 2014). The opinion shared by Akililu and Wekesa in 2002, unfortunately remains true: the Kenyan Government’s “emergency interventions that tend to be implemented in response to drought are very effective in terms of saving lives, but they are not designed to address the chronic poverty or vulnerability that characterize the arid and semi-arid lands” (p.1).

Land for pastoralist families and *adakar* communities living in dry semi-arid areas is thus inextricable from their livelihoods, and any further degradation of livelihoods decreases survival mechanisms and coping capacity which exacerbates impoverishment, conflict, and increased exposure to the ill-effects of drought (Peluso and Watts, 2001). Livelihoods are defined by “the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living; a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with, and recover from, stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihoods opportunities for the next generation” (Krantz, 2001, p. 1). As the above examples make evident, the Turkana have historically been structurally denied any actualization of their right to *sustainable* livelihoods.

With the influx of refugees, however, and the construction of the camp, many Turkana living close to or in Kakuma at the time thought this situation would change; the Turkana were reportedly ‘promised’ sustainable livelihoods in exchange for giving their land to refugees.

In 1992, the hosts supplied available commodities such as firewood, makuti (thatch) for building, and meat. This changed later with the introduction of competitive tendering and the emergence of numerous non-existent groups, belonging to non-Turkana and some “senior people.” ... The hosts were denied a contract worth 32 million Kenya shillings for the supply of firewood to the refugees The exploitation of readily available local resources became contentious because thatching materials highly needed by the refugees, which are found at Kalobeyei, 27 kilometers from Kakuma were now allegedly “imported.” suppliers were contracted from Kitale, about 600 kilometers from the camp (Aukot, 2003, 77-78).

The Turkana had also been asking for –and had been promised—formal (i.e. waged salary) employment within the camp for decades. This was denied. According to Aukot (2003), this issue goes back to when the camps were first constructed. Though 85 percent of jobs in the camp were supposedly reserved for the local Turkana, “employers allegedly favour ‘outsiders’ The hosts argue that it is because all NGOs are headed by non-Turkana who practice nepotism, tribalism, and favouritism, and sideline them because of a stereotype that they are “primitive” and unqualified” (Aukot, 2003, p. 77). A more critical point is that, apparently, “Those [Turkana] who do have the necessary qualifications also tend to be highly politicized, something, which has contributed to regular disputes over issues such as recruitment, dismissals and promotions” (Aukot, 2003, p. 77).

Conflict and gender-based violence

In light of the above tensions and perceived inequities, violent encounters between the Turkana and refugees living in Kakuma refugee camp have long been observed and documented. As Bram Jansen (2011) notes, Kakuma was and is ‘not an uncontested place’:

Kakuma was renowned for its violence: between hosts and refugees, between different groups of refugees, and a high occurrence of sexual and domestic violence.... This violence was attributed to various factors. First, the impoverished condition of the Turkana pastoralists in a famine prone environment, combined with a proliferation of small arms, resulted in attacks and violent robberies of refugees. (p.11).

Tensions between refugees and the Turkana are mostly reported to be the result of competition over scarce resources (Crisp, 2000; Aukot, 2003; Jansen, 2011; 2008), the

economic impoverishment as well as political marginalization of the Turkana (Aukot, 2003), resentment from the Turkana over the unfair distribution of resources and disparities in relief and food assistance provided to the refugees, and the militarization of Turkana's borders along with the proliferation of arms and cattle raids from neighboring tribes (Jansen, 2008; Bevan, 2008). As Newhouse (2015) claims, "Tense relations between refugees and the Turkana circumscribed refugees mobility even further... many South Sudanese refugees did not often venture outside of camp boundaries" (p. 2230). Environmental degradation and competition over resources as well as livestock are also the primary cited determinants of sexual gender based violence waged by the Turkana against refugee girls and women; as cited elsewhere in this dissertation, incidences of refugee girls being attacked while looking for firewood outside the camps have been documented for nearly two decades.



Figure 13: Turkana woman carrying firewood, Kakuma II. Author's photo, December 2011

For the Turkana, with little food or livestock comes conflict, not just in Kakuma but also throughout the County. As my informants told me in 2013, 2014 and again in 2016, under ideal conditions, population dynamics and patterns of movement amongst the

pastoralist and *adakar*³⁵ communities are generally predictable and peaceful as their seasonal migrations are based on grass, water, and access to land. Once resources have been used, the families move on to other grazing areas with lush pasture and water sources. When conditions are unpredictable or not ideal, when there is impending drought or famine, the population dynamics still shift seasonally but the direction is not so straightforward as there is a lack of resources such as water and grazing areas. This complicates the underlying agreements between different neighboring tribes (both cross-County and cross-border into Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia) as well as that between the elders of the *awis* and *adakar* communities as to where they may each go without interference with an *ere*. Thus, conflict over water is compounded with conflict over lush areas in the near dried up land. As Human Rights Watch (2015) notes, “In northern Turkana County, increased competition over grazing lands and water has heightened the likelihood of conflict and insecurity” (p. 3).

The human insecurity implications of the above for women and children are striking. Population dynamics within semi-permanent settlements such as Nasinonyo, for instance, shift during any impending drought. At the time of research, the community moved north 100-200 km toward the hills/ mountainous regions within the Ilemi triangle³⁶ looking for

³⁵ An *adakar* community is basically an assembly of multiple family units with animals that graze and travel as one pack for about 2-4 months a year (see McCabe, 2004; 1990; Adams, 1986), but who return to the *ere* (see below). A family unit or *awis* consists of husband, wife or wives, and children. Marriage is symbolic of responsibility and honor, and the family structure is of fundamental importance for the Turkana way of life, social organization and livelihoods. Pastoralist Turkana men have to amass large numbers of animals for dowry payments (at least 50 cows, hundreds of goats and a few camels are the norm, according to local men). Other women who are widowed or disenfranchised are often taken in by an *awis* despite not having a dowry, but are considered ‘dependent women’ as opposed to ‘wives’. All members of an *awis*, when not migrating with their animals, live together on the family’s *ere*, a piece of land that is owned by the herd owner.

³⁶ The Ilemi Triangle is a remote and disputed territory located in the northern limits of Turkana on the border of South Sudan and Ethiopia. Though the Turkana live there and the land is inside the borders of Kenya, both South Sudan and Ethiopia also informally claim the grazing land inside the Ilemi triangle. This has led to interethnic conflict between the Toposa of South Sudan, the Turkana as well as the Nyang’atom of Ethiopia, particularly during times of regional drought.

pasture (see Map 2.3). During my visit to this highly disputed area, one *adakar* community consisted of about 4 families. The men considered warriors wore AK47s or G3 Rifles around



Figure 14: Map of the disputed territory of the Illemi Triangle.
 Source: Vemuru, Oka, Gengo, and Ge ler, 2016; HRW, 2015.

their necks over their *shukas* (traditional shawl coverings) and their military jackets; the children’s hair was golden and bellies swollen, and the women spoke quite loudly and asked us to provide bullets and panadol.³⁷ Though striking, to ask for bullets and panadol is somewhat unsurprising. Panadol is a much-valued commodity by the Turkana, particularly the

nomadic rural pastoralists who suffer from headaches, toothaches, stomach, and eye problems yet have little access to clinics or chemists. Bullets are also in high demand; though many Turkana have guns, very few of them have bullets. I felt at the time that the anxiety around needing bullets was rooted in fear, and that the fear was rooted in the very real lack of resources and means with which to protect their families. Three days prior to the day of my visit, the Toposa³⁸ reportedly came in droves of 100 and stole livestock in the night—cows,

³⁷ Panadol is a painkiller similar to acetaminophen used for aches, pains and headaches.

³⁸ The Toposa are an ethnic tribe native to South Sudan. They helped both government and the SPLA during the civil war. They are similar to the Turkana in terms of pastoralism and other livelihoods, and like the Turkana they speak a Nilotic language. The community reported that the Toposa apparently live in the Nuba mountains close to the borders, stealing in and hiding in the bush. Many communities are extremely vulnerable to armed encounters with Toposa. For more information on armed conflict and cattle raiding and their impacts on

goats, sheep, camels, and donkeys. This community forcefully stated that the Toposa are well armed and have bullets, that they received a recent report that the Toposa are coming again, and they are frightened: “They rape women, they kill children – they shoot them in their heads” (Community Warrior/Elder, personal communication, December 2014). As Hendrickson, Armon and Mearns (1998) suggest, in Turkana “any self-imposed restrictions [due to conflict or possible raiding] on mobility negatively affect the vegetation of both grazed and ungrazed pastures and restrict the available survival strategies” (p. 185). This *adakar* community verified Hendrickson, Armon and Mearns’ (1998) assertion by stressing that when there is an impending threat and little to no land remaining for livestock to graze, that any movement puts the population at particular risk for encounters with the Toposa.

Further findings suggest that conflict and insecurity along Turkana’s borders cannot be generalized. The Ilemi triangle has been militarized for decades, coupled with a stark lack of resources and structural neglect during drought. Those in Nalapatui, however, tend to travel into Uganda or toward the valleys in the hills along the border for fresh pasture/water. At the time of research in 2013, 2014 during my first visit and again at the time of my last visit in November and December 2016, these pastoralists and their animals graze in Uganda with little fear of attack, and little need for arms. This is largely due to a peace agreement with Dodoth enacted in 2005, subsequent to the violent clashes between the two tribes in 2004 and the kidnappings of some Turkana children.³⁹ At the time of research in 2013, the Dodoth crossed the border into Turkana to do business, especially the women who go to the markets to trade or sell weaved baskets (personal communication, December 2013; confirmed in November 2016). Conflict was, at the time of research in late 2013 and early

community livelihoods, see: Bevan, 2008; Mkutu, 2008; Buchanan-Smith and Lind, 2005; McCabe, 2004.

³⁹ Also known as Dodos, they are an ethnic tribe in the northeast Uganda on the border of Turkana.

2014, rather specific to the border with South Sudan, which at the time was (and remains) a country embroiled in civil conflict, and whose citizens continue to spill over into Kenya seeking refuge.

The importance of drawing from these examples is that they indicate that conflict and human insecurities are correlated not only with competition over resources but also with governmental and geopolitical relations with neighboring countries along its borders; international relations yields security (or insecurity) across and between borders, or at the very least can either increase or decrease said insecurity. Thus, the intensity of violence along borders varies, and both external and internal conflicts follow the distribution of resources (or misdistribution) that is the responsibility of the county government, as well as patterns of geographical isolation. Within urban townships generally, NGOs are active in these areas and risk of conflict is minimal since resources are more plentiful. At the time of research, in centers like Kalobeyei, the government planned to bring relief food and truck in water during the drought, mostly targeted for populations considered the most vulnerable, such as those with disabilities and orphaned children. For other community settlement sites close to the urban settlements, such as Letea, during times of drought and shocks people may access resources at Kakuma refugee camps for health, or NGOs can more easily bring services to these centers. Others in the community will move to another area—or to the camp.

Critically, at this same time in 2011, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) as described above also ceased operations in Lokichoggio, with negative impacts on the Turkana. The negative aftereffects of the collapse of OLS operations speaks to a dependency of the Turkana on humanitarian assistance and presence of humanitarian actors to mitigate resource deficits, it also draws attention to the historical lack of government investment in basic infrastructure and attention to basic needs. It thus speaks to issues of equity and social justice. Between 2006 and 2011, for instance, the town of Lokichoggio was slowly abandoned, and

according to Paul it is felt by many of the Turkana that much of the development in Lokichoggio never actually benefited them. Once OLS ran its course, the economic and political benefits also seemingly ran their course, with some buildings left to all but crumble and services to be closed up. Reportedly, for instance, the *Total* gas station has gone bankrupt, the other one in town is running and owned by ethnic Somali families; the pathology laboratory and surgical theatre at the hospital have been shut down. In 2006 the other sections of the hospital were taken over and now it is run as a government hospital (Informant, personal communication, December 2013). Paul, my informant in Lokichoggio who worked with Red Cross for ten years as a nurse at this hospital during OLS, somberly stated:

It [Lokichoggio] is now like a ghost land. If there is a doctor, he just sends people to mission hospital [in Kakuma town]. But people do not have money for transport to Kakuma. We have five CHWs [community health workers], one midwife, some nurses and a pharmacist, but very little medicine. All of this for 45,000 people. When NGOs and UN left with OLS, we were left behind. The UNHCR field office is here, and MSF office is here but they work in South Sudan or with refugees. Not here, we just play host. We don't benefit. They don't help the Turkana. (Personal Communication, December 2013).

In 2013 at the time of research, Loki also suffered from constant threat of low-level warfare from the Toposa, unemployment, and some of the younger women who had run shops or worked as tailors during OLS turned to prostitution, and so too did their daughters, and “more children began having children” (Paul, personal communication, December 2013). This collapse of services and structural neglect is coupled with a harsh climate, deep poverty and drought conditions, depletion of livestock grazing areas, and the questionable viability of pastoralism under such circumstances, which in turn correlates to high reliance on—and expectation of—food relief and dependency on the camp for survival.

Dependency on the camp and the informal economies

Dependency of the Turkana on the camp for health care, resources or income cannot be analyzed in isolation from climate change nor from the inequitable distribution of humanitarian aid between refugees and hosts. The intersecting impacts of both climate change and inequity and the dependency on the camp, particularly during drought, have long been observed. For instance, with Kakuma nearing its 8th year in operation, the early new millennium also marked three more years of failed long rains throughout the East and Horn of Africa, coupled with a series of short El Nino rains that fell so hard it destroyed crops.⁴⁰ The whole Horn of Africa was in crisis, and by August 2000 Kenya was facing its worst drought in 40 years:

[T]he situation is severe. In Turkana district, in the northwest of the county, women dig as deep as 18 feet into dry riverbeds or walk as far as fifteen miles to access water. Men drive forty miles from pasture to water source. The animals are highly susceptible to disease and death due to their weakened state. As their animals die, at a rate of over 50%, and livestock prices decrease due to the poor state of the animals, pastoralists are in a constant, desperate search for grassland. The drought is slowly creeping south along with these destitute herders. They cannot afford to buy food, and starvation-related deaths, especially among children, are reported weekly in Kenya's newspapers. (10 August 2000, Refugees International).

The drought that came in with the new millennium, however, was seemingly only a taster for what was to arrive a decade later, as the Turkana were “streaming into the refugee camps in search for help” (*Economist*, November 2011). It was a regional crisis, framed as the greatest famine to hit the Horn of Africa for over a century. Estimates from 11 to 16 million people required relief. And it was a disaster. At the same time, the *Economist* reported in November 2011 that in Turkana:

⁴⁰ EL Nino is a climate cycle that has profound impacts on global weather patterns. Typically, El Nino in East Africa is characterized by extremely heavy rains that follow months of either drought or light beneficial rains. El Nino tends to destroy harvests and crops, leaving people and households extremely vulnerable to communicable diseases and food insecurity. It usually requires a large-scale humanitarian response. See OCHA (<http://www.unocha.org/legacy/el-nino-east-africa>).

Livestock have been annihilated. Hundreds of thousands of [Turkana] people are streaming into the refugee camps in search of help. Malnutrition rates in some areas are five times more severe than the threshold aid agencies use to define a crisis. Many children are already dying of starvation.

As mentioned in chapter one, Sen (1991) suggests that famine and starvation is brought on not by there being not enough food but by people not having access to enough food. Indeed, regionally, some people fled Somalia and Ethiopia and crossed the border into Kenya's camps (Dadaab and Kakuma) to avoid death from impending famine conditions. As refugees, they all received rations and health care. The Turkana, although they are not considered refugees, went into the Kakuma camps in search for help, but did not receive food rations, though they reportedly did receive some medical care and therapeutic feeding sachets to take home (Head of Therapeutic Feeding Center, IRC Hospital, December 2013).

I witnessed in December 2011 during my first trip to Kakuma that there are many Turkana women who work for the refugees. I observed the Turkana collecting food at the distribution centers and carrying it back to refugee households. They also sell meat to the camp, usually through the Somali market in Kakuma I and, at the time of research in 2013, the selling of charcoal throughout the camp also remained pervasive. "In Kakuma for instance a study undertaken by WFP suggests that 75% of host community members rely on the sale of charcoal and firewood to refugees as their main source of income" (WFP, 2014, p. 46). This remains within the 'informal' trade system in operation since the construction of the camp, and thus their dependence on the camp is not only for survival via the hospital but also for livelihoods.

Recently, Vemuru, Oka, Gengo, and Gettler (2016) as well as anthropologists Jansen (2011) and Oka (2014) have purported that the informal economies are mitigating dependency as well as the violence between refugees and the Turkana by engendering mutually beneficial financial and personal relationships (Jansen, 2011; Oka, 2011). Scholars have also documented positive relations in the form of marriages and long-standing

friendships between the Turkana and many refugees from most of the nationalities living inside the camp, including the South Sudanese (Oka, 2011; 2014; Jansen, 2011). In



Figure 15: Turkana women inside Kakuma I camp/Author's photo, 2011

terms of social and economic relations, a recent market survey done by WFP recognized how the informal market or informal economy is helping to decrease the tensions and competition between the refugees and the Turkana (WFP, 2014). It should be noted, however, that what is now referred to as the ‘informal economy’ within Kakuma is not new. Many businesses were established inside Kakuma’s camps (mainly Kakuma I) over a span of its first ten years. By 2002, commercial activities reportedly “stretched for more than one kilometer...butcheries, groceries...hotels, satellite TV and video theatres, hair salons...[and] even a place where international fax and telephone services are available” (Kurimoto, 2002, p. 5; see Otha, 2005). According to Oka (2011), nine years after Kurimoto’s study, “the informal economy is the primary reason that refugee camps can be sustained almost indefinitely as “urban” settlements or “refugee camp towns” even under the logistical shortcomings and political realities of a refugee camp humanitarian space” (p. 225).



Figure 16: A refugee and a Turkana woman in Kakuma I Market. Source: UNHCR, 2019

To some degree, one can argue that the informal economy of trade and business in the camps not only symbolize a resistance to the material politics of deprivation but also illustrates a resistance to dependency on the rations. “Dependency syndrome” was described in refugee scholarship in the 1990s (Kibreab, 1993). Horst (2008; 2006) and Harrell-Bond (1982) have suggested that refugee dependency is not real but created by virtue of ‘refugeeness’. That is, the humanitarian imperative to save lives in enclosed spaces necessarily creates conditions in which people will become dependent because they are unable to be self-sufficient. Jansen (2011), however, claims that refugees are not dependent on rations per se as, against the backdrop of the markets, the rations are themselves a type of currency that enables refugees to decide whether to barter, trade or sell it, in part, or in full. As Oka (2011) also notes: “the gaps in relief have an incidental benefit: selling maize grain to buy pasta or meat tempers dissatisfaction by converting a passive reception of food into an active consumption of purchased food while resisting the WFP...” (p. 256-257). The

flourishing of the informal sphere attests to the capital floating within the camps as well as that coming from the diaspora.

As this study will emphasize, however, when taking age, gender and nationality into consideration, the assessment becomes more complicated because not every young refugee has capital or access to it. Further, though there is evidence to argue the positive effects of the market on refugee-host relations (as mentioned in the Introduction), no study has explored (1) how young people who have few assets and no capital or cash engage with these commercial activities or small businesses; and (2) the negative aspects of what Oka is suggesting –that these markets can sustain an otherwise unsustainable humanitarian situation.



Figure 17: Makeshift kiosk, Kakuma camp. Author's photo/December 2011

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an historical window into the Turkana-Kakuma Refugee camp nexus. I provided a historical overview and current description of Kakuma camp, specifically the decreased access to services and the proliferation of informal camp economies as a result of limited livelihood opportunities. The chapter then briefly connected the broader social, economic, political and geopolitical structures that result not only in

violence but weakened resilience and increased vulnerability, poverty and limited livelihood options for refugees and hosts.

This review has laid the ground work to begin to examine how the exploitation of young people from both host and refugee communities is a “site-specific phenomenon rooted in local histories and social relations yet connected to larger processes of material transformation and power relations” (Peluso and Watts, 2001, p. 5). It has provided a historical backdrop to the ‘nexus’ and my claim that, for the most part and in the case of Kakuma, ‘contentious’ refugee-host relations go beyond the issue of ‘poorer host’ and competition over resources. Rather, the exploitation occurring in Kakuma’s shadows among and between refugees and hosts is systemic and rooted in social-political and economic exclusion and deprivation. The fissures within the global, humanitarian and national/local political economy that have been reviewed in this chapter, such as inequitable distribution of resources, denial of access to basic rights and enforced containment of refugees without access to durable solutions, will be shown in the following four chapters to largely shape the insecurity experienced by both refugee and local host young people, particularly young mothers from both communities.

Finally, departing from and expanding on related research, this chapter has also provided the historical window through which to view how—and why—the host community, in this case, young Turkana, live similar experiences to refugees. The following chapters will continue to build on this foundation to illustrate how not only are the vulnerabilities, risks, determinants and experiences of health, well-being or lack thereof amongst refugee and host pastoralist communities *similar*. But that, within this protracted refugee-hosting space located in semi-arid borderlands prone to government neglect, drought and climate change, day-to-day young lives and the humanitarian condition they embody are increasingly shared, intertwined and entangled.

CHAPTER FIVE

“All there is to eat are promises”: Everyday Rights, Resource and Protection Deficits at the Turkana-Kakuma Refugee Camp nexus

The objective of this chapter is to describe the rights, resource and protection deficits both the Turkana and the refugees were facing on a daily basis at the time of research. Drawing from fieldwork, it takes an in-depth look at the three resource and protection deficits—food insecurity, health inequity and unsafe access to education—that were affecting both the camp and its outskirts in 2013. By documenting and mapping the overarching social, political and material conditions and deficits experienced by both groups at this time, this chapter is foundational to the dissertation. The three structural deficits examined herein not only represent a denial of basic human rights, but are also entrenching the multiple and complex forms of violence, exploitation and co-survival that I argue to be occurring amongst and between young refugees and hosts.

Drawing from fieldwork in the camps with NGO staff members, young refugees as well as community members from numerous communities in Turkana County, the first section focuses on food deprivation experienced by refugees and by the Turkana at the time of research. Emphasis is on how refugees, particularly young refugees, cope with or mitigate the ration cuts or chronic food insecurity they experience, and the differences between the host community and the refugees in terms of their nutrition status, the drivers of malnutrition and their mutual dependency on aid. The second section examines the similarities and differences in access to and availability of health care services in the camp and the host community. Due to Turkana County’s economic deprivation and limited health infrastructure, it has long been noted that the Turkana seek refuge in Kakuma refugee camps for livelihoods, as well as access to curative health care services. My fieldwork validated this, and also indicated that health care in Kakuma camps, though deficient, is better than that available in the host community. I critique health care access in that, though the host community can

access the IRC hospital inside the camps for services such as malaria treatment and therapeutic feeding, they cannot avail of services for anything that requires in-depth consultation or interventions, such as x-rays. With a view to young refugees, I also consider the mental health impacts of living in contained spaces where relative and absolute poverty proliferate. In particular, I describe Safe Haven as a place where survivors of violence feel even more confined and restricted. This is particularly the case for young refugee mothers.

Finally, the last section examines education. Education is often considered a beacon of hope and safety for young people, a place where development is guaranteed. It is also a human right, considered a protective factor against early pregnancy, and seen to function as an empowerment measure for young girls economically and personally. This section explores why, at the Turkana-Kakuma nexus, school is not a safe space for either a young refugee or a young Turkana. My fieldwork revealed that education can be unsafe, undignified and disciplined in terms of ethnic identity and gender. Specifically, in this context, though the Turkana may be able to access education in the refugee camp, they sacrifice cultural pride and dignity in doing so. Thus remaining in school is challenging and underscored by institutional and cultural violence. To this end, unlike many contexts, including refugee camps, for the host Turkana community, getting an education can put a girl's future in jeopardy, and place her at increased risk of early and unwanted pregnancy.

Food Deprivation

The World Food Programme is the UN agency responsible for food 'relief' packages in Kakuma. A general feeding program guarantees a ration to only those refugees who are registered by UNHCR, and most refugees confined to camps are dependent on these food handouts. They include grain, oil, salt, and sometimes sugar. Refugee food security is assessed periodically by both WFP and UNHCR and is measured against three pillars: access, availability and utilization (Interview, UNHCR Senior Nutrition Advisor, March 2014).

Availability consists of ensuring all registered refugees are provided rations on or close to scheduled times at distribution points. Access requires setting up protection, safeguarding and control mechanisms to ensure pregnant and lactating women, those with a disability and the elderly have safe and timely access to distribution sites, as well as safe access to food and non-food items (Interview, Gender Advisor, WFP Regional, 2015). Further, given that women and dependent children make up almost three quarters of refugee populations globally (Interview, Humanitarian and Gender Advisor, WFP, November 2014), agency and UN budgets are regularly allocated toward selective feeding programs that target pregnant and lactating women, and children under the age of five (or sometimes the age of two). Selective feeding consists of the provision of specialized items to particular groups of refugees within camps, predominately pregnant and lactating women, underweight children, and sometimes the elderly. Foodstuffs could be a protein dense product such as Plumpy'nut, fortified cereal blends or fortified milk.

According to my research informants from WFP and UNHCR, Kakuma refugees were to receive a ration twice a month, or every 15 days, and at a quantity that provides each individual approximately 2,100 calories a day. Food distribution at that time was done by WFP in partnership with LWF. According to one of my informants from LWF, “The WFP rations provide dry food – the rice or grain, beans, oil—the dry ration. They are given wheat flour, oil and *addis* (yellow beans). But there is no provision of fruits or vegetables”. LWF also confirmed during the time of research that refugees living within Kakuma camp were struggling with cuts in the quantity of the food received (and thus the overall caloric value of the package), and that these smaller rations reportedly did not last long enough for individuals and families to sustain themselves for duration in between distribution. According to one LWF informant:

Yes, WFP gives them ration twice month. But they [the refugees] tell us the food is not enough, and not able to take them for the 15 days. Last month

[October] the new rule is that the ration is being reduced [permanently] by 20%. We don't know the reason. Maybe it's because of the budget. (Interview, LWF Protection Officer, November 2013).

Budgetary constraints are a well-noted factor in the reduction of food aid for protracted refugee situations. Echoing Oka's (2011) evidence, I also documented additional circumstances that contribute to ration cuts, such as disruption in the supply chain and seasonal climactic changes, like heavy rains that knock out the bridges over the rivers so food delivery trucks cannot pass. Drought and climate change related disasters in other parts of the region of East Africa also reportedly have an adverse effects on Kakuma's food supply: drought in Tanzania for instance can reduce the maize supply and thus the export of maize to WFP. Regardless of the reason behind the cuts, as Oka (2011) has documented, any gap in food aid or the 'relief package' impacts on the physical and also the emotional and mental health of populations in detrimental ways.

The more I learned of the political economy and geopolitics of rations and ration cuts, the more interested I became in understanding how and whether the impacts of ration cuts are gendered and aged, with a particular view to understanding how young mothers coped with these ration cuts, and in what ways decreases in food aid inside the camp affect refugee-host relations or the choices made by young people from both or either community. According to one informant, the Gender and Humanitarian Officer at WFP, young refugee mothers and girls face additional problems or challenges during ration cuts, such as unequal gendered household distribution of food, whereby girls eat disproportionately less than male family members, and/or last. Thus, more young mothers and girls experience chronic or hidden malnutrition than males (KII, September 2014). In speaking with various informants from the IRC, WFP as well as UNHCR, it became evident that the physical aspects of food deprivation such as malnutrition among refugees and especially amongst pregnant and lactating women in displacement contexts are an acute concern for both WFP and UNHCR. I was told by some

informants and young refugee mothers themselves that the issues of supplementary food provisions, general food deprivation in the camps, and motherhood cannot be separated. This was first emphasized in my interview with a staff member from LWF who noted:

“Motherhood in this setting is difficult. It is really, really difficult. For teenage mothers, it [the challenge] is the issue of food. You [have to] take care of a child but, in the food basket, there is nothing extra” (Senior Protection Officer, LWF, October 2013). Concerns shared by young mothers during focus groups confirmed what this Protection Officer had told me. One young mother in particular articulated how access to food is gendered, and that girls tend to eat less or last: “I am from Sudan. I live with two brothers, so food is not enough [for my baby and me]” (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

Other young mothers shared experiences of being fully dependent on the ration for food which indicates they have no other way to source food, as well as the insufficiency of the ration. Below I share short excerpts from the two focus groups with teenage mothers from the ‘Most At Risk Groups’ (MARPS) which highlight the perspective of young mothers in a context of food deficits and dependency.

My baby is disturbing; I cannot take care of it. I have no food for the baby, and ration is not enough. I need to buy cereal, milk and sugar. This baby is very sick (FGD 1, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

We are needing [dependent] on [our] ration, but I sell my ration most[ly] because we need meat and have no milk” (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

I have been in this camp for one year. No money, not in school. Depend on ration [and have] no job (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

In 2012 I came from Burundi, came alone while pregnant. I live alone; it’s bad. I struggle and depend on ration (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

I am 18 and this, my baby, is 1.5 years. We have this malnutrition and eat only porridge. (FGD 1, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

Despite the challenges, many young refugee mothers adopt strategic ways of coping with hunger and malnutrition, such as through sharing or selling/bartering their rations. Sharing rations or food with family or community members is a well-documented mechanism to cope with food shortages in refugee contexts (Jansen, 2008; Oka, 2014), as well as in many food insecure parts of the world. In Turkana culture the sharing of food is critical to family well-being, especially during drought or times of acute food shortages, and is an encouraged social norm. This culture of sharing was also found during my research to be a part of refugee lives in Kakuma. This finding did not surprise me because supplementation of the food basket by way of selling is a well-known strategy that is cited by Kakuma scholars such as Jansen (2008) and Oka (2014). To recall, the selling of rations is often celebrated and framed as a way in which refugees can retain or obtain a “sense of normal” (Oka, 2014, p. 228; see Introduction). However, the interesting aspect of what emerged from my interviews is that it is not just the ration that is shared.

They are given the ‘cereal blend’ at least while pregnant and breastfeeding. But that has to be shared with the whole family – how do you take food alone, when the others are there? So, the sharing aspect is important. Even the therapeutic food given for outpatients – it is shared with other family members. (KII, LWF, Senior Child Protection Officer).

During this same interview, the Senior Protection Officer from LWF highlighted linkages between the limitations of the ration, motherhood and selling food. “The Plumpy’nut ends up in the market. They’re supposed to be given to those children who are in the programme. But they [the mothers] sell it.” (Senior Protection Officer, LWF, October 2013).

Plumpy’nut is a ready-to-use therapeutic food [RUTF] that “contains all the energy and nutrients necessary to allow for rapid catch-up growth and is used particularly in the treatment of children over 6 months of age with severe acute malnutrition without medical complications” (James, 2011, p. 7). As a way to having an induction into the basics of supplementary foods such as Plumpy’nut and their provision, during my first interview with

Mary, the Head of the Therapeutic Feeding Center at the IRC hospital I asked for an overview of the therapeutic interventions available, and the different products used for supplementary feeding and cases of malnutrition. Given the specialist terms, I quote at length:

D: Can you tell me about supplemental feeding?

M: Yes, so for nutrition, we have milk [formulas]– we have F100 and F75 formulas, and we have the Plumpy’nut. We give F75 formula to the child immediately when admitted to ward,[so] while he is still having complications like vomiting, not able to retain any milk, diarrhea and high fever. When the child develops an appetite and shows improvement, we move them to F100. Improvement [is being] able to take all the feed without vomiting. If after 3 days on F100 we see improvement, we switch to Plumpy’nut.

For the therapeutic inpatient programme, the child is not discharged until able to consume the whole sachet of Plumpy’nut without vomiting. The child is then moved into an outpatient programme. According to Mary: “The outpatient refugee program is in the clinics. They are seen there every week, on a weekly basis. They are screened and receive medication. If the child is still sick, he is treated at the clinic and given Plumpy’nut on a weekly basis.” She further noted that the outpatients programme also involves “advising the mother on feeding, like maintaining cleanliness, washing of hands before starting the feeding, giving child some clean water after giving the Plumpy’nut.”

Mary elaborated on the issue of chronic malnutrition and the efficacy of the therapeutic outpatients’ program. The challenge, she said, is that the therapeutic specialized foods given to refugees to take home as treatment for malnutrition are also sold or bartered/exchanged on the market: “What we realized is that many women sell... most of them are selling immediately. They decide to sell [the sachet] and get some other foods for the family. Like vegetables, eggs or meat. So, they can supplement.” What is of significance for the humanitarian community is that, though supplementation by way of selling can provide the family a more diverse range of food such as eggs and meat, it can also reportedly

increase malnutrition amongst those who require the therapy in the first place, as well as increase the burden on the health care system as the malnutrition therapy is not utilized as it is meant to and so the children do not fully recover.

Selling ready-to use therapeutic foods (RUTF] like Plumpy'nut, or sharing them amongst family members, illustrates how the protection, rights and resource deficits within the camps cannot be treated in isolation. In Kakuma, it seems that selling the Plumpy'nut allows a refugee family to address their economic and material and physical needs by obtaining money or additional food, such as meat and eggs. This is a way of using a commodity that a mother can access in a safe and, at least, socially and culturally acceptable way. Selling or exchanging this product on the market becomes important for mothers living in deprived and restricted spaces in Kakuma because it is capital –a commodity to sell in exchange for what they want. A 2015 IRC/UNHCR/WFP commissioned monitoring report for Dadaab, Kenya's other refugee camp, however, argues that the selling or sharing of the therapeutic foods such as RUTF or ready-to use supplementary food (RUSF) is due to a lack of education of the caregivers, whether mothers, parents or guardians, on the importance of using it properly and that they need to treat it like medicine. No emphasis is placed on the possible role of aid/food deficits in the perpetuation of the selling or sharing of specialized therapeutic food:

The caretakers received the RUTF and RUSF without proper counseling and education on why they need it and how to use it. As the result, the sharing and selling of the RUTF and RUSF is the major challenge in the camp. Double registration of beneficiaries at multiple health posts and bringing somebody's child with SAM or MAM for registration to get the RUTF and RUSF were common problem in the camp. (Dessie, 2015, p. 8).

Because the rate of malnutrition is chronically worse in Turkana County than that inside the camps, the Turkana come into the camps to seek health care services, especially the therapeutic feeding programme. At the time of research, though both contexts were

experiencing food insecurity at the time of research, the situation was better for the refugees than the host Turkana community:

In comparison with the host community, the prevalence of global acute malnutrition [GAM] may be lower in the refugee camps. Preliminary nutrition survey results show that GAM is 28.7%, 24.5%, 17.4% and SAM [severe acute malnutrition] is 6.8%, 5.2% and 4.6% in central, north and west of Turkana and Kakuma, respectively. Consequently, the host community of Kakuma camp has a GAM that is above the emergency threshold as evidenced by the UNHCR HIS [Health Information System] (WFP, 2014, p. 31).⁴¹

The health disparities between the two communities are due to many intersecting factors, including the lack of government investment in sustainable pastoral practices for livestock and livelihood options in Turkana, which have led to increased poverty and inadequate food access and availability, and a dependence on food aid. Dependency on food aid is high amongst communities living outside the camps, and in most parts of the County.

During fieldwork with Turkana communities closer to the camp, participants suggested to me that NGO food distribution activity over the months leading up to the impending and probable drought had decreased significantly, with one Community Chief stating angrily: “I don’t know why they left. Only maybe donor fatigue” (Kalobeyei, December 2013). He further stated that WFP recently ran the program Food for Assets but only 1/4 of households targeted actually benefited (or 1/8 of population), while others were left with “even more want and hunger and no assets: ‘Daniella, all there is to eat is promises’”. The anger was justified. In late 2013 and early 2014, two years after the worst

⁴¹ The definitions are as follows: “Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM): Risk of mortality is highest in this phase, and recovery requires urgent use of medical treatment and special therapeutic foods. Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM): This category includes all children who have MAM or SAM. The prevalence of GAM is often used as indicator to decide which nutrition intervention is required. The World Health Organization (WHO) classify a nutritional emergency when GAM rates exceed 15%, or 10% with aggravating factors” (ACF, 2018, p. 6) <https://www.actioncontrelafaim.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Nutrition-Products-Briefing-and-Position-Paper-FINAL.pdf>

famine to affect the region in a century had devastated Turkana, drought and famine loomed again, when the long rains failed to fall. When I had been with *adakar* communities who live between Lokichoggio on the border of South Sudan and Kakuma refugee camp in November and December 2013 and January 2014, many were concerned for what might come. Their concern was warranted. About a month after I left Turkana West, in late February 2014, on March 26, 2014, *The Guardian* published an article titled “Kenya’s Turkana region brought to the brink of humanitarian crisis by drought” (Jones, *The Guardian*, 2014) in which it was reported that some residents of Turkana north and central were experiencing such intense food insecurity that residents resorted to eating their dogs to stay alive. Again, in March 2014, the BBC reported: “The Turkana region in northern Kenya is facing one of the worst droughts in living memory with more than 1million people in need of food aid” (Igunza, *BBC News*, March 7, 2014).

The malnutrition rates in Turkana also reflect a political economy of inequitable service provision in this remote County, which reflects the pattern of structural neglect discussed in Chapter four. In terms of resource provision for livelihoods during chronic food shortages and drought in Turkana there is a “saving lives through saving livelihoods” paradigm underpinning a famine response to pastoralists (Interview, FAO, April 2014). The government’s drought response in 2014, for instance, was to advise Turkana pastoralists to sell their livestock to the Kenya Meat Commission (KMC, FAO, April 2014). However, in an interview with a UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) staff member (April 2014), I was told that if the Turkana sell all their livestock to fend off impending starvation then, once the crisis is over, families may starve anyway, as they will not have any assets or capital to sell for medicines, and will be even more devastatingly poor with fewer future prospects. The difference, however, is that in this scenario the aftershocks would not be considered a

‘humanitarian crisis’ but a ‘restocking’ issue, the onus thus falling on the Turkana, not the humanitarian agencies or even the government (Personal interview, FAO, March 2014).

The political economy of nutritional well-being and food security in this region are related to two important health care issues. First, due to the drought at the time of research, and the inadequate health service provision in Turkana, “an increasing number of children from the host community [were] accessing curative services for children with complicated severe acute malnutrition in camp clinics” (WFP, 2014, p. 31). Second, though the health services located in the camps are readily available, accessible to every registered refugee, and far surpass those provided by the national government to the host community, health care in the Kakuma camps is inadequate and negatively impacts the lives, choices and well-being of young refugee mothers. I address these issues more deeply below.

Health Care: Access and Availability

Health care is a major pillar of emergency and ongoing humanitarian efforts in refugee, conflict, disaster and displacement settings, and take a public health approach operationalized through methods of “cost-effectiveness” and embedded in classical development economics (WHO, 2001; Sen, 2002). These methods depend on vertical programming which means ‘disease specific’ (Buse & Walt 2000a; Buse and Harmer, 2004; Ollila, 2005; Global Health Watch, 2008). Though such disease specific interventions are essential, such as for HIV/AIDS and immunizations against communicable diseases, a noted limitation of public health promotion is the assumption of liberal freedoms; i.e. that individual determination and the proper and pro-active behavior can overcome structural constraints (Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2009). Such a limited view obfuscates the environmental conditions, and the structurally imposed conditions of poverty and everyday violence and thus does not account for the social, economic and political determinants of health, such as discrimination, social exclusion, lack of social capital, racism, marginalization and economic

deprivation or poverty.

This dissertation contributes to qualitative knowledge of the social, cultural and political determinants of health in Turkana, and their relation to Kakuma camp, including seasonal shifts from the wet to dry months—and the notable extremes the weather has taken in this location. Climate change, for instance, was found to be a strong determinant of health, disease and illness amongst both refugees and the Turkana, and this interplay of health outcomes with reduced food aid with drought was particularly striking at the time of research. According to IRC's Therapeutic Feeding Officer, malnutrition due to food deficits is often far worse immediately after the rainy season when there are increases in diarrheal disease and malaria. This is not solely due to there being more mosquitoes, however. Rather, according to Mary from IRC also, it is also “because of the conditions in the camps”, such as a lack of adequate shelter to protect children from compounding factors such as wind and rain: “most of the patients say, ‘we have a house, but it doesn't have a roof’. So, when the rains come, they just put a blanket on top of themselves and sleep. In the morning, they are sick.” In this situation, the social, economic and environmental determinants of health are striking insofar as the sickness of a child during the windy and rainy season is due to chronic food insecurity, but also, the lack of material and physical shelter (and thus also, a place to hang a mosquito net) and warm clothes.

The linkage between drought and various water-borne diseases and climate change is also a critical consideration when examining health care and equity in Turkana. Similar to the situation inside the refugee camp, the Senior Reproductive Health Officer from Merlin stressed during our interview that water-borne diseases lead to dehydration, which is a primary cause of infant and maternal mortality. Seasonal climatic changes, which are proven to exacerbate health inequities, also correlate to disparities in health and issues of poor access. For instance, the obstetrical and child health complications caused by anemia or

malaria after the rainy season occur more frequently in areas where access to health services is very poor or limited. Specifically, pregnancy was found to present further high risk to health such as prenatal complications, malnutrition, preterm births and obstetrical complications in Turkana's more remote communities. If a woman in a very remote area is pregnant, in labour, or is losing blood, or if a child is dying from malaria, very few solutions to these emergency situations exist. According to this informant, emergency needs in remote areas are particularly high during periods of drought:

E: Because of malaria, anemia too is very big problem [especially] where we don't have full time health service, and especially in areas I mentioned [where] we don't have skilled staff. The pregnant women suffer from malaria and need specialty treatment. [And] at least out of ten children, three suffer from severe anemia as a complication from malaria.

At the time of research, Merlin was constructing a blood bank in the district hospital to address this gap in service provision and to save lives from avoidable and early death. The idea behind it was that, "the health facilities will be provided with blood and be able to transfuse out there [in community/on reserves], instead of sending all the women and children to the hospital"⁴² (KII, Senior Reproductive Health Officer, Merlin, October 2013). According to my informant, the construction of the infrastructure was near completion and the equipment was available. However, the blood bank was not yet functioning due to it being based on a cost-sharing agreement with the Ministry of Health (MoH). As my informant stated, "There's a cost sharing [agreement] that we construct the blood bank and provide some equipment, and then the Ministry of Health [MoH] is also supposed to share, but its... the government...it has taken time". Besides preventing deaths from an easily treatable condition, a major goal of this initiative was to preclude long travel distances for patients. This goal is linked to two further key concerns for reproductive health in Turkana,

⁴² To get more information and primary data on this situation, I tried four times to secure an interview with the MoH representative in Lodwar. He agreed to each time and cancelled each meeting at the last minute.

according to Edward, which are emergency referrals and the difficulty of the host community to access hospitals:

When there's an emergency the issue of distance comes in. How long will that donkey take to make the facility 50km away? I would say that the communities that are closer to the health facilities it is possible, but very far away it is not.

Edward continued to stress, however, that many Turkana women now want to give birth in the hospital, and have hospital-based prenatal treatment, as opposed to staying at home with a traditional birth attendant.

Most women now prefer to come to hospital, especially those close to health facilities and those offering delivery services. There are just a few that maybe have reasons they will not come. Maybe male attendant, or maybe health facility is away or maybe there are fees.

Interestingly, Peter – the manager of a Health Clinic inside Kakuma II—had a different perspective than Edward. He suggests that the health-seeking behavior of the Turkana is influenced not by distance or the gender of attendants but by basic needs being met other than a safe birth. In other words, the Turkana are seeking hospital services for births rather than staying home because of the mosquito net given to them. He said:

From my experience and clinic work, the local population - the mothers with pregnancies - they want to deliver at home. But some will come for a treated mosquito net as part of malaria prevention, and the drugs. You know if she gets malaria, this leads to miscarriage. So, after she delivers the baby she must sleep with the child under the net. The reason they come [to the hospital] is for the net.

Those unable to travel to Kakuma, though, face additional barriers to accessing their right to adequate and quality health care. That is, compounding the long distances to access health care is the lack of qualified staff at the health posts, or the shortage of health volunteers due to the conditions of life for the Turkana community health volunteers, such as a lack of payment by the Ministry of Health for their work. According to many informants, there is a shortage of doctors and nurses, and reportedly little to no incentive for volunteer community health workers to seek jobs in this area. For instance, in the community of

Nasinonyo, AMREF supplies a mobile doctor for the stationary clinic, which is a facility that is supposed to be fully operational and accessible to the community all year round. Yet, when I arrived it was chained up with steel barriers over the door. No less than 25 people were standing outside. They reported to me that they travel every day to the clinic, and wait. Community members stated they have not seen a doctor in over a month and are uncertain as to when he is arriving next. “How do we know if *daktari* will come. Children will die from no rain. Bellies are empty. So, will *daktari* come? We don’t know” (Nasinonyo community Member, personal communication, December 2013). According to the Reproductive Health Officer from Merlin in October 2013, the workers, in addition to being unskilled, are also unpaid:

In practice they are not paid [for their work]. So, it’s a difficult system to sustain because sometimes this guy [a Turkana volunteer health worker] will not come or is simply tired or he has nothing or no food for his family, so he only comes when he has time.

Further findings suggest that even if qualified skilled staff came to these remote health posts, or if the Turkana could easily reach a clinic, little can be done except perhaps refer them to Lodwar, Loki or Mission hospital (which they have to pay for). This is the case because there is very little availability of medicine. Even those communities that have a dispensary or clinic (Nanam, Latea, Kalobeyie – next to Kakuma) are not well stocked. In Latea, the Chief stated that, “Medicine in dispensary is very little, not enough for community” (personal communication December 2013). In Lomidat, the complaints were as follows: the dispensary is under-stocked and under-staffed; there is only one staff person at dispensary; it is not well secured; infrastructure and transportation is minimal; there is no staff housing in the area (for the community health workers operating mobile clinics) (Lomidat community members, personal communication, December 2013). Overall, regarding medications, community members reported that “there is very little, we need more antibiotics and diarrheal medicines for children”. Lokangae has a health center (with 4

nurses) but no surgical theatre and no doctor and no medicine (Nurse, personal communication, December 2013). Combined with a lack of medicine, all 14 communities visited (See Appendix A) self-reported respiratory illnesses, TB, pneumonia and diarrheal diseases. HIV rates are high in some communities: Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Pokotom (even in children), Nanam, Kalobeie, and Lopur. Rates of typhoid and malaria (including cerebral malaria) are very high across all communities. In many of these remote communities, if there is a medical emergency, many communities struggle with a bad cell network, limited cell-phone use, no ambulatory care services outside of Kakuma and they lack transport for medical emergencies. Community members in Nasinonyo, which is somewhat remote, stated that if the cell services worked, they could call an ambulance to take them to the nearest health facility. But that facility is in Lokangai (25km away from Kakuma's Mission Hospital) and given the condition of the roads it may take too long to receive emergency care.

Some communities do have national health services freely available to them and some can access these services despite the harsh geographic location. In Lomidat (Songot), for instance, and at the times of research, both IRC and AMREF were running a mobile clinic. While visiting the area during fieldwork, there were 5 community health workers whom I met there who are responsible for: referrals to Kakuma (Mission Hospital close to Kakuma), health promotion, supplementary feeding and prenatal check-ups, case management of TB, pneumonia, infectious diseases and typhoid, and providing monthly immunizations to those under five years, including bacilli Calmette-Guerin (BCG) which is a vaccine for TB, Polio, Measles, and Pneumonia (PCV) (there is no yellow fever and no cholera in the area). According to these community health workers, the refrigerators for medicines and inoculations work well most of the time, which is important for keeping the potency of the vaccines (most vaccines have to be thrown away if they reach higher than 8 degrees Celsius).

Communities close to Kakuma camp, up to 33km away (such as Pokotom, Lopur, Latea, Lorengo), utilized the refugee camp International Rescue Committee Hospital for reproductive health services, including natural births, general consultations and therapeutic feeding for free.



Figure 18: Turkana mother at the maternity ward in the refugee hospital. Source: UNHCR, 2019.

Peter who manages the IRC Health Post 4 in Kakuma III gave some insight into the nuances in the access to the hospital services that the host community members have. He explained that referrals, consultations and even ambulance service are free for the Turkana community. In the case of a need for specialized diagnostic equipment, such as an x-ray machine to assess a broken limb, “that’s where the challenge comes in; we don’t have an x-ray machine here [at the IRC hospital]. [So] they have to be sent to the district or mission hospital.” This situation is the same for refugees: “refugees will get referred, x-rayed and then that will be done [for free]. This is not free for the hosts. They look at me and say Peter, we don’t have the balance, the 1000 shillings. But what else can we do? Refugees are our mandate.” Peter continued to elaborate that post-rape care is also free for the Turkana, but

any surgical procedure, including c-sections, are referred to Mission Hospital and are not free for the host community. Mission Hospital is a highly rated, well-stocked and functional hospital in Kakuma. A C-section can cost up to KSH10,000 (97\$USD).

Relatively recently Leaning, Spiegal and Crisp (2011) asserted: “UNHCR's guiding principles for public health state that services provided to refugees should be similar to those provided in the country of origin and host country. However, minimum essential services should be met in all situations” (p. 3). The UNHCR 4th Edition Emergency Handbook states that health is a human right and protection priority, and that it is critical to “respect the right to health and to ensure that refugees enjoy access to health services that are



Figure 19: Turkana woman entering Clinic V in Kakuma II. Authors photo/December 2011.

equivalent to the services enjoyed by their host population” (p.2). On the surface, the health care ‘system’ operating inside the camp far surpasses that which is enjoyed by the host community, and is wide-ranging and comprehensive. Medical services offered by Kakuma Refugee Hospital are extensive and are operated and managed by the International Rescue Committee (IRC).

During fieldwork in 2011 and 2013, I observed that the main hospital is well equipped with 120 beds, a therapeutic feeding center, a pediatric ward, an emergency room, a 24-hour ambulance, a maternity unit with midwives, and a staff consisting of 29 nurses, lab technicians and a dispensary unit. Extensions of the hospital services are found in the 5 health posts throughout Kakuma I, II and III, which are run by clinical officers. At the time of research in 2013, there was a new health post at Kakuma IV that provides community health care and antenatal care to those in the surrounding jurisdiction. All follow-ups after hospital discharge or for outpatient check-ups were taken care of at any health post within the camp, mainly operated by a nurse or medical officer and run by community workers. Approximately 300 refugee incentive workers⁴³ make up the laboratory technicians, community health workers, and pharmacy dispensary workers, and health attendants who also give out medication at night and act as reproductive health promoters (once called traditional birth attendants). There is HIV counseling, an outpatient unit, family planning, and antenatal care clinic. To my knowledge, there are 5 doctors in the camp to run and oversee the hospitals and health posts. As there is no fully equipped operating theatre in the camp hospital, in situations such as complicated births, patients are transported to Mission Hospital in Kakuma town about 20 minutes away. The International Rescue Committee also founded and runs the Mission Hospital.

At first glance, geographical isolation should not necessary negatively impact on health seeking behavior of refugees. Yet, lurking beneath the impressiveness of Kakuma's infrastructure were profound resource deficits in health care. That is, interviews with health care staff as well as young refugees told a different side to what was visible to the outside world. The pharmacy, for instance, was reportedly often not well stocked with the medicine

⁴³ Incentive workers are refugees who work for NGOs within the camp. They often work for low pay and often have some certification, i.e. secondary or post-secondary education.

necessary to treat a variety of illness and ailments, though paracetamol and malaria medication is readily available. Antibiotics were in short supply and the medical staff interviewed confirmed that the ratio between midwives/nurses/doctors and patients was much too high and thus the care received was often not as effective or efficient as it should be (the exact ratio was not provided). Young mothers shared their experiences as well: “I am come from Burundi, this [is my] 6 months old baby, with pneumonia. See? No drugs, but [only] cough medicine is free from hospital” (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013). Another said: “My baby is 3 months and has pneumonia, tablets not helping. I also feel pain because he wakes at night. He has no clothes. He only has this [towel]” (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013).

I heard similar complaints during my interviews with young refugee mothers who stay at Safe Haven. Responses to questions about health care and services at the IRC hospital included: “the doctor gave me medication that made me sleep for 3 days” and “[t]hey give only paracetamol, doesn’t matter what the ailment.” Reproductive health care was also highlighted as an area that needs improvement. According to one young woman staying at Safe Haven, “I have [had] these menstruation issues, feels like something really big wants to come out. But I haven’t had my period for months. At hospital, no pelvic exam, no stomach exam, just given 3 month of family planning [birth control pills].”

The linkages between mental health and well-being and camp life is also limited in terms of services available to support the emotional and psychological health of refugees of any gender and age. Despite it being a space of psycho-social support and safety, during my interviews at Safe Haven, for instance, many of the women in the group expressed feelings of being imprisoned; their bodies worthless, physical pain disrespected, emotional pain dismissed. As one very young girl told the group: “I feel to dismiss myself from this life. I’m



Figure 20: Entrance to Kakuma Refugee IRC Hospital. Author’s photo/December 2011.

already expired for my family” (Safe Haven, second visit, P11). Mercy, a young woman who was in exile from South Sudan and living in Kakuma for three years, had been working as a child prostitute. She had been moved to Safe Haven a few months after being raped and had a baby through C-section. In the excerpt below, taken from my field notes, Mercy illustrates an often overlooked linkage between the conditions of camp life and the ‘humanitarian condition’ of being a survivor of sexual and domestic violence, and segregated inside a protection space (Hart, 2012):

Safe Haven, Kakuma I. Had another visit today. Brought camel meat. Once we sat, a shy 15-year-old girl from South Sudan (whom during previous visits simply sat quietly and kind of uncomfortably with her sickly toddler laying on her previously c-sectioned abdomen) burst wide open after an hour or so. She began to speak at such high volume and speed that I nearly passed out. Verbatim: “Daniella, we wake up to the same tree every day, for years. What have we done? What have we done maybe get raped and beaten? Daniella, we are in a prison. What does UN do for us? Nothing. We are here. We go hospital with pains. What. We get panadol. Our leg about to fall off, something coming out of our vaginas, head, belly full of poison, what, what? We get panadol. What have we done except keep our babies and agree to stay here in this, what, what safe place, what, what? Same tree, Daniella. Same tree. Every day, Daniella. For years. Do you have trees like this in Canada? Ones you can’t escape [sic]?” (Field-notes/Focus Group III, Safe Haven, December, 2013).

Based on the narratives shared with me, many of young women and girls who are provided safety at a shelter feel stigmatized and excluded from community life, depression and loss of power and dignity. Though they are part of the normative structures and regulations of the camp, and provided counseling and psychological support, they are isolated from their families and friends, from any social life, from the freedom to make their own choices. To this end, the camp is also a space of inclusion-exclusion for young refugees who have survived profound violence. In keeping with the health equity literature, this deeply felt exclusion has an impact on their physical and mental well-being.

D: [Looking at the girls and women] Do you feel isolated?

P3: Yes

P4: We cannot leave Safe Haven. We're good for nothing. Boys in community think we're crazy people

P8: [We] can't leave camp, but can't rejoin community

P9: Do you know JRS people [those under the care of JRS/staying at Safe Haven] are considered crazy?

P1: Here it is just a prison for us – no transport, no card

P2: Here we are safe. But my life is not safety. Emotionally, inside my feelings, I'm not safe.

The theme of safety is significant to this dissertation in terms of access to health, rights, safety and dignity; these are especially important considerations in the final section below that examines education. Though education may be considered the antidote of underdevelopment and gender-based violence and a vehicle for empowerment, school is not always a safe place for some refugee girls. For many Turkana girls, the educational system can be a space of deep discrimination, sexual exploitation, identity violence and ethnic discipline.

Education

Inside Kakuma camps, primary/secondary education is provided through LWF and Windle Trust Kenya (WTK). According to the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) Kakuma Fact Sheets in 2012, a year before my fieldwork, less than 36% of the refugee children in the

Kakuma camps were enrolled in primary school (the % of female is not indicated), and only 1,438 refugee students in total (of which 284 were girls) were enrolled in the camp's two secondary schools.

Drawing on evidence from fieldwork interviews, young refugee mothers rarely return to school in Kakuma (KII, WTK, December 2013). The challenges and difficulties in continuing in school post-motherhood threaded through many of their narratives. As one girl said quite straightforwardly: “I am not allowed to take child to school. So, I dropped” (FGD 2, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013). Another young woman dropped out of school when she was near graduation, with one year left because she had a baby: “I have Form 3 [in school]. But I dropped schooling since having the baby” (FGD 1, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013). One focus group participant reported staying in school and that was because she had support at home for childcare: “I came in 2010 from Congo – only with sister, no parents, we are four children. Waiting for decision on papers. I am going to school [because] my sister is helping with baby” (FGD 1, Teenage Mothers, MARPS, November 2013). Finally, one participant from the Most at Risk Populations (MARP) group wrote a letter to me in which she expressed she was at risk of dropping out. Her narrative reveals how domestic work and the inequitable division of labor within a patriarchal household and culture is a part of daily life, which makes it difficult to stay in school. In her case, she is begging for help, ‘to possible her joy’; in other words, her letter is a request for support to enable her to leave her household for boarding school so she can focus on her studies, and her future.

My request: I kindly ask for change if possible you assist me in school fees because my performance are not good as I have a lot to do during my school time. I am not given enough chance to read as [when] I come from school I cook for 2 brothers, and in our culture men are not suppose to cook. That's why I take a lot of time to do domestic work rather than reading. So that's why I beg you to possible me joy away and [to] any boarding school for only two years to finish my academic then I decide for further studies. I am Sudanese by nationality, age of 17 years. I am secondary school form 2, form

3 next year 2014 if God keep me alive. Sarah. (Letter Written, Unaccompanied Minor at risk or Engaged in sex work, Kakuma refugee camp, FGD 3, November 2013).

Though the above excerpts are from young mothers, the stigma against young girls and women who are not mothers but who are survivors of violence or considered at risk of sexual violence and exploitation is also widespread, and this is especially the case among unaccompanied minors. An informant from LWF shared the following story:

There was a child [refugee] who withdrew from school because an adult man had spread a rumor that this girl was raped. This was not a fact, and this girl was 14 years. As a result [of this rumor], the children said she's a prostitute—even if you're raped, you're considered a prostitute. She said to me, 'they're all laughing [at me], and they don't want to sit with me.' She dropped [out of school].

Barriers for the Turkana to access education or to attend school are also complex and include stigma and early pregnancy, as well as the difficulties of continuing schooling once you are a mother: “We tell them girls who are getting pregnant, don't disappear. Don't disappear. Give out your child to your mother, then you come and continue with your education. The mother will take. Then we tell the girl, you go back to school” (KII, KWN, November 2013).

Differences between the populations include geographic isolation and nomadic practices amongst some communities, which pose significant barriers to education for the Turkana. Furthermore, education has not been valued among the Turkana historically speaking, especially girls' education. As a result, there are high rates of Turkana girls dropping out of school. At the time of research, and for both boys and girls, the drop-out rate overall in Turkana stood at an alarming 94% (% of female is not indicated), while only 9.5% attended secondary school, and only 10% of the Turkana population was literate (KIRA, 2014). Numerous NGOs and UNICEF Kenya run education programming and initiatives throughout the County. Based on my community mapping, many settlements were found to have primary schools (see Table 1 and 2 in Appendix A), but secondary schools were scarce, with the majority being in Lokichoggio and Kakuma. Primary schools were free (though the

uniforms and books/pencils cost money) while fees were required for secondary school, which was too expensive for some families. According to UNICEF, secondary school fees are high and “very few youths from many areas in Turkana attend secondary schools, they simply cannot afford it” (KII, UNICEF).

There is a lot of discourse in the media and agency reports that frame the high illiteracy rates of the Turkana as being due to poverty and hunger, the cultural norms related to child marriage and the priority of dowry over education. One newspaper published an article titled: “Give refuge to these Turkana child labourers”.

It is sad that parents have turned their children, who are supposed to be in school, into casual labourers in the refugee camp. The only explanation is that the children are an important source of income for poor families," says Miramoe. But, he adds, this will fuel the cycle of poverty in Turkana as education may be the only way to empower the community. (The Standard, 10 March 2010).

Two issues arise out of this *Standard* excerpt. First, as the Kakuma Women’s Network (KWN) had emphasized during our interviews, and as will be further explored in chapter six, the main push factor used for getting the Turkana to attend school has become the promise of food aid. As Mary stated:

You know, our parents they rely on this relief food, it is food that is usually brought by the government for giving to the people. So, we tell them, if you want that food, then bring your girl to school. Take your children to school. If you tell them like that they will automatically take their children to school so that they get that food.

Second, though the women comprising the KWN are Turkana, and I respect their perspective, the tactic of luring Turkana girls into schools with the promise of food aid may not work to protect them from violence or unwanted pregnancy. Fieldwork revealed that though education itself may do so, the system, institutions and national policies that structure the education system do not work to empower many Turkana girls. I make this argument based on a well-acknowledged yet undocumented barrier that emerged during my fieldwork: in order to access formal education in the government schools Turkana girls are made to remove

traditional neck beads. According to Kakuma Women's Network: "we tell [the families that] we want all of them [the children] to go to school. And that they [the girls] have to remove the beads [to do so]" (KII, KWN, December 2013).

Though the reasons for this policy of removal are not straightforward, the reasons behind a Turkana girl refusing to remove her traditional dress are. In many qualitative interviews conducted with women, elders, warriors and chiefs, I was repeatedly informed of the ways in which beads represent honour and purity. This means, "she is no longer considered pure" (LWF Host Community Officer) upon their removal. Further confirmed by the Protection Officer working with UNICEF, "once a Turkana girl removes her beads for the sake of going to school, she is disowned and considered 'rapable'" (KII, Lodwar, October 2013). Following up from this interview with UNICEF, I asked the LWF Protection Officer about this issue, who described bead removal as an 'unveiling'.

D: So, a girl must take off beads to go to school ... to wear a uniform?

C: Yes... If you understand the Turkana people, they, the girls wear the beads... I'm sure you've seen a lot of them wearing beads. Beads signify you are a pure person. You are a pure child. Then when you get married they add a ring around your neck to say you are officially married – bride price is then paid. When we take Turkana's to school, it is like we have unveiled those girls.

D: Do some of the girls simply turn down school because they refuse to unveil themselves, to remove the beads?

C: They tell us that. They tell us that. We ask them, can we take you to school? They say no... I want to wear my beads. It's straightforward. I want to wear my beads.

All NGOs in the camp also require Turkana to remove beads while attending school, including WTK with whom KWN works closely. It remained unclear as to the reason why they are made to remove their beads. When I followed up with KWN, the only response I received was that the Turkana girls may find it difficult to play sports while wearing beads, and that the beads may make them feel different than the others. I probed this issue further

during my interview with the Host Community Officer working with LWF in Kakuma camps:

D: To verify, beads are removed if she goes to school?

C: Yes, because it is government school. They won't allow it. Sometimes [even] for nursery schools, for their kindergarten. Our education system has not been able to put the two together – culture and education.

D: It is policy?

C: Yes. Basically, our education system does not embrace Turkana culture – that is where we go wrong. The Muslims [in the camps] are allowed to wear their hijab. So why can't Turkana wear their beads? If we disturb culture it creates a vacuum.

In summary, the practice of bead removal from Turkana schoolgirls has far reaching consequences. Not only is it a form of ethnic discipline, but also as described above, it can lead to the sexualization of Turkana girls and sexual violation, vulnerability to unintended pregnancies, and further stigma in that they are perceived to be 'rapable', rendering their lives fundamentally unsafe. My key informants thereby emphasized that schools are not safe for Turkana girls without beads:

In this school term alone (Sept-Dec 2013) four girls from host [community] got pregnant at school as result of defilement, their ages 15, 16, 17, 17; one case by a man who works with Catholic Church. They were not wearing beads. Even the teachers want to have sexual affairs with those girls [who no longer wear beads]. (LWF, December 2013).

Importantly, numerous families, including fathers, told me during interviews in 2014-2016 that a daughter would surely be given permission by her father to go to school if she kept her beads in place.

Though Turkana boys do not wear beads, they too struggle with remaining in school because of unaffordable school fees and the cultural roles and duties of herding animals (for boys from the pastoralist communities). Irene from the Kakuma Women's Network elaborated on the negative impacts of dropping out of school on boys, as well as the wider community:

D: And for boys?

I: For boys, when they drop out [of school] you'll find they just come and

stay at home and they get into these bad habits, they may even end up becoming thieves and robbers here in Kakuma town because they have to make their own living. They become drunkards, drunks. Most of them go and work there in refugee camp. Many children... Many children! (Irene, KWN, November 2013).

As the following chapters will illustrate, given the extreme climatic changes in the region and the condition of livestock being below par or sold at rock bottom prices, boys no longer have as many opportunities for traditional work and, yet, are still dropping out of school. This has implications for the camp, and for refugee-host relations, as well as the gender forms of violence and exploitation occurring inside Kakuma.

Conclusion

Expanding chapter four's description of the historical context of Turkana-Kakuma refugee camps, this chapter was also largely descriptive and demonstrated with empirical evidence how the hunger, resource and rights deprivation characteristic of what anthropologists call the violence of everyday life (Klienman, 2000) are quite explicit at the Turkana-Kakuma nexus, though Galtung (1969) suggests that structural violence "does not show". The objective was to describe the deficits faced on a daily basis at the time of research, and the inequalities and inequities in access to services inside the camp between the refugees and the host community.

In describing the material, social and economic conditions that were most explicit from 2013, and as it relates to the broader objective of this dissertation, this chapter thereby grounds my analysis of the relationship between resource, rights and protection deficits and the gendered continuum of exploitation at the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus explored in the following empirical chapters. Drawing from this chapter, health disparities, inequitable access and availability of health care, unsustainable livelihoods and food insecurity in particular will be shown to intersect along multiple scales in the everyday lives of young people, and in the relations between the two groups. In short, these three deficits and their

intersections comprise the major determinants of the complex forms of violence and exploitation I documented to be occurring amongst and between the Turkana and the refugees. Food security in the camp and in Turkana, as well as the health inequities experienced by the host community, has shaped the life worlds of young people, such as their decisions to marry, to work, to navigate motherhood or unwanted pregnancy, and to manage refugee-host mutual relations: economic, social and intimate. I first turn to informal labour.

CHAPTER SIX

Livelihoods and Sexual/Informal Labour at the Turkana-Kakuma Refugee Camp Nexus

Building on critical childhood studies and scholarship on young people in refugee, resource-poor and conflict affected environments (Clark-Kazak 2009; 2013; Boyden and Howard, 2013; Bourdillon et al., 2011; Hart, 2014), this chapter explores how young refugees and hosts negotiate and mitigate the rights, resource and protection deficits in their everyday lives inside the camp. Specifically, I examine (1) how deficits and a culture of dependency underpinned by the structural violence described in the previous chapters lead many from the host community to depend on the camp for livelihoods, which includes sexualized labour practices; and (2) how young refugees respond to deficits with their bodies and use sex to protect themselves from violence and further destitution. The objective is to explore how the deficits within the refugee camp, as experienced by refugees, intersect with the host community, to increase or exacerbate the multiple and complex forms of co-dependency, violence and exploitation amongst and between them. My analysis is woven into the descriptions of the situation faced by refugees and the Turkana, noting similarities in experiences of violence, and differences in the drivers of sexual and/or informal labour.

The first section explores the degree to which child labour is, in this context, a responsive practice to ameliorate protection, rights and resource deficits in the host community. As reviewed in chapter one, critical childhood scholars have shown in multiple contexts how child labour can be employed as self-protection strategies in resource poor settings to overcome protection, rights and resource deficits. While validating this view, this section also demonstrates how, given the deprivation of the refugee camp, the labour of the host community inside the camp has also become exploitative and sexualized, and mostly to the detriment of young Turkana boys.

In the second section, I show how young refugees at risk of engaging in or already engaging in sex work is emblematic of how young refugees from DRC, South Sudan, Burundi and the Great Lakes⁴⁴ are responding to protection and aid deficits with their bodies. Sex work among young refugees is driven by a need for protection and, to some extent, the desire for normalcy. Young refugees use sex work to secure their rights to education and freedom from violence, and each of the different nationalities of refugees has a different experience and attitude towards sex work and, thus, different degrees of intersecting oppressions and vulnerability. Overall, however, though food was one of many things young people prioritized, it was the non-food items such as shoes, lotion and school bags that were primary concerns, with these material desires indicating a will to protect, with a goal to try to retain the right to education.

Finally, this chapter explores the role of the family in shaping engagement with sex work. This section demonstrates how the universal assumptions that unaccompanied young refugees are the most vulnerable to engaging in sex work, and that food insecurity drives the practice in all contexts at all times, was not evident in my findings.

Informal labour at the Nexus: Poverty, Dependency and Exploitation

As explored in chapter four, the labour of host community young people in Kakuma camp has long been noted and dependency on the camp as a source of livelihoods is not a recent phenomenon. Seventeen years ago, in relation to the informal commercial economy in Kakuma, de Monclos and Kagwanja (2000) observed that:

Turkana people do not form an important group of customers. They remain strongly attached to their traditions and participate only marginally in the market economy. With the passing of time, however, Turkana have begun to experience new kinds of work thanks to activities established within the

⁴⁴ As mentioned in the Chapter Three, the Methods chapter, the focus group participants were primarily from the Great Lakes, DRC, Burundi and South Sudan. In interviews with NGO staff, however, I did inquire into differences between Somali refugees and those from the countries listed above and this is included in the analysis.

camp. Somali and Ethiopian refugees employ Turkana children as domestic servants. Adults sell charcoal at 5KSH (0.05USD) a bundle. (p. 214).

Other researchers have observed and documented the labour and reproductive work of the host community within this space and inside the camps, including the labour of children and youth (Jansen, 2011; Grabska, 2011). Jeff Crisp noted in 1999: “Even though refugees’ living conditions in camps were difficult, they were easier than those of the host community: they at least had access to food, water and health care. Some could hire Turkana as house-helps, since they had more wealth than the local population” (p. 19). Two years before my research began, Grabska (2011) noted “many, including children, work as servants for refugee households, while others sell water, firewood and alcohol. Some younger girls and women offer sexual services to the predominately male refugee population” (p. 83). As described in chapter four, in 2011 I also observed many Turkana women picking up the food rations for refugee households. In 2013, in my interview with the LFW Officer, I was told:

In the early 90s when refugees came, the refugee camp became really attractive to the Turkana community. They understood that there is employment, [and] an opportunity to survive. If you wake up early in the morning you will see many children coming into the camps. They carry the rations for refugees, from distribution centers to the homes of refugees. In the process, some even do domestic work for the refugees (Key Informant interview, Protection Officer, LWF, November 2013).

Drawing from my community mapping in 2014 (described in chapter three), the Turkana travel as far as from 33km away to reach the Kakuma camps to sell firewood, meat, fish or trade beans (see Appendix A). LWF’s Protection Officer in charge of the Host Community Programme confirmed in an interview “most of the communities that live here have come from other areas, as far as hundred kilometers, as far as Loki [Lokichoggio], and other places. So, they come here in search of jobs. It’s actually survival.”

In a first interview with Caroline, who is the Protection Officer for Host Communities from LWF and in charge of the issue of child labour in Kakuma, she noted that the problems of young Turkana laboring in the camps, and thus not going to school, are rooted in the

poverty that is endemic to Turkana and the culture of dependency amongst Turkana families and within the broader community. In Turkana, “it is a family support system”. Mary from the Kakuma Women’s Network elaborated on the social and cultural norms of this familial support system and the material drivers of poverty in her communities:

The major thing [in] this community is poverty – poverty is very high. Even us who are working, you have to feed your mother; you have to feed your father. We also have extended families [so] you have to take care of the sisters and brothers from the other parents. Whatever you have, you give to them [your family and the extended family and community]. You share it. That is the situation here. There is a lot of dependency in the local community (KII, 2013).



Figure 21: Beaded Turkana women outside food distribution point Kakuma I camp/Author's photo, 2011.

The case of Kakuma-Turkana provides empirical evidence confirming the idea that “Child labor is an important global issue associated with poverty, inadequate educational opportunities, gender inequality, and a range of health risks” (Roggero, Mangiaterra, Bustreo, and Rosati, 2007, p. 271). Yet, though cultural and economic practices such as herding and migratory lifestyles have blurred the existence of ‘child labour’, generally speaking the ‘work-free childhood’ discourse that precludes much of the global policies on child labour is not a realistic consideration for pastoralist young people. Labour by young boys and girls for

the provision of food and family protection is common and accepted for the Turkana. To recall from chapter four, gendered divisions of labour, dependency and family structures within an *awis* are of fundamental importance for Turkana families' livelihoods, way of life, and social organization (McCabe, 2004). Within these pastoralist families, Turkana adolescent girls/daughters attend to 'household'/domestic and reproductive work, such as food preparation, cleaning, collecting water and firewood, and may also milk and water the livestock, while boys care for and herd livestock with their fathers and uncles (Interviews, January 2014; December 2016; also see Chetail et al., 2015).

The environmental conditions of drought to which the Turkana are chronically subjected, however, deepen their poverty and, thus, their vulnerability to exploitative labour and young motherhood and/or early marriage. As established in chapter four, refugee hosting communities who are pastoralists living along porous and conflict-affected borders located in arid and semi-arid lands, like the Turkana, are vulnerable to natural disasters such as drought and seasonal climatic variations. These seasonal climatic changes and environmental perturbations affect household level coping strategies, community support systems and social cohesion on a seasonal basis. During times of drought, dependency is heightened because, with limited access to resources, such as food and water and cooking fuel, the burdens of care placed on children and women increase (Chetail et al., 2015). According to the Reproductive Health Officer from Merlin, "During drought Turkana women have a lot to do. They work tirelessly. [But] all members of family have role to play. You need someone to collect firewood, go for water their animals, prepare food, prepare home. So, with all these tasks these people are overwhelmed" (KII, November, 2013).

My own research reveals that drought conditions also lead many young Turkana to seek jobs outside of the normative and accepted cultural structures. The migration of young people into urban centers in Turkana such as Kakuma, Lokichoggio and Lokichar to look for

informal employment through sex work, domestic work or, for young men, with mechanics or construction, is a phenomenon that has become increasingly common due to the livelihood constraints the Turkana people face and the deep poverty pervasive throughout the County. Also common and well accepted is that Turkana youth and children have found work in the Kakuma camps, and have done so since 1992.

Though the Turkana consider laboring in the camps a common livelihood activity, my findings indicate that the Turkana work informally and often under harsh conditions, and some children and youth travel long distances to reach the camps, some from as far away as 100 kilometers from Lokichoggi, on the border of South Sudan. Children, youth and women of the host communities who cross the camp ‘border’ every day sometimes work for little to no wage, and sometimes their work involves intimate or sexual labor.

Wage-less Work

Scholars have documented a degree of exploitation by refugees toward the Turkana in both in-kind trade and cash payments for their commodities, but there has been little research done to date on how payments for labour can also be in-kind trade. Anthropologist and Kakuma scholar Bram Jansen (2011), for instance, identified cheating as a *normal* mechanism underpinning trade between refugees with money and hosts who are illiterate. Though my fieldwork focuses on labour and not the selling of commodities, Jansen’s (2011) observation is still relevant because these micro examples of ‘cheating’ may be symptomatic of much broader patterns of exploitation that, as my research reveals, disproportionately affect young mothers and young Turkana boys and men. Because of its importance I quote at length:

While visiting a group of Ugandan refugees in Kakuma Three [III], two Turkana girls came along and traded their beans for sorghum from the relief basket. Turkanas would often roam through the camp with goods to sell, entering refugees’ compounds and communities. In these roamings, patterns emerged, and these became regular and normal transactions. These particular refugees did not like sorghum, and were able to trade it for local beans. They

explained that they were able to make good deals because the Turkana girls were illiterate. Therefore, they were able to cheat them a bit in their negotiations, juggling with numbers and amounts. In this way, the aid economy served as a basis for a more normal, albeit still largely informal, economy that transcended beyond the aid context (p. 131).

This ‘economy’ that Jansen is describing as ‘normal’ and ‘regular’ still has an undertone of a normalized exploitation of the more marginalized, *illiterate* Turkana. Jansen’s observation of the emergence of a pattern demonstrates a regularization of the economic exploitation of young Turkana girls, dependent on their low literacy levels, and destitution. This resonates with my own findings in various ways, as I explore below.

Given the lack of income, for instance, and the food insecurity experienced by up to 96% of refugees in Kakuma (WFP, 2016), and the periodically reduced rations as described in the previous chapter, cash payment to the Turkana by refugees for various services such as domestic work, pushing wheelbarrows of distributed food rations, or cleaning clothes was



Figure 22: 'Stop Child Labour' sign in Kakuma I. Author's photo, 2011.

found to often be nil. Irene from Kakuma Women’s Network suggested that some young labourers get paid up to 700KSH [\$7 US] a month, while a key informant from LWF said “some get paid maybe 10 shillings (\$0.10), 20 shillings (\$0.20), depending on how they

negotiate. But for little money, it is not really negotiated well. It is really because they need it.” According to these key informants, payment received by the Turkana may also be in-kind (e.g. in maize meal or oil) or sometimes reportedly brew-based, with beer brewed by refugees from the Great Lakes region who ferment some of their food ration (KII, KWN, December 2013; KII, LWF, November 2013). Irene from KWN confirmed that payment is sometimes with ‘brew’, “they go there to do their work and they are given the brew as payment as wages for that day. Women, men and girls – all of them, even boys- all of them take [it] as payment” (KII, November 2013).

These findings build on research that describes addiction and alcoholism amongst the Turkana as normal and as having proliferated since the establishment of the camps (UNHCR/WHO, 2006; Ezard, Oppenheimer, Burton, Schilperoor, Macdonald, Adelekan, Sakarati and Ommeren, 2011). Further and as mentioned in the introduction and chapter one, other scholars have cited these underground ‘illicit’ economies, and as briefly described in the introductory chapter, the brew business is an illegal activity (Newhouse, 2015). I argue, however, that the consequences of this situation may be long-standing, recurrent, and intergenerational and traverse the communities of both refugees and the Turkana to impact the physical and mental development and health of young people. As such, the brew business not only marks an example of how the informal economy in ration exchange operates in extra-legal ways and but also its impact encroaches on the homes and bodies of the host communities. Mary, for instance, who is a Turkana as well as the head of IRC’s Therapeutic Feeding Center, explained how the high prevalence of alcoholism and brew re-sale economies are impacting on the health and well-being of young mothers and their families.

Many of them [young mothers] make their way to the camp and they do work for the refugees. They clean their houses, and [so] are given maybe 100KSH or 50KSH. But most of them resort to taking alcohol. And when you take alcohol you cannot take care of the child. [So] they come here [to the therapeutic feeding center] drunk, and they don’t feed their children. I

think it's because of poverty. Most of them tell us they [are] not able to take care of themselves; they have no one, there are no jobs.

As Mary from Kakuma Women's Network emphasized: "Girls take the brew, and some boys.... If you grow up and your mother is taking, your father is taking, you will start taking – it's just automatic. Some school-going children [take]. Small boys take it. The situation here is bad."

Intergenerational deprivation and reduced well-being for the Turkana is another element along the life continuum. The problem is so pervasive that even if they get paid in cash, the Turkana go and buy the brew. According to my informant from LWF, the Turkana may also take brew as payment and return to the community to sell it: "They [young Turkana mothers] find themselves in the camp in the morning, washing clothes, doing domestic work, so that they can take care of their children. But you find some of them [young mothers] they go to collect alcohol from the refugee camp again, and the booze they make. They go and sell again in the host community."

Underground, informal and/or wage-less labour is thus strongly correlated to refugees not being able to compensate the Turkana with cash or food, leading to high alcohol intake, cycles of poverty and increased vulnerability to disease, which is what Rau (2002) has framed as intersecting risks. However, due to these dynamics – both during the time of research, but also the politico-historical structural violence described in the previous chapter – the protection, rights and resource deficits experienced by both refugees and the Turkana are eroding the moral, social and economic fabrics of the Turkana family structures. That is, in addition to the dependency within the host community on refugees, described in the first section of this chapter, dynamics of neglect or parental negligence among hosts has emerged as a result of the phenomenon of brew payment by refugees. This, according to my informants, is especially the case with young mothers.

C: Actually – this [neglect] is the mother of all concerns. There is a lot of neglect in the host community now – you find parents, or a young one with a one month baby, and they come to camps to find firewood to go sell; they carry fence material to go sell to refugees. They get paid and then they take alcohol in the refugee camp. So, when they walking home in the evening they fall down, with this little baby. That is a very common scenario around here. Even from 3pm you find women fall down or just drunk on their way home with a small baby. And if you ask... most children we find, ‘where is your mother’ – or if you go to parents to ask, they really don’t know where the children go. Everybody wakes up to fend for themselves. That’s really the biggest problem.

Key informants who explained the brew-business also highlighted the physical and sexual violence that sometimes accompanies consumption of brew due to intoxication, and have reported that the Turkana are at a heightened risk or vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence as a result. According to a key informant from the International Rescue Committee Hospital in Kakuma I:

E: when someone becomes drunk there in the [host] community, there is high [probability of a] rape case, but they don’t know who raped her. So, they come to the wards and we examine them, and they ask, ‘who did it to me?’ Just because they’re drunk. And that’s [also] why there are high HIV cases with locals (IRC, November 2013)

Caroline was also quick to add into our discussion that LWF also works “with [Turkana] girls who are working for refugees and in the process they [the girls] get sexually abused [by refugees]”.

This is a bad picture for children because when you are in that house someone could abuse you, because you are not in your environments and with their parents, no one is there to monitor. So, they can do anything to you they want to.

Knowing from earlier conversations with Turkana warriors and elders what happens in the case of defilement, I asked Caroline what would happen if a refugee raped or defiled a Turkana girl, boy or woman. To give a backdrop, traditionally in cases of defilement of a Turkana by another Turkana, the Turkana will seek compensation from the perpetrator. This could be in the form of cash or livestock. Rarely, the victim marries the rapist to maintain honour, particularly in the case of pregnancy (Personal Communication, Community

Warriors and Chiefs, various communities, October-December 2013; December 2016).

However, in the case of a refugee raping a Turkana, Caroline responded emphatically: “The Turkana are very much defending their families. Rape... it can cause war” (KII, November 2013).

As I explore below, some acts of sexual violence between the refugees and the Turkana are also entrenched in an underground labour economy that benefits both the Turkana and refugees and, simultaneously, distorts the protection mechanisms put in place for refugees, and dehumanizes the host community. That is, at the nexus of the lives and livelihoods of Turkana and refugees, refugees can ‘buy rape’ as a way to reach a much-desired durable solution.

Sexual labour: buying and selling rape

For refugees, sexual and gender-based violence can be used as a criterion for applying for resettlement in a third country, mainly due to fear of residing inside the camp and/or if the camp is no longer considered to be a safe place for a survivor of sexual violence. Essentially, based on a do-no-harm principle, a proven case of rape can expedite a much sought after durable solution and lead to quick resettlement for the girls and women at risk, as well as their families. It should be noted that case management of rape cases is a specialized area and the process of ‘proving’ a rape case is arduous in Kakuma. It takes a lot of time and is contingent on many factors (i.e. including whether the refugee went to a hospital within 72 hours of rape, has remained unwashed, has obvious signs of having been raped, and can identify the rapist). The refugee who has been raped also has to tell their story repeatedly to different agency staff in one-on-one interviews and then each transcript is compared for inconsistencies (IRC Officer, Interview, October 2013). According to the SGBV Officer from IRC, as well as the Child Protection Officer from UNICEF, due to a phenomenon of ‘fake

rapes', there is now an element of mistrust and additional steps put in place to report and prove a rape case.

All five key informants from UNICEF, IRC, Kakuma Women's Network and LWF revealed that in many instances host community male youth are paid to rape refugees so that the latter may resettle. As LWF's Host Community Protection Officer explained: "most labourers are boys, and these boys are being asked for sex mostly by Somali women. Basically, Turkana boys are paid to rape the women, so the women can apply for resettlement" (In-depth interview, October 2013). Caroline continued to explain that the boys who are asked by the Somali communities to have forced sex or to rape them are not above the age of 15, meaning some of them are minors. Caroline did not explain why it is only the Somali communities who are making these requests, but proceeded to explain the process. "What happens in this process is that there are cases when they [the Somali refugees] want to get resettlement, and so Somalis create this situation [of a rape case], and then they can get tested [at the hospital]". She continues to explain:

It's like prostituting, or exploiting... Like, there was a case of this family, a mother with her three girls. They forced a Turkana boy to rape all of them so that they could go to the police and claim a scenario to UNHCR that their lives are in danger, so that they can be given resettlement. People learn tricks of surviving in any situation.

The Gender Officer from the IRC and another Child Protection Officer from UNICEF working with the Turkana also reported many "fake rapes" and sexual exploitation of host boys. UNICEF was my first fieldwork interview in Lodwar. When I asked the Child Protection Officer what he considered to be the major challenges between refugees and the Turkana, the first issue he mentioned was that young Turkana boys are asked to have "rough sex on the refugee women and some young refugee girls so they may have a chance for resettlement" (UNICEF, KII, October 2013).

This form of sexual violence is considered a major challenge for various reasons. First, these fake or contract rapes further complicate the already complex protection mechanisms in place for both SGBV, as well as protection mandates of UNHCR and leads to barriers to the legitimization of rape cases in general, claimed by refugees (UNICEF Interview, October 2013). As well, these rape cases have been detrimental to the mechanisms in place for resettlement, as well as SGBV cases and serve to further increase the already seemingly impenetrable structural barriers for refugees awaiting durable solutions. Second, this situation also complicates the picture painted by both scholars and organizations that almost exclusively focus on the raping of refugee girls and women by Turkana men. As Caroline said, “it does look like a Turkana raped them”.

D: Do they identify this Turkana boy as a perpetrator?

C: They are paying you to rape them! No trouble – he’s gone. He’s doing it for the money. But it does look like a Turkana came and raped them. And they say a Turkana raped them. So, for this boy, for the 100KSH (US\$1) he doesn’t mind. In that situation, he doesn’t care. It was job. All he needs, or wants, is money.

Though the young Turkana boy or young man ‘doesn’t mind’, this situation complicates the evidence and scholarly attention to the violence waged against refugee girls in Kakuma by the Turkana. It also brings into question the frame used to understand refugee-host relations in such a structurally violent environment that a woman would go so far as to willingly and voluntarily be raped; indeed, to pay for it. As anthropologist Carolyn Nordstrom emphasizes, rape is about power. It is a power used to dehumanize –it acts to “not end life but to end the humanness of people” (Nordstrom, 1996, p. 153). Scholars in refugee studies agree that sexual violence is a symptom of a greater logic of domination, a logic that positions rape and violence as “merely cultural” but that “violated women are symbols of ... power and conquest... [And] of political goals” (Giles and Hyndman, 2004, p. 309). In these cases of what I can only call ‘contractual rapes’, which I regard to be related to survival and thus, could also be considered as ‘survival rapes’, rape has economic and political functions related

to broader based structural violence. That is, the lack of durable solutions accessible to refugees living in protracted refugee situations and the deep poverty and marginalization of the host community have helped create the conditions for ‘contractual rapes’ to emerge in the Kakuma camps. This implies that the degree to which refugees stuck in limbo and Turkana stuck in a structurally violent environment are entitled to bodily integrity is limited, and this precludes dignity, security or worth for both refugees and hosts. Expanding Smith’s (2005) analysis to this situation, for both groups, the nexus where they meet is a space where structural violence becomes sexualized.

The work of the host community boy-child and young men

The work of the host community inside Kakuma camps is highly gendered, and it is so in a way that departs from dominant perceptions. That is, despite observations by other scholars and humanitarian agencies of younger girls from the Turkana host community offering sexual favors to refugees in exchange for food, and in contrast to much scholarship on child labour and domestic work generally speaking, my research indicates that the labour of the Turkana inside the camps disproportionately involves the boy-child and male youth. According to Caroline: “Most [host] children in the camps are boys. Most of these boys are breadwinners [for their families]. They [are] expected by their guardian at home to bring some food.” Caroline continued to explain that “The most economically active are children between 13 and 17. There are also those boys who are 10, even 9. Some who are really young escort with the others. They just wake up in the morning and just come with the others.” Irene from Kakuma Women’s Network also confirmed this to be the case. “You’ll never miss these children there in the camp,” she said, “You’ll find a small [Turkana] boy pushing a wheelbarrow bigger than him, [or] a small boy washing 3 piles of clothes.”

Caroline came to Kakuma Camp to establish a host community protection program, particularly facilitating easier access to school and getting Turkana children out from

laboring in the camps. She revealed that it is a very entrenched practice, and difficult to end. In her words, “Most of the [Turkana] children cannot completely leave the camp because they still have to provide for family.” Labouring in the camp has contributed to the high drop out rates and/or low attendance rates of primary and secondary school in Turkana. According to various informants, the young people often attend school in the morning because they receive food at lunchtime. They leave school in the afternoon to work in the camp. “Sometimes when they’re too hungry, and life is difficult, school is not their priority. And once schools close there are many high numbers of [Turkana] children in the refugee camp. Because that is how they survive.”

In my last interview with LWF’s Host Community Protection Officer, I asked how the refugees are getting money to pay the Turkana to be domestic workers or to perform sexual labour. “It is strange,” she said, “but there are tremendous supports given in the refugee camp”. She continued:

C: Some [refugees] work for us – we have 1000 incentive staff – they earn 4500KSH (\$45USD) a month. They’re also given food, clothes, everything. They are not paying any house fee. As Turkana you have to buy food, buy everything. Unfortunately, the host community here is not doing well. So, the refugees are doing well. They’re not only dependent on the rations.

Though numerous scholars have problematized the idea that tremendous support is given to refugees, as explored in chapter one, Caroline’s perspective is interesting because her analysis is relative to the host community. The fieldwork findings explored in the next section offers another perspective, namely the struggles of *young* refugees. Young refugees, especially young mothers, are not engaged in business or incentive work for NGOs and, according to the young women and mothers who participated in the focus groups that inform this study, they are almost always solely dependent on the food rations provided.

“To do so is obvious”: Everyday Violence, Sexual Exploitation and Sex Work at the Nexus

Over a decade ago during the 30th Meeting of the Standing Committee for Protracted Refugee Situations, the UNHCR lamented that limited aid and food packages and material deprivation endemic to refugee contexts “can lead to refugees, as well as others, to resort to a gamut of negative survival tactics, such as child labour, the degradation of the environment and prostitution” (UNHCR, 2005, p. 4). UNHCR’s *Action against Sexual and Gender Based Violence: An Updated Strategy (2011)* also “acknowledges that displacement can increase the pressure on women and girls to engage in survival sex” (UNHCR, 2012, p. 11). In speaking to key informants from LWF and NCKK, limited diversity in the food rations, as well as the quantity of food given were considered driving forces for the practice of sex work.

NCKK: the kind of support they’re given here is not enough. Food, there are two cycles per month. None of these cycles can take you from one cycle to another. So, they need to complement [what they do receive]. The only option [to do so] is to [sell] sex.

The protection officer from LWF further implied that sex work, or ‘survival sex’ is also very much linked to resources shortages coupled with Kenya’s encampment policy that delimits any right to employment or movement.

You know, you cannot be employed outside the camp because of the policy. The employment opportunities inside [are limited] which means not everybody can be employed. So those who are unemployed... maybe [they] need money, need something, so they go to the people with money [for a loan]. They say, ‘What can you give me in exchange?’ They cannot pay back the money with money. For the children and woman it is difficult. Very, very difficult. (LWF, KII 1, October 2013).

The Head of Protection for NCKK emphasized the demographics of those who are engaging or at risk of engaging in sex work to ‘compliment’ resource deficits, are predominantly single mothers and young girls. He said that 20% of sex workers in their programmes are married, but 80% are single mothers and young girls, “with crosscutting ages—even up to age 60”.

According to LWF, some girls are as young as 11 years old. The social and economic drivers,

however, reportedly differ according to whether or not they have children or dependents (i.e. younger siblings).

NCKK: They call it survival sex. The cost of living is a big challenge to everybody. For these women it is very big challenge. Some of them they need to do this business with one child, some they're mothers of nine children. Others are very vulnerable girls who will tell you I have lost my parents, so they came here as a single child, they're an unaccompanied minor, and they say [I sell sex] because I needed something.

With regards to survival sex, Busza (2006) suggests that “this type of exchange is likely to be more sporadic, opportunistic, and unplanned and tends to be reported in situations of instability and deprivation, for instance in refugee camps and among marginalized groups” (p. 135). The sporadic or unplanned use of sex for money was not reported by the young refugees considered most at risk who participated in my focus groups and, in contrast to the literature on survival sex, the primary material drivers found for choosing to engage with ‘selling sex’ was not food. Rather, the selling of sex was reportedly used in a very conscious and somewhat planned way to self-protect in the anticipation of increased material support and economic assistance with school fees, and also sometimes oil and lotion, and clothes and shoes, sanitary napkins/pads and cooking fuel. For unaccompanied minors in particular, sex was seemingly actively and consciously employed to protect themselves perhaps as a parent would their child, to protect their own rights to education, to not go hungry, and to stave off the grave effects of compromised rights. To this end, transactional sex in the context of Kakuma at the time of my research could not be neatly separated or viewed within a ‘forced/voluntary dyad’ or binary (Gerassi, 2015) that precludes much of the western discourse around prostitution. It was both; it was forced by structural limitations and lack of alternative livelihoods, yet voluntary in that selling sex was an exercise of agency and of self-determination to obtain the shoes, clothes and other non-food items one may want or need.

There were also striking contrasts in what the NGO staff suggested as drivers of selling sex, i.e. food, versus the experiences the girls themselves shared. In one of the focus

groups conducted with unaccompanied refugee minors who were identified by the informant to either be engaged in or at risk of engaging in sex work, a familiar silence emerged amongst the 12 or so when I asked if selling sex is one option to deal with challenges in the camp, or reasons for not going to school. After a long pause, one young girl said very straightforwardly: “Daniella, you cannot walk naked” (Focus Group 3, MARPS, P3). Others began to speak up.

P4: I use sex for school, and money to buy napkins.

D: How much are napkins?

P4: 10 shillings (.10US) or 100 shillings (\$1US) for 6 pieces of good ones. You can wear this one for the whole time of bleeding.

D: The same napkin?

P4: Yes. You can go to school!

P7: I don't go to school when bleeding.

P9: There's also food. I use [sex] because I eat once a day. And soap is not given and maybe given once every 4-6 months. To buy is 75 shillings. My best is to get soap.

P8: I work with sex because food is smaller too [not enough]. So, if I don't [sell sex], I don't eat.

As the passages below from the letters written by girls in this same group who had chosen to stay silent during focus groups illustrate, these items (in no particular order), are the desires/needs voiced by unaccompanied minors who participated in the three focus groups in the Kakuma camps, and are the items for which they sell or exchange their bodies: sanitary napkins, clothes, lotion; charcoal/ firewood; soap; food; underwear; mattresses; school bags; school fees; shorthand notebooks; geometry sets; pencils; tarps; milk; parents; and closed-toed shoes.

My name is Shukuru. I am 17 year old. I am Congolese by nationality. I have problem for shoes, clothes. May you help me.

Daniella, I am Ange, 13 years. So about my challenges in this Kakuma refugee camp. I have many things that I miss and I don't have someone or responsible who take care about my wishes to that I need of it will be not possible to afford or help me those things I need as a girl first. I will like or wish to afford me clothes, shoes, schoolbags, don't forget food this is more needed, lotion, soaps, napkins, the same for underwear. Please I need your help because I don't have anyone who control or take care about my wishes and my desires. I live with my four brothers in case to just be patient and we

always asked God to help us against the bad things or bad behavior in this camp. I just please you to help me cause your help is so more needed and comfortable. In God we believe.

Dear Madam. I am Sano in Kakuma I. I am very well to see you and very well for your information you was give all and us. So about my challenges in this refugee camp. I have more things that I miss because I have not my parents and another family in this earth. My things is that I haven't food, shoes, schoolbag, books, napkins, and bed for sleep. I'm sleep very bad, I have shet mateles [sheet metal]. The big problem for me is parent if you please may you help me? Thank your very much, I love you like sister.

On the surface it could seem that what drives some of the young women I interviewed largely echoes Hunter's (2002) findings that transactional sex is underpinned by the "pursuit of modernity", as well as the 'normalcy' paradigm that is often also cited by other scholars in terms of transactional sex. It may also be a pursuit of what is culturally the norm in terms of young womanhood. As LWF's protection Officer shared, "lotions are not given. Soap is given once, one per person, but it's never enough..." (KII, November 2013). That young people, particularly girls and young women, require more support and non-food items, such as underwear, sanitary supplies and much more soap than what is given is also readily recognized. McDougal and Beard (2011) note that in protracted refugee situations, "most refugees cannot afford to buy soap themselves and basic hygiene is severely compromised, resulting in increased morbidity" (p. 89). The linkages are also being increasingly made between the lack of soap or menstrual hygiene facilities with vulnerability to sexual and gender based violence, and possible engagement in sex work to obtain these commodities:

Post-pubescent girls and women have the additional challenge of managing menstruation, which increases their daily water and sanitation requirements for a number of days each month. This may increase the vulnerability to violence of those girls and women who live in households that lack safe access to adequate water and sanitation facilities (Sommer, 2015).

As Boyden and de Berry (2004) state, however, it is also crucial to grasp the "[s]ocial, structural and cultural aspects of vulnerability to understand children's experiences of adversity" (p. 48). Lotions and oils are sometimes tied to culturally specific practices in

young womanhood and marriage rituals. In South Sudan, various oils are used for traditional treatment for health conditions, dry skin, and also correlate to marriage rituals or preparation or marriage. Interestingly, Volpato, Kourkova and Zeleny (2012) provided one of the first studies on the linkage between cosmetics and perfumes to Sahrawi refugees' wellbeing during displacement in Algerian refugee camps. They found that various cosmetic and plant products are used for oral hygiene, hair care and skin protection, social and cultural practices during wedding ceremonies or funerals and everyday life. Though my study provides little evidence base for such a correlation in Kakuma amongst young refugees, it may be an important element in understanding why young refugees are prioritizing skin creams and oils.

In Kakuma, though they may appear inconsequential, shoes and sanitary napkins may protect against violence and can help a girl remain in school. Girls, at least those participating in my focus groups, wanted shoes for protection both during and in-between school terms, a 'don't get raped' survival mechanism. Without shoes, girls will choose to remain 'idle' and even if it does not rain: "The boys play, but we don't. Boys will disturb you. And we cannot run" (FGD3, P5, December 4, 2013). In addition, it was highlighted that during holidays between terms there are no tailoring classes, skipping ropes, or even a volleyball to play with. It is also in the months of November and December – traditionally school breaks—that rations are reduced, as was the case during my time of research.

The need for closed-toed shoe came up again a second time in the key informant interview with LWF's Protection Officer, and a third time in a separate focus group with the same young women who participated in a previous one.

D: In our previous chat, and in some letters, most of you mentioned the need for shoes, but you all seem to have shoes... can you explain to me?

P3: These are not shoes. These are flips. They can get us killed in the rain.

P4: They can get us raped.

D: How can they get you raped, or killed?

P4: We can't run fast enough in the mud if chasing when it rains.

D: If someone is chasing you, you mean?

P4: Yes.

D: Are you chased often?

P2: Yes.

D: Okay. How much money are closed-toed shoes?

P4: Maybe 500 shillings (5 USD).

D: So, what do you do now when it rains?

P3: We stop going to school, or stay in the house when off term.

D: Do some sell sex to get shoes?

P4: Yes. To do is obvious.

“Obvious’ in this context oftentimes refers to a situation that is normal, common, routine or expected. Girls thus connected how a pair of sensible shoes could save their lives and reduce rape; during terms, they would not feel anxious walking back from school because closed-toed shoes would allow them to run. Further, refugee girls in three different focus groups stated quite that they are most vulnerable to rape, joining a prostitution circle within the informal market, getting pregnant or married and dropping out of school in the weeks in between school terms, and during the rainy season. Some have even dropped out of school because of flip-flops. Some have gotten pregnant trying to earn money through sex to buy a pair of close-toed shoes so they could stay in school. For most, the lack of owning closed-toed shoes forced them to stay home from school because they may be chased.

The Role of Parental-Child Relationships in Shaping Engagement in Survival Sex

The common assumption is that unaccompanied refugee minors are the most vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence, and most vulnerable to resorting to survival sex. According to LWF staff, this is particularly so for unaccompanied minors because “these children have a lot of problems, and they come in not having that someone who can take care of them and their needs. Sometimes they are easily exploited by other people” (KII, November 2013). Those who come with families are thus assumed to have an added level of protection, social capital, or perhaps even a strong network. Yet, my research found that this assumption is not always true, and that some parents from particular nationalities force their daughters into sexual labour or, at least, are supportive of it:

NCKK- Some parents support survival sex. Last week I took one of the girls to a peer educator. She discussed the issues that some of the parents are actually promoting the activities – she [a mother] says ‘you go out and bring money’. These young girls 14 years old are doing some laundry for work, but mostly sex work, so it’s quite challenging.

D: Is this attitude prevalent across all communities in the camp?

NCKK: It’s prevalent but not with all refugees, just a few, mostly with those from the Great Lakes. Not Somalis [girls and women] But sex with Somalis [men as clients] yes, very high. But underground.

My findings further suggest that ‘vulnerability’ is not so much attached to their identity as refugees or to their differentials in status, i.e. a refugee who is separated, accompanied or unaccompanied, but rather (and like the Turkana) vulnerability to discrimination is attached to their nationality, ethnicity, class, levels of social cohesion, and institutional support. That communities other than the Somali refugees may be supportive of sex work is an important aspect of this finding because it highlights the role of inclusion, social cohesion and support, and axes of ethnicity and cultural norms. To recall from chapter four, Kakuma’s population is largely made up of South Sudanese and Somali refugees, with those from the Great Lakes making up barely 10% of the camp. In all six of my focus groups with both teenage mothers and adult female sex workers, most participants were from the Great Lakes, Burundi, Congo and with a few from what is now South Sudan, and most lived in Kakuma II, III and IV. Somali refugees were not involved in my focus groups, but not because they were not permitted to attend the focus groups, by parents or spouses. According to NCKK, rather, this group is largely uninvolved in special ‘risk’ programming generally. They are involved in programming generally, however, and receive livelihoods support in Kakuma I with small businesses.

I noted this in my key informant interview (KII) with LWF’s Protection Officer when asking whether the situation [sex work] is the same for the Somali and Congolese, for instance, or across all the ethnicities within the camp. She offered further reflection on these differences, including whether violence at border points, rape as a weapon of war, lack of

safety along the migration route, or inside the camp, for instance, may also lead to a breakdown of cultural norms, normative structures. It is well known, for instance, that those from Congo have been subject to sexual violence and it has recently been called the “rape capital of the world” (Washington Post, August 2017; see Brown, 2012). She said:

I: For Somalis it [sex work] is never there. Because you’d be dead. You can’t even have a child out of wedlock. It is not acceptable. But most of the Burundians and Congolese and Rwandans... I think the social fabrics have broken down for these ones, they are not as strong as others. You find the Sudanese and Somalis, they have a very strong culture. It is the people from the Great Lakes... the majority [of sex workers] are from there. You’ll find the social fabric have broken down for the Congolese and Rwandans and Burundi. The shame in these cultures [for prostitution] is not so much as for the Somali and Sudanese. It is more acceptable.

There is also no shortage of literature and scholarship shedding light on the number of women reporting child abuse or rape prior to engaging in sex work, voluntarily or not. In short, child sexual abuse is considered by many scholars to be an antecedent to sex work, trafficking, young motherhood and vulnerability to them (Reid, 2012). A key informant who works with the young women engaged in survival sex reflected on this possibility:

I wonder if it is because where they come from. Like for the Congolese, most of the girls have been through sexual abuse; soldiers have defiled them, and most of these girls have witnessed defiling of the body. I wonder if that [is] the reason it is more acceptable. Maybe when the body has already been spoiled very badly in your own country by your own people, [and] by people you know, maybe it is more okay for the body to be used this way. This is the question I keep asking myself.

In the opinion of the NCKK Head of Programmes, however, the phenomena of differences between ethnicities and nationalities as described above are less about trauma and more about social inclusion, networks and community cohesion:

With the Somalis what we have found there is a very strong social support system. The social support system lacks in all other communities: it is everyone for themselves, every girl for herself. For Somalis, it’s different - a Somali will not go into that absolute poverty when others or people are there. They support each other. Other communities not, this is why you have a big number [of young sex workers].

As the literature review in chapters one and two emphasized, the impacts of inclusion, social

cohesion and support on a young person's well-being and life-course are important considerations when understanding their vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence and ability to cope or overcome deficits. Social cohesion is thus also an important consideration in my research with sex workers, particularly as it relates to stigmatization and social exclusion of those or engage in exchanging or selling sex. Indeed, stigma related to sex work in general is well recognized (Wong, Holroyd and Bingham, 2011), including not being perceived as human and increased social exclusion (Pratt, 2005). In Kakuma, according to LFW, "there's a lot of stigmatization, a lot of discrimination. They see you are a prostitute, they call you 'prostitute', and in Kiswahili the word they use for prostitute comes out really badly, the word they use" (LWF, KII, December 2013). According to NCKK, due to the stigma associated with sex work, sex workers not only contend with dehumanizing treatment from the communities but are also vulnerable to economic violence and exploitation: "The risk to violence to prostitutes is higher than any other group. One reason is some of these clients will cheat them, will not pay them, it happens to any other prostitute. So, not everybody pays. So, this gets them" (KII, December 2013).

Importantly, the stigmatization of sex workers in Kakuma not only shapes the ways in which prostitutes can engage in social life and access their rights, but also marks a normalization of sexually exploitative relations in their everyday lives, their risk of unintended pregnancies and rape and, thus, the normalization of the violence they face. Similar to the dynamics described by Secor (2004; see chapter one), according to a protection officer with IRC, there is a marked de-humanization of sex workers in Kakuma:

I: Sex workers – yes, they at increased risk for violence because they are considered second-rate citizen. They're not viewed as a woman – they are viewed negatively so they encounter a lot of violence. Then it is really bad. They're viewed [by other women] as a snatcher [of husbands], a destroyer [of marriages]. [Community life] is not comfortable for them because the

community perceives sex workers very badly. They're not perceived as human. They get so ill-treated.

My research findings also indicate that the degrees of social exclusion and marginalization are not only related to the support or lack of it *within the community*. Rather, it is also reflective of the degree of support and attention/inclusion from the *humanitarian* community. As NCK noted, they have set up small shops and businesses for the Somali women and girl refugees who had been engaged in sex work.

But that is not saying that we don't have Somali women who are doing sex work. [But] after getting some children [outside of the Somali culture it's like you have degraded yourself, you're not the kind of women who a man can respect. So, they give a name for such women, so they end up vulnerable. So, we set up businesses for them [Somali women refugees who had engaged in sex work], some small shops.

Additional support and attention being paid to the two dominant groups of refugees (Somali and South Sudanese) is also evident in assessment and evaluation reports. In my review of numerous 'needs assessments' conducted by UNHCR as well as WFP, including the impacts of cash-based transfers on gender and protection in Kakuma, I found that agencies tend to only interview South Sudan or Somali refugees (WFP, 2016). This was also confirmed in interviews and personal communication with UNHCR and WFP personnel. The reason given is that they make up the majority of Kakuma's population. This makes sense on a programmatic level, but it also means that the everyday and nuanced experiences of violence of the minority groups go unnoted and are reduced to "simple anecdotal evidence" (UNHCR Senior Food Security Officer, March 2014). Thereby, their needs go unaddressed in programming or strategic planning. It also means that those who are doing the exploiting and abusing get to do so with impunity.

Conclusion

This chapter contributes evidence on the various ways in which food insecurity, and the lack of command over resources and humanitarian entitlements correlate with sexual

exploitation in resource poor and refugee settings, particularly with child labour/sex work. I conclude that, through the case examples of child labour and sex work, the co-dependency that is occurring amongst and between the Turkana and the refugees is produced and reproduced through an exchange of labour and sexual commerce, which is forced by inequalities, inequities and resource deficits, with severe effects on the health, dignity and the rights to human security for both groups. In both instances, as the narratives of young people illustrate, and in keeping with critical childhood scholars, these navigation and coping strategies are fundamentally deepening the poverty that young people from both communities are trying to overcome. Moreover, within the invisible shadowed zones that are shared by more than one community or group of people, any access to rights—or a lack thereof—for one group may directly and deleteriously impact another group or community: in this chapter, the rights of refugees—and the lack thereof—were shown to be impacting on the host community, in both positive and negative ways.

Specifically, the key findings afford an evidence base that complicates dominant narratives constructing sex work, child labour, and refugee-host relations in Kakuma. The dominant narrative and correlation of sex work with ‘survival’ and the use of this type of labour to meet basic needs can obscure the role that sex work plays in young people’s efforts to mitigate the barriers to their rights, such as to education. In other words, sex work in Kakuma is a practice that also functions in this environment as a protective mechanism and act of agency at household and community levels. My findings also dislodge the ongoing perceptions and normalization of the phenomena of child labour occurring within the confines of Kakuma camp. First, key findings indicate that the most economically active host children in the camp are not young girls but are young boys, and, second, that the labour is often times unpaid. Further, by asking how a systemic denial of rights and entitlements have helped to shape such a coping strategy as sex-as-protection or informal labour, both sex work

and the labour of the host community is shown in this chapter to be experienced along a continuum of violence and exploitation. In particular, and though I do not dispute that beneficial relations occur between the two populations, multiple scales of power were found to be operating in the relationships among and between the refugees and hosts, and multiple scales of de-humanization were evident in the relationships and in the strategies self-employed to overcome deficits. Most explicitly is the de-humanization that is occurring to both young refugees who practice sex work, as well as young Turkana boys and refugee women who sell and buy 'rape' for income or resettlement. To this end, some host community young people—especially Turkana boys—also live similar undignified lives to the refugees, and often exist without a right to have rights when working or living in the camp.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Unwanted Pregnancy, Motherhood and Marriage: Reproductive Rights and Intimate Relations at the Nexus

The previous two chapters have explored the ways in which destitution, discrimination, and everyday violence operate within the life worlds of young refugee and hosts, and within the material, economic and social relationships they share between them. Chapter five focused on the structural protection, resource and rights deficits both the Turkana and the refugees face on a daily basis—food insecurity, a lack of access to or availability of adequate health care, and limited safe access to education. Chapter six detailed how young people from both communities navigate and work to overcome those deficits through practices of informal and sometimes sexual labour and sex work.

This final empirical chapter builds on chapter five and six to explore how endemic rights, protection and resource deficits are influencing or impacting on the most intimate facets of life, including one's reproductive body, one's children and one's family. I explore the choices young women from both host and refugee communities make when dealing with an unwanted pregnancy, the navigation of early motherhood once a baby is born, and early marriage amidst severe constraints and trade-offs, and how power-relations and discrimination, social exclusion and inequality undergird those choices. In addition, and to recall, a key finding threaded throughout chapters five and six is that food insecurity is a major social and economic determinant and driver of the exploitation, stigma and abuse experienced by young people from both populations, Turkana and refugee, and especially young mothers. Drawing from fieldwork, this chapter further demonstrates how food security in the camp and in Turkana also shapes the intimate life worlds of young people, such as their decisions to marry and child rearing practices; it affects the ways in which refugees and hosts manage and negotiate their intimate relations. Yet, as opposed to findings explored in the previous chapter about how *deficits (food insecurity)* within the refugee camp intersected

with the host community to increase or exacerbate gender-based violence and sexual exploitation, the findings in this chapter show how both the deficits as well as the *entitlement and rights of refugees* by way of resettlement or repatriation may negatively impact on *the rights of young host mothers* who are involved with refugees and give birth to children with them.

I first examine the politics of family planning and limited access to contraception, and how structural neglect and everyday violence has forced young people from both communities to live with and experience a profound loss of security, dignity, and sometimes their lives when seeking clandestine reproductive health care and unsafe abortion. The second section explores how, exacerbating the loss of dignity and shame that young Turkana women/girls experience as a result of an unwanted pregnancy is the impact on the Turkana children of rape which includes being left without status (i.e. not accepted as refugees by the UNHCR) and, at times, barely accepted as citizens (i.e. shunned by their Turkana relatives).

The third and fourth sections expand from pregnancy-related hardships and choices to explore what happens once young women give birth and have a baby to care for and are single mothers. My research reveals that young refugee mothers/girls continue to experience a profound loss of dignity as a result of young motherhood, and many experience concurrent exclusion from both their parental and spousal families/households, as well as from much-needed support at the humanitarian level. The fourth section explores how a lack of dignity and exclusion also operate within intermarriage between refugees themselves, as well as between the refugees and the Turkana. I draw attention to the consequences of marriages between the young hosts and refugees to reveal another way that food deprivation is related to the Turkana's protection and dependence on not only the camp but on the refugees themselves to fill deficits.

Reproductive Rights at the Turkana-Kakuma Nexus

Despite the high risk of rape and unwanted pregnancy at the Turkana-Kakuma refugee camp nexus, cultural and gender norms are linked to or correlated with harmful practices or perceptions that stigmatize young women who are sexually active, either by choice or by force through survival sex. Further, despite evidence of the need for family planning at the nexus, the stigmatization of those who try to access birth control, the cultural/patriarchal perceptions that restrict control over their own bodies, and the structural violence that leaves young refugees in Kakuma without access to services in the camps, and the Turkana without access to services outside of it, were found to be driving factors which lead to a grave deficit in reproductive rights. In short, access to family planning in Kakuma for refugees is limited. Though this lack of access is embedded in social exclusion and stigmatization at individual and community levels, the humanitarian community, national Kenyan policies and public perceptions perpetuate this exclusion. My research indicates that social, cultural and institutional perceptions and practices have precluded (1) any freedom of choice for young refugee who wish to use contraceptives, whether or not they undertake sex work; and (2) safety for those who are at risk.

At the levels of the family and the community, according to LWF's Protection Officer, "They [the refugees] think it is not acceptable. Family planning is not acceptable. Among everyone. You can tell by the number of small children around. It [family planning] is not practiced." Though family planning is a complex institutionalized western concept, and is often used interchangeably with contraception and birth spacing (IAFM, 2018), what it refers to in this context is contraception –the pill, condoms or intra-uterine devices (IUD). The dissonance behind the question as to whether birth control should be accessible to young people is rooted in the humanitarian endorsement of Western moral values and ideologies about children being mainly vulnerable, innocent and dependent (Scheper-Hughes and

Sargent, 1998). Humanitarianism places an emphasis on age related development, as opposed to physical or social related development, or ‘age position’, as discussed in chapter two, and so any young woman under the age of 18 is considered a child, despite whether she is a mother or taking care of herself or younger siblings, or engaging in selling sex. Yet the ability to reproduce and exercise agency in sexual ways also underscores a new sexualization of their bodies; thus ideologies of innocence and the cultural politics of childhood (for e.g. in the UN and many other humanitarian agencies) (see Malkki, 2010) is lost (see chapter two). This complex dialectic and the sentiment of ‘babies having babies’ was evident during an interview with a Protection Officer from LWF when asking about availability of and access to condoms:

Should we give out condoms? Should we encourage family planning? We don’t want babies to have more babies, but is it ethical to give family planning to a child? Is it ethical to ask them to practice safe sex? They’re having sex. They need to have safe sex. It becomes now so, so difficult. How can we talk about it to small children?

Even those humanitarian interventions that promote family planning or condom distribution in the camp, however, also reportedly lead to friction between refugees and the humanitarian community.

I: We started talking about condoms with the Somalis just the other day – because they were given a World Vision package. And in this [World Vision] package were condoms – it was refused [by the refugees]. That package was refused because of the condoms inside. We were strongly told to remove the condoms. We said, no. But they don’t want to leave it there (KII, LWF, October 2013).

My interview with staff members of The Cradle: Turkana Legal Aid shed light on the cultural factors influencing the high rates of unwanted or early pregnancy, as well as the low uptake of contraceptives amongst Turkana women and girls. “We have the highest rate of HIV [in Kenya] and [highest] rate of early pregnancy. There’s no information for contraceptives. They [the community/Turkana men] believe it is only prostitutes that use contraceptives or family planning. So, the awareness is not there” (The Cradle: Turkana

Legal Aid). Within marriages, patriarchal family structures impact on the ability and power of Turkana wives to make decisions and to have control over their own bodies. According to the Senior Reproductive Health Officer from Merlin, family planning is the greatest challenge for reproductive health for the Turkana: “Only 14% of Turkana women use family planning, despite the many sensitization [activities] that we plan, and the commodities we provide”. Barriers for women and the low uptake reportedly include patriarchal norms and power relations within the household decision-making:

[Turkana] men are the decision makers for family planning. Once they agree the women can have family planning, women will usually want to adopt family planning methods or to use family planning commodities. Some have to do it secretly, without the knowledge of the husband. (KII, Merlin, October 2013).

Family planning and reproductive health services are not luxury commodities, however, and they can be lifesaving. As my research indicates, a lack of reproductive rights can lead young mothers from both communities to experience a profound loss of dignity, and sometimes their lives. That is, as the following section explores, the dual situation of being highly vulnerable to rape or an unwanted pregnancy on the one hand and a lack of access to family planning and structural neglect on the other can lead to clandestine reproductive health care such as unsafe abortion (RAISE, 2007).

‘Better dead than pregnant?’⁴⁵ Abortion at the nexus

The girls from the Great Lakes have started accessing contraceptives from the clinic. Most of them are taking pills... but there’s scandal. It is a contentious issue but some of them are unaccompanied minors [children], but they can be vulnerable to rape.⁴⁶ It is a contentious issue (KII, Head of Head

⁴⁵ This is the title of chapter five in Andrea Smith’s (2005) *Conquest*.

⁴⁶ During the course of fieldwork, I found that the LGBTI community from Uganda is reportedly another group that is most vulnerable to violence inside the camp. The young men in particular are known by NGO workers to be beaten, stripped of clothing, and raped (IRC, KII, December 2013) by refugees of other nationalities and ethnicities. When asking to meet with populations most at risk, all focus group participants were women. To my knowledge and at the time of research in 2013-2014, no special programming existed for men who have sex with men (MSM), or male sex workers.

of National Council for the Churches of Kenya, Kakuma camp, November 2013).

As reviewed in chapter two, it is well known that clandestine or unsafe abortions endanger lives and runs a high risk of pregnancy related death (RAISE, 2007). Globally, to safeguard women against the need to have an unsafe abortion which puts her life at risk, in 2010, the United Nations declared safe abortion to be a major determinant of safe motherhood, and has officially integrated access to emergency obstetric care into the Minimum Initial Services Package for Reproductive Health in refugee camp settings: “preventing unsafe abortions, and decreasing morbidity and mortality caused by them can be one of the fastest and most effective ways for decreasing maternal mortality” (UNFPA, 2010; 2007”. Though safe abortion is supposed to be part of the Minimum Initial service package and available in humanitarian situations globally, this depends also on the national abortion policies. To this end, in my first interview with an LWF Protection Officer I asked about abortion in Kakuma and in Kenya more generally:

D: With these early pregnancies, is there thought of aborting or getting rid of the pregnancy?

I: Yes, some abort. Some do abort. I think in each culture they have ways of doing it. There are claims; allegations and they claim they miscarried.

Refugee women in Kakuma who attempt an abortion often claim to have miscarried because of the extremely punitive measures that are taken against women and girls who seek abortions – safely or not. In Kenya, due to abortions of any kind being illegal, even in the situation of rape and incest, attempting an unsafe abortion can put a woman/girl at risk of being imprisoned; thus abortions are practiced secretly. According to a Protection Officer from LWF:

There is a law- if you abort you are jailed here in Kenya for seven years. If you assist in abortion, you are jailed for 14. Since it [abortion] is illegal in Kenya, it [safe abortion] is not part of the reproductive health package [at the refugee hospital]; just post-abortion care. (KII, October, 2013).

The Head of the Therapeutic Feeding Center suggested that the prevalence of unsafe abortion practices within the camp is higher among women who have been raped and left with an unwanted pregnancy. “Most of them. Most of them try to do it. [Those] from the Great Lakes [region], and especially from the host [community], yes. Many [of them] try.” The IRC hospital offers counseling to rape survivors and specialized counseling for those who find they are pregnant with the perpetrator’s child at the Most at Risk Populations (MARPS) clinics. Specialized counseling has an end goal of the mother accepting the child, and taking care of herself during pregnancy. According to IRC staff, survivors of rape who are pregnant find themselves in a very difficult and hard to imagine situation:

We encourage them to accept it [the baby]. Although some of them tell us, or there are some that want us to do an abortion because they don’t want [the child]. Imagine you don’t know the father of your child, you’re just carrying a child you don’t know the father. But we try as much as possible to counsel them.

Despite the availability of counseling in Kakuma refugee camps, young refugees reportedly practice unsafe abortion by way of drinking cleaning fluid or taking outdated malaria pills (IRC, Gender Officer, December 2013). At the end of my second trip to Kakuma in December 2013, a young Turkana girl reportedly died from drinking *Jik*, a washing agent, in her attempt to perform an abortion in secret. IRC’s Protection Officer noted that this is not uncommon and that most from the host community who have unintended pregnancies attempt abortion also by taking large amounts of outdated TB medication.

Born of rape: the ‘lost children of Turkana’

My informants indicated that when young Turkana women have children with refugees from rape that these children are most times ‘accepted’ in the Turkana community but that practices of relocation of such children, due to shame and angst, are a frequent occurrence: “[W]hat happens in Turkana, especially after you realize that the child is a result of rape, it will not stay with the family, with the other children. It will be taken to a mother’s

distant relative, and she will take care of that child.” (IRC, KII, October 2013). In many respects, being taken to a relative to be cared for is an example of familial relocation. Though the dynamic has not been studied in relation to hosting refugees, this specific practice of familial relocation is not uncommon in resource-poor environments. As Jo Boyden and Neil Howard (2013) note for the contexts of Ethiopia and Benin, “in resource-poor environments such as in Benin and Ethiopia, poverty and crisis provide a strong economic imperative for child relocation within or outside the extended family” (p. 361). Moreover, for pastoralist young children and adolescents, intra and extra familial migration figure prominently in times of drought or lack of livelihood opportunities. Indeed, a child may be relocated with distant relatives in urban centers or other rural areas for work, protection or better opportunities for education.

According to my informants, the purpose of relocating Turkana children in this situation is to protect them from psychological and emotional harm. If not given to a family member who lives at a distance, many of these children are reportedly neglected, teased and stigmatized:

M: The child, if not aborted... that child will be in pain. The family will be like, ‘we don’t know your father’. Other children will be talking to that child, talking to that child nagging him, ‘who is your father’. (KII, IRC, November 2013).

In addition, when they are old enough to do so on their own, many of these children make a trek into the camps, not only for work, but to look for their fathers.

I: Yes. These children from refugees are accepted in the [Turkana] community... but the father is not there. You find that child when it reaches an age when it needs [his] father’s love, it will disturb the mother by asking ‘where is my father?’ Maybe he will be extra brown and different than the community. Maybe he will be told, “You are son or daughter of a refugee, your father was a refugee and then went back to Sudan or Ethiopia or... America”. He will [then] isolate himself running to the refugee [camp]... hoping. That’s why most of our children, Turkana children, are lost.

D: Lost?

I: As Turkana’s we are highly vulnerable. A child [will] come from Latai, or all the way from Lokichoggio, to [the] camp [looking for the father]. So, the

mother is just left there and they say the child is lost. Lost to us. But after 3-6 month the child is traced in the camp. But really [he is] lost for good, [looking for] the father who is not there.

The fathers of these children, however, are difficult to trace. According to KWN, “The refugee fathers migrate sometimes if they rape or defile. They cannot be found.” However, I was told that if a refugee father or mother identifies a child conceived with a Turkana women or man, as his or hers, that child can be registered as a refugee, which is a situation that will be further explored in the last section of this chapter.

Similar to the above examples given for the Turkana, the following section explores how young refugee mothers also use practices of relocation to navigate and overcome the domestic, material and political-economic challenges that shape their life worlds during early motherhood. It also expands the concept of relocation to include forced relocation, namely when young refugee mothers are kick-out of their homes or chased away by their families once they find out about the pregnancy. To this end, the following section illustrates how, at the nexus, pregnancy and early motherhood status can also lead to a a loss of dignity within the family, a loss of shelter, and increased sickness, social exclusion and food insecurity.

Unsafe Motherhood for Young Refugees: Homelessness and Debt

I met C, who is a refugee, at the IRC Hospital located in the Kakuma camps while she waited to be seen by a doctor. We moved from the gate to a bench toward the back. After some time chatting, she opened up that she had ‘practiced sex’ and that is why she is a mother at 17. “The food is not enough” she began. She continued:

C: I had baby here at hospital and mother come to bring food. But now, not. So, we have no shelter, and this baby is 1 month old, and not being fed. Can you see?

D: yes, she is... very tiny... What about your ration?

C: So, ration is taken from me for rent, and so we are refused eating. I’m supposed to produce this milk. But don’t.

D: Who is charging you rent, C?

C: Anyone. All of these people. I move every some five days, don't know where, not safe anywhere. Moving all the time.

D: Why not stay at one place?

C: People get tired of the baby, and I collect ration and give it to house I stay in, and maybe take to other houses where I owe since last time. They all ask [us] to leave. We move from seeing we are completely alone. No income. No baby clothes, no soap. No milk, even from me.

C does not sell her ration on the market or share her ration with her family. Rather, she barter it for shelter. Hers was unfortunately not an isolated case. Similar stories regarding the difficulties of motherhood, difficulties with breastfeeding, the burden of care, and homelessness or being without shelter began to emerge without prompting in focus groups with young refugee mothers. Most of the focus group participants said they share their ration with the refugee family that takes them in. However, in these instances, they said that when they leave one hosting house, they are not allowed to take what is left of their ration, and this leaves them short of payment at their next hosting family (FGD 1-3, Young mothers).

To my knowledge, themes of 'homelessness', 'debt' or using rations for rent amongst young mothers living within a refugee camp have received little attention in research or policy to date. Yet, a number of young refugee mothers claim to be homeless. The shelter and registration advisers at UNHCR told me in their interviews that they are unaware of such a phenomenon. "Everyone has a home, there is no such thing as a homeless registered refugee or one without some form of shelter" (Interview, UNHCR, March, 2014). Technically, the registration officer is correct that, on paper, no registered refugee is without a home or some form of shelter. Unaccompanied and separated young people tend to live with guardians through alternative care/foster programmes. Accompanied minors live with relatives or parents. Yet, C as well as many of the other participants were *accompanied* –officially, they lived with parents, step-parents or relatives. In contrast to much of the literature on vulnerable unaccompanied young people, a fluid continuum in vulnerability is evident at the Turkana-Kakuma camp nexus amongst young mothers: accompanied young people can *become*

informally unaccompanied, ‘separated’ or homeless *after they became mothers*. Below are excerpts from two participants from focus groups with young mothers illustrative of how, in the process of becoming pregnant or becoming a mother with a small baby, young accompanied women become as material and emotionally vulnerable as separated or unaccompanied young people:

I arrived in 2010 from Congo after one month after fighting started. I started sleeping at neighbors because parents refused [me] once [I became] pregnant. I left to go to another house to sleep. I tried [to return] to live with my family with my baby but [they refused]. When rain comes, we are now without a roof and no room to sleep in. I have nowhere to sleep with my baby (FGD 3, Young Mothers, October 2013).

I am Achute, Sudanese. After we came to Kakuma [in 2010], I lived with my uncle. I returned to Sudan alone in 2012 to pick [my] brother, found him and brought him back to Kakuma. I got a husband and immediately pregnancy. This man denied me and the baby. I’m without home. Now we are sleeping anywhere (FGD 1, Young Mothers, October 2013).

The relocation strategy of house-hopping adopted by young mothers is a coping mechanism used to self-protect oneself and one’s child against poverty or food insecurity in the space of the camp-host community nexus. In circular fashion, however, as my research demonstrates, house-hopping almost always serves to increase food insecurity, reduces assets (rations) and increases economic deprivation and social exclusion.

The fluidity of categories or identities of ‘accompanied and unaccompanied children’ and the phenomena of house hopping is rooted largely in young mothers’ experiences of being ‘chased’, which was reported by a lot of young mothers who participated in the focus group discussions. Similar to the theme of homelessness and rent debt, there is little to account for the phenomena of being chased or expelled from their home, except the knowledge and familiarity of NGO workers of the anecdotal evidence provided by the girls of ‘being chased’. As NCKK Head of Programmes stated: “Yes, some girls are chased from home – this is mostly the category that is under 18” (Interview, NCKK, December 2013). I followed up with LWF protection staff about this issue:

LWF: Yes, there are girls chased out. Chased out of the house because they [their families] see it [early motherhood/rape/pregnancy] as a shame. It is a shame to the family. 'It's a shame to me.' And sometimes because of cultures – these cultures are very strong about the dignity of a girl – you know like if you do these things [get pregnant, even from rape] it is indignity, you bring shame to the family, to the clan, and they could want to kill you.

D: Does that happen?

LWF: Sometimes they are really severely beaten and have to run away, as it's [being pregnant out of wedlock] a big shame.

Though these stories attest to assertions that “structural violence - the violence of poverty, hunger, social exclusion and humiliation - inevitably translates into intimate and domestic violence” (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004, p.1), domestic violence against accompanied minors by their families is relatively under researched and not addressed in policy. However, as the excerpts below from my first focus group with young refugee mothers illustrate, there are risks to accompanied minors. Both of the young mothers whose stories are shared below were in school, and they lived with members from their immediate families. What their stories illustrate is how being chased or expelled from one's home also means increased food insecurity and malnutrition, and possibly becoming more vulnerable to violence, even from those who are supposed to protect them, such as the police. One outcome is that they are not able to complete their education.

I came in June 2010. I went to Kakuma school, primary class 3. I worked with sex to get money. So, my family chased me after pregnancy. Grandfather chased me and police asked me to return home. Grandfather took me to police [again] to ask them to beat me. So, the police beat me. I was put in prison for 3 days, grandfather told them to just leave me. I am 16 and have again a swollen belly, and live in one room (FGD 1, Young Mothers, October 2013).

I am Amanazo, from Congo. I reached form 4. My father had 3 wives, and I came with his last wife in 2000. After school here is a search for jobs. I need to help my father with money because this wife is sick. In 2011 there, I came for school one day during rains, 2 men raped me close to hospital. At maybe five months I let my sister know. I had a lot of fear my family would beat me. Rape is shame. My father chased me and so I went to a brother's house. My baby is now 1 year and 11 months, a girl and she is not eating well. Health is not okay and not enough food. I am still scared in this camp. These men are free. I am 21 years and need help for my baby to survive (FGD 1, Young Mothers, October 2013).

Though being chased and homeless are among the impacts of forced relocation, there are also practices of relocation that are volitional. That is, some young refugee mothers choose to go to Nairobi, sometimes leaving their children behind. As LWF's protection officer explained, some young mothers 'disappear', like one young Congolese mother "who left her children and ran away, she disappeared. She ran away to Nairobi. Finally, she [came back and] got her children. They disappeared again in Nairobi."

At the same time, however, while refugee young mothers may be leaving the camp, Turkana children are 'becoming' part of refugee families for reasons that have little to do with livelihoods and for work. Rather, for some Turkana, the camp is their home. According to LWF's Head of Protection, refugee families host the Turkana with some Turkana children being informally adopted:

What happens in the refugee [camps] by 6pm, all persons are supposed to leave the refugee camp. But this is not the case for [Turkana] children and young people. They just blend in, they live with refugees; some even get adopted. They even speak the languages of refugees. Some speak Dinka, some speak Somali language because they have really become part of their families. (KII, November 2013).

Though my findings on the phenomena of Turkana children making the camp their home and 'informal family-hood' is limited, I did gather extensive research on a related phenomenon: the relocation of young Turkana women into the camp vis-à-vis intermarriages. The following section explores findings related to what I call transient intermarriages between the Turkana and refugees, as well as between refugees themselves. These marriages, I argue, emerge as a result of deprivation and food insecurity and largely representative of a 'survival' tactic. Extending the literature on survival sex, this finding conveys how marriage can also be an act for survival and increased food security or material safety, with, at times, devastating consequences on a woman's health, entitlements, assets and security.

Transient Intermarriages

Though generally there is very little written on intermarriages between refugees and hosts, there is some research about marriages or informal unions between the two groups in Kakuma, (Jansen, 2008; 2011; Oka, 2014). As mentioned in chapter four, a recent report published by the Brookings Institute (Sanghi, 2015) celebrated intermarriages between the Turkana and Kakuma refugees, especially with the South Sudanese. The World Bank also advocates for the Kenyan and global community to “capitalize on these rich and diverse economic and social interactions for the betterment of both the host and refugee communities” (Sanghi, Onder and Vemuru, 2016, p. 3). My field research findings reveal, however, that though there are undoubtedly positive unions between refugees and the Turkana, intermarriages between them can also be complicated, sometimes transient and thus offer no guarantee of access to the rights, resources and entitlements of a refugee, such as a food ration. It can also be a situation where the cultural entitlements of the Turkana are also denied, such as a marital dowry.

According to Caroline from LWF, the issue of intermarriage is both complex and common.

Many Turkana girls are living with refugees as wives. There is nothing we can do because you have [the] right to get married to whomever you want. These [marriages] are the main concerns we have. The challenge is for Turkana girls who are in the camps [who are] not above 18. We try to follow [them] and we want the perpetrator arrested. But if the refugee says she is his wife, and she's above 18, then we have no say, no way to handle it. The [Turkana] parents push to report the matter.

Marriage of those under 18 is considered defilement under Kenyan Law. Yet, early marriage is quite common amongst the deeply patriarchal traditional pastoralist Turkana families, with some being married from the age of 12 or 13, particularly in times of stress such as drought (Community Elder, Personal Communication, November, 2013). According to my informants and, recently stated by UN Women (2015), “during droughts [in Turkana], girls are sold into

marriage in exchange for food” (p. 165). Forced, early, child or ‘famine marriage’ denotes that the plight of many girls and women in Turkana communities is related to environmental change when combined with food shortages, cultural practices and social and gender norms. However, under stable conditions (i.e. non-drought), marriage for the Turkana is generally symbolic of responsibility and honor, of status and prestige. Drawing on interviews with a UNICEF Protection Officer, and with numerous families living on the reserves and close to Kakuma camp, I was told that marriage in Turkana is usually a long-held agreement between families, often without the girl’s consent, and ‘engagement’ can last for years (i.e. some girls may be engaged from the age of 8 or 9). As well, marriage will not occur until the man has enough wealth to pay dowry (usually in livestock). Although early marriages are problematic for multiple reasons, they do in some instances reportedly provide girls and young women a degree of protection (in this space where protection deficits are pervasive), security and status that they do not have while in their fathers’ homes (KII, UNICEF II, August 2013). Many of the Turkana families I spoke with in 2015 and 2016 reported protective elements of marriage echoing Myers and Bourdillon’s (2012) findings that “Early marriage can protect girls from sexual violence” (p. 444). Further, as Caroline, the Host Community Officer, elaborated:

C: The culture works well for early marriage. They don’t start just raping or defiling this new wife who is very young. The mother of the husband will keep you [well], and when becoming strong enough and wifely enough that he will know it’s time. [E]ven those 10 years old are married off [but] they will be just like a child to him. He’ll just feed [provide for] them until they are old enough. And then now at maybe 18 or 19, sometimes 20 [years old], it will be time to be a wife.

My findings confirm that the circumstances are different when a Turkana marries a refugee, especially when the union is based on a need or want for material security. That is, much like famine marriages practiced between Turkana partners, a marriage between a male refugee and a female Turkana is sometimes based on a need for food and provides a safety net for the Turkana woman and her child/children and any extended family. While on the

surface these intermarriages appear to benefit the host community, they are also temporary, and thus, so too are the safety nets provided. I describe the dynamics of temporary safety nets more fully below with reference to (i) transient marriage and households; and (ii) the normalization of gendered forms of exploitation within these unions.

First, the marriages are often informal and transient, as the Turkana wife is not considered a refugee and thus does not receive the entitlements of a refugee. Thus, if her refugee husband is offered a durable solution by way of resettlement or scholarship, the Turkana wife is left with no rights to claim any common or shared assets and can no longer receive a ration on his behalf. If a refugee-Turkana union involves children, the refugee father also has a right to take the child with him if resettled or repatriated. To demonstrate the complexity of these cases of intermarriage and the impact they have on Turkana women, Caroline told a story of a Turkana volunteer community worker who married an Ethiopian refugee, with whom she had a child. The husband reportedly left the camp as he had been given an opportunity to resettle, “but it was like he just disappeared. He said he had to leave because of security. He said if he stayed he’d die. So, he left her. And she was still in the camp. So, she was still staying there.” This community worker and her son remained in the camp, and realized shortly thereafter that she was unable to claim food: “she is not a refugee. So, now, [with him gone] she cannot survive.” She left the camp to return to her Turkana community without her son as she could not provide for him, and so he remained behind in the camp to be taken care of by the Ethiopian community with the money sent home by his father. “He [the father] supports [him, the child] with some money. But *he* wants the child and she doesn’t want that to happen.” In the case of the Turkana wife, she benefits from the union only while the refugee is in the camp.

Thus, for some young Turkana women, intermarriage to a refugee may ultimately be transient. At the same time, while the refugee husband is still in the camp, as Caroline

emphasizes below, a host community member has a better life while being married to a refugee: “She’s feeding with food from his food, from his ration. She’s having a life because of being his wife”:

D: Is this common?

C: There are many such cases. This year now we have [Turkana] girl living with a Dinka [South Sudanese refugee], she is about 18. Our hands are tied. She married him. [But] if he leaves for this resettlement or even returns to South Sudan, what will happen to her? This is a bad case. In her interest she doesn’t want him to go. She’s feeding with food from his food, from his ration. She’s having a life because of being his wife.

According to Caroline, this young couple has a child together and he has been given a scholarship to study in Canada. At the time of interview, his departure was imminent. I asked Caroline what could be done in this situation, if anything. She said:

In all this confusion we tell her the facts: that he is a refugee, and she will be the refugee if she follows. He can also say he doesn’t want her when there. We try to use these examples and say: ‘You are being kept by refugees and you get food. But he can leave you. Don’t be desperate and think about your own future. You are not a refugee.’ So those are the examples of realities of the girls are facing. The girls are forced into such circumstances because of food.

The second reason the safety nets are transient is that there is a continuation within these unions of the normalization of exploitation against host community women within the gendered social, economic and sexual relations between hosts and refugees, by refugees. As previously emphasized, the dowry is extremely important for the Turkana. Oka (2014) suggested in a recent article that the *Turkana pay dowry* when a male Turkana marries a South Sudanese woman. Yet, and importantly, he does not know of a case where a male refugee paid dowry to marry a female Turkana. In my own research, I was told that, upon entering either informal marriages or even legal marriages to a refugee, the Turkana family do not always benefit by way of dowry. On this issue, Caroline said, “if a refugee takes a Turkana girl, of course they should also pay – and sometimes pay more. The Turkana will sometimes say, “[if] you are going to marry our child, you have to pay”. Yet, it is unclear and

unknown whether refugees pay dowry for marrying a Turkana, which is a critical investment for the family, a critical safety net for family well-being especially during drought, and a fundamental way a family procures more livestock, which is the cornerstone of their livelihoods and lifestyle. To this end, Caroline does imply that it may lead to resentment and conflict, contributing to the violence between the groups. This finding is also strikingly discriminatory and requires further consideration and more in-depth fieldwork insofar as it raises the question of rights to entitlements—whose entitlements matter and are respected? What these findings can summarily conclude is that, though intermarriages may represent coping mechanisms and active practices to mitigate marginalization and resource deficits used by the Turkana for safety, they result in only temporary safety nets. In the long term, especially without dowry and particularly since the husband who is a refugee may leave, for the Turkana, these strategies may lead to similar increased resource deficits as experienced by the young refugee mothers who house-hop. In other words, increased discrimination, lowered social capital, a lack of access to supportive resources, and increased destitution are more likely to result for the Turkana than the refugees in intermarriage.

Interestingly, refugee single mothers also engage in marriages that result in transient safety nets. The differences are that they are considered to be ‘survival’ marriages, and the opposite dynamics emerge. That is, in these cases, it is the husband who benefits from the labour and payments of the woman refugee – he is having a life because of her, so to speak, as opposed to the wife benefiting from the union by way of food or security. In these unions, and similar to the Turkana, refugee sex workers or refugee women who engage in these unions over time lose their money and their ‘entitlements’. That is, even if they are paid for sex work, domestic work or trade, these husbands take what little the women receive. The head of NCKK reported the following in our interview:

NCKK: Though there are ‘marriages’ there is very little arrangement made in terms of affection or romantic attachment. In some instances, men are

benefiting from women's survival sex more than the worker. Some of husbands are not actually husbands as we can give the title. But the husband calls her his wife because they are getting some benefit from her.

D: You mean, like sex?

NCKK: Yes, but also other things... when she goes out [to sell sex] this 'husband', who has nothing, will take her 50 shillings [earned from sex-work] and go pick the local brew. So outside sex, it is supporting these husbands. Some of what we call these husbands – these women go out and bring back money, they [the 'husbands'] take this money. And this is not the only woman they have in their life.

An older sex worker confirmed knowing that the men have other women in their lives or are married to another woman and that the promises given are false and lacking real support:

I say okay. So, a man gave 50 shillings, but I got 200 shillings with another man without condom, so who will I go for now? Definitely, the 200 shillings. By the time I realize what I've done, I have conceived. But another man will come in and say, okay you have 2 children? I want to support you, and want to marry you. They not marry me because they're already married. So, the kind of support is nothing. (one-to-one interview, older sex worker, December 2013).

For some refugee and Turkana women, intermarriages are a way to individually cope with and navigate inequities and resource deficits. Yet, in the end, these unions end up depleting entitlements. For the Turkana, though it enables a temporary off-setting of deprivation, intermarriages with refugees in which either no dowry was paid or a durable solution is reached and the husband departs the camp, can become another form of exploitation and deprivation. For the refugee women, these unions largely benefit the husband and as such, survival sex becomes an unbeneficial livelihood and a reversal of what survival sex is supposed to achieve, which is to provide income to mitigate resource and protection deficits for girls and women who do it.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a glimpse into how young refugees and Turkana women living at the nexus access, engage with and experience intimate relations and reproductive rights. Against the backdrop of the critical literature reviewed in chapters one and two, this

chapter first contributed an empirical example of how the right to reproductive health and safe motherhood is severely constrained in a context in which other basic rights, such access to food, health care, and shelter, are limited or absent (Petchesky and Laurie, 2009; 2010; RAISE, 2007). Structural violence is unfolding at the nexus in ways that negatively impact on the everyday and reproductive lives and choices of young people who have an unwanted pregnancy, as well as on mothers from both communities. The lack of reproductive rights have detrimental outcomes on whether or not they have control over their bodies, their well-being and their humanity, and that of their children—born or unborn. This chapter also considered the rights, well-being and acceptance/social inclusion of Turkana children born of rape, as well as those born within marital unions between Turkana women and male refugees. Though *the outcomes* for these children are largely unknown and questions abound, and though this phenomenon remains unaccounted for in policy, agency staff—both UN and NGO—know that it is occurring. But because it is going unacknowledged, it reflects another layer of exception and exclusion along the somewhat imaginary refugee-host divide.

In this regard, this chapter expanded the lens of safe motherhood from a focus on reproductive health services to also account for the everyday lives and daily considerations and choices a young mother makes once the baby is born into her world—a world that is largely deprived of rights, protection and adequate resources. Some particular findings are in keeping with the literature that suggests that the stigma of young motherhood in certain contexts or under certain social or cultural conditions may preclude finishing education, and maintaining ‘honour’ within the family and thereby limit many opportunities for social inclusion. Building on literature focused on refugee contexts specifically, unsafe motherhood was shown to be linked to the “economic deprivation of exclusion” (Petchesky and Laurie, 2009, p. 10), and especially so once the child is born. In Kakuma, once some young refugee mothers are banished or chased from their homes by their parents or guardians, they are

forced into house-hopping and have to barter their food ration as payment for rent or to secure shelter. In the end, they become further excluded and impoverished; a social bare life.

Young motherhood in Kakuma was thereby shown to be one such situation whereby the identities of young refugee mothers can transition from being accompanied to being homeless once they have a baby, and are thereon subject to further gender-based forms of violence, exploitation and food insecurity. As it relates to policy and programming, the categories of ‘vulnerability’ such as unaccompanied and accompanied refugees can evidently be much more fluid in some contextual situations, the impacts of which are grave (as above) yet go unaccounted for.

Overall, by offering a window into the struggles and choices made at the nexus within the intimate and domestic spheres, this chapter has shown that, as a result of the political and policy deficits, structural violence and a lack of attention to young people, especially young mothers from both communities, lives are being put at risk and families are being pulled apart.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Kakuma's Shadows: Rethinking Refugee-Host Relations

This dissertation moves us beyond the “ethnographically visible” (Farmer, 2004) to examine what I argue are Kakuma’s shadows. The overarching objective has been to render visible the structural and policy deficits comprising the everyday exploitation and violence impacting on the relationships, well-being and dignity of young people living in and around Kakuma refugee camps. This effort is framed by the idea of a nexus, which I have argued is a social world or an ontological space that has emerged as a result of the normalization of violence and the naturalization of scarcity in this context. To build this argument, the idea of exclusion/inclusion is an important concept insofar as aspects of the ‘nexus’ (in this dissertation) rest outside the ethnographically visible ‘everyday’ of the camps as another layer of exception. Some young people from both the refugee and host communities are included by way of exclusion: included in the population numbers, but excluded from attention and normative interventions that could address their needs and vulnerabilities they experience as a result of conditions of profound poverty and food insecurity. Because their vulnerabilities rest outside of the purview of policy, with no program or institution explicitly or specifically accountable for the lack of protection in their lives and well-being, some young people from both communities are left to live and survive largely without dignity and rights.

The nexus is thereby shown to be a context wherein identities are fluid and lives are fundamentally unstable, and wherein multiple common, shared and functional co-dependencies in the form of intimate and marital relations between refugees and hosts further shape and perpetuate the configurations of marginalization and discrimination of the Turkana generally, and young refugee women mothers specifically. As a result of living within this additional layer of the exception, and of consequence to human rights and dignity, multiple

scales of power and practices of dehumanization are operating among and between the refugees and hosts, as well as within the strategies employed by young people from both communities to overcome and mitigate the protection, rights and resource deficits endemic in their everyday lives. These strategies shape their life worlds in both different and similar ways.

In summary, this dissertation questions simplified explanations provided by humanitarian agencies of gender-based violence and exploitation in refugee and/or resource-poor settings, which often focus on the symptoms of risk. By taking an underlying causes approach (Pells, 2012) and focusing on the lived experiences of young people, the context and empirical chapters sequentially demonstrate how the everyday lives of young people from both communities are imbued with health inequities, discrimination, marginalization, systemic disadvantage and structural violence. The empirical chapters further emphasize the complex and under-researched social, political and economic interactions that *entwine* the lives of young refugees and hosts in Kakuma against a backdrop of severe material constraints and de-humanizing conditions to impact on health, dignity and safety. Overall, this dissertation demonstrates that, in contexts of shared and extreme deprivation, the distinction between a refugee camp and a host community may not be so easily demarcated, and the violent relations between them may not be so easily explained.

The argument and themes threaded throughout this dissertation, and the research questions on which they are based, contribute to scholarly knowledge across several disciplines and in a number of ways, extending from refugee and humanitarian studies to health equity, and has implications for policy and future research. In this concluding chapter, I first reflect on key findings and their research implications and contributions. The second section engages with the policy implications of the empirical evidence this dissertation presents. The third section offers some suggestions on the possible areas of future research

that the key findings and implications have opened up. I end with a short conclusion.

Reflections on Key Findings and their Research Implications

Refugee-host relations

By presenting a composite picture of how the lives of refugees and hosts interweave socially, intimately, economically, and materially, this dissertation makes a significant contribution to scholarship on refugee-host relations. In particular, the empirical chapters present evidence that largely validates arguments made by numerous scholars regarding the challenges faced by refugees living in protracted refugee situations, namely the limitations it poses to human dignity and potential (Holzera and Warren, 2015; Loesher and Milner, 2009; Hyndman and Giles, 2011; 2017). As well, I demonstrate how this can also hold true for the host community in some contexts. Key findings on food insecurity explored in this dissertation also validate those of other scholars who study Kakuma, insofar as scarce resources are regarded to be major determining factors in refugee-host relations; food insecurity experienced by both hosts and refugees at the Kakuma-Turkana nexus have been shown to negatively impact on the social, cultural and economic relations and contributing to the violence between the refugees and the Turkana. Yet, in this particular refugee/host context, access to rights and dignity is limited and both hosts and refugees experience similar deteriorating circumstances. Their impoverishment is made worse by drought and seasonal changes, which further contributes to poor reproductive/maternal health, delimits productive livelihoods and harms the well-being of both refugees, hosts and their children, adding to sexual violence and social conflict between them. To this end, by examining the impact that protracted refugee crises have for host communities, and the multifaceted coping strategies used by young hosts to negotiate and off-set the ill-effects and rights violations of climate change and structural disadvantage, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of

‘poorer hosts’ who also contend with cyclical drought and, thus, cyclical hunger and food insecurity.

Some of the key findings that emerged during fieldwork and analyzed in this dissertation through the window of a nexus also allows for an opportunity to re-think refugee-host relations as well as international and state responsibilities to protect. Especially relevant to humanitarian and refugee policy with a view to protection is my conclusion that the policies that perpetuate the structural and political exclusions characteristic of a protracted refugee camp located in a resource-poor environment intersect with age, gender and ethnicity to produce insecurity not just for refugees but also for local host young people. Materially and physically, the lives of both groups can be fundamentally insecure. The empirical chapters illustrate that multiple and multifaceted factors are contributing to the reproduction of present-day insecurity, dehumanization and impunity with which refugees, the humanitarian community and the national government continue, perhaps unwittingly, to enact symbolic and structural violence upon the host community. Echoing Smith (2005), the residues of colonial violence are shown to permeate—and constitute—the shadows, especially the practices of identity violence and inclusion-exclusion in the lives of young host people. Building on the work of critical humanitarian scholars, this dissertation thus contributes evidence towards our understanding of the current fissures within the global, humanitarian and national/local political economy, such as inequitable distribution of resources, denial of access to basic rights and enforced containment of refugees without access to durable solutions that are key factors in the emergence and reproduction of intra-personal and intimate forms of exploitative and sometimes violent relations among and between young hosts and refugees inside Kakuma camp.

A key example of this is the evidence of how the policies of encampment in Kenya and lack of durable solutions for refugees are impacting on young boys from the host

community in deleterious and sexually exploitative ways. This finding is disquieting, especially because there is a lack of documentation even though it is well known by many protection actors in the camps. Such a discovery sits in contrast to much literature and agency reports that claim that gender is not just not only about women and girls but can also be about boys. In refugee contexts the world over, it is becoming increasingly recognized that an exclusive emphasis on the protection of women and girls in policy disregards the boys and men who may be survivors of or vulnerable to exploitative relations and sexual abuse. This dissertation adds yet another consideration by showing that, in the case of Kakuma, structural and everyday violence and policy and protection deficits are having serious impacts on the young *host community boys* who live with refugees and/or work inside camps for their livelihoods.

Indeed, it has been long recognized that the humanitarian community needs to consider the local hosts in a much more deliberate way than it has done to date. Further, protracted refugee situations were never supposed to exist; refugee camps were supposed to be temporary. Among the most important debates in refugee studies scholarship over the past decade or more is whether the integration of refugees into their host community can be considered a feasible durable solution. In the past, despite fairness and efficiency claims, resettlement in the first countries of exile has been discouraged. Resettlement into local communities adjacent to the camps has also sometimes proven dangerous when, for example ethnic conflict spills into the host country, as it has done in northeastern Kenya near the Dadaab refugee camps. On the one hand, this dissertation presents empirical evidence that validates this view. It also presents evidence that calls for a need to consider rights and dignity of young host people, especially those who engage in marriages and intimate relationships and have children with refugees. Specifically, by portraying a more complex picture of the role of structural neglect and everyday violence of severe hunger and co-

dependency in refugee-host relations, the evidence herein demonstrates that neither research nor policy should bracket off the undignified and unsafe experiences of poorer hosts who cross the porous Kakuma camp borders every day for their survival.

Refugee economies

By describing the social and cultural life worlds operating in the host community in which Kakuma's refugees have been displaced and contained, as well as the camp environment wherein the refugee communities are located, my findings illustrate that the dynamics unfolding at the nexus go beyond economic relations of barter and trade, competition over resources, or feelings of resentment (by host communities). The simplified and upbeat picture of 'celebrated refugee economies' as discussed in the introductory chapter is also much more complex on the ground. First, for some young unaccompanied and accompanied refugee mothers inside the camp, the relationship of the market to the 'enhancement' of their refugee life is not so straightforward. Though one might assume that young mothers would most likely trade their ration for milk or for baby clothes, this dissertation reveals that the trade of food for some young refugee mothers goes toward an in-kind rent payment, for instance, and thus, largely to stave off the threat of homelessness.

Second, 'refugee economies' in Kakuma are shown to infringe on the social, material, sexual relationships within and between the two communities and contribute to health disparities, such as increased malnutrition amongst the Turkana, and unintended pregnancies, creating fissures within the social and moral fabric of Turkana culture. The correlations between wage-less work, alcoholism and increased malnutrition described in this dissertation are further examples of the aforementioned. The evidence herein provides a strong argument for bringing a gendered and age/social age analysis, into all research on refugee economies.

Political economy of vulnerability and health equity

The everyday violence of hunger, disadvantage and systemic poverty have forced

highly complex sexual, non-sexual and gendered forms of exploitation that, in turn, shape insecurity for both refugee and local host young people, particularly young mothers from both communities. In other words, the geopolitical and policy environments in which these young people live are complicit in the production of the physical, intimate, emotional, social, and structural vulnerabilities they face. By tracing the linkages between gender-based violence, everyday lives and the resource, protection and rights deficits at the nexus, this dissertation documents new understandings of the impacts of systemic health inequities on the political economy of vulnerability to child exploitation and violence.

Broadly, health disparities were found to be driven by, intersect with, and compound the everyday violence of poverty and hunger, as well as the food insecurity experienced in the everyday lives of young people from the poorer host community who engage with camp life for livelihoods, health care or social/sexual relationships. To this end, as the chapters have illustrated, in Kakuma, health is a determinant of the social; that is, social inclusion and gender-based violence are not only determinants of health, but health disparities—malnutrition and especially the lack of access to reproductive health services and resources—are drivers of risk and vulnerability to sexual and economic exploitation, dehumanizing stigmatization and social exclusion.

The empirical evidence presented in chapters five through seven also contributes scholarly attention to how violence is a public health issue and adds to it with empirical evidence of the importance of safe access to health and dignity within that correlation. It is, simply, not only issues of access and availability that need to be addressed. Rather, *safe* access to health services, in particular, is shown to be especially important for reproductive health services in that (un)safe access is a determinant of risk and vulnerability to gender-based violence, sexual exploitation and social exclusion. To recall from chapter seven, and the evidence of what happens to young mothers –and their children—when they do not have

safe access to reproductive health services, or access to food rations or baby clothes: a pattern of neglect emerges as they begin to rely on coping mechanisms that are normalized within the shadows, leaving them even more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and abuse; or, death by way of unsafe abortion.

Finally, the employment of a normative public health paradigm, as defined in chapter one, to understand well-being (particularly in drought-stricken border areas) limits insights into how public health and health status are inseparable from the overarching structural violence and protection deficits in one's everyday life. As this dissertation has made evident, a focus on health without consideration of equity, safety and dignity further obscures the operations or relations of power that delimit access in the first place. Thus, to echo Farmer (2004) and Pells (2012), by not addressing the fundamental problems or underlying causes of poverty - social and political exclusions at individual, community, societal levels - exploitation and marginalization and violence will continue unabated, and with intergenerational effects and so too will the social inequalities and health inequities continue to infringe on the rights and safety of young people.

Reflections on Policy pitfalls

With a view to young refugees, the many multifaceted and complex forms of daily exploitation and the use of the body to mitigate resource, rights and protection deficits, as evidenced in this dissertation, are of consequence to humanitarian actors and policy makers. First, reductionist categories of vulnerability and conventions of standardized and blanketed protection programming and policies cannot address the rights and the complex needs of young people. Rather, these types of policies are shown to contribute to the proliferation of needs, the poverty and the entrenchment of structural violence in protracted refugee situations.

Second, international advocacy and policies that attempt to address gender-based

violence in resource poor settings, whether rural or urban, or complex emergencies or protracted refugee situations, will fail without an emphasis on more than basic needs. Human rights, but also the right to water, equitable wages, sustainable livelihoods, health services, food security, education and the right to dignity for both refugees and host community young people are key to addressing against gender-based violence. This research documents how food insecurity and the lack of safe and dignified access to basic rights, shelter and water are stepping-stones to other forms of exploitive relations (e.g. young mothers who must use their ration to pay rent; the role of food security in the marriages between refugees and the local poorer hosts). Of import to policy and research, as the empirical chapters have shown, are the ways in which the various strategies employed by both young refugees and the Turkana host community to cope with these three deficits, namely through child labour, sex work, intermarriages and informal familial relocation, can actually result in increased levels of food insecurity, malnutrition, limited access to rights to reproductive health and barriers to education. This means an increased dependency on and need for aid to survive and make ends meet at a time in which the funding for protracted refugee situations is dwindling.

Against this evidence, however, I would be remiss to not also acknowledge an oft quoted concern amongst academics and humanitarian agencies: even if policies reflect these situations or seek to address the needs and rights of the most vulnerable young people (i.e. those living in the shadows), actualizing or operationalizing policy into practice is difficult to achieve. A notable barrier to effective practice is rooted in the current and increasing entrenchment of policy within a globalized and neoliberal network of assemblages, which produce severe gaps and whereby, despite need, *global* funding for gender-based violence in protracted camps is at a mere 1% (UNOCHA, 2019). As Katherine Mitchell (2006) points out: when operating from a neo-liberal paradigm, there is “structural violence which cannot be overcome by new implementations and practices, however well-meaning” (p. 97).

Drawing from its overall conclusions, this dissertation contributes to this debate by confirming the need for a holistic, deliberate and context specific approach to understanding and addressing the needs and everyday well-being of young people.

Out of the Shadows: Thoughts on future research

As I explain in the early part of the dissertation, my objective in 2013, when I set out to begin fieldwork, was to examine how refugee women perceive and access ‘safe motherhood’ and reproductive health services in a context wherein limited availability of sexual health resources and gender-based violence are both well documented to be pervasive. Over the course of fieldwork, and as I collected additional data, I shifted my inquiry into an examination of gender-based violence, motherhood and reproductive health in both refugee and host populations. The task became to understand and unpack what I was told, observed and heard from participants who were refugees, Turkana and humanitarian workers. It was there, in the field, that I began to explore how the lives, livelihoods and vulnerabilities of young people from both the host and refugee communities interweave inside Kakuma’s refugee camps.

This altered approach brought to the fore an understudied phenomena in refugee-host relations: young lives and the linkages between health equity and gender-based violence in refugee and resource poor environments; this lays the groundwork for other important future research. In particular, there are gaps in our knowledge about the intersections between the geopolitics of famine, health inequities and human security in spaces that host refugee camps, as well as the particular impacts of these intersections on child protection, gender based violence, and access to rights for both groups.

A longitudinal multi-sited study that goes beyond ‘refugee-host relations’ to examine research into the everyday lives, rights and citizenship of refugee-host children would mark a novel, and significant, contribution to understanding the intergenerational impacts of

protracted refugee situations on refugee-host relations, and on children, in particular. I was both surprised and distressed by findings related to the ‘lost children’ of Turkana—neither truly accepted inside Turkana culture or the refugee communities, and yet not totally outcasts either—and the degree to which refugee-host social and sexual relations include a legion of Turkana children who spend many years ‘lost’ in the camp looking for their fathers. Because it was beyond the scope of this dissertation, I am left with questions I think are worth pursuing: Do children born of refugee fathers and host community mothers have rights under international refugee law? What if the father does not recognize the child as his? In situ, can the child register as a refugee and access a food ration? What are the power and gender-relations in the access to rights in the case of refugee-host children? As this study has demonstrated, this is of particular importance now with the increase in ‘settlements’ and the moving away from the ‘camp’, which means, more and more frequently, hosts and refugees find themselves sharing resources and sharing their lives.

Relatedly, research into ‘home’ and ‘homelessness’ is important and could build on the work of Grabska (2011) and Grayson-Courtemanche (2015; 2017), who have provided rich ethnographies of how young refugees living in Kakuma imagine ‘home’. Albeit in a different way, this study has gathered evidence pertaining to a phenomenon of young host people (primarily boys) feeling the camp is their home. At the same time, there are also refugees inside the camp claiming to be homeless. Neither situation is accounted for in scholarship or in policy. Finally, this dissertation lays the groundwork for a study to build on the evidence that health equity is also an important consideration for studies focused on everyday gender-based violence in protracted refugee situations, particularly those situated in a resource poor environment. For instance, in the protracted refugee situation of the Kakuma camps, deficits were found to *intersect* with health inequities in the everyday lives of young hosts in such a way that they contributed to experiences of sexual or gender-based violence.

Conclusion

Globally, despite the moral outrage at the plight of girls and young people in refugee settings over the last two decades, very little has changed. It still stands that the inadequacies in services, programs and policies are worsening at a time when the need to address the social and structural determinants of gender-based violence has never been so crucial. This dissertation has presented evidence to show how, in cyclical fashion, Kakuma's deficits as well as the structural violence, social inequalities and power relations undergirding these deficits, will continue to grow if not abated by adequate attention to young people and their lived experiences and material struggles for shelter, food, medicine, income and need for protection.

In conclusion, without much-needed attention to the structural adjustments required at the policy, donor and operational levels, the exploitation, abuse, discrimination and dehumanization will continue to persist and proliferate, and so too will the shadows in which young host and young refugee people are forced to exist, with grave impacts on their human rights, and on their lives. This situation may continue to exist in the plain view of some researchers and humanitarian workers. However, the dissertation has hopefully helped to cast aside the shadows, to render more visible the systemic injustices operating in the lives of young people living in and around one of the largest and oldest protracted refugee situations in the world, and to shape the foundation of a discussion about who is to be accountable.

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APPENDIX A: Community Mapping of Turkana

TABLE 1: Urban and Permanent settlements							
Town	Population	Facilities/ Infrastructure	Public Health/ WASH/ Water/ Food Security	Livestock/ Livelihoods	Security	Drought Cycle Management/ Conflict during drought	Requests/ Labour/ Main Concerns
Kakuma	Town: 70,000	<u>Camps:</u> IRC Hospital	<u>Town and Camps</u> *High rates of prostitution and HIV (town and camp)	<u>Refugees</u> <u>Livelihoods:</u> Selling portions of their rations; taxi services (mainly Ethiopian and Somali families have bicycles, motorbikes or cars); markets; restaurants (2 in camps)	*Meeting held with head of UNDSS; information in security assessment	N/A	<u>Labour</u> Locals in Kakuma who have gone to school are well educated and willing to work.
	Camps: 125,000 (Sudan/ South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrean, Uganda, Congo, Rwanda)	6 Health Clinics/posts	*High rates of addiction/ substance abuse (town and camp)	Gender: Prostitution; domestic work	<u>Camps</u> The camps are not gated; very easy to come and go. Local community can walk into camps and refugees can simply walk out to go into town.		*large community of pastoralist drop outs whom will benefit from project
		Community Health Workers (incentive refugee workers)	High rates of crime due to unemployment (town and camp)	<u>Locals:</u> Selling goods to refugees; working for refugees (domestic work – especially for Somali women)	Currently: Influx of South Sudanese to Kakuma camps may be cause for increase conflict over scarcity of resources		
		Water security*	High rates of violence against women (town and camp)				
		Range of NGOs					
		UNHCR UNDSS WFP UNICEF					
		Primary Schools	<u>Health</u> Infectious diseases				
		Secondary Schools	Malnutrition Addictions				
		Vocational Schools	Food Security: Refugees provided rations every 15 days				
		Markets (meat/ non-food items)					
		<u>Town:</u> Police station					
		Markets					
		Garage/petrol stations					
		Western Union/Money Transfer services (No Bank)					
	Hospital (Mission)						
	Primary Schools						
	Secondary Schools						
	Vocational Schools						
	University Campus (University of Nairobi)						
Lokichoggio	45,000	<u>Facilities</u>	<u>Public Health</u> Malaria; typhoid	<u>Human resources</u> 5-10 mechanics	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u>	N/A	<u>Labour/Empl oy</u>
		1 Petrol Station					

		1 Garage University Campus Vocational schools Primary Schools Secondary Schools Slaughter house - not functioning Sub district hospital - MoH hospital (was used by red cross during Lifeline Sudan); now has nurses, midwives, clinical nurse and pharmacist Operating theatre closed; lab is closed Community Health Workers 5 - 3 in community; 2 at airport Police Station <u>NGO Activity</u> MSF WTK IRC AMREF LOKADO LOPEO	*all infectious diseases are taken care of through Hospital services High rates of prostitution and HIV; early pregnancies High rates of crime due to unemployment High rates of malnutrition amongst some families	4 electricians many plumbers many carpenters Women: tailoring; basket weaving	Very little since peace agreement	Skilled workers with primary ed: +200 Unskilled: 3-400 Most skilled workers (and unskilled) are currently in S. Sudan doing manual labour. Informant states that he is certain they would return to Loki for any employment that would use their skills. Skills: administrative, manual – both men and women available for work <u>Main Concerns</u> Prostitution <u>Social Projects</u> Scholarships for girls/women to attend university Sensitization of community/pastoralism as some cultural norms seen as barriers to progress in girls' education	
Nasinon yo 7581	200+	<u>Physical</u> *Community Centre *Dispensary (AMREF) <u>Natural</u> *Logger (8-10km) <u>NGO Activity</u> AMREF – mobile clinic	<u>Health Concerns</u> * Diarrheal diseases *Lacking transport for medical emergencies; network is bad but could call ambulance for nearest health facility: lokangai (25 km away) * AMREF supplies mobile doctor at clinic, facility fully operational. Community	<u>Livestock</u> Cows; goats, camel, donkey Animal diseases No medication for animals <u>Wildlife predators:</u> Lions/hyenas; cheetah; lions attack cows frequently <u>Livelihood</u> They sell meat to Kakuma; loki	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> *Toposa have recently raided the settlement * The Toposa normally live in the mountains and hide in bush (there is no settlements) ; most recently came in	<u>Mobility</u> *During drought community moves north 100-200 km *Community moves toward the hills/ mountainous regions with pasture <u>Conflict</u> *During drought and this movement the population is at particular	<u>Main Concern</u> Water No medication in dispensary <u>Social Projects</u> Drill a borehole for water <u>Employment</u> Will sell to crew for cash <u>Labour</u>

			<p>stated they haven't seen a doctor in over a month and not ever certain when he is arriving</p> <p><u>Water</u> Little access to water *Closest logger 8-10km away</p> <p>*There is a plan for water in progress by government</p> <p><u>Food security</u> <u>Community</u> *Food insecurity high</p> <p><u>Livestock</u> *Grass is a problem (animals go as far as 60 km to get feed)</p>	<p>droves of 100 (approx. 1 month ago) * They are well armed and have bullets * Recent report (that day): Toposa re coming, report of impending threat to that community</p>	<p>risk for encounters with Toposa as well as neighbours in S.S.</p>	<p>Availability for work: will travel up to 10km away; both men and women available for work</p>	
Lokanga e	<p>17,225 (for the whole of the surrounding areas as well)</p>	<p><u>Physical</u> Health centre (4 nurses; well equipped facility but no operation theatre; no doctor) *UNHCR provides medicine (according to key informant)</p> <p>Primary school (two): 7 teachers in the area; no school fees for primary school though uniform (which costs money) is mandatory</p>	<p><u>Health Concerns</u> Illnesses: rate of respiratory illness in the community high</p> <p>Malaria during/after rainy season very high</p> <p>Ambulatory services – network is bad; can communicate during early morning and evening</p>	<p>Livestock Goats, cattle, donkey</p> <p>Livelihood Sell meat occasionally</p>	<p><u>Ethnic Conflict</u> Toposa are reported to be close by (three days ago community had reported livestock stolen near Nasinonyo)</p>	<p>TBD</p>	<p><u>Main Concern(s)</u> Water – “not enough water to survive”</p> <p>Lacking infrastructure (the lack of roads is exasperated by the prosperis, which started growing in 2004.</p> <p><u>Employement/Labour</u> Community leader stated 500 people would be available for work, and will work for cash.</p> <p><u>Requests</u> Do not touch any indigenous trees during exploration.</p> <p><u>Gender:</u> Lacking ‘women’s spaces’, need space to tailoring, making</p>

							clothes to sell at market
							<u>Community development projects</u> (potential) Bring trees as charcoal
							Education
							Fodder for animals
							Infrastructure for vocational training needed in community
LOMID AT (7391)	10,000 (including Songot (five communities comprising Songot: Napei Kao, Naposta, Lowiclat, Najemeto, Tesemkus) * Pastoralists ; some are permanent	<u>Education</u> Primary School: more than 500 pupils Songot Secondary School <u>Health</u> Dispensary – at Songot (meds for TB, Malaria and HIV) <u>Slaughterhouse</u> Functional but not staffed; under used (AMREF is doner); waiting for funding Only one in Turkana county Electricity in the area not reliable; use of generator Church	<u>NGO Activity</u> Mobile Clinic (IRC/AMREF) 5 Community Health Workers (One for each area of Songot) <u>CHWs role:</u> Referrals to Kakuma (Mission Hospital) Case management of TB, pneumonia, infectious diseases and typhoid Provide immunizations (monthly) under five: BCG, Polio, Measles, PCV *there is no yellow fever and no cholera in the area Cold stores works well; IRC provides vaccines <u>Distribution:</u> Vitamin A Supplementary feeding (plumpy nut; porridge) Family planning <u>Health Education</u> Breast feeding Family Planning	<u>Livestock</u> Cattle, goats, camel, sheep <u>Livelihoods:</u> Selling meat to market to 748, Afex, and Nairobi Refrigerator truck that transports meat in good condition	Secure	N/A	<u>Health Concerns:</u> Dispensary is under stocked and under staffed. There is only one staff person at dispensary. It is not well secured. Infrastructure and transportation ; there is no staff housing in area. Medications: need more antibiotics (Broad spectrum) Anti-parasitic medication <u>Employment/Labour:</u> Available to work for cash; sell to crew

Peripheral/marginal settlements with some permanent facilities							
Town	Pop #	Facilities/ Infrastructure	Public Health/ WASH/ Water/ Food Security	Livestock/ Livelihoods	Security	Drought Cycle Management / Conflict during drought	Requests/ Labour/ Main Concerns
Nanam 30 km East of Loki	TBD	<u>Physical</u> Primary School Dispensary; 1 nurse	<u>Community Health</u> Infectious disease – pneumonia, TB, HIV Diarrheal diseases <u>Food security:</u> High rate of malnutrition under 5; Cannot grow food <u>NGO Activity</u> *Oxfam was running food distribution/ supplement program but stopped Nutritional feeding; supplementary feeding (plumpy nut) (IRC) <u>Water:</u> Shallow wells “It’s not enough” - water is untreated - animals use water at night; community uses during day <u>Sanitation</u> No toilets/latrines	<u>Livestock:</u> goats, cows, donkeys, few camels Sickness in animals: vets come once/yr (government workers) No meds for animals on hand <u>Wildlife:</u> ostrich, elephants; hyenas, jackels,	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> Mainly secure; no direct threats to community	TBD	<u>Labour:</u> They are prepared to work for project <u>Employment</u> t They will sell meat/livest ock to slaughterho use to camp staff <u>Requests</u> No cultural/sac red areas near, but community requests no indigenous trees be harmed
Kalobeie 30 km NW of Kakuma	21,000	Primary school: 1 - 700 students, 9 teachers Dispensary (run by Mission in Kakuma) Public transport for medical emergencies <u>Water</u> Borehole (2) they inherited the bore holes when settling into community	<u>NGO activity</u> WFP ran program Food for Assets *1/4 households benefited from the program; 1/8 of population <u>Health concerns:</u> Infectious diseases Malaria (cerebral malaria too) Diarrheal diseases TB HIV RTI/pneumonia Thypoid Parasites	<u>Livestock:</u> Drink from logger Cattle: 10,000 Sheep – 56,000 *They don’t sell their cattle/livestoc k; keep it for milk, dowry. Animal diseases: abandoned indigenous methods; animals die <u>Wildlife:</u> lions Elephants hyenas <u>Livelihoods</u> Water is source of minor income: they sell water to community (5 shilling for	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> peace with Ugandans (Doddodoth – cattle raiders; Karamoja; community states that even if they do come they’re simple thieves and are no unarmed; not a big threat to the community and surrounds) Relative peace with Toposa – they do not come as far as this community <u>Refugees</u>	Government brings relief food during drought; targeted populations are the most vulnerable, such as the disabled and orphaned children Some of the community move	<u>Major concerns:</u> Water *problem with piping (the pipes are plastic and often break and leak). No storage Food Medication/ medical services <u>Gender:</u> Women would benefit from micro- finance projects; income generating activities; <u>Requests:</u>

			20L Gerry can)	No internal conflict between community and refugee population		small scale irrigation schemes for women
			Community can grow sorghum during rains; potential for small-scale farming	<u>Internal Conflict</u> Scarcity of resources sometimes leads to conflict (mainly over water and grass)		Fuel for water generator: there's no source of income to buy fuel options: could power it using solar powered pump
			Some sell wild fruit to market			<u>Labour/Em ployment</u> They will sell meat to oil crew
			Some go to camps to give to refugees (barter/sell); do casual work			They will sell to base of operations/f ieldsites
						There are no vehicles to transport animals but they can try to secure one once they have a contract to sell meat to crew.
						<u>Potential for commercial activity</u> Charcoal Building material

Lopur	7000; 16,000 in Lopur	<u>Facilities</u> Water source: 1 bore hole for school 7 shallow hand pumps One primary school in the area (500 pupils; 7 teachers; 4 preschools) <u>Medical</u> Using Kakuma hospital (Mission and IRC)	<u>Community Health</u> Malaria Diarrheal Pneumonia RTI TB HIV (community states there are few cases of HIV in area) *Mobile clinic comes once a month to test for malaria; otherwise they use presumptive treatment Last rainy season – more than 300 cases malaria; severe cases are referred to Kakuma	<u>Livestock</u> Goats, camel, Donkey, sheep Illness amongst animals – using vet camps in Kakuma <u>Livelihoods</u> Selling to Kakuma (meat)	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> No security risk in the area No NGO activity	N/A	<u>Major Concerns</u> *very little medicine available in the area <u>Labour/Em ployment</u> Willing to work
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		<u>NGO Activity</u> IRC Nutrition	mission hospital; they can call ambulance to come and pick up patient				
		<u>Water</u> 1 Borehole 7 shallow pumps					
Nalapatui close to border of Uganda	6-7000 Settlement about 10 years old; vegetation began to grow 10 years ago; whole of the population are pastoralists	<u>Facilities</u> None *Health care: travel 16km to health clinic <u>Water</u> One borehole	<u>Water/food security:</u> Community grows sorghum, no small scale farms Vegetation is palatable for cattle <u>Public Health</u> Malaria Diarrheal diseases malnutrition	<u>Wildlife:</u> elephants, lions, leopards, hyena, jackels, Conflict with humans/livestock: yes	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> None	<u>Movement</u> The community tends to travel toward or into Uganda/valleys in the hills along the border for fresh pasture/water Pastoralists graze in Uganda – there is a peace agreement with Doddodh – they come and do business, rarely steal livestock since agreement	<u>Major Concerns</u> Access to clean water limited: There is 1 borehole (but it's not enough) During drought it's dry Not saline; clean water
Latea 22.5 km) from Kakuma Camps in area of Uapet	24,908	<u>Facilities:</u> Dispensary: Primary school Water Shallow wells (no borehole)	<u>Health Care</u> Seek care at mission or IRC hospital Mission mobile clinic comes once/month <u>NGO activity in area:</u> GTZ – given over to NRC: tree growing project – indigenous trees WFP: water; tree planting for assets - give sorghum seeds for free; given rations of maize/peas/oil Gov gets seeds from NRC <u>Food security –</u> community food insecure; high rates of malnutrition	<u>Livelihoods</u> (Largely dependent on relationship with refugees: sell firewood in camps – 20/bag Sell charcoal in camps – 200/bag 50kg meat: no <u>Food security:</u> can grow sorghum in area but not enough	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> None	<u>Drought</u> Community can access resources at Kakuma refugee camps (health)	<u>Concerns:</u> Medicine in dispensary is very little, 'not enough for community' <u>Employment/Labour</u> Labour power: high – more than 20 can speak English
Pokotom 11km south of Kakuma	5-6000	<u>Facilities:</u> Primary school Latrines No hospital	<u>Public Health</u> RTIs Pneumonia Malnutrition (extreme) kwasikor/marasmus HIV	<u>Livelihoods</u> Camps: Selling charcoal Poles Firewood Do not work in camps For charcoal, firewood,	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> Area is secure <u>Refugees Observation</u> Community was intoxicated	TBD	<u>Labour/Employment</u> Available for work – more than 500

				poles – barter cash or food	upon arrival;		
					Refugees brew beer from sorghum ration		
					Community buys alcohol with cash		
Lorengo 22.5 km from Kakuma; it is a centre created as a centre for food relief	TBD	<u>Physical</u> Water: No wells in area; they fetch water from Tarach river <u>NGO activity:</u> Food relief: none Health: none Water: none <u>Health</u> They use refugee IRC hospital <u>Education</u> They use LWF refugee schools in camps	<u>Public Health</u> Malnutrition Rates of Kwashikor and Marasmus are high Water-born illnesses <u>Food security:</u> They purchase sorghum/grains from the refugees who sell parts of their ration (20 shillings for ¼ kg); Community is food insecure	<u>Wildlife:</u> baboon, dikidiki, monkeys, rabbits <u>Predators:</u> lions, leopards, hyena *baboons have been attacking livestock <u>Livelihood</u> They sell charcoal to refugees State that they do not ‘work’ in camps Transaction between charcoal/fire wood relationship with refugee is good Mainly Somalis who purchase goods They sell meat to Somalis for cash	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> None <u>Refugees:</u> Relationshi p with Refugees is positive according to community	TBD	<u>Major Concerns</u> Food Medicine Education (especially for girls) Water

**Transitory settlements/pastoralist communities
(ADAKAR groups - groups of around 40-100 families who migrate along established routes throughout the year)**

Transitory settlements/pastoralist communities (ADAKAR groups - groups of around 40-100 families who migrate along established routes throughout the year)							
Town	Pop #	Facilities/ Infrastructure	Public Health/ WASH/ Water/ Food Security	Livestock/ Livelihoods	Security	Drought Cycle Management/ Conflict during drought	Requests/ Labour/ Main Concerns
7352	Uncertain Second day being on settlement location They moved 20km due to having availed of all fresh grass/ pasture/ water at previous site	<u>Physical</u> N/A <u>Natural</u> Collect water from river Esajat	Education Some children attend school (even when family moves around) Girls stay behind; only boys go to school	<u>Livestock</u> camels, goats, donkeys <u>Treatment of animals:</u> None due to lack of indigenous trees <u>Livelihoods</u> Sell at Lokichoggio slaughterhous e. Selling is mostly done when child takes ill or needs school fees	<u>Ethnic Conflict</u> Fighting between Turkana/Toposa (frequent) Toposa movement as south as Lokangai Still a challenge, though group sizes of Toposa have decreased They raid animals; community will move livestock more than usual as to protect the livestock from raids	<u>Seasonal flooding/</u> Confusion in movement No direction to move <u>Drought</u> Source/cause of conflict Scarcity of water/grass	They will sell goat to crew They do not sell at market
<u>7361</u> (Akot Kotom oy)	Have been in settlement for four days	None	<u>Health Concerns</u> Food insecurity Infectious diseases Malnutrition (diet of milk and blood)	<u>Livestock:</u> cows, goats, sheep, camel, and donkey Feed: grass is palatable Disease: animal diseases no longer treatable through indigenous methods as medicinal trees have become extinct	Active at night <u>Ethnic Conflict</u> Toposa: Community spoke of encountering Toposa every day They protect themselves by 'hunting them down first' Toposa will: steal water and grass; they come in groups up to 500 in size Toposa will hurt or take women; hurt and kill children (shooting them in the head at close range).	<u>Drought</u> Many animals die; migratory route during drought very difficult and may migrate very long distances	<u>Employment</u> This community do not sell at market; they will sell meat to crew They will work for crew <u>Requests:</u> Bullets Sugar Medicine *panadol *eye ointment Tobacco Relief food

APPENDIX B



Certificate #:	STU 2013 - 146
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Approval Period:	10/17/13-
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Memo

To: Danielle Bishop, Health Policy and Equity Studies

From: Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf of Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)

Date: **Thursday, October 17, 2013**

Re: Ethics Approval

Experiences of Mothering, Motherhood and Maternal-Health in Kakuma Refugee Camps: Towards a Feminist Geopolitics of Health Equity, Aid and Reproduction in Protracted Humanitarian Spaces

I am writing to inform you that the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee has reviewed and approved the above project.

APPENDIX C



Memo

Certificate #: STU 2013 -
146

Amendment Approved: 11/14/13

To: Danielle Bishop, Health Policy and Equity Studies

From: Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf of Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)

Date: **Thursday, November 14th, 2013**

Re: Ethics Approval

Experiences of Mothering, Motherhood and Maternal-Health in Kakuma
Refugee Camps: Towards a Feminist Geopolitics of Health Equity, Aid and
Reproduction in Protracted Humanitarian Spaces

I am writing to inform you that, with respect to the above-noted project, the committee notes that, as there are no substantive changes to either the methodology employed or the risks to participants in and/or any other aspect of the research project, a renewal of approval re the amendments to the above project is granted.