AN EXPLORATION OF TRAUMA INTERVENTIONS AND BUILDING PEACE: THE CASE OF SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, KENYA

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Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work presented in this thesis is solely my own, and that to the best of my knowledge the work is original except where otherwise indicated by reference to other authors. No part of this work has been submitted for any other degree or diploma.

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Lydia Wanja Gitau

Abstract

This thesis identifies a gap in peacebuilding theory and practice in terms of sensitivity to trauma and its impact on the survivors of war and other mass violence. In order to understand this gap and how it can be filled, the research focuses on the experiences and perceptions of South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northwestern Kenya. It explores the trauma experienced by the refugees before leaving South Sudan, during their journey to the camp and within the camp, the interventions they have received in the camp to help them to deal with their traumatic experiences, the ways of coping they have developed, and the resilience they portray. It also examines the refugees' perceptions of peace and explores the possibilities for peacebuilding identified in these perceptions.

The research found that a lack of sensitivity to the trauma experienced by the survivors of conflict and mass violence leads to interventions that are at best removed from, and at worst detrimental to the welfare of the survivors. Interventions that take into consideration the complex and multifaceted ways in which the survivors experience and respond to the traumatic events, encourage capacities for resilience in the survivors, engage the creative arts in peacebuilding, and emphasise the centrality of community and relationships, are seen to assist the survivors in recovery from trauma and to facilitate peacebuilding. Further, this research demonstrates the need for continued inquiry in the field of trauma interventions and peacebuilding, to augment ways of building a sustainable peace.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to those

Who have watched their homes shattered

And seen their loved ones murdered

Suffered the agony of wars they did not allow

Scampered for safety in places they had not foreseen

And are begrudged a location on this earth.

'Peace is you'.

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This is my Father's world,
And to my listening ears
All nature sings, and round me rings
The music of the spheres.
This is my Father's world:
I rest me in the thought
Of rocks and trees, of skies and seas;

His hand the wonders wrought.

This is my Father's world,
The birds their carols raise,
The morning light, the lily white,
Declare their maker's praise.
This is my Father's world,
He shines in all that's fair;
In the rustling grass I hear him pass;
He speaks to me everywhere.

This is my Father's world.
O let me ne'er forget
That though the wrong seems oft so strong,
God is the ruler yet.
This is my Father's world:
why should my heart be sad?
The Lord is King; let the heavens ring!
God reigns; let the earth be glad!

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AI – Appreciative Inquiry

APA – American Psychiatric Association

APT – Amani Peoples Theatre

AU – African Union

CARE – Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere

CEWARN – Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism

CPA – Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CPT – Choosing Peace Together

CRM – Community Resilience Model

CRS – Catholic Relief Services

CTR – Catastrophic Trauma Recovery

DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DO – District Officer

DNA – Dialogical Narrative Analysis

DRA – Department of Refugee Affairs

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

DSM – Diagnostic and Statistical Manual

DSM-IV-TR – Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision

EU – European Union

GPI – Global Peace Index

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

HREC – Human Research Ethics Committee

IASC – Inter-Agency Standing Committee

ICG – International Crisis Group

ID – Identity Card

IDP – Internally Displaced Persons

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IJR – Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

IOM – International Organization for Immigration

IRC – International Rescue Committee

IRIN – International Regional Information Networks

JRS – Jesuit Refugee Services

LWF – Lutheran World Federation

MHPSS – Mental Health and Psychosocial Support

NCA – Norwegian Church Aid

NCP – National Congress Party

NGOs – Nongovernmental Organisations

PTSD – Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

RSD – Refugee Status Determination

SPLA – Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLA/M – Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement

SPLM/A – IO – Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army – In Opposition

SWAN – Sudan Women's Association in Nairobi

TPO – Transcultural Psychosocial Organization

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

UNMIS – United Nations Mission in Sudan

UPR – Unconditional Positive Regard

US – United States

USD – United States Dollar

WFP – World Food Programme

WICP – Welcome and Information Project

WTF – War Trauma Foundation

WUSC – World University Services of Canada

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Table

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> The action most worth watching is not at the center of things but where edges meet… and often, if you stand at the point of tangency, you can see both sides better than if you were in the middle of either one.
>
> -Anne Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*, 1997, p. viii.

1.1 The Edge of the River

Talia[1] woke up with a mumbled scream on her lips and a sweat. She had been dreaming of the horrors she had witnessed in the hands of her captors once again. In this dream, Talia was running as fast as her legs could carry her across the plain, towards the river which she would cross into safety. The ground was thorny and the bristles on the bushes were sharp, pricking her unkindly as she ran. Her feet were worn and her thin shoes would wear out fast, she knew. Talia glanced back and saw one lone man pursuing her. The others from her family and her village had scattered in different directions when the enemies from a neighboring tribe had struck and burnt down their houses and killed her husband among others.

Her pursuer was gaining speed on her. Talia saw that he held some sort of weapon, ready to strike. She managed to reach the edge of the river which she would cross and be on safe ground where he would not pursue her any more. Where no one would pursue her. Where she would be at peace. She tried to beckon the safety boat that was carrying others across, but she could not be seen. She tried calling out but could not be heard. She realised no voice could come out of her lips. The pursuer was gaining speed towards her. She tried once more to shout for help. She woke abruptly, heart racing, her whole body soaked in sweat…

Peace, as in Talia's dream, has eluded the people of South Sudan for over five decades of civil war and the North-South conflict. The conflict in Sudan and South Sudan[2] has gained notoriety for being the longest violent conflict in Africa, and for the effects it has had on the civilian

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[1] Talia is a composite character, representing the South Sudanese refugees I interviewed in Kakuma Refugee Camp in July 2013. Elements of this story are present in the participants' stories as related to me in the interviews. References to the specific stories of the participants are found in Chapters 4 to 7 and details of the participants are found in Appendix 1.

[2] South Sudan was formerly known as Southern Sudan, before its secession from Sudan on 9 July 2011.

populations, including death, disease and displacement. Stretching through more than five decades and comprising two civil wars, the conflict has a long and complex history of neglect, exclusion and marginalisation of the south, dating back to pre-colonial rule (Kaiser, 2008; LeRiche and Arnold, 2012; Amir, 2013; Malwal, 2015).

This First Civil War between the Arab/Muslim North and the African/Christian South, which took place from 1955 to 1972, was led by a group of insurgents known as the *Anya-Nya*[3]. They resisted the aggressive assimilation programs of 'Arabisation' and 'Islamisation' of the South, and demanded Southern independence as the only solution to the problem of marginalisation and exclusion of the South by the North (LeRiche and Arnold, 2012; Amir, 2013; Malwal, 2015). The war ended in 1972 with the Addis Ababa Agreement, which granted Southern Sudan semi-autonomy through a regional government with a representative assembly, and created constitutional provisions for religious and cultural protection. The Addis Ababa Agreement, however, did not last due to the inability of Southern Sudanese to unite politically in its defense, and the failure of the Khartoum regime of Jaafar Mohammad an-Numeiry, to meet its provisions (LeRiche and Arnold, 2012; Malwal, 2015).

The Second Civil War began in 1983, led by the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) with John Garang de Mabior as the leader[4]. Revolution, rather than secession, was the goal. It aimed to end the perpetuation of the idea of Sudan as an Arab-Islamic state. Garang argued for a

> New Sudan of inclusivity, … one capable of resolving the historic core/periphery and identity divides of the Sudan by accommodating diversity of its peripheries and thus shaking off the yoke of the "Old Sudan" (LeRiche and Arnold, 2012, p. 17).

The Second Civil War ended on 9 January 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Naivasha, Kenya, between the Khartoum-based regime of Omar Hassan al-Bashir and his National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation

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[3] *Anya -Nya* means 'snake venom' in Madi Language, spoken in parts of Uganda and South Sudan. The *Anya-Nya* were a group of separatists led by Joseph Lagu, and formed the military wing of the Southern Sudan Resistance Movement (SSRM). They fought the First Sudanese Civil War, or Anya Nya Rebellion, from 1963 until 1972, when Lagu and the Sudanese president, Jaafar Muhammad an-Numeiry, signed the Addis Ababa Agreement (Boddy-Evans, n.d).

[4] John Garang led the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and served as the first Vice President of Sudan from 9 July 2005 until his death in a plane crash on 30 July 2005. He is considered very influential in the politics of South Sudan, especially amongst the Dinka people of South Sudan.

Army/Movement (SPLA/M). The war lasted 22 years and is estimated to have killed two million people and rendered another four million homeless (Insight on Conflict, 2011). The signing of the CPA ushered in the six-year Interim Period which was premised upon making unity attractive for the Sudan. It allowed South Sudan a referendum on full independence after the six-year period. South Sudan's independence was seen as a possibility, but unity was to be attempted. This failed in its purpose and culminated in an almost unanimous vote for independence by Southern Sudanese in a referendum held in January 2011 (Amir, 2013; LeRiche & Arnold, 2012; Santschi, 2008). The CPA also addressed the conflict in Southern Kordofan, near the border of Sudan and South Sudan[5], giving the people some measure of autonomy that would give them a right to have their views sought on their system of governance through popular consultation (Amir, 2013, p. 116).

On 9 July 2011, South Sudan seceded from the larger Sudan and the new Republic of South Sudan was born. This was fifty-five years after Sudan's own independence from British rule on 1 January 1956. As LeRiche and Arnold (2012, p. ix) point out, achieving internal peace posed a major challenge, and resolving the persistent issues of 'oppressive governance, exploitation, and marginalization', would be critical to South Sudan's success or failure as a state, since gaining independence is not synonymous with achieving peace. Further, the challenge of reconciliation among the tribes of South Sudan, and the need for the South Sudanese people to build an identity based on harmony rather than a collective opposition to the North, would be of interest to the new nation. The outcome of the secession has however been undesirable on several fronts, as discussed by various scholars (Sorbo & Ahmed, 2013; El-Battahani, 2013; Woodward, 2013). Sorbo and Ahmed (2013, p. 1) note that

> The reality soon came to look quite different. South Sudan celebrated its independence before the terms of divorce had been agreed upon. A number of issues remained unresolved, including disputed borders, citizenship issues, fees for shipping southern oil through northern pipelines, and the future status of Abyei area on the border. There was also the problem of the aborted popular consultations in South Kordofan and Blue Nile States. In June 2011, a new war started in the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan.

This new war in the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan is of particular importance as it indicated the complex and often intertwined realities facing both Sudan and South Sudan post-

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[5] See map, Figure 1.1: Sudan and South Sudan after the secession.

secession, especially at the borderlands. The same grounds relating to land dispossession, competition for natural resources, economic, social and political marginalization which had led the South to secede from the North applied to the border regions of South Kordofan, the Blue Nile and Darfur. Insofar as the social realities of the people in these regions remain the same as those of South Sudan, these regions become what has come to be termed the emerging 'new south' in a new political rhetoric (El-Battahani, 2013, p. 25; Ahmed, 2013, p. 122; Komey, 2013, p. 203). Rolandsen (2013) discusses the complicated process of establishing a border between today's Sudan and South Sudan and the 'history of complex and changing cross-border interaction' between the people of the two countries (p. 39). As a result of the porous and still indistinct nature of the border lines, borderlands such as South Kordofan remain epicenters of violent conflict. The map below (Figure 1.1) shows Sudan and South Sudan after the secession.

Figure 1.1: Sudan and South Sudan after the secession

The political disputes related to land dispossession, competition for resources, economic, social and political marginalization easily and quickly spiral into ethnic targeting and communal mobilisation, as different ethnic groups scramble for the available resources as well as political recognition and influence to counter their feelings of marginalization. Cattle rustling among the agropastoralist tribes of the Dinka, Nuer and Murle for instance, as they compete for economic resources, is a particularly common source of conflict, violence and displacement, as will emerge in the interviews discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis.

Renewed fighting erupted between rival units of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in Juba on 15 December 2013. According to International Crisis Group (2014), this fighting displaced more than one million people and killed more than 10,000. The rival parties, predominantly represented by Dinka constituents associated with the South Sudanese President, Salva Kirr, and Nuer constituents associated with the former Vice President, Riek Machar on opposing sides, engaged in systematic violence targeted against each other and mostly leading to civilian casualties. An Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) report (2014) notes that this renewed violence was 'in fact the culmination of a long-simmering power struggle between different people and groups within the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army' that was less apparent during decades of the North-South conflict. The international community's intervention and the regional Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) attempts at brokering peace between the warring South Sudan parties in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (CEWARN, 2014), have not born much fruit, and peace remains distant for the South Sudanese.

As a result of the recurrent instability and threats to security, many South Sudanese civilians have fled their country to seek refuge in camps in neighbouring countries. Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya has been a key destination for many of the fleeing South Sudanese through the years of conflict and violence, including those fleeing conflict and violence in the emerging 'new South' at the borderlands such as South Kordofan, many of who identify themselves as South Sudanese. They arrive in Kakuma fleeing attack, having lost all possessions and having witnessed their family members killed or separated from them. These refugees, survivors of the conflict and mass violence in their homeland, form the participants of this study, and are referred to in this thesis as South Sudanese survivors of conflict and mass violence.

Kakuma Refugee Camp

Kakuma Refugee Camp lies in the semi-arid Turkana District of the Northwestern region of Kenya, East Africa. It houses about 180,000 refugees who have fled war from neighbouring countries, mainly South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), with 91,474 of the refugees being from South Sudan, as of June 2015 (UNHCR, 2015a). At the time this research was conducted, the number of South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma was about 45,239, and this number more than doubled as a result

of the renewed fighting that started in December 2013 (UNHCR, 2015c). By August 2014, the camp was reported to be unable to accommodate new arrivals and UNHCR was seeking to secure extra land for expansion (UNHCR, 2015d).This influx of South Sudanese refugees also had a great impact on UNHCR's constrained budget which rose from USD 185.7 million in 2010 to USD 256.9 million in 2014 (UNHCR, 2015d).

The camp lies about 100km south of the South Sudan-Kenya border, and approximately 1000 km from Nairobi (Horn, 2010). It was established in 1992 to serve as a temporary refuge for about 20,000 unaccompanied minors from Sudan (popularly known as 'The Lost Boys')[6] (UNICEF, 1996). For a number of refugees, including some interviewed for this study, the camp has become a long-term destination and the only home they practically know of. As will emerge in the interviews quoted in Chapters 5 to 7 of this thesis and as the UNHCR (2015d) report points out, 'Inside this small city at the edge of the desert, children age into adulthood and hope fades to resignation.' The refugees co-exist with local nomadic Turkana people, whose lifestyle is focused on livestock and live in an extremely harsh environment.

Most of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma are not able to return to their country of origin for reasons ranging from recurring violence to political insecurity. Many of the refugees hope to be resettled in one of the few countries that receive refugees, which include United States of America, Australia, Canada and Scandinavian countries. However, only a very limited number (less than 5%) of those awaiting resettlement are resettled due to the overwhelming number of resettlement needs, the limited number of countries that receive resettlement cases, and the limited capacity of UNHCR to process resettlement cases (UNHCR, 2014b). For example, out of the 340,267 persons needing resettlement from Africa in 2014, only 16,457 were processed (UNHCR, 2014b).

The camp is administered by the UNHCR, which depends on donations from the international community to meet its budget. UNHCR works in liaison with the Kenyan Ministry of the Interior and Coordination of National Government in the Office of the President and its Department of Refugee Affairs. After the adoption of the Kenya Refugee Act in 2007, a Camp Manager was appointed by the Department of Refugee Affairs to oversee the camp activities,

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[6] A discussion of 'The Lost Boys', some of whom are refugees in Kakuma and were interviewed for this study, appears in Chapter 5 in relation to the issue of identity (Powell, 2015).

work together with UNHCR, and report to the government (UNHCR, 2015d; Mareng, 2010). To provide services to the refugees, UNHCR works with its implementing partners which include the World Food Programme (WFP), International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Kenya Red Cross Society, Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Refugee Consortium of Kenya, Don Bosco – Kenya, FilmAid International, Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), International Rescue Committee (IRC), National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), and Windle Trust Kenya (WTK) (UNHCR, 2015d; Seed of South Sudan, 2014).

The refugees depend almost entirely on these agencies to meet their basic needs. Due to the harsh, semi-arid climate of Northwestern Kenya where the camp is located, the refugees are not able to grow any crops in the camp. Further, they are not allowed to keep any animals, neither are they allowed to seek formal employment (Seed of South Sudan, 2014; Horn, 2010). UNHCR and the partnering organisations provide jobs for about 2000 refugees who are paid 'incentives', not salaries, of about 4000 Kenya Shillings (40 USD) per month. A number of refugees engage in trade and commercial activities within the camp, which include selling food items, clothing and other household wares, and providing communication services. A few South Sudanese operate as petty traders, but most businesses are operated by Somali and Ethiopian refugees (Eisei, 2014, p. 224; Horn, 2010, p. 359).

Beyond being a refugee settlement area, Kakuma refugee camp assumes the characteristics of a town, with a variety of infrastructures for public purposes. These include kindergartens, primary schools with about 20,000 pupils, four high schools, two technical colleges, a 90 bed hospital, clinics, multi-purpose community centres, youth and resource centres, women's multi-purpose centres, libraries, and many churches and mosques. The camp has a cosmopolitan atmosphere and may be described as multinational, multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious in nature (Eisei, 2014, p. 223).

In relation to social affiliation and identity among South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, we find that it is characterised by what Eisei (2014, p 224) describes as 'a fragmentation of identifications'. The South Sudanese have not quite cultivated a recognisable common South Sudanese identity, but rather an identity based essentially on ethnicity. This is especially evident in the residential pattern in the camp, which is divided into seven 'zones' and about eighty 'blocks' for administrative purposes. Particular zones tend to be occupied predominantly

by people from a particular ethnic group or tribe. For example, the Nuer of South Sudan occupy mostly the southern section of the camp, Zone 5, while people from the Equatorian tribes of South Sudan occupy areas around Zone 1 and 6, and people from the Dinka tribe predominantly occupy Zones 2, 3 and 4. The UNHCR has attempted to break this pattern by allocating residential plots to refugees in any part of the camp regardless of a person's ethnicity, but the refugees have themselves found ways of moving to areas where their tribemates reside, especially in times of conflict between different groups in the camp. Each of these tribal groups has their own elected leaders who are known as community leaders. These leaders work especially to help prevent, mitigate, or resolve conflicts within the community, and assist in facilitating reconciliation when violent conflict does erupt between different groups within the camp, which occasionally occurs as a spillover of violent conflict between tribes back in South Sudan (Sudan Tribune, 2014).

Essentially then, there are three main levels of community with which the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma identify. The first and most primary level is the tribal community, based on ethnicity, the second is the South Sudanese community as a whole, which is in an inchoate form, and the third is the level with which all the refugees in the camp identify by default, the Kakuma refugee community. One would expect that in such a cosmopolitan environment, new alliances and diverse identities are constantly being formed, but as Eisei (2014, p. 224) also observed, in my research I found 'little evidence of the creation of significant new social ties crossing existing boundaries or hybrid cultural practices.'

As will emerge in this thesis, especially in discussions pertaining to collective trauma (Chapter 2) and the focus on community resilience (Chapter 6), these three basic levels of community experienced by the South Sudanese refugees have ramifications for their experiences of trauma, their responses to trauma interventions, and their perceptions of, and ideas, about constructing peace.

Starting the Journey

My interest in researching and seeking to understand the situation and experiences of the South Sudanese began in 1995 when as a Kenyan national, I went on a cross-cultural visit to Khartoum and lived and interacted with people of South Sudanese origin then living in Khartoum, Northern Sudan, many of them displaced due to the conflict in South Sudan. The

interest was nurtured along the years as I interacted with South Sudanese refugees living in Kenya, and further established during a training session on trauma recovery that I participated in at Dadaab Refugee Camp in Northeastern Kenya in October 2011, which involved some South Sudanese refugees. Dadaab Refugee Camp is the world's largest refugee camp with a population of more than 463,000 refugees, 339,292 of whom originate from Somalia, and only 1,025 refugees are of South Sudanese according to June 2014 statistics (UNHCR, 2014a). Kakuma Refugee Camp thus became my chosen site for research, due to its concentration of refugees from South Sudan.

This research examines the traumatic experiences of the South Sudanese refugees, such as Talia, the interventions they receive in Kakuma refugee camp, and the link between those interventions and peacebuilding. The study seeks to answer the question: How do trauma interventions for the South Sudanese in Kakuma Refugee Camp link to peacebuilding? The term trauma in this research refers to the painful experiences and suffering of the South Sudanese refugees as a result of the mass violence in their country of origin and the resultant displacement. The meaning and philosophy of the concept of trauma is further explored in Chapter 2, in an approach that embraces the experiences of the South Sudanese participants of the study, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The term trauma interventions is used here to refer to the services that the South Sudanese refugees receive from the UNHCR and its partnering agencies in the camp to address their pain and suffering as a result of these experiences. Trauma interventions fall under the broad category of psychosocial interventions discussed in the next section of this chapter. The interventions the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma receive are explored in detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Peace in this thesis is conceptualised as the desired state of safety, connection, restoration, meaning and hope, the antithesis of what the survivors of mass violence have suffered. It is the anticipated destination of the journey the participants of this study are seen to be taking. It is the place where Talia wants to get to. In this way, peacebuilding is seen as the path that gets the survivors to this desired destination. It is understood to mean the activities, attitudes and processes that facilitate this journey. The meaning and philosophy of the concepts of peace and peacebuilding are explored further in Chapter 2, and a discussion of the research participants' perceptions and reflections of peace and peacebuilding occurs in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

In exploring the relationship between trauma and peace for the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, this research proposes that a focus on the particular victims, what they have suffered, and how their pain and anguish can be appreciated and alleviated, is of paramount importance to peacebuilding and can augment the current strategies towards sustainable peace.

Talia vaguely remembered that she had heard that some people, big people, John Garang[7] or Salva Kiir and Riek Machar and others she did not know, were meeting in some far away country to talk about peace. She did not know what they were talking about. She only wanted her disturbing dreams to stop. And to live again.

When Talia slept that following night, she dreamt again. The same dream. Her pursuer was close by now. Should she jump into the crocodile-infested river to escape him, she wondered. She stood immobilised and waited in resignation. She glanced at him. He seemed so small when he was close by. Like a young boy, the age of her son. Was this her pursuer? She looked him over as he slowed down. He did not strike. He was carrying a large stick, not a spear! She looked at his eyes. There were tears there, and a fear. She glanced at his feet. They were bleeding! He had no shoes, and had been running after her on the thorns and bristles until his feet were badly wounded. Now he just stood there, silent. She reached to her feet and took off her shoes and gave them to him. He took them. Talia understood.

This research is cognizant of the nuanced ways in which the South Sudanese refugees experienced the war back in South Sudan and its consequences, their disparate journeys in search of refuge, their diverse experiences of the interventions they receive in Kakuma refugee camp and their perceptions of peace. Importantly, this research acknowledges the fading nature of boundaries surrounding categorisations when they are placed around people's experiences and perceptions of events such as war. Just as Talia could no longer recognise her pursuer as her enemy in the end, but rather identified with him as a victim too, we find the interplay of the experiences, perceptions and the relationships in the South Sudanese conflict is complex. This research does not lay claim to the answer to the puzzle why peace is elusive to South Sudan, but seeks to illuminate a part of the puzzle by inviting us to 'the edge of the river', to

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[7] Though John Garang died on 30 July 2005, after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on 9 July 2005, Talia in this description refers to him as though he is still alive. This reference indicates the remoteness of the peace talks in the perception of the civilians who bear the brunt of the violence in South Sudan.

watch and participate in what happens in an attempt to understand how we might get to the other side of the river, the side of peace.

The overall aim of this research is to explore the link between interventions for survivors of trauma and peacebuilding processes in conflict situations, with specific reference to South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya. This aim arises from recognising that building sustainable peace not only needs to involve international and national efforts at the macro institutional level, but also be sensitive to the trauma of the survivors of conflict and mass violence at the individual and community level. At the background of this research is the postulation that 'the pervasive presence of such a large segment of traumatized members at all levels of these societies poses perhaps the most formidable barrier to peace' (Olweean & Friedman, 1999).The research argues that understanding the trauma experienced by the survivors of conflict and providing or facilitating interventions that are sensitive to these traumatic experiences, is essential in building sustainable peace.

1.2 The Trauma-Sensitivity Gap

The first part of this section discusses the inadequacy of peacebuilding efforts that seek to strengthen national institutions such as democracy, security reform and the economic development sector in contexts of conflict and mass violence, while failing to give attention to the trauma experienced by the survivors. It discusses examples of this approach to peacebuilding, and goes further to point out some of the ramifications of this approach. The second part discusses the shift of focus to the link between peacebuilding and psychosocial interventions, based on the acknowledgement of the inadequacy of the peacebuilding approach discussed in the first part. This second part also reviews a cross-section of studies that have sought to link peacebuilding and psychosocial interventions, and identifies a place for this research in establishing this link.

Inadequate Efforts in Peacebuilding

There is a growing acknowledgement that the experiences of trauma that the survivors of conflict and mass violence go through during, and repeatedly after, the conflict need to be addressed, for peace to be sustainable. This acknowledgement is born out of a recognition that

peacebuilding specifically focused on the national realm, attempted through international intervention and that seeks to strengthen national institutions, has not been very successful in achieving sustainable peace (Samuels, 2005, pp. 663-664). According to Samuels, theories that account for this lack of success range from those that focus on operational limitations to those that focus on institutional lacunae. While it is acknowledged that the provision of security is the *sine qua non* of peacebuilding, the tendency to consider the building or rebuilding of public institutions in itself as key to sustainability has contributed to the lack of success in peacebuilding.

As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the United Nations has taken a primarily functional approach to building peace based on the liberal democratic peace model which does not include reference to trauma interventions. For example in *An Agenda for Peace*, (UN, 1992, 2002), peacebuilding is seen as including the custody and possible destruction of weapons, along with repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel. Other key elements of the agenda include monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation. The UN generally tends to adopt an institutional view of peacebuilding and concentrates on such activities as strengthening national institutions and supporting security reform (United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 2010).

Jennings (2003) problematises the emphasis of security in post-conflict situations as exemplified by the U.S military enlargement in such situations, especially post-September 11th terrorist attack, and argues that this emphasis does not do justice to the building of peace in post-war societies. Jennings (2003, p. 10) points out that 'The U.S. must improve its track record in war to peace transitions and increase the proficiency of the nation's intervention agents to strengthen local capacities to build peace and security' rather than relegating peacebuilding to 'a post-peace enforcement, post-peace keeping role, or to the sidelines of development practice'.

A further example of peacebuilding focused on the strengthening of national institutions is the peacebuilding efforts in South Sudan by swisspeace (2014), which have been aimed at strengthening 'Statehood' through such activities as the electoral process and democracy promotion. Similarly, a UNESCO (2014) report outlines some of the efforts UNESCO has made towards helping develop 'a culture of peace' in South Sudan. These include developing

peace education materials and providing skills and networks for young people and former combatants, developing a 'Skills for Life' curriculum with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and coordinating a Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program run by the UN Mission in South Sudan.

In addition, the Global Peace Index (GPI) consists of 23 indicators of the existence or absence of peace (Institute of Economics and Peace, 2011). These indicators are divided into three broad categories, namely: Measures of ongoing domestic and international conflict; Measures of society safety and security, and; Measures of militarization. Levels of trauma and related pointers are absent in these indicators.

The Catastrophic Trauma Recovery (CTR) project (Common Bond Institute, 2014) identifies psychological and emotional injuries as 'the most enduring effects of war, yet historically the least addressed in terms of rebuilding a society and preventing future violence'. According to the project, significant recovery efforts usually focus on more visible needs such as food, shelter, clothing, physical health, and economic aid, and overlook or minimise the effects of deep psychological trauma on individuals, their families, and their communities. Trauma becomes embedded as part of the psyche of a society that extends the wounds into future generations where it is often played out in further violence (Volkan, 2001; Lambourne & Niyonzima, 2015). The cycle of violence and the cycle of trauma thus directly contribute to each other.

Strengthening of national institutions, supporting democracy, improving public services and encouraging attempts at reconciliation are all important interventions in conflict and post conflict situations. However, they are not sufficient in and of themselves. LeBaron (2003) emphasises the need for ongoing inquiry in ensuring long-lasting peace. She underscores the importance of engaging the people in post-conflict societies in ways that address their psychological, spiritual, emotional, and physical needs. This is a holistic approach, combined with flexibility and creativity.

This kind of approach allows for practices that keep the people ready to navigate the change and confusion that often accompany encounters in conflict and post-conflict societies. This approach considers at its core the rebuilding of individuals and communities. Gawerc (2006, p. 437) points to the need for this kind of approach when she notes the failure of contemporary

peace processes to result to sustainable peace, and postulates that this failure may be attributed to the failure to address the bitterness, memories and images associated with the conflict and mass violence. This would point to the need for the participation of the survivors in peacebuilding work or what Gawerc (2006, p. 445) calls 'grassroots peace work' and 'people-to-people activities', an area she argues is plagued by limited academic research. As Webel (2012, p. 73) argues, 'personal survival is the absolutely necessary condition, the *sine qua non*, for peace at the personal level', and connects with the macro-levels of 'national security or the collective survival of a culture, people or nation-state.' As discussed in Chapter 2 in considering layers of peace, this personal level forms the innermost core of peace, and is seen to be vital to the expansion of peace at all other levels.

Judging from the conflicts, massacres and wars in South Sudan which have been mostly intra-state, it is clear that current strategies for dealing with conflict have proved inadequate. There has therefore been a need for a shift in the character of analyses and response to these conflicts. As Dress (2005) argues, traditional approaches to diplomacy and peacebuilding which typically viewed the nation-state as the sole or fundamental unit in international relations have needed to change to approaches that are more community and individual-based. Indeed, the problems faced by survivors of armed conflict and mass violence, are immense, as revealed in this thesis discussing specifically the experiences of South Sudanese refugees. The impact of the problems is too far-reaching to be simply included in a single point among a myriad activities designed to bring peace in a post-conflict society. The experiences may take the form of death of loved ones, seclusion from family and friends, sexual violence, and being subjected to terror. Multiply these experiences by thousands or millions of individuals in a community and if not addressed, the result may be a dysfunctional society, regardless of how many projects and well-meant state-building activities are implemented.

The failure to address the pain and traumas of the people during the conflict has a subtle but grievous effect on peacebuilding. The traumas affect the social functioning of individuals and ability to support themselves and their families (Robert et al, 2009). Further, exposure to traumatic events and high levels of mental distress may also influence respondent attitudes to reconciliation in post-conflict societies. Decreased interest or participation in important activities, feeling disconnected from others, a sense of no hope for the future, and a sense of despondency that leads to neglect of personal and professional responsibilities may render the survivors of conflict-inflicted trauma unable to engage in meaningful peacebuilding activities

(Gasana, 2008).[8] The social health of the individual directly influences the social functioning of the group. Mass violence affects the community's social fabric and social capital, in the sense that key players in the community such as religious leaders and village elders may lose their status. The community's social order may be eroded, and its ability to care for its vulnerable people through for instance community self-support can be affected. Social cohesion can diminish as individuals withdraw, preoccupied with their own traumatic experience, resulting in disharmony and possibility of recurring violence (Gutlove & Thompson, 2006; De Jong 2011). These arguments about the disruption of social cohesion linked to the effects of unaddressed trauma could help explain how quickly South Sudan erupted into civil war along ethnic lines barely two years after its independence from the Sudan. As so aptly put by Mcneish and Nicholls (2014) in an Al Jazeera report,

> Old wounds left to fester from decades of war with Sudan in December ripped open an ethnic divide in a country that only raised its flag three years ago.

Addressing these problems with a sensitivity to the trauma the survivors have experienced, thus becomes crucial, this thesis argues. As Allam (2007) points out in his documentary on the possibility of peace in Sudan and Southern Sudan, there is need for measures that are effective to preserve and implement peace in order to avert the outbreak of serious new civil conflict.

There have been glimpses of attention to the trauma experienced by South Sudanese civilians, in some international fora though. An International Organization for Immigration (IOM) (2014) report acknowledged that the renewed violence in South Sudan from December 2013 not only displaced over one million South Sudanese from their homes, but it took an enormous emotional toll on the country. An Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) (2014) report further highlighted this emotional toll and noted that failure to address the trauma of war

> …can help perpetuate the country's cycle of violence… [and] leave permanent psychological scars in a new generation, in a country that was barely starting to recover from decades of fighting.

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[8] A detailed discussion of the traumatic experiences of the South Sudanese refugees and their effect follows in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

A Shift to Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Peacebuilding

With the acknowledgement of the inadequacy of peacebuilding aimed at strengthening national institutions as discussed, and the recognition of the impact of mass violence on the mental and social health of the survivors, the shift of the character of analyses and response to conflict and mass violence has indeed taken place. This shift is particularly notable through the growing field of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS). In 2007 the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) established by the United Nations General Assembly to coordinate, develop policies and make decisions on the work of key humanitarian agencies, formulated guidelines on 'Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) in Emergency Settings' to enable effective coordination of the work of mental health practitioners and psychosocial support workers in the context of emergencies arising from armed conflict and natural disasters (IASC, 2007). These guidelines are based on the acknowledgement of the psychological and social impacts of emergencies on the mental health and psychosocial well-being of those affected, as discussed above, and the potential threat of this impact on peace, human rights and development (IASC, 2007, p. 1).

 The term 'mental health and psychosocial support' refers to 'any type of local or outside support that aims to protect or promote psychosocial well-being and/or prevent or treat mental disorder (IASC, 2007, p. 1). Psychosocial support refers to interventions that address the psychological aspects of experience, such as feelings and emotions, and the social aspects of experience, such as relationships and culture (Hamber et al 2014, p. 8). While these guidelines are established on firm principles of upholding and protecting the human rights of the affected populations, recognising and building on their capacities, and respecting the intertwined and complex nature of the interventions (IASC, 2007, pp. 9-13) the IASC noted the limited research base and need for more evidence for what interventions, under MHPSS, would be most effective (IASC, 2007, p. 2). Commenting on this need for more research in the MHPSS field, Hamber et al (2014) note that

> … attempts to build an evidence base for MHPSS have focused on clinical MHPSS services
> (by mental health specialists and psychotherapists)… Relatively limited attention has been
> given to the effects of broad community based psychosocial interventions on collective
> wellbeing and social connectedness. We believe this is an important issue that needs to be

addressed… More specifically, can and do psychosocial interventions and practices shape long-term collective social processes of peacebuilding and wider social change, including processes such as development and social transformation? (Hamber et al, 2014, p. 8).

The exploration of trauma interventions, which fall under the broad category of psychosocial interventions for survivors of conflict and mass violence in this thesis, addresses this concern in part.

In May 2015, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) (South Africa) and the War Trauma Foundation (WTF) (Netherlands) hosted a conference in Johannesburg, South Africa, to address the nexus and linkage between the fields of peacebuilding and mental health and psychosocial services (MHPSS), noting that 'While both fields contribute vital services to affected communities, their work takes place largely in isolation of the other' (IJR, 2015). The IJR noted in particular that there are only a few studies that explicitly link psychosocial work and peacebuilding, and there was need for research to inform the understanding of what MHPSS interventions influence processes of building sustainable peace. The following section discusses a cross-section of the studies that have addressed this link within the last 16 years, and identifies where this research comes in, in contributing to this link.

In 1999, Woodside and colleagues published a study on 'Psychological Trauma and Social Healing in Croatia', discussing their project which was aimed at promoting trauma healing, non-violent conflict resolution, peaceful living, human rights, and reduction of ethnic bias in Croatian children affected by war. The study was based on the premise that 'psychological healing and social healing were interdependent and mutually reinforcing (Woodside et al, 1999, p.355). The outcome of the intervention indicated significant reduction of post-traumatic symptoms and ethnic bias, and increased acceptance of non-violent conflict resolution methods and girls' self-esteem (Woodside et al, 1999, p. 363).This outcome indicates a direct link between psychosocial work and peacebuilding.

Hart and Colo's (2014) study on 'Psychosocial peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina' is another example of works explicitly linking psychosocial work and peacebuilding in the Balkans. Hart and Colo (2014) present two projects carried out in post war Bosnia and Herzegovina, the first one by CARE International through its Welcome and Information Project (WICP) in 1996, and the second one by Catholic Relief Services (CRS) through its Choosing

Peace Together (CPT) project, 15 years later. The two projects aimed to examine and address the psychological and social impact of the traumatic events the survivors were exposed to. The projects involved educating the survivors on psychosocial trauma and creating safe spaces for them to tell their stories. The healing processes included storytelling, listening, building trust and transforming relationships between individuals, groups and communities. According to Hart and Colo's (2014, p. 80) report, the projects were instrumental in transforming the conflict 'relationally, economically and politically'. Of particular note is the theories of change that informed the work (Hart & Colo, p. 82). These included an assumption that if people could overcome their trauma, build trust and change relationships, this could lead to the formation of new narratives, which would lead to peace between groups who were originally in conflict. The other theory of change held that if people involved in the project could share their experiences with other members, these other members would be open to contact with people they had previously demonised, and this could lead to trust and confidence between groups. This attention to the theories of change in application in these projects points to the need for explicit connection of psychosocial work and peacebuilding in the very design of the projects, to make outcomes more tangible.

A similar clarity of the theoretical base for psychosocial work and peacebuilding can be noted in Lykes' (2000) study. Lykes discusses the contribution of liberation psychology in designing and implementing interventions geared towards transforming conflict and building peace amongst communities affected by mass violence. Liberation psychology, an approach of psychology articulated by Martín-Baró (1994) seeks to understand the psychology of the oppressed and the poor, and with this understanding help to address the oppressive structures and liberate the people from the effects of their experiences under these structures. Lykes used participatory action research (PAR) among Mayan women of rural Guatemala, whereby the women used photography as a resource for constructing and telling the stories of their experiences of the war, how it had affected them, and their responses to the war (Lykes, 2000, p. 384). Lykes notes that the project facilitated the building of trust and confidence amongst participants, as well as envisioning possibilities for moving forward after the war (Lykes, 2000, p. 391), which are aspects of peacebuilding as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Fuertes' (2004) work facilitating community trauma healing workshops amongst Karen Refugees in a refugee camp along the Thailand-Burmese border in 2003 offers another example of studies directly connecting psychosocial support and peacebuilding. Fuertes argues:

> … when people are traumatized in terms of having been enveloped by deep-seated pain, hurt, frustration, and disappointment to the extent of becoming angry and vengeful or withdrawn from social and public life, no amount of peace talks or agreements can rebuild their community and mend shattered relationships (Fuertes, 2004, p. 492).

Fuertes advocates for the integration of trauma healing in the peacebuilding processes, and further underscores the need to hear the survivors voices regarding their sense of reality and ways of coping through conducting studies on war-induced traumas or what he calls 'warviews', and how these views impact on survivors' coping mechanisms (Fuertes, 2004, p. 492). This thesis seeks to contribute in part to this need through attention to the voices of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma.

In addition to the need to listen to listen to the voices of the survivors, a need for a framework in establishing the link has been noted. Silove (2004) proposes a framework to reconcile mental health initiatives with the overall mission of humanitarian services for communities affected by conflict and mass violence, based on his experience in post-conflict East Timor. His proposed framework generally encourages survival and adaptation of individuals and communities in the contexts of mass violence, and specifically reinforces systems of adaptation that include 'the re-establishment of safety and security, the restoration of interpersonal bonds, the creation of systems of justice, the development of a social framework that allows survivors to develop new roles and identities, and the revival of institutions that confer meaning' (Silove, 2004, p. 93). Such a framework attempts to link the psychological, the social and the political.

This link between the psychological, the social and the political in the context of conflict and mass violence is further alluded to by Ramanathapillai in his article 'The Politicizing of Trauma: A Case Study of Sri Lanka' (2006). Ramanathapillai problematises storytelling and argues that the same narratives of pain and suffering that are used for healing trauma, can sometimes be exploited by violent factions amongst the affected populations to promote aggression, as in the case of Tamil nationalists and militants in Sri Lanka. This occurs through selectively choosing and emphasising certain aspects of the traumatic event while omitting

others when relating the experiences, and thus influencing the collective understanding of the event. In this way, the stories 'serve as tools to create conformity of vision and purpose and perpetuate a cultural and political identity of victimhood' (Ramanathapillai, 2006, p. 5). Ramanathapillai concludes that this politicising of trauma results in perpetuating the cycle of trauma amongst the Tamils, and calls for the merging of mental health and education initiatives with peacebuilding as part of 'creative and imaginative initiatives' needed to heal the wounds of war (Ramanathapillai, 2006, p. 16).

In his conceptualisation of the 'Peacebuilding Wheel', Hart (2008a, pp. viii-ix; 2014) directly links psychosocial work and peacebuilding, underscoring the importance of trauma-sensitivity in peacebuilding which consists of '*tangible*' and '*intangible*' elements forming the various spokes of the wheel. Tangible elements include the objectified, measurable issues such as reconstruction of infrastructure, peace agreements, political arrangements, and humanitarian assistance in basic necessities such as food, shelter and health facilities. The intangible elements are less measurable and include psychological issues such as the experience of trauma, stress, threat of identity loss, and spiritual needs. As Hart (2014) further points out, the tangible and intangible issues are intertwined in their role in peacebuilding, and act synergetically to enhance a more sustainable peacebuilding process. Each spoke of the wheel is important, and the absence of any may cause the imbalance and eventual toppling of the wheel. Importantly, as this thesis will seek to argue, a trauma-sensitivity is necessary in attending to even the tangible elements of the peacebuilding wheel, for peace to be sustainable. Hart argues:

> …if the more tangible issues are not seen to have psychological or symbolic importance in the reconstruction phase after war, this, too, may contribute to ineffective approaches to rebuilding communities and societies after large-scale violence and war (Hart,2008a, p. viii).

Gallagher, Hamber and Joy (2012) in their work 'Perspectives and Possibilities: Mental Health in post-Agreement Northern Ireland', similarly point to this link. They question the efficacy of conceptualising mental health problems in the context of post-conflict reconstruction 'as a definable and diagnosable psychopathology' rather than a wider social problem (Gallagher et al, 2012, p. 63). Recognising the pervasive impact of conflict on the mental health and the social health of survivors, Gallagher and her colleagues advocate for stretching of the boundaries of the mental health field to include the areas of politics, justice, socio-economics

and education, and envision well-integrated community-oriented interventions with 'psychological, social, economic, cultural and environmental elements' (Gallagher et al, 2012, p. 71). Clancy and Hamber (2008, p. 9) point to this intertwined relationship of the social and the mental health areas in conceptualising trauma healing in the context of complex political emergencies when they point out that 'What needs to be "healed" is therefore the multitude of individual, political, social, and cultural responses to a traumatic situation and its aftermath.' Clancy and Hamber (2008, p. 38) thus argue that addressing trauma after mass violence needs to be placed in the wider context of peacebuilding and development initiatives, and reciprocally, peacebuilding needs to be encompassed in trauma healing programs, an argument that pervades this thesis.

In the same vein, Pupavac (2004, p. 491) points out the need to look beyond epidemiological literature to understand trauma and its effects in contexts of mass violence, and argues that psychosocial work as part of humanitarian intervention is not apolitical, thus indirectly pointing to the interrelatedness of psychosocial support and peacebuilding. If we see conflict, which results in exposure to traumatic events for the survivors, as a political affair, then in addressing the trauma and engaging in peacebuilding as a response to the conflict, we are engaging in a political affair, as much as a social and psychological one.

This link is further identified by Lambourne and Gitau (2013) in their study on the role of psychosocial interventions in peacebuilding and development in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide. Lambourne and Gitau argue that psychosocial interventions contribute to a holistic and transformative approach to peacebuilding, shifting from a focus on 'the top-down, state-driven peacebuilding efforts that seek to strengthen national institutions and service provision but fail to promote an emancipatory, sustainable or transformative peace' (p. 33). Lambourne and Gitau conclude that an integration of trauma healing and other psychosocial services into the national and international peacebuilding efforts could result in more sustainable peace and development.

A key issue in the studies linking psychosocial support and peacebuilding has been the question of how relevant the interventions are to the affected population. With this regard, Eiling and colleagues (2014) carried out research amongst children in the Eastern Equatoria State of South Sudan, using War Child Holland's psychosocial support intervention I DEAL, which is aimed at improving the coping ability of children and young people affected by conflict and mass

violence. The research sought to assess whether I DEAL was an appropriate and relevant intervention for the young people in South Sudan, as well as seeking to strengthen the evidence base on the effectiveness of psychosocial interventions for children and young people (Eiling et al, 2014, p. 63). I DEAL addressed the themes of identity, emotions, relationships with peers, relationships with adults, conflict and peace, and the future (Eiling et al, 2014, p. 62). These authors found I DEAL to be consistent with local perceptions of wellbeing, and as having potential for reducing violence, strengthening relationships, and thus contributing to peacebuilding processes (Eiling et al, 2014, p. 72). In addition, while Ameresekere and Henderson's (2012, p.10) specifically focus on mental health and investigating the common psychiatrist conditions of South Sudanese in their study, they also note the need for advocacy, training and focused research to 'identify the scope of mental illness and provide culturally-meaningful interventions' for the survivors.

An overall study in the field MHPSS was carried out by Tol and colleagues in 2011, seeking to link practices that are commonly implemented in the field, with evidence from evaluations of interventions (Tol et al, 2011). They identified counselling, community-based social supports, structured social activities, provision of information, psychosocial education, and raising awareness as the most commonly used interventions (Tol et al 2011, p. 1588). One of the major findings of their study was the disconnection between research and practice, noting that there was evidence of more research focus on interventions that were less frequently used, such as a focus on PTSD. Among the recommendations Tol et al make based on their research is the need to strengthen the evidence for MHPSS in humanitarian settings, which will involve 'a concerted effort by researchers to increase the rigour of studies and broaden outcomes beyond PTSD and internalizing symptoms' (Tol et al, 2011, p. 1588). They also recommend increased research focus on the more frequently used interventions such as counselling and community supports, to reduce the gap between research and practice (p. 1589). This thesis seeks to contribute to reducing this gap through a focus on trauma-sensitivity in peacebuilding for South Sudanese refugees.

 In his examination of the intersection between trauma and peacebuilding, Zelizer (2008, p. 81.) highlights the ethical responsibility that peacebuilding practitioners have to ensure that they are trauma-sensitive in their work, which entails, for one, desisting from categorising the entire affected population as traumatised, secondly being careful not to cause further trauma for the survivors, and thirdly recognising the differentiated and context-informed ways in

which people respond to trauma. Similarly, the National Centre for PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) (2011), in identifying the core issues in early intervention for trauma survivors that need to be addressed, critiques a wholesale application of psychological intervention methods and points to the need for seeking appropriate interventions based on the individuals and communities in question.

Indeed there would be many benefits of studies seeking to identify the appropriate interventions for the affected populations in question, for one, to avoid what transcultural psychiatrist Arthur Kleinman (1977, p. 4) termed 'a category fallacy', referring to the tendency to superimpose a diagnostic category derived in one cultural context on another culture. With this regard, De Jong (2005, p.368) notes the need for studies on traumatic stress reactions from different cultures among the affected population, based on a phenomenological approach. These type of studies would inform the kind of interventions to be used in different contexts. This research seeks to add to the repertoire of such studies.

Yoder (2013, p.2) likewise argues that organisations working with survivors of trauma need to be 'trauma-informed', which entails integrating a trauma-sensitive framework into any project, be it economic, health, or governance, and 'means more than putting a psychologist on every project team.' Being trauma-informed, according to Yoder (2013, p.2), includes embracing a holistic outlook in considering the impact of trauma on the survivors of traumatic events, taking into account the differentiated and culturally inclined ways the affected people experience trauma beyond the traditional mental health diagnosis, and engaging diverse processes from different fields to address trauma and enhance the resilience of the affected populations.

The subject of resilience in survivors of violent conflict is crucial to a discussion of the link between psychosocial intervention and peacebuilding. Harvey (2007) makes a significant contribution in her essay discussing resilience in trauma survivors. In this study, she seeks to investigate the nature of wellness-enhancing interventions and empowering social change. She argues that this investigation can inform trauma-focused interventions at individual, community and societal levels. Pfefferbaum et al (2008) also provide a treatise on community resilience in the face of disasters, proposing a set of contributing factors, identifying potential

barriers, and making recommendations for enhancing community resilience.[9] Gallagher et al (2012) however caution against a mistaken perception of resilience as being universally inherent in survivors of mass violence, and point to the potential danger of this perspective hindering the promotion of mental health. A discussion of resilience as identified in the ways the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma cope with their traumatic experiences will follow in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Conclusion

This section has discussed the inadequacy of peacebuilding efforts aimed at strengthening national institutions while failing to give attention to the trauma experienced by the survivors of conflict and mass violence. These efforts include the UN functional approach which involves supporting security reform and economic development, the swisspeace efforts which include strengthening statehood and improving democracy, and UNESCO efforts which include coordinating Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programs. A failure to attend to the traumas of the survivors leads to destruction of the social cohesion and social functioning of individuals and communities, decreased participation in peacebuilding activities, and psychological wounds being played out in further violence, which may explain how quickly South Sudan erupted into renewed violence in December 2013, barely two years after its secession from the larger Sudan.

The second part of this section has discussed the shift of focus to the growing field of MHPSS. In particular it has discussed a cross-section of studies that have sought to link peacebuilding and psychosocial interventions, based on the acknowledgement of the inadequacy of the peacebuilding approach discussed above and the impact of mass violence on the mental and social health of the survivors. The studies discussed have shown the important role that psychosocial interventions play in peacebuilding, and underscored the gap that they have attempted to fill, and that still needs more concerted efforts from researchers to fill. This gap is identified in the limited research base for what interventions should be included under MHPSS, the need for a theoretical base for the interventions, the need for the survivors' voices in identifying and implementing the interventions, the need to identify creative and imaginative

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[9] The concept of community resilience as it relates to the participants of this research is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, with reference to Saul's (2014) definition of community resilience, the application of the Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll & de Jong, 2014), the principle of 'adversarial growth (Linley and Joseph, 2004), and the adaptation of the Community Resilience model (CRM) proposed by Miller-Karas (2015).

initiatives, and the need for context-specific studies, based on a phenomenological approach. This research seeks to contribute to filling this gap.

1.3 The Journey: An Outline

This thesis depicts a twofold journey: a journey towards an understanding of the crucial role of trauma-sensitivity in peacebuilding, and the journey the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma have taken fleeing violence in their country and trying to find refuge and solace for all that they have suffered, and eventual peace. It is a long, tedious, seemingly interminable journey, replete with indescribable perils, hurtful betrayals, countless uncertainties, dramatic turns, and incredible hope.

The first part of the journey, portrayed in Chapter 1, lays out the setting. It describes where the survivor of the conflict is coming from, and why. It describes the context of the conflict in South Sudan, and the decades of war that have led to the situation the survivor finds himself/herself in today. It explains the context of the research, Kakuma refugee camp, and provides details about the character of community as experienced by the South Sudanese refugees. It also locates a place, a plot for myself as a researcher, rendering the subject of discussion concrete and relevant. It further lays out the bridge that needs to be crossed to get to the desired destination, the gap that needs to be filled, and finally maps out the journey ahead.

The second part of the journey, depicted in Chapter 2 of the thesis, sets out the terrain. It lays the definitional background of the experiences of survivors of violent conflict of whom the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp are an example. It predicts both what the survivors will encounter in their journey towards peace, and what I as a researcher will encounter in my journey towards trauma-sensitivity in peacebuilding. It prepares both the survivor and I for the perils, betrayals, uncertainties, surprises and hope that lies ahead. The chapter explores the concepts of trauma, peace and peacebuilding, and examines the current debates in the three areas.

Chapter 3 lays out the methodology of the journey. It describes how the research is carried out, depicting in detail the journey towards discovery of what is important for the survivors to

achieve peace. For the survivors, this stage offers them opportunity to give account of their literal journeys in search of peace. In this part also, I explore in detail the interplay of my own journey as a researcher towards trauma-sensitivity in interventions of survivors of mass violence and the link to peacebuilding, and the participants' journey towards peace.

Chapter 4 presents the discoveries of the journey. It displays the features of the participants' experiences and perceptions as they emerged in the journey, and what I found as I took the steps outlined in Chapter 3. It lays out both the surprises of the journey, and the anticipated outcomes.

Chapter 5, invites the survivors to consider where they are at present and reflect back on where they have been in the past. This chapter looks at their traumatic experiences back in their country of origin, on their journey in search of refuge, and in the refugee camp where they are now living. The chapter focuses on the experiences as related by the participants, the meaning they give to the experiences, and discusses these experiences and perceptions in the light of literature and scholarship in the field of trauma and mass violence.

Chapter 6 continues to reflect on where the survivors are currently, but invites them to go beyond where they are and reflect on ways of coping with their traumatic experiences, both in terms of the interventions they have received and other ways they have used to cope. The chapter examines the interventions received by the South Sudanese participants to cope with traumatic experiences, as well as the resilience portrayed.

Chapter 7 offers a vantage point from where the participants, and I as a researcher, can have an opportunity to consider the journey past and the journey ahead, and the options of how to proceed from this point forward. The chapter discusses the participants' definitions of peace and explores possibilities of peace and peacebuilding that exist in the participants' perceptions of peace, experiences of trauma, interventions received and resilience shown. Based on these perceptions and experiences, the chapter discusses what the journey towards sustainable peace may involve.

Finally, Chapter 8, the conclusion ties all the pieces of the journey together to form one whole, and derive lessons for future journeys.

CHAPTER 2: TRAUMA, PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING: MEANING AND PHILOSOPHY

> I sought thee in a secret cave
>
> And ask'd, if Peace were there
>
> A hollow wind did seem to answer, No:
>
> …
>
> This is the lace of Peace's coat:
>
> I will search out the matter.
>
> -George Herbert, *Peace*, 1633.

This chapter explores the concepts of trauma, peace and peacebuilding and lays a definitional framework of understanding the terms as they are used in this study. The chapter specifically addresses the controversies surrounding the meaning and experience of trauma, the definitional fogginess of the concept of peace, and the multifaceted process of peacebuilding. In doing this, the chapter sets out the terrain of the journey towards peacebuilding, making it more predictable and clearer for us to approach.

2.1 Experiencing Trauma

There seems to be a very thin line between the philosophical and the practical when it comes to contemplating the experience of trauma after mass violence. It is difficult, if not impossible, for one to calmly and logically study and seek to understand the nature of the pain of others without allowing oneself to be touched and moved by it. That is my experience as I contemplate the experience of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya.

Herman (1997, p.33) defines psychological trauma as the sense of being completely overwhelmed by a very stressful event, in which 'the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection, and meaning' are destroyed. This sense of overwhelm means that the attachments of family, friendship, love, and community are shattered, and the belief systems that give meaning to human experience are undermined (Herman, 1997, p. 51).

However, beyond Herman's (1997) definition, the meaning of trauma has been analysed, philosophised and politicised to the extent that it has emerged as an indistinct genre requiring deconstruction. This is more so due to the fact that the term, having been conceived, birthed and nurtured in the West, has now come to be applied universally and timelessly to instances

where people have experienced events that destroy all sense of security and safety. In June 2014, I participated in a training forum on trauma in which participants were encouraged to contextualize the knowledge to their own situations. A fellow African participant, in an unforgettable outburst expressed to me with frustration, 'What is all this talk about trauma? What is trauma anyway? [There is no term that directly translates to trauma in her African mother tongue or mine.] My grandmother taught me how to move on after facing hard circumstances. These people [the trainers] are going to trauma-tise us with their talk on trauma! We'd better be careful.' She was serious and visibly angry.[10]

This simple spontaneous expression triggered a deeper reflection on my part about this 'talk on trauma'. How legitimate was it? What did it really mean? What indeed was 'all this talk about trauma'? In my research arising from a concern for the plight of thousands of South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, victims of a seemingly unending crisis in their country, and previous research with survivors of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, I had tended to take the term for granted and run with it, in the same manner that a novice aid worker or missionary lands in a deprived territory and totally believing his/her motives to be completely pure, begins 'helping' the people.

This contemplation on the meaning of trauma naturally leads to a philosophical question: Is it the 'talk on trauma' that 'trauma-tises' an experience (as my colleague remarked), or is trauma an entity existing out there waiting to be experienced by human beings who are so unfortunate as to get to proximity with it and therefore get traumatised by it? In other words, is trauma constructed by human beings or is it a pre-existing phenomenon? This question and its answer has ramifications for the varied experiences of victims and survivors of war atrocities and the consequences of these experiences, as will emerge in the discussion of the experience of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp.

Many philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists have pondered this question as they have tried to grapple with the concept of trauma (Heidegger, 1927/1996; Foucault, 1965; Herman, 1997; Young, 1995; Edkins, 2003; Ndetei et al, 2006; Moran, 2000;

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[10] This was at the Summer Peacebuilding Institute in Eastern Mennonite University in the United States. Despite this comment, the forum remarkably helped us as participants to clearly contextualise our knowledge of peacebuilding and apply it in different situations. The forum was an exceptionally eye-opening one for me, especially in the area of trauma-sensitivity in the peacebuilding process.

and Bracken, 2003). I will here discuss the deliberations of some of them in an attempt to shed light on the question as it relates to the discussion of the experience of the South Sudanese refugees that follows.

In her universally recognized landmark work *Trauma and Recovery*, Herman (1997) proposes that the understanding of the concept of psychological trauma is provisional, dependent on the political interest of the time, when she says:

> At the moment, the study of psychological trauma seems to be firmly established as a legitimate field of inquiry… But history teaches us that this knowledge could also disappear. Without the context of a political movement, it has never been possible to advance the study of psychological trauma. The fate of this field of knowledge depends upon the fate of the same political movement that inspired and sustained it over the last century (Herman, 1997, p.32).

If this were the case, then it would mean that without the right political will, the meaning and significance of the concept of trauma would wane and could only be saved by a repeat of what brought it to the fore in the first place, the victims of tragedies 'marching in from the peripheries of the story to demand inclusion' as cited in the forward to Herman (1997. p. v).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1989), the term 'trauma' originates from the Greek word literally meaning 'wound or external bodily injury in general'. As Sharpe (2007) points out, the term was used by Freud in psychoanalysis to describe the events that his free association patients associated with their ailment. Freud seemed to suggest that these events 'are as fractious in the fabric of individuals' self-understandings as the puncturing of skin or breaking of bones in physical traumas' (Sharpe, 2007, p.2). Deutscher (2007, p. 10) further summarises the psychoanalytic sense of the word trauma as 'a condition that derives from the distress and disturbance caused by some sort of wound, physical or emotional, and then becomes repressed rather than lived through and lived out'. The idea of trauma as a wound, in the physical sense, is translated to the understanding of trauma as psychological hurt.

Herman (1997) traces the 'forgotten' history of the study of psychological trauma, which has developed in distinct stages and at each stage, been determined by a particular political movement. The first stage studied hysteria, a psychological disorder associated with women, in the late nineteenth century (Herman, 1997, pp. 9-20). This was during the age of the

enlightenment, when men sought to prove that secular enlightenment was scientifically and morally superior to religiosity and its associated superstitions. A solution to hysteria was seen to be a demonstration of this superiority.

The second stage was the study of shell shock or combat neurosis, as the psychological disorders that soldiers developed as a result of being involved in war were known (Herman, 1997, pp. 20-28). This stage began after the First World War (1914-1918) and grew with force after the Vietnam War (1955-1975). As people became increasingly disillusioned with the negative consequences of war, the psychological trauma associated with war, especially as observed among war veterans, came into public consciousness. Psychiatrists undertook systematic investigations of the psychological effects of war. This development flourished under the antiwar political movement. This eventually led to the acceptance of psychological trauma as a proper, recognisable, medical condition:

> In 1980, for the first time, the characteristic syndrome of psychological trauma became a "real" diagnosis. In that year the American Psychiatric Association included in its official manual of mental disorders a new category, called "post-traumatic stress disorder." … Thus the syndrome of psychological trauma... finally attained formal recognition within the diagnostic canon (Herman, 1997, p. 28).

The third stage is the study of sexual and domestic violence. Women's sexual experiences, which had been concealed in the private domain, began being revealed in the public domain, and people became increasingly conscious of the similarities between the psychological effects experienced by survivors of war and those of women who had been sexually abused (Herman, 1997, pp. 28-32). This third stage was made possible by the feminist movement that began in the 1970s, which enabled research, documentation, expression and action in relation to sexual assault of women.

The current stage in the development of the study of psychological trauma is largely influenced by the anti-terrorism movement, post September 2001 (9/11) attack on the United States.   In the wake of actual and feared terrorist attacks in the twenty-first century, and the reality of ongoing conflicts and wars, especially intra-state, across the world, the term 'trauma' has gained a wide currency (Sharpe 2007). The concept of trauma after mass violence has for instance grown in large bounds in the journalism field. The efforts began by the DART Centre

for Journalism and Trauma, a program that started in 1991 with the aim of improving the quality of coverage of traumatic events, and raising awareness of the impact such coverage has on journalists telling the stories, were greatly revamped post 9/11 (Saul, 2014). Previously, it had often been thought that journalists needed to be detached and totally objective in order to tell their stories professionally and accurately. Amongst the lessons relearnt and reemphasized post 9/11 were that journalists could be emotional and subjective in conveying their stories, and that indeed the awareness of their own feelings and reactions to the event could help them report the stories more empathetically.

From 1980 when psychological trauma was included in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III) by the American Psychiatric Association (APA) following official recognition of the symptoms as a 'real' diagnosis (Herman, 1997, p. 28), reference to psychological trauma has become almost synonymous with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The question of how relevant this diagnosis is in different contexts continues to be debated.

The anthropologist, Young (1995, p. 5), like Herman (1997), discusses the provisional nature of the concept of trauma. He disputes the timelessness and intrinsic quality of trauma, and suggests that 'it is glued together by the practices, technologies and narratives with which it is diagnosed, studied, treated, and represented by various interests, institutions, and moral arguments that mobilized these efforts and resources.' His argument is that trauma is constructed by human beings to fit a particular form and fulfill a specific agenda.

Following Young's (1995) train of thought, Edkins (2003, p.43) argues that post-traumatic stress is both historically and geographically specific. She explains this to mean that '…traumatic stress as a possible diagnosis, as something people can be seen and see themselves as suffering from, has become current in a particular time period', and in a particular place, the West. This obviously calls into question the legitimacy of the application of the diagnosis to non-Western societies. This point notwithstanding, the DSM continues to evolve.

 The American Psychiatric Association recently (May, 2013) published the fifth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V) which is used by clinicians worldwide as a guide in understanding and treating mental disorders, including PTSD. In this

new edition, PTSD is no longer categorised as an anxiety disorder, but is placed in a new category called 'Trauma and Stress-related Disorders', which Staggs (2014) notes could help to de-stigmatize it because with this change, PTSD ceases to be seen as an anxiety-related mental illness but rather as a disorder arising from an external event. The diagnostic criteria for PTSD include exposure to a traumatic event such as death, serious injury or sexual violence, intrusion or re-experiencing the event in memories, nightmares or flashbacks, avoidant symptoms such as avoiding any memory of the event, negative alterations in mood or cognitions (which is a new criterion), and increased arousal symptoms which include difficulty in concentrating, irritability, hypervigilance, and being easily startled. The new criteria also include dissociation as a subtype of PTSD, which specifically points to two symptoms: depersonalization or feeling disconnected from oneself, and derealization which is a sense that one's surroundings are not real.

In 2006, a team of 60 African psychiatrists and psychologists attempted to contexualise the American Psychiatric Association's DSM-IV-TR criteria for mental disorders (Ndetei et al, 2006) in *The African Textbook of Clinical Psychiatry and Mental Health,* which has gone a long way in helping to equip mental health workers in Africa with the much needed knowledge and skills to meet the increasing demands for psychological help in African populations. This textbook though, seems to endorse the DSM-IV-TR criteria for PTSD almost to the letter (Ndetei et al, 2006, pp.222-223), taking it for granted that it is as applicable in African situations as it is in North America or any other place in the world for that matter. The argument is, as a medical condition, of necessity and for credibility, the PTSD diagnosis should fit all people indiscriminately, in much the same way as do diagnoses for physical illnesses such as malaria or diabetes.

This medicalisation of trauma could be problematic as it were. While all people belong to the same human species, their experiences and perceptions are mediated by their culture and life circumstances. Bracken (2003), in his presentation of the relationships between trauma, meaning and culture, argues that this medical framing

> …can cover up as well as illuminate the reasons for our pain and suffering. It is often presented to patients as 'the truth' of their condition and serves to silence other possibilities. Psychiatric diagnosis is often little more than a simplification of a complex reality and by formulating an

individual's experience in terms of pathology it can be profoundly disempowering and stigmatizing (Bracken, 2003, p.4).

Bracken argues that a person's experience of his or her illness is not secondary to the medical diagnosis, but has a validity of its own.

And so I turn back to the question of meaning more pointedly. For it appears that it is in the 'gluing together' of the concept of trauma (Young, 1995), the 'advancing' of the study of psychological trauma (Herman, 1997), the 'framing' of what trauma is (Bracken, 2003), and the manner of the 'talk on trauma' as pointed out by my African colleague, that the issue really lies. The work of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) and his approach to the question of meaning, and Bracken's (2003) discourse to which I now turn, sheds further light on the issue with the meaning of trauma.

The Question of 'Being'

Heidegger, influenced by the founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl, aimed at a phenomenological analysis of human existence in his work *Being and Time* (1927/1996). He focused on the question 'What is the meaning of Being?' He was interested in finding out how entities show up as intelligible to us in an established way, so that we are able to say what something is, how it is, or the fact that it is at all. In order to clarify the conditions that make possible an understanding of being, Heidegger, begun his work *Being and Time* (1927/1996) with an analytic of 'Da-sein' or 'Being'.

Heidegger (1927/1962, pp.2-3) underscores the idea that knowledge is dependent on experiential evidence, and rejects the notion of knowledge as a separate entity from 'being'. Heidegger sees 'Being' or 'Da-sein', as the most 'universal concept', and understanding it as 'always already contained in everything we apprehend in beings'. Though the concept is indefinable, this indefinability makes it all the more necessary to grasp its meaning, since we already live in an understanding of 'being'. Heidegger (1927/1996, p. 40) argues:

> The "essence" of Da-sein lies in its existence. The characteristics to be found in this being are thus not objectively present "attributes" of an objectively present being which has such and such an "outward appearance," but rather possible ways for it to be, and only this. The thatness

of this being is primarily being. Thus the term "Da-sein" which we use to designate this being does not express its what, as in the case of table, house, tree, but being.

In Heidegger's understanding then, we cannot dissect existence, how we experience the world, and separate it into distinct parts identifiable as entities in their own right. The essence of 'Being' is as a whole. Heidegger sought to provoke 'a sense of wonder' in regard to how we experience the world (Bracken, 2003, p. 12).

The disciplines of psychology and psychiatry, and consequently the trauma discourse, were historically largely influenced by the European Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment school of thought whose major preoccupation was to replace religion and unreasonable systems of knowledge with science and rationality (Herman, 1997; Bracken, 2003). Of particular note is the impact this understanding had on the treatment of mentally disturbed people, who were considered 'unreasonable'. Foucault (1965) describes how these 'unreasonable' people, the insane, were 'systematically excluded' and confined, so that in 'the inevitable procession of reason',

> Madness will no longer proceed from a point within the world to a point beyond, on its own voyage; it will never again be the fugitive and absolute limit. Behold it moored now, made fast among things and men. Retained and maintained (Foucault, 1965, p.35).

This 'systematic exclusion', of necessity, involved a clear, scientific, universally acceptable diagnosis. This is not to equate 'madness', as referred to by Foucault, with trauma, but to underscore the concentrated involvement that characterised the creating of categories in which to group and classify people and render them more manageable.

With this move to reason and science as systems of knowledge, came the concentration on empiricism and positivism, natural developments of the idea that if knowledge were to be truly credible, it had to be proven through empirical research. Medical research, including psychiatry, followed suit, 'attempting to provide a set of value-free techniques that will alleviate pain and suffering by successfully combating disease' (Bracken, 2003 p.30) and that are cross-culturally applicable and universally acceptable. The DSM which categorises mental disorders is deemed to be 'a-theoretical' and a result of this kind of empirical, scientific

investigation, and PTSD is seen as a 'straightforward' medical condition, with symptoms seen as applicable in all cultural situations (Bracken, 2003, p. 47).

Heidegger's understanding of 'being-in-the world', (Heidegger, 1927/1996; Moran, 2000; Bracken, 2003), sheds light on the question of how we experience the world, and specifically the meaning we attach to phenomena. This understanding stands in contrast to the cognitive disposition that gave rise to the elevation of science and empiricism, positing the mind as something separate from our world, to be studied and analysed as such. This latter position calls for us to stand back from our practical involvement in life. On the contrary, Bracken (2003, pp. 87-89) argues, our practical involvement in life is primary, in fact essential, to 'being' human, and being human, we give meaning to the world we inhabit. The meaning we give to the world is based on the social world we live in.

The world we experience then is not neutral. We encounter the world in this state of embeddedness, which makes it meaningful to us (Heidegger, 1927/1996; Bracken, 2003). Our thoughts, words and feelings are part of this world that we encounter, and are culturally embedded. The main point of Heidegger's argument here according to Bracken (2003, p. 206) is that 'meaning is something generated through our practical engagement with the world'. This has implications for building an understanding of post-traumatic reactions. Bracken contrasts the Heideggerian phenomenological approach from the popular cognitive understanding in relation to trauma. In the cognitive school of thought, trauma is understood to be a reaction of the mind to the shattering of assumptions, or schemas, that pre-exist in our minds regarding the world after an overwhelmingly distressing event (Janoff-Bulman, 1985, pp.15-35). Here, the mind is separate from the world in which the event is happening.

Using the phenomenological (Heideggerian) approach, however, an account of the social world existing before and after the event is of crucial importance and the first step in understanding the impact of the event on the individual or community (Bracken, 2003). While according to cognitivists the problem lies in the mind and how it reacts to what is happening in the world, for Heidegger, the problem is the world as we experience it:

> From a phenomenological point of view, loss of meaning occurs in a broken world, not a broken mind. Trauma has an ontological dimension because it can have the effect of bringing the intelligibility of the world into question. Post-traumatic anxiety is thus a state of Dasein ('being-

in-the-world') in which the meaningfulness of life itself and the situation of Dasein within life have been rendered fragile (Bracken, 2003, p.147).

Bracken sees the Heideggerian approach as thus being able to explain the importance of the social and cultural setting in relation to trauma, since the way an individual or a community's world is meaningful to them will determine how they react to an event. Bracken's understanding, informed by the Heideggerian approach, thus forms a foundation for the understanding of the culturally embedded ways in which the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp understand their experiences, as discussed in this thesis. These culturally-embedded ways include the collective nature of the experience of trauma, as discussed in the next section.

Collective Trauma

The concept of collective trauma refers to the 'shared injuries to a population's social, cultural, and physical ecologies' (Saul, 2014, p. 1). The impact of a traumatic event, such as mass violence, is experienced in relationships in families, communities and societies at large. The social and cultural systems are rendered dysfunctional, and patterns of dependency, paternalism, powerlessness, and social fragmentation ensue (Kantowitz & Riak, 2008; Saul, 2014). While trauma is primarily individually experienced, the experience is in turn 'socially and culturally mediated and determined' (Culbertson & Pouligny, 2007, p. 271). It is not just the individual, but culture itself that is the casualty of the mass violence.

Sarat et al (2007, p. 7) trace the origin of the conceptualisation of trauma as a collective phenomenon to the second half of the twentieth century, with the emergence of the critique on liberalism and its overemphasis on individualism. The liberal worldview was especially critiqued for being unable to deal with the horrors of the Holocaust, and this led to an examination of the collective nature of the ideologies on which racism and prejudice were established, as well as the collective nature of the resultant traumas. Sarat et al (2007, p. 7) point out that as a result:

> Emphasis on social construction and the use of cultural narratives as a means to explain the
> self, produced a shift in trauma analysis by tying it to broad social structures (including

structural violence) and moving it away from the individual as a primary unit of inquiry. Instead, collective identity becomes the unit of analysis and a group that shares an identity such as ethnicity, nationality, gender, or religion is considered as the primary unit that experiences trauma.

The issue of identity is closely tied to the experience of trauma. Identity is among the first casualties of traumatic events. As such, after a traumatic event, the survivors are firmly engaged in attempting to restore their identity. Volkan (2001, p. 79) introduces the concept of 'chosen trauma' as one component of this identity. By chosen trauma, Volkan means 'the shared representation of a massive trauma that the group's ancestors suffered at the hand of an enemy'. During this past event, the group may have suffered loss and experienced shame, humiliation and helplessness, and was unable 'to mourn its losses of people, land or prestige' (Volkan, 2001, p. 87).

This chosen trauma is reawakened or reactivated when a group regresses socially, due to loss of basic trust. Saul (2014, p. 4) similarly alludes to this reawakening arguing that traumatic events easily lead to the opening up of 'previously existing fault lines of racism and other forms of discrimination, social and economic inequalities, and prior historical traumas'. Volkan (2001, p. 79) gives an example of postcolonial Africa among others, where, after the colonial powers retreated, groups were engaged in exaggerated attempts at defining and redefining themselves as a people, often involving violent conflict between tribes that had a lot in common but continued to insist that they were inherently different. This may for instance be seen in the manner of the civil wars in South Sudan discussed in Chapter 1. It is in this effort to protect their identity that the collective nature of the trauma experienced is evident. Volkan (2001, p. 83) argues:

> In these dialogue series, the participants from large groups in conflict appear to wear two layers of 'garments'. The first one fits them snugly and is their individual identity – the basis of their inner sense of sustained sameness. The second layer is a loose covering made of the canvas of the large group's tent (the large-group identity) through which the person shares a persistent sense of sameness with others in the large group. Both garments provide security and protection. But because both are worn every day, the individual hardly notices either one under normal circumstances. When there is a storm, however – that is, during times of collective stress such as economic crisis, drastic political change, social upheaval or war – the garment made of

the tent canvas takes on greater importance, and individuals may collectively seek the protection of, and also help defend, their large-group tent.

The chosen trauma thus becomes woven into the social fabric of the whole group, as it defines what they experience collectively.

The concept of collective trauma becomes particularly relevant in re-imagining peace after violent conflict. The group's ability to engage in peacebuilding activities is impacted negatively and needs to be restored. In the same way that a group has suffered trauma collectively and social systems have been disrupted, subsequent social structures and cultural categories can be collectively reconstructed (Culbertson & Pouligny, 2007, p. 281). This calls for the need to view interventions for survivors of violent conflict with a double lens, the culturally respectful lens (Keane, 2003, p. 358; Baron et al, 2007, p. 250), and the trauma lens (Hart, 2014). Keane (2003, p. 358) underscores the need to collaborate with communities and co-opt the leadership of communities in developing interventions that are culturally sensitive and effective. Maynard (1997, p. 211) proposes the use of 'communalization', which she defines as 'the act of sharing traumatic experiences, perceptions, resulting emotions, and responses with other people in a safe environment' as an important part of the healing from trauma.

Collectively, the capacities of the group to engage in productive activities can be restored through engaging the members of the community in participatory community development processes, which, Kantowitz & Riak (2008, p. 8) suggest, helps to give the communities and groups agency[11] and thus contribute to the healing of trauma.

Saul (2014) similarly underscores the need to recognize and strengthen the community's resilience after collective trauma and argues:

> As collective trauma refers to disruptions of relationships at all levels of human systems, recovery then involves collective processes of readjustment and adaptation and the mobilization of capacities for resilience in families and communities (Saul, 2014, p. 6).

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[11] The concept of agency is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis, in relation to the resilience portrayed by some of the participants of the research.

Understanding trauma as a collective phenomenon thus leads to a conceptualisation of the healing of trauma, the meaning of peace, and subsequent peacebuilding activities as a collective issue, involving relationships, as discussed in the sections that follow, and will emerge further in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

2.2 Defining Peace

Peace is elusive, seemingly unattainable. Yet for centuries, human beings have been seeking to understand it, to know it, grasp it, experience it, and spread it. In an attempt at grasping the meaning of peace, Webel (2012) ascribes both earthly and other-worldly features to peace. He describes it as 'both a means of personal and collective ethical transformation and an aspiration to cleanse the planet of human-inflicted destruction' (Webel, 2012, p. 69). Webel argues that despite the attempt by psychologists and philosophers to illuminate the subject of peace for over a century, a deep understanding of peace remains inchoate. Like light, it is intangible, but all the more apparent and easier to define in its absence (Webel, 2012, p. 72).

The complexity and indistinctness of the concept of peace, however, does not discourage us from trying to understand it. For as Richmond (2007, p. 204) observes, 'Where people's lives are at stake there is little more that can be done than try, learn, and try again, aware, but unaware, enlightened but still blind'. And so we continue to grapple on, not knowing, and not having any certainty, but with the belief and hope that even the little we know and continue to discover will in some way contribute to alleviating the situation of those affected by violent conflict.

'The peace that I can see is you', said Amuka,[12] one of the participants of this research, when I asked her what she understood by the term peace. Amuka had left her home in South Sudan fourteen years previously, after her parents and her husband had been killed in the civil war. She had sought refuge in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, where she had remarried, and after the birth of two children, her second husband had also died. Now she was lonely and wanted someone to visit and talk with her. In a small, personal way, I was 'her peace'.

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[12] Interview with Amuka, KRF06 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

On December 10 1948, Eleanor Roosevelt said of Human Rights in her speech during the adoption of a resolution endorsing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights before the General Assembly of the United Nations:

> Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In *small places, close to home - so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world* (italics added) … Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world (Roosevelt, 1948).

The same can be said about peace as of human rights. Peace begins in small places close to home, and unless peace has meaning in these small places, it may not have meaning anywhere else. For Amuka, peace began right there, where she was, sitting on a mat outside her hut in hot, dry and dusty Kakuma, and me sitting next to her, listening to her story.

Peace can be defined as both a process and a goal: a process in the sense of an aspiration towards an optimum, idealistic point, and a goal in the sense of an achievable global objective (Richmond, 2012, pp. 36-38). The ontological shakiness of the term peace seems to match the deficiency of the experience of peace. It is perhaps this murkiness of meaning that causes peace to appear to have been on trial throughout history as Cortright (2012, p.118) observes, 'standing like a forlorn defendant before the court of established opinion, misunderstood and maligned on all sides'. If peace cannot stand up for itself, why should others stand for it, this critique seems to argue.

And so peace has tried to 'stand up for itself' as it were, by seeking to establish itself as a legitimate discipline in its own right. Stephenson (1999) traces the development of peace studies, which began being identified as a separate field of inquiry during the first decades after World War II. In the mid-1960s, Johan Galtung advanced the concepts of positive peace and negative peace. Negative peace, according to Galtung, refers to the absence of direct violence and the absence of massive killings of humans. Positive peace, by contrast, involves the absence of structural violence which includes suffering caused by economic and political structures of exploitation and repression, and the absence of the cultural violence that legitimises direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1975, 1976, 2012).

Stephenson (1999, pp. 813-817) further describes the three waves that characterised the development of peace studies. The first wave was in the 1930s, and involved quantitative analyses of war. The conclusion of these analyses was that improving the knowledge base was necessary to deal with the problem of war. Following this, peace studies began in earnest as an academic field in the 1940s and early 1950s.The second wave began in the late 1960s and early 1970s and involved democratisation of peace research. The agenda of peace studies broadened from the causes and character of war, to the varieties of violence and injustice, as advanced by Galtung. This period was influenced by the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement, as well as the feminist movement. The third wave was in the 1980s, characterised by antinuclear concerns, and influenced by peace movements all over the world. Research work focused on international conflict resolution.

After the Cold War, peace studies began concentrating on other conflicts, and was greatly influenced by the demand for human rights. Ethnic and national conflicts came into the fore. There was increased emphasis on social change, social movements, ethnic and identity-based conflicts, sustainable development, and conflict resolution and conflict dynamics (Stephenson, 1999, p. 818). This development of peace studies as a discipline, however, has not halted the continued inquiry into the meaning of peace, but rather served to give it a framework in which it can develop unabated.

A reflection of peace as a multilayered phenomenon may illuminate the understanding of peace further, and render it more accessible. With this understanding, peace is conceived as having different levels that form a whole. De Prewitt (2012) represents the different levels or layers of peace in the diagram below (Figure 2.1).
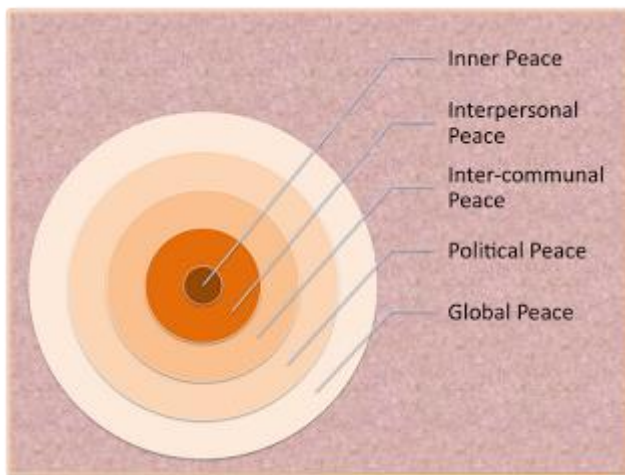
Figure 2.1: Levels of Peace

The very inner core, the first layer of peace, represents the individual state of mind and heart. It emphasizes the importance of a heart at peace. A person with a heart at peace has reconciled the seemingly conflicting realities he/she experiences in an imperfect situation (of violent conflict for instance), and not allowed it to dictate his/her choice. The second layer, interpersonal peace, represents one's interactions with those who live in close proximity to him or her, including family and neighbours. The third layer, inter-communal peace, represents interactions within the larger communal group, which may be organised around location, religion, ethnicity, profession, or social class. The fourth layer, political peace, represents interactions between the different communal groups that form the larger society, or the political state. The final layer, global peace, goes beyond the boundaries of self, neighbourhood, community, and nation, and encompasses peace in a universal sense.

While De Prewitt's diagram seems to posit that these layers sequentially build from the inside-out towards a whole state of world peace, the reality is more nuanced. Rather, the layers form a complex interplay towards achieving peace. Illustrations of this concept of peace as multilayered will be further seen in the discussions of the South Sudanese refugees' perceptions of peace in Chapter 7.

Richmond (2007, pp.184-191) notes that the different modes of thinking about peace tend to overlap and hence cannot be taken as 'closed categorisations' (p.184). Rather, they form a complex web. This complex web illustrates the intersubjectivity of peace as understood by the many different actors, and gives rise to 'the hybrid permutation of peace – a liberal peace' (p.

184). The web comprises in the different approaches generally used to conceptualise peace. Richmond (2007, p. 185) identifies the internal and external binary of peace, which demonstrates the disparity between local and international actors' understanding of peace. This is closely related to the top-down and bottom-up construction of peace. Peace as a top-down construction means its achievement depends on international or state-level official actors, while peace as a bottom-up construction, as depicted in De Prewitt's (2012) model, means it is derived from individuals, communities and civil society actors (Richmond, 2007, p.188).

Richmond further identifies the concept of the victor's peace, in which 'the object of war is peace on the terms of the victor' (p. 186). A victor's peace arises from the hegemonic nature of the act of defining peace. The states, actors, agencies or NGOs with the most power and influence dominate in identifying the nature of peace and how to bring it about, depending on the issues they need to respond to. Richmond identifies dominant liberal states, the UN secretariat, the General Assembly, international agencies and NGOs, and the media, as key in the identification process (p. 187). Related to this concept is the idea of the geography of peace, in which certain zones are identified as peace zones and others as conflict zones. The two zones are conceptualised as completely separate, and 'if peace is to be spread into conflict zones external actors must gain access in order to mount a crusade in which the zones of conflict are normalised' (p. 190).[13]

The interplay of the different layers of peace is further illustrated by a description of how the inner personal core and the intercommunal layer affect the national and international layers. The Institute of Economics and Peace (2012) notes that a higher per capita income and high levels of well-being and economic sustainability are a mark of a peaceful society. Yet, as Gasana (2008, p. 156) notes, when people are struggling with inner pain as a result of the atrocities of war, they become dysfunctional and unproductive. Drawing on his own personal experience as a survivor of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and a peace and development practitioner, Gasana (2008, pp. 145) argues that there is need for emotional healing from the

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[13] Richmond (2007, p. 189) further identifies the temporal concepts of peace in which peace as it exists in the present is seen to be fatally flawed and in need of revision and reinforcement. Peace is seen to be existing in its ideal form in the future, and is achievable through application of specific methods and engagement with certain actors. This concept of a future peace, an imaginary ideal form, is further discussed in Chapter 7, in relation to peace as conceptualised by the participants of this research.

trauma caused by war in order to 'recover functional capacities and the creativity necessary for social and economic productivity'.

From this cyclical state of affairs then, while the nation demands of its citizens to be economically productive so that it can be said to be at peace in the global arena, the citizens 'demand' healing from what they have suffered in order to be at peace and therefore economically productive. Who will go first then? This research seeks to understand this seemingly paradoxical relationship by asking individuals how they feel and what they perceive to be barriers to peace.

With the understanding of peace as a multilayered concept, it seems expedient to pay careful attention to the initial layers, in order to lay a firm foundation for the eventual layers. The attention to detail given to the intricate and elaborate designs of the foundations of the Burj Khalifa in Dubai, currently the world's tallest building (Emporis Research, 2014), give a good illustration of what is needed to build sustainable peace, seemingly the world's 'tallest' aspiration. Poulos and Bunce (2008) describe the thorough assessment of the foundation for the Burj Khalifa that was carried out to ensure that piled foundations would be appropriate to hold the construction. A number of analyses were used to assess the response of the foundation, and an overall stability assessment was done. The preparations, time, costs, concentration and commitment that went into the establishment of these foundations are complex.

This research argues that a similar level of concentration and commitment is needed for the establishment of the foundations of peace, at the individual, interpersonal and communal levels. During and after violent conflict, the survivors, as individuals and communities, need to rebuild their lives from the inside out (Lambourne & Gitau, 2013). Concentrating on brokering peace for the nation by international bodies without handling the emotional and psychological effects of the atrocities on the individuals and communities affected appears like building the towers and spires of the Burj Khalifa without laying the foundations in the detail described. The Jewish philosopher Martin Buber's notion of 'I and Thou' (Buber, 1922/2002), which offers a basis for understanding peace as relationship, contributes to the idea of building the foundations that are necessary in helping individuals and communities negotiate the negative effects of mass violence and to be well on the path to peace.

Peace as Relationship

In his treatise 'I and Thou', Buber (1922/2002) posits that there cannot be an 'I' without a 'You', and the 'I' can only be fully a person, and exist in entirety, in relation to the 'You'. Buber says:

> When one says You, the I of the word pair I-You is said too. ... the basic word I-You can only be spoken with one's whole being. (Buber, 1922/2002, p. 181).

Alternately, the 'I' can be spoken in relation to an 'It' in the I-It basic word, but Buber argues that 'The basic word I-It can never be spoken with one's whole being'. In other words, a person can relate to others as either fellow human beings or as objects, and when he/she relates to others as objects, he/she is not fully human. 'The basic word I-You establishes the world of relation' (Buber, 1922/2002, p. 183).

But the depth of relationship that Buber visualizes is greater than a simple 'I-You' relationship, or simply treating the other as a human being, for the 'You' he describes

> … fills the firmament. Not as if there were nothing but he; but everything else lives in *his* light… The concentration and fusion into a whole being can never be accomplished by me; can never be accomplished without me. I require a You to become; becoming I, I say You' (Buber, 1922/2002, pp. 183-184).

'I', the individuality of a person, only emerges through encountering others, and this individuality depends on the quality of relationship with the 'You', the Other. The Other and 'I' enter into a mutually affirming relationship. This speaks to the dialogical nature of reality. As the 'I' and the 'You' encounter each other, reality arises for both.

 In a sense then, the 'I' and the 'You' in the 'I-You' word pair are one, and life and experience loses meaning if this oneness is dismantled as happens in situations of violent conflict. For as Buber further argues,

When man lets it (the I-It) have its way, the relentlessly growing It world grows over him like weeds, his own I loses its actuality, until the incubus over him and the phantom inside him exchange the whispered confession of their need for redemption' (Buber, 1922/2002, p. 187).

In Buber's understanding then, a state of peace in relation to others is the natural state, whereas a state of violence and conflict, where the 'I' sees the other as an object, is the unnatural one, and against the latter, one's whole being is repulsed. The very nature of life is disturbed. This is the meaning of peace as a background condition for the perception of everything else. This may explain why it is so difficult to grasp the concept of peace, for it is like trying to lay hold of existence itself, a concept most of us take for granted.

Lederach (1997) similarly underscores the centrality of relationship in the peace discourse. He argues that in the same way the physical world operates, according to quantum and chaos theory, through the interaction and integration of parts of a system as a whole rather than the operation of parts as independent entities, relationship is the centerpiece of solving conflicts. Lederach describes relationship as 'both the basis of the conflict and its long-term solution', and reconciliation of necessity needs to involve 'mechanisms that engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humans-in-relationship' (Lederach, 1997, p. 26).

This research adopts a rather cautious understanding of peace as relationship, a condition affecting the perception of everything else, and a state that no matter how tenuous it may seem, is desirable and worth striving towards.

2.3 Understanding Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding, a term that came into existence through the work of Johan Galtung, 'Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding' (1976) refers to the mechanisms and activities put in place in order to address the 'root causes' of violent conflict, and explore ways of managing and resolving conflict. This is in an attempt to transform a society from a state of violence to peace. The term however came into the international realm through the former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in *An Agenda for Peace* published in 1992, when he defined it as 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict' (Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

This definition and scope of peacebuilding was expanded in the *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace* published in 1995, to encompass all phases of conflict, and again in the *2000 Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations* (the Brahimi Report) as

> activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war (Global Policy Forum, 2000).

In 2007, the UN Secretary General's Policy Committee agreed on the following conceptual basis for peacebuilding:

> Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives (UN, 2008).

Despite all these developments, peacebuilding remains 'a fragile undertaking with mixed results' (Tschirgi, 2004, p. i). The focus of international peacebuilding is chiefly on the relationship with the government of the affected country, not on the local actors and structures (Da Costa & Karlsrud, 2013; Paris, 2004). This kind of peacebuilding has been criticised for having a state-centric bias as opposed to having a 'people-centred, locally owned' approach (Baker & Scheye 2007, p.503). The central task is seen as building the state itself, which depends upon a common societal consensus on the values and laws underpinning the state, as much as on basic, functioning institutions. As Baker and Scheye (2007) further note, this focus seems to be ignoring the fact that state-building endeavours may be illegitimate in the eyes of the majority of the population, and that the separation and displacement caused by war and other mass violence may make it impossible to identify a 'common societal consensus'.

South Sudan, as with many other societies emerging from conflict, may benefit from fostering a 'civil peace' which requires individual agency and a focus on what Oliver Richmond (2007, p.215) has called 'emancipatory' peacebuilding. As Richmond (2007, p. 102) argues, the

original social justice goals of the liberal model emphasised in peace studies theory have been undermined in the 'contemporary peacebuilding project' in which multidimensional peacekeeping has given way to state-building, and the welfare and well-being of the populations affected by the conflict have become marginalised. Goetschel and Hagmann (2009, p. 57) pointedly refer to the remoteness of such peacebuilding projects to the local communities, the so-called beneficiaries, who are rarely involved in the definition of what peace is or should be.

The international approach to peacebuilding, reflected in various UN definitions, is based on the concept of 'liberal peace' which views political and economic liberalisation as the remedies of violent conflict, and posits promotion of human rights, democracy, elections, constitutionalism, rule of law, property rights, good governance, and neo-liberal economics as part of the peacebuilding strategy (Tschirgi 2004, p.5). According to Richmond (2007, p.183), this liberal peace has been deemed universal and attainable

> … if the correct methods are concertedly and consistently applied by a plethora of different actors working on the basis of an agreed peacebuilding consensus, and focusing on the regimes, structures, and institutions required at multiple levels of analysis and in multiple issue areas by liberal governance.

This approach seems to raise debates about hegemony, with clearly defined roles of interveners (the international actors) as the superior actors, and the recipients of the intervention as the inferior actors.

The challenge of what approaches work at different levels and contexts of peacebuilding remains. It seems prudent to appreciate the complexity of the field of peacebuilding and not to generalise or be quick to dismiss varying attempts at building peace after violent conflict as completely ineffective. Paris (2011), while critiquing the critiques of liberal peacebuilding, warns against an oversimplification of the moral complexity of international peacebuilding, and calls for a more thorough evaluation of its various benefits. He argues:

> It is a truism to observe that there are elements of 'folly' in every human institution, including international peacebuilding. If we accept this as a given, the more important ethical issue is whether international peacebuilding, viewed as a whole, not just in fragments, remains a

justified and worthwhile enterprise. Among other considerations, answering this question requires careful assessment of possible alternative courses of action (or inaction). To arrive at sweeping moral judgments about peacebuilding based on fragmentary analysis is not only methodologically suspect, but it is ethically problematic in itself, given how much is at stake in debates over how and when to provide assistance to societies emerging from conflict (Paris, 2011, p. 46).

It is with this sensitivity to the complexities of the whole spectrum of approaches to peacebuilding that this research takes a cautious outlook to the peacebuilding process and does not lay claim to the answer to the problem of peacebuilding, but rather seeks to underscore an important addition to the approaches to make the realisation of peace after mass violence more feasible.

The different understandings of peacebuilding point to the conceptualisations of how to achieve peace for the people in conflict zones: either through top-down activities, or from bottom-up activities (Richmond, 2007, p. 188). Top-down activities involve external actors and institutions such as the UN, states and NGOs acting from above and imposing their knowledge of peace and how to achieve it, and directing the activities of the affected population. This also reflects building peace 'from the outside-in' as illustrated in De Prewitt's (2012) diagram of layers of peace. The bottom-up approach indicates the involvement of the local actor and indigenous communities in designing and implementing peacebuilding mechanisms, which can be described as building peace 'from inside-out' (Richmond, 2007, p. 188). Broome and Hatay (2006, p.631) describe the two levels, the macro-level political approach to peacebuilding and the micro-level psychosocial approaches as coexisting to improve the process of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding can therefore be seen as benefitting from both approaches.

The field of peacebuilding is still in the process of identifying the various pieces of the puzzle that are needed for building sustainable peace, and how each piece contributes to the process and is part of an integrated whole (Jeong, 2005, p. 14). This research seeks to investigate one of these pieces of the puzzle, the trauma-sensitivity piece, in interventions for survivors of violent conflict. The work of the peacebuilding practitioner and scholar, John Paul Lederach, to which I now turn, sheds further light to understanding the process of peacebuilding, in its different components.

Peacebuilding Imagined

Lederach's (1997, p.20) definition of peacebuilding as 'a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships' most aptly captures the focus of this study. Lederach conceptualises peace as a social construct, which requires the process of building. The building process of necessity involves careful consideration of the materials needed, investing in getting the materials ready for the construction, careful deliberation of the architectural design to be applied, laying the foundation, attention to detail in the finish work, and continued maintenance (Lederach, 1997), much in the same way as detailed in the description of the building of the Burj Khalifa (Poulos & Bunce, 2008).

Lederach (1997) further outlines the conceptual, analytical framework that could be used to realise this construction of peace. He proposes a set of lenses that can be used to transform conflict and construct peace in contexts of armed conflict. The first analytical lens he proposes is reconciliation, which involves building relationship between antagonists. Reconciliation is seen as involving efforts to engage the two parties to the conflict with each other 'as humans-in-relationship' (Lederach, 1997, p. 26). Further, reconciliation involves acknowledging and addressing what has happened in the past. Lederach (1997, p. 26) notes:

> People need opportunity and space to express to and with one another the trauma of loss and their grief at that loss, and the anger that accompanies the pain and the memory of injustices experienced. Acknowledgement is decisive in the reconciliation dynamic. It is one thing to *know*; it is yet a very different social phenomenon to *acknowledge*. Acknowledgment through hearing one another's stories validates experience and feelings and represents the first step toward restoration of the person and the relationship.

The second analytical lens Lederach proposes is the lens of structure, for describing the levels of an affected population. Lederach conceptualises these levels in the form of a pyramid. The first level, represented by the pinnacle of the pyramid and having just a few people, comprises of the top leadership. These include the military, political and religious leaders in the community of the affected population. They are the people with high visibility and focus on high-level negotiations such as cease-fires in their approaches to peacebuilding. The second level, the middle-range leadership, is made up of leaders who are respected in various sectors

such as ethnic, religious, academic sectors or NGOs. These leaders use such approaches as problems-solving workshops, training in conflict resolution or establishing peace commissions, to build peace. The third level, represented at the base of the pyramid and having the majority of the population, is the grassroots leadership. These include the local community leaders, leaders of indigenous NGOs, local health officials, and refugee camp leaders. They engage in such approaches to peacebuilding as local peace commissions, grassroots training and psychosocial work in postwar trauma. Lederach (1997) explains how the different levels are related and integrated in constructing a peace process. He emphasises the need to take into consideration the '*legitimacy, uniqueness*, and *interdependency*' of the needs and resources of each of these levels in building peace (Lederach, 1997, p. 60).

The third analytical lens that Lederach proposes is the process lens, which views peacebuilding as a process made up of various functions and roles, and examines the dynamics of that process. The roles, functions and activities are interdependent and 'together create the possibility of sustainable transformation, moving the conflict dynamic toward the goal of more peaceful relations' (Lederach, 1997, p. 70).

The philosophy of peacebuilding adopted in this study is derived from Lederach's (2005) subsequent work, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Peacebuilding.* While acknowledging that peacebuilding is indeed a complex task, Lederach (2005) seeks to embrace simplicity in identifying four simple disciplines that form 'the moral imagination' and when practiced make peacebuilding possible. These four disciplines are relationship, paradoxical curiosity, creativity, and risk (Lederach, 2005, p. 34).

On relationships, Lederach observes that even in the midst of violent conflict, it is possible to imagine the ties that bind people together as human beings, thus transcending and breaking the barriers that separate them as enemies. The second part of Talia's dream in the background of this study illustrates this realisation, when she came to see the vulnerability of her pursuer, identified with him, and gave him her shoes. This aspect of relationships will be explored further in discussing the experiences of the participants of the research, in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

 This interconnectedness of people with their enemies, Lederach calls a 'web of relationship' (Lederach, 2005, pp. 34-35), and the essence of peacebuilding involves 'the art of web making and web watching'. In other words, peacebuilding efforts need to concentrate on understanding

the dynamics and potentials of this web, and tapping into them. Relationships provide the context for the realisation, the 'moral imagination' that '… ultimately the quality of our life is dependent on the quality of life of others… that the well-being of our grand-children is directly tied to the well-being of our enemy's grandchildren' (Lederach, 2005, p. 35). This is related to Martin Buber's understanding of the 'I-You' relationship, especially the notion that 'I' requires 'You' to exist and be fully human (Buber, 1922/2002). This interconnectedness is also reflected in the African social ethic of Ubuntu, which means 'one is a person through others', a unifying notion, according to which all persons are interconnected (Gade, 2013).

Relationships are central to humanity. Building peace is an effort to restore relationships that violent conflict has endeavoured to destroy: an effort to restore humanity. In his exploration of what makes us human and driven to care about other human beings subjected to violent conflict and other atrocities, Rorty (1999) concludes that it is neither rationality as advanced by Plato, nor a moral obligation of all human beings as posited by Kant, but rather the capacities for friendship, relationships, and sentimentality. He argues these capacities help us 'to tolerate, and even to cherish … people whose appearance or habits or beliefs at first seemed an insult to our own moral identity, our sense of the limits of permissible human variation' (Rorty, 1999, p. 80). In a simple way, Talia, in the background of this research, demonstrates this in her attitude toward her 'enemy' at the end.

The second discipline, paradoxical curiosity, Lederach (2005, p. 36) defines as the ability to 'rise above dualistic polarities'. This involves an appreciation and respect for the complexity of issues in the conflict context, an aversion to putting things in either/or categories or containers and an inquisitiveness that allows for multiple and even contradictory social realities. Again, like with the web of relationships, this discipline calls for effort in mobilizing this imagination. This paradoxical curiosity is for instance reflected in situations where perpetrators in a conflict end up becoming victims and seeking refuge alongside the people they fought. Sometimes those who had been on opposite sides of the conflict have to live as neighbours in a refugee camp, and share amenities

Paradoxical curiosity involves avoiding quick conclusions, suspending judgement, embracing ambiguity and exploring the contradictions presented for the possibility of a value that supersedes the contradictions (Lederach, 2005, pp. 36-37). The 'I-You' relationship described in Buber's philosophy and that underlies the understanding of peace in this study, is

characterized by this paradoxical curiosity, inquisitiveness, discovery and learning, as opposed to the dualistic positioning and rigidity that characterises the 'I-It' relationships (Buber, 1922/2002; Broome & Hatay, 2006). This latter type of relationship does not give opportunity for peace to be built, as each party remains inflexible in their position of how things ought to be.

The third discipline is the creative act. According to Lederach, this is the discipline through which the moral imagination is expressed. Since it is still an imagination, the notion can only be expressed by going beyond what is experienced, while speaking to it at the same time, as is the nature of poetry, fine art, music and creative writing. A story is told of a poet who would publicly condemn the injustices of his intolerant government again and again in his public poetry recitals. Each time, the police officers would come to arrest him for disloyalty two or three months after the incident of his recital. Apparently it took his government that long to figure out what he was exactly saying against the government! Lederach (2005, p. 38) defines artists as

> … people who live on the thresholds of the communities they inhabit, from whence the pulse of their lifework emerges and to which they speak. However, by being on the edge they also pose a threat for they push the edges of what is thought to be real and possible.

This discipline requires providing space for the creative act, and believing that it is possible even in settings of violence. This act provides a turning point, creating 'the vision and belief that the future is not the slave of the past and the birth of something new is possible' (Lederach, 2005, p. 39).

The 2012 documentary film *Sweet Dreams* about the Rwandan women's drumming troupe *Ingoma Nshya* exemplifies the creative act as envisioned by Lederach (2005, p. 38), 'pushing the edges of what is thought to be real and possible'. The unusual women's drumming troupe was founded by playwright Odile Katese with women from both sides of the 1994 genocide (though women in Rwanda were traditionally not allowed to drum), and led to the opening of an ice-cream store in 2010, which also brings together people from both sides of the genocide. Scott Foudras (2013) wrote about it in his review:

Although the 1994 genocide and its aftermath have been explored extensively in both narrative and nonfiction films over the past decade, *Sweet Dreams* nevertheless forges its own path dwelling less on the violent crimes of the past than on the *small but meaningful ways* [italics added] in which a once-divided people are working to rebuild the social and psychological health of their country (Foudras, 2013).

This research seeks to contribute to the exploration of the 'small but meaningful ways' that may help in building peace in a society ravaged by conflict. These ways are of necessity derived from an involved understanding of the experiences and perceptions of the people involved in the conflict.

The fourth and final discipline is the willingness to take a risk. This involves stepping into the unknown without having an assurance that things will turn right, but doing it all the same. In the context of violent conflict, the reality, what is known is the conflict, and the unknown, the mystery is peace. Only an 'imagination' or vision of what can be, what is possible, can help people to engage in activities that may lead to peace. What this research proposes, an emphasis on trauma-sensitivity in the interventions received by survivors of violent conflict, involves taking a risk as it entails people opening up their hearts and risking being hurt. By allowing me to interview them, the participants of this research took a risk by exposing their pain and hurt as they expressed what they had gone through during the conflict, and how they had ended up in Kakuma. Further, this whole study is a risk as it were, in the sense that it seeks to explore a sensitive area of study that is pertinent in the world today, peacebuilding after mass violence, and proposes a way to improve it, through trauma-sensitivity.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the concepts of trauma, peace and peacebuilding, examined the current debates in the field, and laid a definitional framework of understanding the concepts as they are applied in this study. The first section has considered a definition of trauma, and discussed the meaning of trauma as postulated by different philosophers, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists. The study of psychological trauma developed in distinct stages, and each stage was determined by a particular political movement. A discussion of the work of the German philosopher Martin Heidegger and Bracken's (2003) discourse on Heidegger's work, in relation to the question of 'Being', sheds further light on the meaning and experience

of trauma, and the concept of collective trauma demonstrates the culturally-embedded ways in which trauma is understood.

The second section has discussed the complexity of the concept of peace, and attempted a definition. Peace is understood as both a process and a goal. The indistinctness of a peace definition is seen to be related to the deficiency of the experience of peace. This section has traced the development of peace studies as an attempt at solidifying the concept of peace as a discipline. Peace as understood by many different actors is further seen as multilayered and intersubjective. Finally, peace is seen as relationship, as postulated by the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber in his 'I-Thou' philosophy.

The last section has traced the development of the concept of peacebuilding, starting with the work of John Galtung (1975, 1976) and the UN definitions of peacebuilding. An understanding of the term peacebuilding remains fragile, and this poses challenges to understanding what approaches work at different levels and in different contexts. There is need for an appreciation of the complexity of the field, in attempting to examine the pieces of the puzzle needed to build peace. The work of the peacebuilding practitioner and scholar, John Paul Lederach, is seen to shed light on understanding the philosophy and process of peacebuilding. With this background of the meaning of the concepts of trauma, peace and peacebuilding, the next chapter will focus on the methodology of the research.

CHAPTER 3: A QUALITATIVE INQUIRY OF TRAUMA INTERVENTIONS AND PEACEBUILDING AMONGST SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP: METHODOLOGY

> Researching is often a fluid and flexible exercise likely to incorporate the unexpected.
>
> -Zina O'Leary, *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project*, 2014, p. 25

This chapter depicts the journey towards discovery of what is important for the participants of the study to achieve peace. Here I lay out the methodology used for this journey. I describe how data for the study was collected, who the participants of the research were, and how the data was analysed using two different methods, firstly using grounded theory with phenomenology as the underlying principle, and secondly narrative inquiry. I also explore the interplay of the participants' journey towards peace in their lives and in their country, and my own journey towards discovering what is crucial for peacebuilding.

3.1 Data Collection

The study used semi-structured interviews aimed at eliciting data that was grounded in the experiences of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, and also focused on the topic of research. For these interviews, I had a framework of themes to be explored and a number of guiding questions, but was open to new ideas arising as a result of what the participants said. Semi-structured interviews allow for a variety of types of questions in data collection (Galletta, 2013).

This design of interviews was informed by the interpretivist theory of social science which pays attention mainly to the context of events and meanings of phenomena (Denscombe, 2003, p.280). Principally, Denzin's (1989) concept of *interpretive interactionism* informed the interview design. This is a mode of qualitative research that seeks to capture the voices, emotions and actions of those studied, and to understand their individual and anecdotal experiences. In his approach, Denzin is interested in the interrelationship between 'private

lives' and 'public responses' to personal troubles, and emphasises the uniqueness of each individual life. The argument that organises his approach is that:

> We must grasp, understand, and interpret correctly the perspectives and experiences of those persons who are served by applied programs if we are to create solid and effective programs (Denzin, 2001, pp.2-3).

Interpretive interactionism does admit that it is not quite possible to do value-free interpretive research, because every researcher brings into the research his or her own preconceived ideas, values and interpretations of the issue being studied (Denzin, 2001; Gadamer, 1975; Heidegger, 1927/1996).

Heidegger's (1927/1996) concept of the *hermeneutical situation* or *hermeneutical circle* explains this point further:

> Every interpretation has its fore-having, its fore-sight, and its fore-conception. If such an interpretation becomes an explicit task of an inquiry, the totality of these "presuppositions" (which we call the *hermeneutical situation*) needs to be clarified and made secure beforehand both in a fundamental experience of the "object" to be disclosed, and in terms of that experience… Such an interpretation obliges us first to give a phenomenal characterization of the being we have taken as our theme and thus bring it into the scope of our fore-having with which all the subsequent steps of our analysis are to conform. But at the same time these steps need to be guided by the possible fore-sight of the kind of being of the being in question. Fore-having and fore-sight then prefigure at the same time the conceptuality (fore-conception) to which all the structures of being are to be brought (p. 214).

What (knowledge) the researcher already has, what he or she perceives and conceptualises of the topic of his or her study, that is 'the totality of the "presuppositions"', needs to be acknowledged prior to the study, for these presuppositions invariably influence the meaning assigned to the phenomenon being studied. In the design of the interviews for this study, I 'presupposed' that the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma had gone through traumatic experiences in the war, had received certain interventions in Kakuma refugee Camp, and were desirous of peace. Further, I presupposed that the experience of trauma by the participants in the study posed a barrier to peace, and the kind of interventions they received as well as how the interventions were delivered and perceived impacted on the eventual situation with regard

to peace for the participants. My understanding of the concepts of trauma, peace, peacebuilding and interventions was greatly influenced by an interplay of the my own African culture, Western education, community counselling practice in Kenya, informal interactions with South Sudanese refugees in Kenya and in Sydney, Australia, and ongoing study and research in the field of refugee trauma, interventions and peacebuilding.

Gadamer (1975, pp. 269-270) develops Heidegger's argument on the *hermeneutical circle* further, underscoring that in light of the influence of the 'presuppositions' of the meaning of phenomena, an interpreter ought to keep his or her 'gaze fixed on the thing throughout all the constant distractions that originate in the interpreter'. The distractions in this case are not considered a negative occurrence, but part of what gives the phenomenon being studied meaning, as the researcher projects meaning into what he or she is studying based on the presuppositions, revises this projection in view of what emerges as he or she studies the phenomenon, and so forth until a unity of meaning is gained, all the time constantly gazing on the thing itself.

Based on the foregoing understanding, the guiding questions asked of the participants were open-ended, to create space for the participants to narrate their experiences (Galletta, 2013). The questions sought to capture the participants' voices and emotions. They did not follow a given fixed format, but generally followed the following layout:

1. *Briefly relate to me your experience of the war that led to your coming to the camp.* The question sought to help the researcher understand what the participant had experienced, and helped in correlating these experiences with the methods of coping used by the participants and the interventions provided in the camp.

2. *How did you cope with these experiences before coming to the camp?* This question sought to find out if the participants had used any particular inner coping strategies or community-based mechanisms to cope during their experiences of the war, and also sought to find out the relationship of these strategies to the interventions provided in the camp.

3. *What interventions have you received at the camp to help you cope with the experiences of war?* This question sought to find out what particular interventions had been employed at the camp to help the participants in dealing with trauma.

4. *What do you think about these interventions? How do you feel they have helped you in dealing with your experiences?* The question sought to get the refugees' thoughts and perceptions about the interventions and their impact.

5. *What is your definition of peace?* The question sought to find out the participants' understanding of peace in the backdrop of their experiences of the war, and interventions received at the camp.

6. *What would you say is the relationship between the interventions you receive at the camp and peace in South Sudan?* The question sought to establish the link between trauma interventions and peacebuilding in South Sudan according to the participants.

3.2 Participants

The participants for the study were South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, who include, as explained in Chapter 1, some participants from the border region of South Kordofan. I chose Kakuma because of its easier accessibility to me as a researcher coming from Kenya, and because at the time of the research, there was ongoing fighting in South Sudan that made it difficult to travel and conduct the research in situ. There was an increasing number of refugees coming to Kakuma as a result of the ongoing fighting, making it easier to identify participants for the research.

In Kakuma, participants were recruited through the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), one of the partnering agencies of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at Kakuma Refugee Camp. An officer from the Peacebuilding Unit of LWF described the study to the South Sudanese refugee community leaders, explained that participation was on an opt-in basis, and assigned a 'case worker', who also served as an interpreter, to work with me. Case workers are recruited by LWF from among the refugee community to help identify any issues of concern within the community and forward them to the agency for follow-up. The case worker I was assigned to work with was from the South Sudanese community, and helped to interpret in instances where the participants could not speak either English or Kiswahili.

I chose a sample using the non-probability sampling method known as purposeful sampling. In purposeful sampling, a sample is chosen based on the subjective judgement of the researcher (Patton, 1990). The researcher selects the participants for the study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 2007). For

this study, with the help of the case worker, I chose a sample that consisted of South Sudanese refugees, representing both male and female participants of varying ages, varying duration of stay in the camp, and representing at least five different ethnic groups. The maximum variation sampling technique was applied in this selection, to capture a wide range of experiences of this group (Patton, 1990). In maximum variation, a criterion to differentiate the participants is determined in advance, and then participants that are quite different in that criteria are chosen (Creswell, 2007; Sandelowski, 1995; Coyne, 1997). The technique of maximizing the differences increases the chance that the findings will reflect varying perspectives of the phenomenon of study. This variation is consistent with the intent of qualitative research which 'is not to generalize the information…, but to elucidate the particular, the specific' (Creswell, 2007, p.126). Examples of variations in qualitative research studies include gender, race, class and other personal characteristics in a sample (Sandelowski, 1995).

In this study, maximum variation in the sample selected was applied in terms of age, duration of stay in the camp, gender, and ethnicity. After I had determined or 'purposed' the group and specific phenomenon of study, that is South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp who have been victims of the war, I went on to seek variation of the sample of participants. To start with, since the Dinka ethnic group is the largest in South Sudan, there was propensity towards interviewing participants predominantly from this ethnic group, and I sought participants from varying ethnic groups as the field research progressed. Some ethnic groups such as the Didinga and Acholi communities in the camp are very small and minimally represented, and I visited the particular areas in the camp where they are clustered, in order to interview some of them. Further, since the study was originally explained to the community leaders, and most of the leaders in the camp tend to be men, there was an inclination to interview more men than women, as they were initially the most accessible and available. I however sought to purposefully seek out women to interview.

Since I aimed to explore the links between interventions for trauma and peacebuilding, individual subjective experiences of trauma and recovery were central to the study and required rich qualitative data. This supported a smaller sample size than surveys and other instruments. However, the sample size needed to be sufficiently large to allow for nuanced identification of themes and commonalities.

A total of 49 adult (18 years and above) South Sudanese refugees were interviewed in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, between 30 June and 26 July 2013; 26 female and 23 male. These represented ages between 19 and 55 years, duration of stay in the camp from less than 1 year to 21 years, and six different ethnic groups namely Dinka, Nuer, Nuba, Murle, Didinga and Acholi. Some of the participants from the Nuba ethnic group were from South Kordofan, which geographically lies in Sudan, at the border with South Sudan as explained in Chapter 1. Many of these identified themselves as South Sudanese, and some had come to the camp before the secession of South Sudan from Northern Sudan. Each interview took an average of 45 minutes. Table 3.1 below summarises the demographics of those interviewed.[14] I went through the Participant Information Statement[15] with each participant, and explained that there would be no direct benefit for participants and no disadvantage for non-participation or withdrawal from the study. Before the interviews were conducted I had obtained written consent from each participant.[16]

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[14] More information about each of the participants is found in Appendix 1.
[15] See Appendix 3, Participant Information Statement.
[16] See Appendix 4, Consent Form.

		Number of Participants
Gender	Male	23
	Female	26
Age	19 – 29	24
	30 – 39	12
	40 – 49	8
	50 Plus	5
Duration Of Stay: Years	Less than 1	9
	1 – 5	11
	6 - 14	18
	15 – 21	11
Ethnic Group	Dinka	18
	Nuer	7
	Nuba	15
	Murle	3
	Acholi	3
	Didinga	3

Table 3.1: Summary of Participants of the Study

3.3 Data Analysis

The data for the study was analysed using two methods: grounded theory with phenomenology as the underlying philosophy, and narrative inquiry.

3.3.1 Phenomenology and Grounded Theory

The interviews were analysed using phenomenology as the fundamental underlying philosophy of the analysis, and grounded theory as the analytical procedure. Phenomenology is a style of philosophising which

> …emphasises the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe phenomena, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experiencer (Moran, 2000, p.4).

Specifically, Heidegger's understanding of phenomenology (Heidegger, 1927/1996) in which he investigates the 'the question of Being' or the meaning of 'Being-in-the-world' underlies this philosophy. As discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to experiencing trauma, Heidegger emphasises the interconnectedness of knowledge and experience. He sees the essence of 'Being' as a whole, that cannot be divided into distinct parts. Heidegger argues:

> Everything we talk about, mean, and are related to is in being in one way or another. What and how we ourselves are is also in being. Being is found in thatness and whatness, reality, the objective presence of things [*Vorhandenheit*], subsistence, validity, existence [Da-sein], and in the "there is" [*es gibt*] (p. 5).

Having established the universality of the concept of 'Being', or 'Being-in-the-world' (Da-sein), Heidegger goes on to elaborate how access to this question of being is to be gained, and emphasises that the manner of access chosen must be true to the being, and ensure that 'this being can show itself to itself on its own terms. And … show that being as it is initially and for the most part – in its average everydayness' (Heidegger, 1927/1996, p. 15). Following Heidegger's argument, Moran (2000, p. 6) emphasises the need to 'pay close attention to the

nature of consciousness as actually experienced, not as is pictured by common sense or by the philosophical tradition'.

The term phenomenology, as Heidegger (1927/1996, pp. 24-30) further elaborates, has two components, phenomenon and logos. The term 'phenomenon' is derived from the Greek verb *phainesthai*, which means 'to show itself', 'to bring into daylight, to place in brightness', and thus the meaning of 'phenomenon' is 'what shows itself in itself, what is manifest'. The term 'logos' means 'letting something be seen as something'. When the two terms are combined to make the expression phenomenology, it means 'to let what shows itself be seen from itself, just as it shows itself from itself' (Heidegger, 1927/1996, p.30). This explanation underlies the commitment to being true to the phenomenon being studied, to letting it show itself as itself as much as possible, and to using words that do not obscure this showing but rather accentuate it.

Using this underlying philosophy, the researcher seeks to grasp the experiential world of the research participants, and starts from the point of recognising, acknowledging and taking into consideration the researcher's own preconceptions of this world. The researcher seeks to explore in detail how the participants are experiencing their world, and in the event tries to make sense of how they are making sense of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The researcher is thus concerned with the individual, anecdotal experiences of the participants.

In this study, I sought to commit myself to capture the participants' stories by keenly listening, recording and transcribing verbatim what the participants said to me, while at the same time acknowledging my own preconceptions and biases (as reflected in the following section on reflexivity). The procedure and method of analysis I used sought to remain true to this commitment. O'Leary's (2014) insights on being systematic in managing my data, as well as balancing creativity, focus and rigour were significant in this process.

The analytical procedure was informed by the principles of grounded theory (Rhodes, Brown & Madden, 2009; Denscombe, 2003; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), allowing for the development of a model. This procedure involves a microscopic analysis of the data, making comparisons of the characteristics of the categories that emerge, breaking the data apart and reconstructing them to form a scheme or pattern that eventually emerges as a theory, which can be said to have 'earn[ed] its way into your interpretation' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pp. 67-69).

Before going through the steps of grounded theory analysis, I completely immersed myself in the data. I transcribed each word of the 49 interviews and read the transcript again and again until I was intimately familiar with what each of the participants said. Denscombe (2003, p. 270) describes this process as useful in helping the researcher in 'making an intuitive attempt to identify the key categories and connections on the basis of knowing the data very well'.

The analytical procedure I used followed the steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Open coding entails breaking down data into discrete parts, closely examining them, and comparing them for similarities and differences. Actions, objects, events, incidents, ideas and interactions that are found to be similar are grouped into categories. In this step, I broke down my transcript into seven main categories that kept arising as I read through the transcript repeatedly.[17] These were traumatic experiences of the participants, interventions received to cope, interventions desired or expected, other ways of coping, definitions of peace, peace in South Sudan, and hope for the future.

The second step, axial coding, involves relating categories to their subcategories, by linking the broader categories together based on their properties and dimensions. The tasks of axial coding include firstly laying out the properties and dimensions of a category, secondly identifying the variety of conditions, interactions and consequences associated with a phenomenon, thirdly relating a category to its subcategories, and lastly looking for cues in the data that indicate how major categories might relate to each other (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 126). In this step, I started by assigning properties to each of the major categories identified in the open coding. I then clustered various properties of the main categories into sub-groups, thus creating sub-categories.[18]

 In the final part of axial coding, I formulated nine questions that I was most curious about and used the transcript, vignettes and codes to explore the answers to the questions. The nine questions I formulated were:
1. What defines those participants who seem to have coped with their traumatic experiences positively?

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[17] See Appendix 2, Summary of Codes.
[18] See Appendix 2, Summary of Codes

2. What is the impact of education on their experiences as they related them?

3. Which participants want to go back to their country and contribute to peace?

4. What is the significance of the long walk, seeking refuge?

5. What is the difference between those taking personal initiative in the camp and those who are 'just staying' and want 'nothing'?

6. What is the place of UNHCR in the lives of the participants?

7. What are the participants hopeful for?

8. What is the connection between the most quoted traumatic experience and the most desired intervention?

9. Which participants have received counselling or psychological support and what is its impact?

The third step is selective coding, which involves bringing together and refining the categories. This entails organising the categories around a central concept. The findings that emerged are presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

I conducted the analysis with the help of the NVivo research analysis software, which assisted me to do the following:

- Import my interview transcripts into the NVivo project, having applied consistent heading styles in order to be able to make use of NVivo features such as auto coding

- Select the codes that represented my data, using NVivo nodes, and creating node hierarchies, which involves moving from general topics (parent node) to specific topics (child node): The parent nodes represented the main codes from my data, while the child nodes represented the properties of the main codes.

- Use the 'bottom-up' approach in my coding, reading my transcripts and creating codes as I went, and allowing themes to arise from my data.

- Use classifications, to record descriptive information about the nodes and relationships between different codes: I classified codes and gave them attributes or characteristics that I associated with the node

- Link attributes to my transcript, as a result of which I was able to conduct searches that were limited to the specified characteristics. I used this technique during the axial coding step of my analysis, to help identify the properties of the main categories, and how they interact and relate with each other.

- Use the querying function to search my data for results:

   Text Search query: To list all sources that contain specified text. This helped me in exploring the answers to the curious questions asked.

   Word Frequency Query: list words and the number of times they occur in selected items. I used the query function to identify the most commonly mentioned interventions to cope with traumatic experiences. From this query, a word cloud emerged, showing the word frequency of various interventions, represented by the size of various words in the word cloud. Figure 6 in Chapter 4 shows these interventions.

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Theoretical sampling, an aspect of grounded theory, was however not applied in this study. Theoretical sampling involves gathering data driven by concepts that emerge from the evolving theory, and each event sampled based on previous data collected and analysed (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It involves eliciting codes from the raw data from the start of data collection, and using the codes to direct consequent data collection, developing the codes theoretically, making connections of the theoretical codes with other categories until each category is saturated (Glaser, 1992). The exclusion of this aspect was due to the fact that I had a specific period within which to collect data, and the cumulative nature of theoretical sampling was not practicable within this period.

3.3.2 Narrative Inquiry

A subset of five interviews was analysed using the narrative inquiry analytic procedure as applied by Frank (1995, 2010), Riessman (1993), Cortazzi (1993), and Dawson, Rhodes & Touyz (2014). Narrative inquiry was chosen because of its value in allowing the voices of the participants to permeate through the study and hence have control of the interpretation of phenomena (Dawson, Rhodes & Touyz, 2014). The five interviews were identified using the criteria suggested by literary theorists in their attempts to define narrative. These include *temporality, causation* and *human interest* (Cortazzi, 1993, p. 85). *Temporality* refers to relating the sequence of events in time. The understanding of the concept of time can however be subjective. Mbiti (1969), an African philosopher, for instance contrasts the Western notion of time as a linear concept, stretching from past, to present, to future, and argues that the African concept of time is rather dyadic, concentrating on the past and the present. However,

the African concept of time may be said to be more cyclic than dyadic, as time seems to revolve around the events. This may explain why the 'when' of an event is not understood in numerical terms in a chronological or linear version, but rather in relation to what major happening was taking place at that time. For instance, traditionally a person's birthday would be remembered in relation to the season (planting or harvesting), or the year of migration to a particular area may be remembered in relation to the famine that took place at that time. The event, rather than the time, is of far greater importance.

In narrative inquiry, *causation* means that the final stage of the story is caused by the middle section. Again, in relation to the experiences of the South Sudanese participants, as among most African groups, there may be deviation from the linear understanding of direct causation of events. Rather, events tend to happen in a motley of causations and interrelationships, whose perception and interpretation may be complicated all the more by the psychological factors relating to mass violence. *Human interest* means that the events fit together and grip the attention of the reader or listener. This condition is rather subjective, almost wholly dependent on the person reading or listening to the story.

These three aspects combine to form a minimum plot structure. Based on these criteria, the interview stories chosen had five distinctive features. Firstly, they had an identifiable plot involving a sequence of events with a beginning, middle and an end. The 'then what happened' convention of story narrative to convey meaning was present (Feldman et al, 2004). As noted in the description of the African concept of time however, this sequence of events and a chronological nature were not always apparent in the stories chosen as described by the participants. Time revolved around the events and was hardly mentioned until I asked questions trying to understand when they occurred. For instance, in Riek's story, he described two major events that happened, causing him to flee from his country and go to Kakuma for refuge. In his description, he relates the event of his parents' death before the death of his wife-to-be and unborn child, yet the latter happened before the former. I was only able to understand the sequence of these events after asking specific questions[19]:

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[19] See Appendix 1 for information about Riek, KRM29, and Chapter 4 for Riek's story.

Riek: *And then, my parents and the parents of the girl, came to the table, in order to conduct this kind of marriage, but when they got to the part of if we are related or we are not related, they found out that there was blood relationship between me and the girl.*

Lydia: That you are related?

Riek: *Yeah, we are related*

Lydia: Mmh

Riek: *Of which the culture does not allow that, people related by blood to get married.*

Lydia: Ok

Riek: *Then the marriage was cancelled, and the girl was returned, together with the ... And then later on when ... [interruption. Informed that the vehicle to ferry interviewer back to the residential quarters had arrived. Declined to go. Continued with interview] when the time came for delivery, the girl who I'd impregnated, it was unfortunate, she died. The girl died. During delivery.*

Lydia: The girl died?

Riek: *Yeah, and the baby*

Lydia: Both the girl and the baby?

Riek: *Yeah, both of them*

Lydia: Oh dear

Riek: *Then what happened, the parents of the girl reported to the chief. The chief of the area. And then the chief of the area sent some police to arrest me, and then also the brothers of the girl planned their own attack, in order to attack me. When the information reached me, I decided to leave my country, because of insecurity. So that was the significant reason for me being a refugee*

Lydia: And that was the same time, that was 2000 and?

Riek: *2005*

Lydia: The same time

Riek: *On 30th May 2005*

Lydia: That's when you left?

Riek: *Yeah*

Lydia: When did she die?

Riek: *The girl died I think it was April*

Lydia: And your parents?

Riek: *... but these people they struggled to get me in May. They struggled for one month, while I do hide myself somewhere. When I found the situation had become more than I could bear, it was too difficult to control, I decided to leave the country*

Lydia: Oh, sorry about that. And that's the same year your parents were killed?

Riek: *Were killed*

Lydia: Before or after that?

Riek*: My parents were killed after the incident of the girl*

Lydia: After the incident

Riek*: Yeah*

Lydia: When you had already left?

Riek*: No. They were killed there, when I was there. My parents. That is why I've said, two consecutive incidents occur*

Because the events were not necessarily related in the order they occurred, I had the task of reconstructing the stories in terms of the order that emerged in response to questioning the participants, while being careful to leave the content of the stories intact.

Secondly, the events related were linked by one event being caused by another as stories go, but again not in a linear direct causation approach. Cortazzi (1993) describes the minimal narrative as involving three conjoined events: the beginning state, the middle action and the final state. In this minimal condition, the beginning state is said to be one of equilibrium, in which the characters in the story are comfortable and things are 'as they ought to be'. The middle action is the state in which some tension occurs and destabilises the equilibrium, bringing some change. The final state is one of resolution, where the original state is inverted. While the participants may be said to have been in a state of equilibrium in their country of origin before the war, the causation is not as direct. First, it is arguable whether the participants were in a stable state before the war, as is evident in the descriptions of their lives before the war led them to flee to Kakuma. Second, it can hardly be said that the war singularly disrupted and destabilised their 'stable' state, bringing tension and change, as other factors are seen to be at play as well. Third, a state of resolution is hardly realised because as the stories portray in their 'journey' character, the participants are yet to get there. The journey continues.

Thirdly, the stories were engaging and gripped my interest. I chose the stories that not only represented the major aspects identified as I went through the grounded theory analytical steps, but also captured my interest throughout the whole process of interviewing, transcribing, and analysis.

Fourthly, the stories were as told by the participant, without translation from the case worker. A number of the interviews were conducted through translation since some of the participants could not speak either English or Kiswahili, the languages that I can speak and that a large section of the refugee community in Kakuma speaks. The inclusion of this criterion takes into consideration that certain aspects of the authenticity of the story are lost in translation. This criterion is cognizant of the fact that in excluding stories of those that could not speak Kiswahili or English, a certain amount of the richness of the data is also lost. However, I chose the stories that represented the range of participants I interviewed as much as possible.

Lastly, the stories had a 'quest' aspect to them. Frank (1995) describes quest narratives as stories that take suffering head on, and attempt to transform fate into a positive experience. Continuing with the metaphor of the experience of the refugees as a journey towards discovering peace, these stories help the victims to construct new maps and new perceptions of their relationships to the world, after the destruction of what they knew and were familiar with before the effect of the war. Frank (1995, p. 115) notes that the suffering is used as 'an occasion for a journey that becomes a quest'. The person believes that something good has come out of the suffering, and wants to share this good thing with others. Frank (1995, pp. 117-118) further identifies the narrative structure of these stories as the three stages of *departure, initiation* and *return*. *Departure* refers to the first sign that all is not well, the initial experience. *Initiation* indicates all the suffering involved, as a result of the experience, and *return* refers to the positive outcome of the suffering; what the person has gained and wants to share with others. The five stories chosen bear all these qualities.

The subset consisted of the five representative participants chosen by the researcher and supervisor using these criteria and arriving at a consensus on which best represented the interviews analysed using phenomenology and grounded theory.

Stories with a plot line; a beginning, middle and an end were constructed from the selected interview transcripts, ensuring that they maintained the chronological aspect, a narrative flow

and the voice of the participants (Dawson, Rhodes & Touyz, 2014). The stories were then analysed using Frank's (2010) Dialogical Narrative Analysis (DNA), which maintains that no story has a singular voice, and no speaker should ever be 'finalized' (Frank, 2010, p. 16). DNA, as Frank (2010) explains, is a way of questioning that studies the relationship between what is told in the story, and what happens as a result of telling that story. Rather than a set method or rules to be followed, this type of analysis employs 'movement of thought' (Frank, 2010, p. 73) which happens in the interaction between the researcher and the participants, 'as those participating in research are given scope to upset the presuppositions of the researchers'. Participants are seen as the experts of their own lives, and the researcher as learning from them.

The analysis sought to uphold the three basic principles of DNA, namely *non-finalizability*, *second person address*, and a *commitment* to not speak a single word about the participant that the participant could not have said about himself or herself (Frank, 2010, pp. 99-100). The first principle, *non-finalizability*, means a responsibility to not speak the final word about the speaker. Each of the stories chosen has no conclusion. Each is a journey, which even at the end of what the participant relates, seems to continue. No word is pronounced to finalise or end it. The following are among the last words of the five participants, in the chosen stories:

Fazila: *Thank you. I just hope God will help me achieve my goals and passion…*

Grace*: (Pause). Even now as I think, if only I could find a way to have peace in my heart and in my body…*

Riek*: Yeah, like now many clients are waiting for me at home … Those who have issues … Like today, I won't go to the class, because there was an issue, in my community. We are going to have a meeting with peacebuilding…*

Atem*: On my side I am hopeful because I tried… I forget the past. And now I'm starting the new life. Yes.*

Patrick*: (asking me)…what will be your contribution now, and in terms of education?*

The stories leave room for more to happen. They all communicate that it is not all over yet.

Second person address, means speaking with, and not about, the participant. The interviews, from which these five stories are derived, are conversations or interactions between the participant and myself as the interviewer. I put together or reconstructed the stories from the words of the participants, to give them a flow, but they are all derived from the interaction

between us. Though I seemed to have more power as the one asking the questions of the participant, this was balanced by the fact that the participant had the information I was seeking, and towards the end of each interview the participants had the chance to ask me questions as well.

The third principle is a commitment to not speak a single word about the participant that the participant could not have said about himself or herself (Frank, 2010, pp. 99-100). In other words, the analysis was committed to 'letting stories breathe' (Frank, 2010), as told by the participants, and not stifling them or speaking words into them. My commitment to this principle is largely influenced by my persuasion that analysis can only be secondary, indeed in service, to the real thing, the phenomena being studied. Frank (1995, p. 138) puts this clearly when he says:

> … no analysis can ever "settle the hash" of testimony. Any analysis is always gazing at what remains in excess of the analysable. What is testified to remains the really real, and in the end what counts are duties toward it.

With this regard, having extracted what the participants said in the interviews and constructed it into stories with a plot line, I left the stories and present them as they emerged, in the second section of Chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.4 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is the process that takes into account the involvement of the researcher in the research (Denzin, 2001; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Anderson, 2008). It entails the researcher being aware of the reciprocal effect he or she shares with the research. It is based on the idea that one cannot separate what is being researched from the person who is doing the research. The researcher is the 'embodied, situated, and subjective researcher carrying out the analysis' as opposed to 'neutral, mechanical and decontextualized procedure taking place in a social vacuum' (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, p. 414). Heidegger's (1927/1996) and Gadamer's (1975) description of the *hermeneutic situation* and the influence of 'presuppositions' on the interpretation of phenomena also underscore reflexivity as an important practice in qualitative research.

During the time I was conducting my interviews at Kakuma Refugee Camp, I kept a journal reflecting on the process and recording my feelings, questions and thoughts in relation to what I observed and experienced. Some excerpts from my 9600 word journal reflect how the process was affecting me and how I affected the process of research as I went on. For instance, as I started my interviews, I had combined feelings of excitement and apprehension, as appears in this excerpt:

Will I make it? ... Will I be yet another irrelevant scholar – they've seen so many researchers! ... Will I get my questions answered? Will I blend, or remain in the 'I' category of 'them and I'?

I was anxious to be accepted and to be part of the group I was interviewing, and at the same time I was concerned that my questions got answered. Recording this helped me realise the pull I was experiencing, and how my anxiety to get my questions answered might influence my research and cause me to lead the participants in the direction I wanted them to go.

Indeed at times, I found that I either avoided or insisted on certain questions as a result of the kind of responses I was getting from the participants. I recorded:

I realize it's a question I've been kind of omitting (what psychological support they had received to help them cope) when I felt it sounded rather farfetched in the desperate situation of the participants I'm meeting, but it's very important for my research.

I needed to maintain the tricky balance of asking the questions I needed to ask, and at the same time encouraging the participants to relate their story, and not restrict them to my agenda. I became all the more aware of my agenda and my need to have it met when I recorded:

Yet, just like all the others I've interviewed, they won't deeply relate their suffering as a result of the war.

It seemed I had a particular preconceived idea of what it meant to 'suffer as a result of the war', and the participants just were not meeting my pattern! I had to remind myself that those were *their* experiences.

Another tension I had that had the potential to influence my interviews was the pull between being a researcher in this study, and a counsellor, which is my profession outside the research, as recorded in the following excerpt:

But I must say I was deeply touched by their stories, and felt a pull to counsel and comfort them as I listened. I had to remind myself that I'm a student researcher, not a counsellor. I felt a bit like I was cheating... I just keep feeling so torn as I continue. Many a time, my counselling side kicks in and I find myself wanting to offer help, hope, advice... And then I have to check myself with the researcher in me. It's quite a strain.

Having been aware of the possibility of this strain long before the time of the interviews did not stop it from happening, but helped me cope with it, though arduously, through the process of doing the interviews. Ethically, I needed to separate the dual roles.

Related to this was the question of advantage. Being a researcher, an outsider, a Kenyan citizen, residing in Sydney not only meant that I was significantly privileged but also meant that I was a potential source of help and relief from their troubles. I recorded:

One curious thing that they asked me as I interviewed them about their experiences is 'of what benefit is this to us?' (Though we had already gone through the Participant Information Statement which addressed this question with them.) I had to be honest and tell them none – no direct benefit. Listening to their experiences was pretty distressing, and all were hopeful that they could get something from me for being interviewed. They viewed me as a kind of life-saver.... I felt rather guilty that I couldn't help. Except listen to their troubles... I felt pretty useless.

These were some of my ambivalent feelings and thoughts as I went on conducting the interviews. While they were hardly resolved, recording them and reflecting on them gave me an opportunity to examine how they were affecting my data collection and data interpretation process. I had my expectations which I wanted met, but even more important than that, I had a commitment to listen and record the participants' experiences and their perceptions.

This reflection underscored for me all the more the shared value of this research: I had conceived the exploration of the participants' experience and the interventions they received

as crucial to our understanding of what was necessary for peacebuilding, but the participants themselves considered the relation of their experiences and their perceptions very important too. This was as much their research as mine.

Perhaps my time of deepest reflection came when I got to the point of analysing my data. Faced with an enormous amount of data, I was unsure how to proceed with the process. The relationship of this process with the birth process I had gone through was remarkable, in my experience, as I recorded in my reflective journal:

I was so prepared. I was going to give birth to this baby, my first baby, on the precise date, at the exact time, in the particular way I had envisaged. I knew everything. I had learnt the Lamaze method back to front. I had strictly followed the exercise routine and the breathing schedule through the days. I had read all the books there were to read to prepare me for this moment. I had left nothing to chance. I had even watched videos of what to do when the time for the baby to be born came, and what to do and not to do in case of an emergency. One of the hilarious videos I'd watched was about this couple that was thoroughly prepared for the birth of their child. When the time came and the woman finally announced to the man that she had started labour, they went through all the frantic motions of getting everything ready to take her to the hospital, just as they had planned. In the frenzy, the man drove off to the hospital for the birth, without the woman!

This account mirrors both the anxiety I felt as I approached the task of data analysis, and the gravity with which I took the matter. I did not want to leave anything to chance, and wanted to go about it the best way possible. It also reflects my readiness to undertake painstaking measures to facilitate an effective data analysis process.

When my time came, we were well-armed with all the gadgets the books said we needed to ease labour: ice cubes to ease the pain and heat, tennis balls to rub the back… I could breathe to the cue and knew how to ride each wave of pain perfectly. In the labour ward we didn't need the nurses. They stood aside and curiously watched us do our thing. The labour went on for hours on end, and we faithfully followed our steps to the letter. The doctor suggested that I get induced to fasten the labour process, but we defied and said we were going it the natural way all the way. We would not break the pattern. Twelve hours later, after going through the

painstaking process making sure not to break any rule, my daughter was born, clearly breathing in tune to the Lamaze rhythm.

This reflection indicates above all the importance of flexibility in the process of analysis of my data. I realised the need to be open to emerging realities in the research process as I went on.

When two years later I came back to the same hospital, the same labour ward, the same nurses, to give birth to my son, all I wanted was to give birth. I didn't bring with me anything except the bare essentials. I don't remember reading anything beforehand. I didn't remember what I'd read either. I screamed instead of breathing, and pushed rather than ride. But I distinctly remember the same nurses urging me to 'do what you did the last time…' I didn't care. I just wanted the baby out. And he was out in two hours while the first one had taken twelve.

Now when I look back and ponder, I wonder what the ideal way to go about it was. Did the scrupulous process of the first birth make it any better an experience than the second one? Did the simplicity of the second birth make it any superior a process? Was the (extended) pain I had to go through in the first case necessary? Did I miss anything by avoiding this in the second case? Does this have any ramifications for my two babies now or in the future? Did the first experience subconsciously influence the second process? Were there innate lessons learnt, possibly making it unnecessary to go through the effort again?

Asking these questions helped me to think through and clearly establish what I really needed to do, be prepared for what the process would entail, and open to whatever results would emerge.

I find myself mulling over these experiences in relation to my research journey. As I start the process of analysing my data and writing (conception and pregnancy have long been underway, I think…) I feel like I'm in labour and it's time to deliver the baby. Now that I have the experience of both, I'm not quite sure which one to choose. And I think I have the luxury to decide. I don't want to drive to the hospital without the patient, like that anxious father-to-be! I will calmly decide. Do I want to go through the painstaking process of systematically analysing my data, using all the tools and gadgets, or do I just want the baby/thesis out?

Acknowledging these thoughts and feelings became the first step in my analysis of the data. It opened up for me the different possibilities I had, and underscored for me that I had a choice. In addition to highlighting how daunting the task of analysing the data would be, this reflection brought to the fore the point that taking the accounts of participants' lives and experiences, attempting to interpret them and draw inferences from them, was a noble and delicate task, and needed to be handled with care and respect. Indeed, when later on, using the grounded theory techniques of analysis, I seemed to be breaking the participants' experiences apart in order to do 'microscopic' analysis, I was keenly aware of this fact.

3.5 Ethics and Limitations

This research went through the University of Sydney's Human Research Ethics Committee for approval (HREC).[20] The Human Research Ethics Committee ensures that the research is in line with the values and principles set out by the Australian Government's National Statement of Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (2007). Amongst the themes it covers are the concept of risk in research and the role of the participants' consent. In the process of application for approval of the research by the Human Research Ethics Committee, the researcher is helped to identify ethical matters specific to their research.

Among the ethical issues identified in this research was the confidentiality of the data and identification of the participants during data collection. I attended to this issue through de-identifying the data and giving each participant a code and a pseudonym derived from common names used in South Sudan. Regarding identification of the participants during the interviews, I explained that arrangements would be made to use a multipurpose office for the interviews, where people could be going in for any reason, not just the interviews. In practice however, the multipurpose office for use was not available and most of the interviews were conducted in the homesteads of the participants in the camp. Interviewing the participants in their homesteads gave me an opportunity to observe and gain some insight into how they live in the camp and how the interventions they receive affect their lives. Further, the South Sudanese are essentially a very generous and welcoming community, and my being able to visit their homes and talk with them gave them the opportunity to share their hospitality with me, which helped in building mutual trust and made the interview process easier. So despite the potential ethical

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[20] See Appendix 9 for letter of approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee.

limitation of lack of privacy, the research gained in terms of enhancing the process of gathering data.

Another ethical issue was the concern that the research would induce psychological distress in the participants. This could arise as a result of retraumatisation, as the participants related their experiences of the war and how it affected them. This was at least partially mitigated by the opt-in recruitment method of the participants. On two occasions when I was able to recognise signs of psychological distress in the participants, I used my experience in counselling training and practice to refer the participants for counselling, which is offered by the Lutheran World Federation and the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) in the camp. This however remained a limitation as there may have been occasions when I did not identify participants who were distressed, and thus failed to refer them appropriately. The inability to identify signs of psychological distress in participants may be as a result of differences between the participants' ways of expressing distress and my own, based on our dissimilar cultures.

After the initial application for ethical approval for this research, the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University pointed out that the target participants were a vulnerable people and at risk of being over-researched. This risk was accounted for in the study design by consultation with the organisations and agencies working at the refugee camp, specifically the UNHCR[21] and Lutheran World Federation (LWF)[22]. Being on the ground, they were in a position to assess the risk of the participants being over-researched, and advise accordingly. The UNHCR, LWF and the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) Kenya would not grant access to the camp if their assessment was that the research would be detrimental to the people under their care, or if they did not consider the research likely to produce benefit for refugee populations. The opt-in method of recruitment also minimised the risk of coercion.

The possibility of participants' withdrawal from the study was addressed in the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form. Participants were informed that their involvement in the research was entirely voluntary, and they had the right to withdraw at any stage. They were invited to discuss any questions or concerns they had at any stage of the research of the research process.

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[21] See Appendix 6 for letter to UNHCR.
[22] See Appendix 7 for letter to LWF.

I undertook to explain to the participants that there was no direct benefit of participation, and no risk of disadvantage in case of refusal or withdrawal. I went through the Participant Information Statement with each participant, sometimes with the help of an interpreter for the participants who did not speak English or Kiswahili, and explained these points. However, this did not stop a number of participants from asking me, whenever I gave them opportunity to ask questions at the end the interview, 'Of what benefit is this to us? Is it just benefitting you alone?' The participants looked at me as a source of some solution to their problems, and despite my explanation to the contrary, maintained some hope that somehow, they would benefit from being interviewed. As a result, many of the refugees wanted to be interviewed. Whereas recruitment of participants had been envisaged as a problem in the planning and application for the ethics approval, it turned out to be a problem in another way – having to turn down willing participants, because I could not interview everyone who wanted to be interviewed. This however constantly left me with a feeling of guilt, for I could not offer the help they anticipated, and they willingly gave me the information I needed for my research.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has laid out the methodology of the study, describing how the data for the research was collected, the participants of the research, how the data was analysed, and the considerations that were made in the process. The chapter has also explored the interaction of the process of the research and my own perceptions and experiences as a researcher, as well as the ethical considerations of the research.

The chapter started by describing the semi-structured nature of interviews that I used to collect data, being open to new ideas arising from what the participants said, rather than rigidly sticking to a pre-conceived set of questions. The chapter further describes the participants for the study, South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, who include participants from the border region of South Kordofan.

The chapter then describes how the data was analysed, in two sets. Firstly, the interviews were analysed using the analytical procedure of grounded theory, following the steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Straus & Corbin, 1998), and phenomenology as the

underlying principle. Secondly, a subset of five interviews was analysed using the narrative inquiry analytic procedure as applied by Frank (1995, 2010).

This chapter further describes the reflexivity process, relating my involvement as a researcher in the research, and describing how my own experiences and perceptions were interwoven in the research process. It describes how I affected the research, and how the research affected me.

Lastly, this chapter has described the ethical considerations that were part of this research, which include confidentiality of the data and identification of the participants during data collection, the possibility that the research would induce psychological distress in the participants, and the possibility of participants' withdrawing from the study. The chapter describes how each of these possibilities was mitigated, in part, through de-identifying the data and giving each participant a code and a pseudonym, the opt-in recruitment method of the participants and explaining the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form to the participants. Nevertheless, the question 'Of what benefit is this to us?' that some of the participants asked me left me with an ethical concern to consider regarding how to make surethe research did contribute, at least indirectly, to their quest for peace.

CHAPTER 4: A QUALITATIVE INQUIRY OF TRAUMA INTERVENTIONS AND PEACEBUILDING AMONGST SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP: FINDINGS

> I can't begin to tell you the things I discovered while I was looking for something else.
>
> - Shelby Foote, 1916-2005

This chapter presents the discoveries that I made as I took the steps outlined in the methodology (Chapter 3). It lays out the features of the participants' experiences and perceptions as they emerged in the journey. The first section presents the discoveries from the grounded theory analytical procedure, and the second section depicts the discoveries from the narrative inquiry analytical procedure. The features that emerged in the first section after the grounded theory analysis are further demonstrated in the stories that emerged after the narrative inquiry analysis.

4.1 From The Ground Up

I analysed the participants' journeys first using grounded theory as explained in Chapter 3. On following the analytical steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998) and explained in Chapter 3, the following pattern (Figure 4.1) emerged, representing the experiences of the participants at various stages of their journey:

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                        ┌─────────────────────────┐
                        │  Traumatic Experiences  │
                        └─────────────────────────┘
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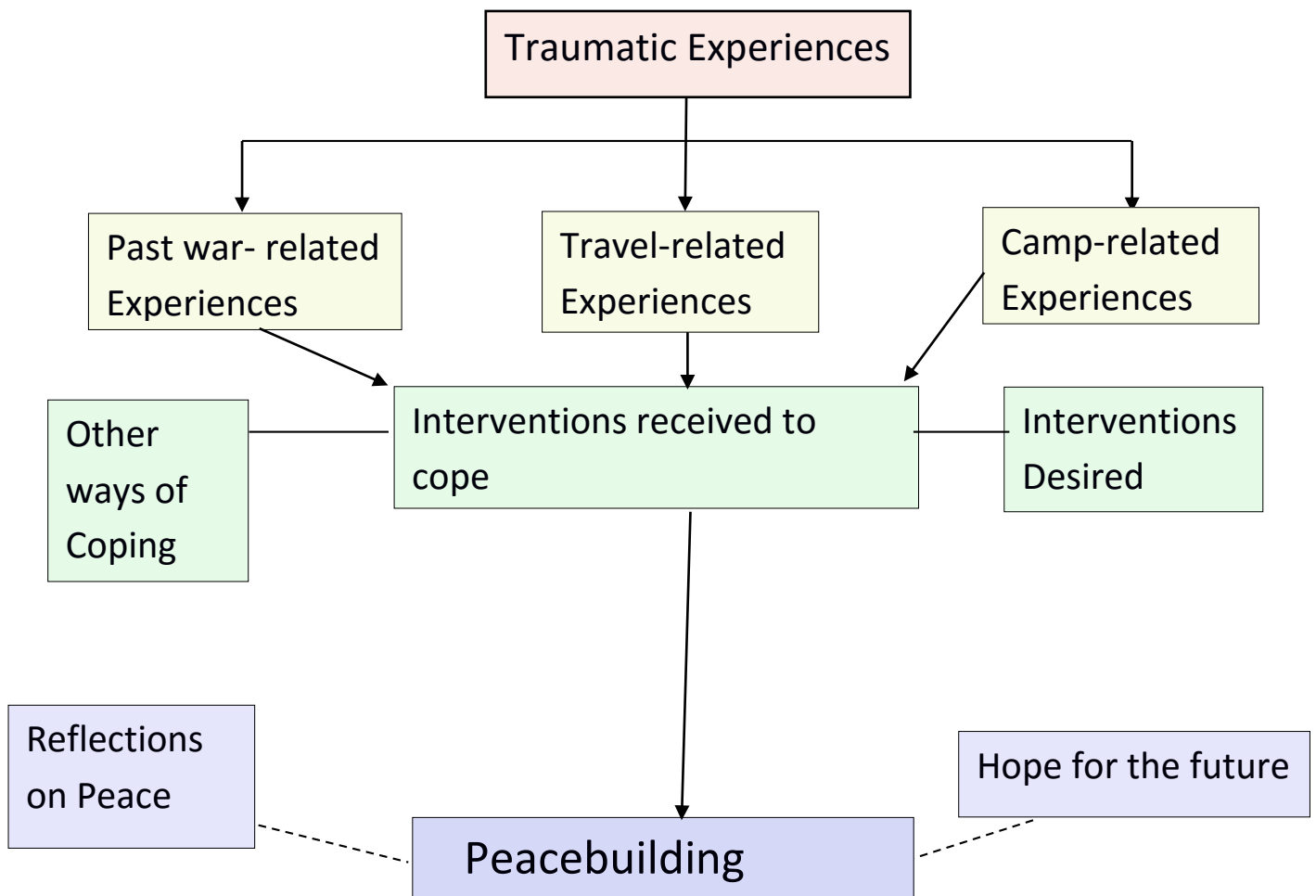
Figure 4.1: The Stages of the Journey

The term 'traumatic experiences', indicated on the top level of the diagram, is used to refer to the participants' experiences in relation to the conflict and violence that led to their displacement to Kakuma. These experiences, as shown in the second level, are threefold: the past war-related experiences before they came to the camp, the travel-related experiences while on the way to the camp, and the camp-related experiences. The past war-related experiences include witnessing parents and other family members being killed, separation from family and disappearance of family members and insecurity. The travel-related experiences include scarcity of food and water, walking long distances on foot and insecurity. The camp-related experiences include situational stress brought about by the long stay in the camp, the dryness of the camp, disease and death in the camp, and cultural and gender-related practices that have been disrupted by the new overwhelming circumstances, as well as emotional stress comprising of memories of the war and losses back in their country of origin, loneliness, a resigned attitude

and disillusionment. Figure 4.2 below is derived from assigning properties to the category of traumatic experiences in open coding, and represents the various experiences the participants related:
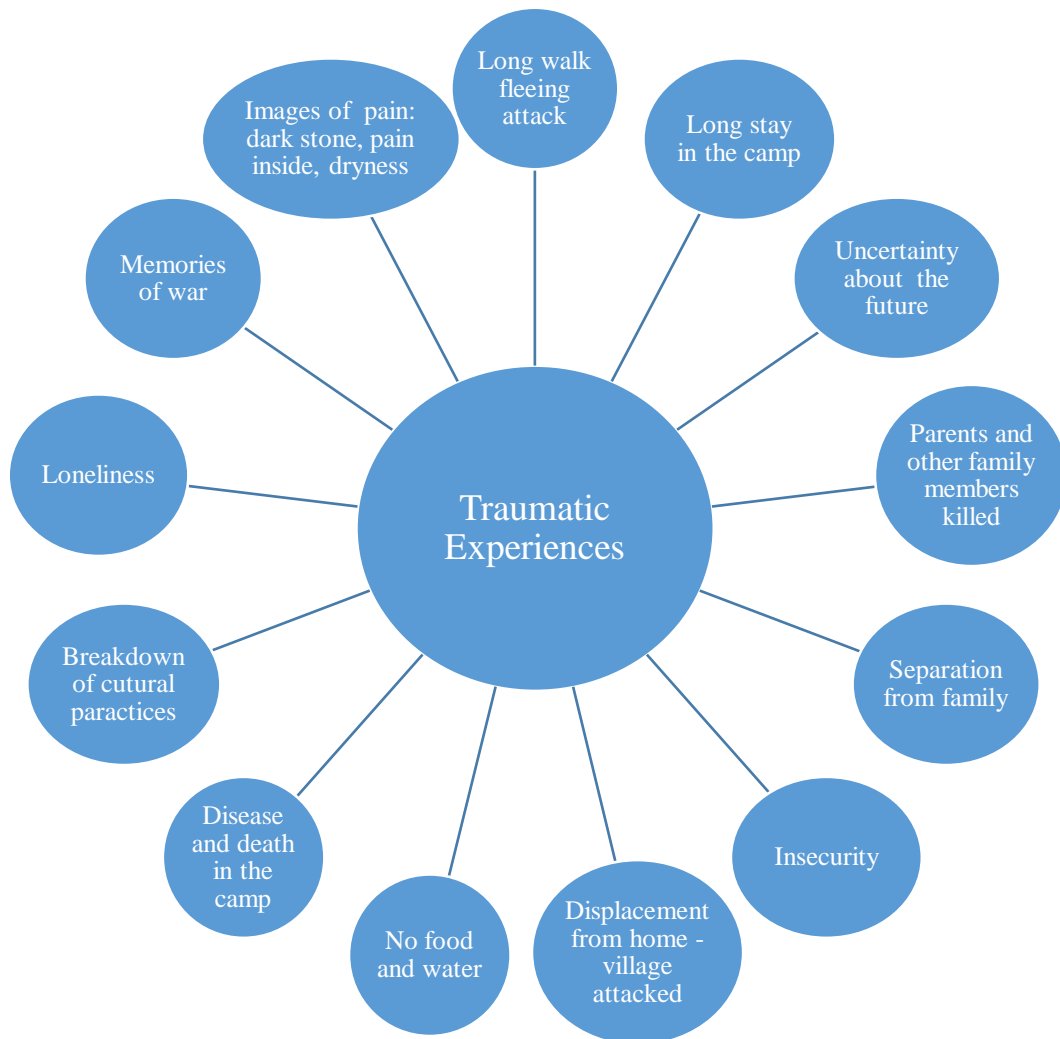
Figure 4:2: Traumatic Experiences of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma

The third level in Figure 4.1 depicts the interventions the refugees said they received in the camp to cope with their traumatic experiences, the interventions they hoped for, and other ways of coping that some participants engaged or designed out of their own initiative besides what they were directly provided with by UNHCR and its partnering agencies.

I identified the interventions received to cope with the traumatic experiences following the steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding, with the help of the Word Frequency Query in NVivo which lists words and the number of times they occur in selected items. The

query identified the most commonly mentioned interventions. From this query, a word cloud emerged, showing the word frequency of various interventions received. Figure 4.3 below shows the various interventions the participants said they received in the camp, and the percentages of participants for each intervention:
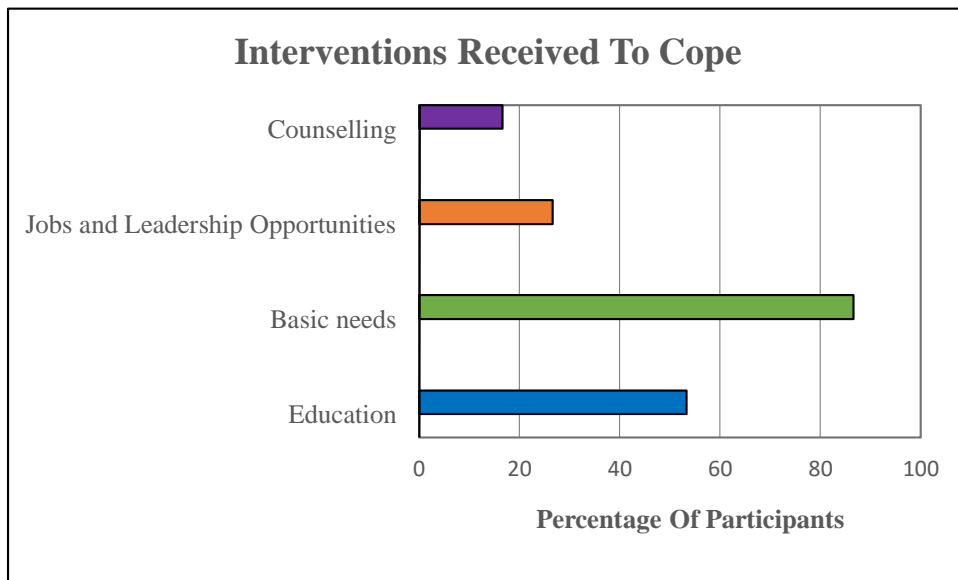
Figure 4:3: Interventions Received to Cope

The ration card received from UNHCR that ensured provision of basic necessities of food, shelter and medication, as well as refugee status and security, ranked highly among the interventions received by the refugees in the camp. Other interventions quoted included counselling as offered by the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), as well as leadership and job opportunities. Education ranked significantly highly among the interventions received. When asked how they had coped with their traumatic experiences, many of the participants explained how they had used the education they had received earlier on to cope with what they were experiencing.

Further, I identified the other ways of coping that the participants related, through open coding, assigning properties to the category as they emerged from what the participants said, and clustering the various properties of the main category into subgroups. I identified the following sub-categories of other ways of coping:

Figure 4.4: Other Ways of Coping

An attitude of optimism, selflessness and inner strength, a vision and long term mission to contribute to peacebuilding in their country of origin, a commitment to taking personal responsibility and initiative, an approach of community participation, and faith in God characterised the other ways of coping that I identified.

The fourth and last level of Figure 4.1 indicates the participants' definitions of peace and their hope for the future, and consequently their reflections on peacebuilding in South Sudan and peace as an all-encompassing phenomenon, as identified through the same procedure of open coding, axial coding and selective coding described in Chapter 3. Peace as defined by the participants of the study is a layered concept as depicted in Figure 4.5, comprising conceptually of inner qualities and outward values.
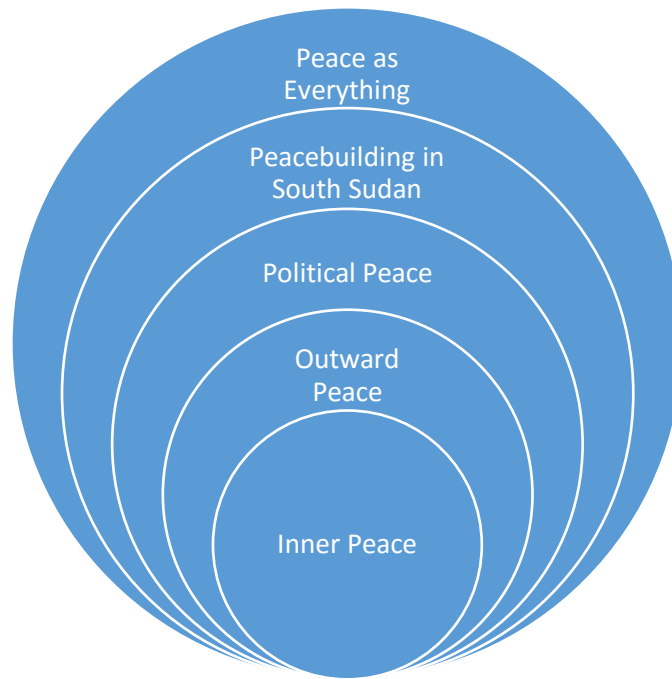
Figure 4.5: Reflections on Peace

These discoveries in the participants' journey, comprising of traumatic experiences, the interventions received to cope with the experiences, other ways of coping and perceptions of peace, are demonstrated in the five stories that emerged from the narrative inquiry analytical procedure, as related in the next section.

4.2 Letting Stories Be

The following five stories emerged, after I used the narrative inquiry analytical procedure, following the criteria described in Chapter 3. The five stories appear as five journeys, representing the journey of the South Sudanese refugees towards peace.

Story 1: Atem

My name is Atem and I was born in South Sudan in 1972, so that means I'm now 42 years old. In 1987 during the war in South Sudan, our community was sensitized to select some young people to be taken to school in Ethiopia. I was selected among others. But unfortunately it happened not to be a real school but military training. And then when Mengistu Haile Mariam, the president of Ethiopia was defeated and ran away, the Ethiopians turned against the South Sudanese and we had to flee. We walked from Pachella to Paku, from Paku to Buma, from

Buma to Kapoeta, from Kapoeta to Nairus, from Nairus to Kakuma, in Kenya. I was among the lost boys.

I got to Kakuma for the first time in 1992 when the camp was started. I was young at that time. We had walked a long away from Ethiopia, with other boys. When we reached the camp we found it very competitive, but we tried our best and we managed to enroll in the school.

In 1996, I decided to leave the camp and went back to Southern Sudan, to participate in the war, but unfortunately I was called home by my father who was back in South Sudan. I spent time with my father who was working in the military with SPLA which was a rebel group. . Then he died when he was attacked and overpowered in the location he was assigned. I got into trouble and had people following me up and wanting to kill me because of my father, since he was in the rebel group opposed to the government. The government, through the militia group, wanted to kill all his family .That was in 1999.

But I managed to survive and ran away. I feared for my life. I ran to Equatoria, and then from Equatoria back to Kakuma in 2005. That is when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in Naivasha, Kenya. If I had not gone back to South Sudan in 1996, I would have been somewhere now, like other lost boys.

I continued struggling to manage life in Kakuma. It was very hard, especially because while I was back in South Sudan, my father had led me to marry and I had married and got two children. When I ran away, I had to leave my wife and the two children back in South Sudan because the circumstances could not allow us to come together. So back in Kakuma, I had to live as a single person, which is very hard and causes a lot of stress when you think of your children.

But I tried to manage. Then in 2006 when there was repatriation and some people were going back to South Sudan, I asked them to look for my wife and let her know my whereabouts. In 2008, she came to the camp and we were reunited. But she came with only one child. The other one had been taken away from her and she didn't know where he was. I accepted her explanation and we lived together, and had two other children. Then fortunately, we were reunited with the other child, the first born, in 2008! We were so happy! I thought I was

dreaming when somebody told me 'Your son is now at the reception centre'! He could only recognize the mother and not me, but that was okay.

Since 2005 when I came back to the camp, I have been a leader. I have served as the Sudanese General Secretary and also as chairman. In 2010 when we conducted the referendum, I was the chairman of the centre, guiding people to register and vote.

Here in Kakuma, we live together in peace, even with the host community, the Turkana. We live as good neighbours, brothers and sisters, and share water and food. I try to maintain peace with them, and with their leader, the DO (District Officer).

Though the CPA was signed in 2005, there was still insecurity in South Sudan. The government had not reinforced and sustained security for the people. And we the Sudanese are very good in revenging. We want to avenge the blood of our brothers and sisters who have been killed. Even after resettlement, as you may have noticed in Australia. People still remember and want to revenge.

When I first came to Kakuma in 1992 I was still young and had no control of what was happening and based my decisions on someone else, but when I came the second time in 2005, I was already married and could make decisions on what was good for me, and what was bad. Because I have children. I have to think positively, what will assist the children, and not negatively.

Among the services that I have received here in Kakuma is education. I have been able to complete secondary education. And I am now working with IRC. I also have a ration card from UNHCR and with it I get food for my family every 14 days. I have also been able to attend very many trainings, and I have seven certificates. I have done peacebuilding training, conflict resolutions, case management, and community policy. These trainings have helped me psychologically, and I now do not see things in the negative, but in the positive. Before the trainings, I thought negatively, even of how I could kill myself or become a drunk with chang'aa (illicit brew), but since the trainings, I think of developing myself and others.

Peace begins with me. If I have peace in my own heart that's the only time I can tell you about peace, no matter what you do to me. In the world we cannot overcome difficulties without

peace. And without forgetting the wrong done to you, you cannot overcome difficulties. I overcame difficulties when I came to Kenya. I reflect on peace and link it to my work. I choose to do things in a polite way, like the way we have talked. I was polite to you when you said you would ask me questions, even though I don't know you and you don't know me. I didn't want you to be worried or feel sad.

I'm qualified, and I can go back to South Sudan and work anywhere – in the military, the police, civil administration, anywhere, but because of insecurity there, I cannot go back. There is no peace there because there is still intertribal fighting, for example between the Murle and the Nuer, like happened a few days ago here in the camp and we lost five people from Murle and two from Nuer. I don't see how there is peace if people are losing their lives, and so many people are fleeing for refuge in Kakuma.

There is no peace in South Sudan because the role of peace is to maintain silence and to make sure people do not have problems, but we keep hearing of cattle raids in different states.

Peace in South Sudan is like an umbrella which protects you from the rain just from the top, but you get rained on from the sides, or like a logo that just shows peace on top but nothing at the bottom.

But I'm hopeful. I'm hopeful because I tried. Even after losing all my parents and brothers and sisters, I still manage, and my mood never changes. Even at home, in my compound, you should see me playing with my children. I invite you to come to my home and see for yourself, how I interact with them, how we chat, and how they receive me when I get home, and it makes me feel so fresh and happy. It makes me forget the past. And now I'm starting a new life.

Atem's story depicts a twofold journey. First an outward journey tracing his movement from South Sudan, to Ethiopia, to Kakuma. Secondly an inward journey tracing his movement from a state of unrest in his home country which he describes as 'the war in South Sudan', to a place of aspiration in Ethiopia where there is the foiled chance of education, to a place of refuge in Kakuma. He gets to the place of refuge through phases of uncertainty on the way, and then back to the place of unrest to trace his roots, and eventually back to the place of refuge in Kakuma, through an interlude of absence.

Once back in the place of refuge, Atem's inward journey continues while his outward journey seems to have stalled, at least for now. He continues to reflect on his life and ways in which others' journeys have affected his own become apparent. For instance, he is separated from his wife and two children and this causes him immense stress. When he is eventually reunited with her, after her own untold journey, it brings him immense joy, mixed with ambivalence, at the seeming loss of his firstborn child.

As his inward journey of survival (what he calls 'trying to manage') continues in his place of refuge, Kakuma, it detours to include others as he is actively involved in leadership opportunities in his community. The journey affords him some interludes of respite as he gets opportunity to study and work with the IRC in the camp.

His inward journey takes him back to the place where he started, the state of unrest in his home country, as he reflects on the state of peace. This reflection is three-pronged, first in himself, then in relation to people around him, and in relation to his home country.

In relation to himself, Atem credits the training he has received as having helped him come to terms with himself, and think positively, and be able to relate with others peaceably. He also traces his journey as one of growth in decision making and responsibility.

All in all, it is a journey of hope. It hasn't worn him out. As he says, 'Even after losing all my parents and brothers and sisters, I still manage, and my mood never changes.' He is ready to go on, realising that this is not the end of the story. Atem ends by saying, 'And now I'm starting a new life'. The journey continues.

Story 2: Fazila

My name is Fazila and I am a South Sudanese. I came to the camp in 1999 when I was about 7 or 8 years old. The reason that compelled us to come to the camp was the political instability, the war back in South Sudan. There was war between the Sudanese and the Arabs. The two parties that were fighting were the SPLA and the government. Though the war started quite a long time, it hadn't affected our village. In 1999 our village was attacked, so many people were killed, and all properties were destroyed or looted. We managed to escape.

I was living with my step-mother, and two other siblings. My dad wasn't living with us since he was an SPLA soldier. He was in the war. We escaped to a certain village, Kaunda on foot.

For three days and three nights, we had no food or water. We had a very difficult time, especially because we were young by then. I was the oldest child. We could sometimes get water from the river, but we could not get food. The little our step mother managed to escape with got finished, and we cried every day.

When we arrived in Kaunda, we found so many people were also fleeing. And in the village, nearby, there was an airport, where there were big planes that were bringing relief food to the people that were affected by the war. We were flown to Lokichogio (at the South Sudan-Kenya border). God intervened for us.

When we got to Lokichogio, we got registered as refugees, but we were not issued with the ration card. A lorry brought us to the reception centre here in Kakuma where we were registered a second time, and issued with a ration card, and other non-food items, and given food. And we were told that that ration card would help us get shelter.

We stayed for 1 month at the reception centre, then we were given our settlement, and that's when we started living here. My mother only came recently. She was initially in Khartoum. Because of the war, she could not come because the roads were insecure, but recently she managed to come, last year in August. My dad also came recently to visit us.

The experience we've had since then, hasn't been easy. First of all, we had to cope without our father, and for me, without my mother. For me it was such a difficult experience, since you know a step-mother can't be your mother. They can't actually treat you equally. But I'm glad because everyone is issued with a ration card, whether you are a child or an adult. And I was glad I managed to get education here in the camp. I enrolled for education and we were given food and medication, so at least life became easier as I was growing up.

One of the most important services we received in the camp was food. Back in South Sudan, we could not get food because all the farms were destroyed and if we were to stay there, we would have died. If war did not kill us, hunger would have killed us. So the food that the UN offers us has made us forget our experiences there. It is so good for us.

But education is the greatest service. Education has actually changed me personally.

I enrolled in primary school in 2000, and studied up to Standard 6. In Standard 7, I managed to get a place in a primary school for girls that was established in 2005, by Angelina Jolie. It is very competitive, but I managed to pass the interview to get there. I studied there for three years and I passed the primary school level exams and received a letter to join Turkana Girls Secondary School in Lodwar town. I could not make it there because I didn't have money, my dad wasn't around. That issue again disturbed me so much. You know, I also believe in God so much. During the 2nd term, a certain white lady named Christine came to our church and committed to sponsor a number of girls through secondary school. I was one of them!

I passed my secondary exams and qualified for a scholarship with WUSC (World University Services of Canada). I passed the interviews and I am now preparing to go to university in Canada in August. I'm so happy. I just feel my dreams are coming to pass. And especially not just studying in Africa, but studying abroad which is actually a good experience for me because I'll know how to interact with white people...I've never thought about it! It just came out of the blues. And I believe it is by the mercy of God.

You know, education is important because it may actually help you one day to be of some help in trying to solve the problem that people are experiencing, understand why people fight, and may be try to stop the war, you know. Education is power. I think these people who are fighting are not educated, that's why they are fighting. By getting education, I think it will help me a lot and not only me but my people also, my family, my people back in Sudan. I'll use it to empower people also. It is very important to me.

I think effort should be put on education, especially post-secondary education. We should have colleges and even universities. Because there is a lot to be done - we need deeper education that will help us identify these issues that are making people to fight.

I can't say I'm the only one who suffered. There're people who have suffered more than me, like people who lost their mothers, I'm lucky I've not lost my parents. In my case, I was separated from my parents for quite a long time. You know they only came a year ago. I could not be able to trace them. When I didn't know where they are I was traumatised. Every day I'd think that they died because I didn't know their whereabouts. So during that time the Red Cross helped. We managed to search for my mother, found that she was in Khartoum, talked to her,

and that's how we were connected and she came here. And the people from JRS gave us advice on how to cope with such situations. They counselled us.

I believe I will go back to South Sudan one day, if the war will stop. I'd like to go. There is hope that one day the war will stop, when people realise their mistakes in fighting and come to an agreement on what they are fighting over. I don't even know what they are fighting over. I'm not sure whether the first war they were fighting for a long time is still the same war they are fighting now.

Peace means a lot. Peace is everything. Peace, I know in simpler terms, is the absence of war. When there is peace, you know there is a lot of development. Development in terms of economy, people living together, loving one another. With peace there will be no death, there will be education, people will be able to establish schools to study.

And peace begins with oneself, with you. In order to have peace, first you should give peace to yourself. Have peace within you, then may be extend peace. And it is a person like me to give peace to you. I have to give you peace, and you also have to give me peace. So, it's actually a two way traffic. We should aim for positive peace, which does not end. With negative peace, people agree superficially, not from the heart, and it reaches a time when the agreement breaks down and war starts again. Segregation between the Arabs and black people for example starts from the heart, where the categories are classified. Positive peace is from the heart. People have totally surrendered, and have agreed with their entire mind and with all their hearts that they will love one another, have unity, and all respect, so as to enhance peace.

I my case, I have peace within me, since I don't have hatred or jealousy for anybody. I love everyone, and for me really I just like peace so much, and I just feel I have peace. Peace of mind, peace of heart. And I just feel if everyone in Sudan could feel the same, then there will be peace. I don't know why people should develop that warring and all that, I can't understand.

I'm looking forward to going to university, study, achieve my goals, and my dreams, and then go back to Sudan, in whatever means, to work for peace. And I'm glad I'm also facilitating peace in primary schools here in the camp. I have clubs within schools. Once a week I go to the school, call my club members and teach them. I have a book I use to teach them about how

to achieve peace, peaceful coexistence among themselves, and how they can handle or manage conflict once it arises.

I believe every step I take, God who is leading me in order to go and establish peace. I have a burden and a passion for people stopping to fight in Sudan. People have shed blood for many many years. I was told when I was just born, people were already fighting. I don't know for what, and I want to know the reasons why these people really fight, and they are just one nation. So I want to stop war, by any means.

Fazila's journey begins at the young age of seven or eight years old when she and her family left their homeland in South Sudan. Hers is a graduating road, replete with marked ups and downs. It begins with a down, the depth of which is seen in her description of the state of the war between the Sudanese and the Arabs, the attack on her village, the killing of many people in her village, the destruction of property, and the point of flight for her family.

The journey continues on this low, as Fazila further describes the nature of their flight for refuge, the hunger and thirst and other difficulties they faced on the way. The level of the path Fazila travels seems to rise markedly as she and her family settle in the camp, are able to get food, and she takes advantage of the education opportunities in the camp. Though higher, the path is not quite level and there are some dips on it, as Fazila's description of her relationship with her step-mother, missing her parents, and the worry whether they were alive or dead, as well as lack of money for her secondary education depict. The level however rises still, when she receives a scholarship through her secondary education, and even higher when she gets a scholarship to go to university in Canada.

Fazila's path takes another level as she joins, or is joined by others on this path. It is not her path alone. She sees the opportunities she is fortunate to get to further her education as opportunities to reach out to others on the path to peace. She describes her passion for peace for her people in South Sudan. Even as the level rises higher still and graduates into a flight to Canada, Fazila considers it a communal flight, from which she will descend to reach her people and bring them with her, to a place of peace.

Story 3: Riek

My name is Riek. First and foremost, when you look at me, you think that I am Sudanese, but in the real sense, I'm Ethiopian. I'm a Nuer by tribe, but Ethiopian by nationality. I arrived in

Kenya in the year 2005, and registered in the year 2006, in Kakuma Refugee camp. I lived in Nairobi, Westlands, and when I got my documents, I was directed to come to Kakuma. I am 27 years old and I am single and not married up to now. I completed my Secondary level education last year.

I left my home country because of insecurity. My father and mother were killed within my community, the Nuer. My father was accused of poisoning a young man in the hotel where he worked. He served the young man some food, and soon after, the young man collapsed and died, hence the accusation. A group of people attacked him and killed both him and my mother. Within that same year, a similar incident happened to me. I impregnated a girl, who was over 18 years old. I wanted to marry her. But when my family and hers came together, they discovered we were related so we were not allowed to get married. Culturally if we are related by blood, we were not allowed to marry.

When it came to time for her to deliver the baby, she died. And the baby died too. Her family turned against me and reported to the chief, who sent police to arrest me. The girl's brothers wanted to kill me. When the news reached me, I fled the country. I was afraid for my life. Even my own relatives were afraid of supporting me because they thought it would cause them harm.

I loved the girl. The only obstacle was the relationship. When all this happened, I felt traumatised. I was traumatised, I was shocked. Even now, I remember all the time, what happened to me personally, what happened to my parents, and it is difficult.
So when this happened I looked for transport to come to Kenya because I had heard that there is a place in Kenya where people with problems like the one I had go to.

When I came to Kakuma, I decided to resume my education, and I enrolled in school. At the same time I worked with LWF in peacebuilding as a community case worker.
In 2008, I was elected as a Nuer tribe leader, through free and fair elections. I have been working as a Block leader for 5 years.

This year, I received my certificate qualifying me as a 'Business and Community Development' graduate, after doing a 6 months course, offered by JRS. Currently I am doing another course, Pharmacy. I've also done a 2 year adult education course, and sometimes I conduct adult

education classes for the adults in my community. I'm hoping to join the camp online university courses, organised by the JRS soon.

I try very hard to get all these qualifications, which are very competitive.
I have long term mission. That's why I'm still unmarried. Because if I'm married, I might need to do away with my studies.

I have gained skills and capacity for leadership management, because I have been trained by the UN over and over again, on how to manage people and give them counsel.
I hope to eventually be resettled in a different country, and my case is still with the UNHCR. I'm told I don't meet the criteria for eligibility, but I'm waiting to be invited for the RSD (Refugee Status Determination) interview.

Sometime I do recall this trauma, when I'm in bed. I recall what happened to me back at home, and what is still happening here in the camp. And that is repeated year after year. Because I cannot forget.

I cope when I interact with people, I have friends, like my age mates who are married. When the children play around me, it helps me. But I have to do some of the chores that are meant for ladies in our culture. The community members assist me, but in their eyes I appear irresponsible because I'm not married. As a leader, one should be responsible and have a wife. But again I cannot marry because I do not have dowry, and have no one to give me some, and the UN cannot provide dowry for me. I'm also afraid to make a similar mistake as I did, make a girl pregnant, and then I can't marry her. I don't want to get into trouble again. And even if I married, I may not be able to support my wife. And I have a great desire to further my studies.

I receive counselling from the 'council of elders'. They know everything that has happened to me, and they understand. I also received counselling from a Japanese lady who was working with the UN. I spent 3 hours with her and I told her my whole story, she listened and gave me counsel. The Peacebuilding officers at LWF also know my story.

As a leader, I'm also a counsellor. People bring cases to me all the time. Currently, I'm dealing with the issue of the clashes between the Nuer and the Murle, in which 7 people were killed, 5 Murle, and 2 Nuer. As a leader, I was suspected of inciting my people, but I proved to the

authorities my innocence, and told them I work as a peacemaker in my community, and if I was a violent person I could not hold these positions. Together with other stakeholders, we are working to reunite the two communities. I've been very busy holding meetings with my people and other joint meetings with all stakeholders, to try to reconcile the two communities.

As for peace, it must begin with myself. I must have confidence, respect myself, and respect others. And I must show by example, the way I interact with others.
I'm a peacemaker. For the last four years I have been working to reconcile people. I do arbitration. I have peace within me, 100%. I have a good attitude, I love people, I'm polite to even those who are rude to me.

As for peace in South Sudan, the war is still going on. That's why I call myself an Ethiopian. When the war broke out between the North and the South, we went to Ethiopia and registered ourselves as citizens. Peace mediators are needed in the new government of South Sudan, to spend time on the ground, carry out assessment, and find out what is really happening in the conflict areas. There should also be freedom of reporting.

I'm ready to go back to South Sudan and assist in the process of peacebuilding. My colleagues also encourage me and tell me that I have a lot of experience in leadership and can work either with the government or with an NGO. I'm ready to go back any time.

Riek's journey is a gradual voyage in a turbulent sea, and he is seen searching for an anchor throughout. When war breaks out in his home in South Sudan, the beginning of the turbulence, he and his family try to find this anchor in Ethiopia. The turbulence rages further when his parents are attacked and killed as a result of the suspicion that his father had poisoned a young man in the hotel where he worked. It rages still further when Riek is forbidden from marrying a girl he loved because they were related by blood, the girl and the baby unfortunately die during delivery, and her family turns against him, wanting him killed. His family is afraid to support him lest they also be attacked. In the middle of this turbulence, he changes course, seeking an anchor in Kenya where he has been told there is a place 'where people with problems like the one I had go to.'

In Kakuma where he has sought anchor, the turbulence continues in his mind as he remembers all that has happened to him, as is seen in his description, 'I was traumatised, I was shocked.

Even now, I remember all the time, what happened to me personally, what happened to my parents, and it is difficult… Sometime I do recall this trauma, when I'm in bed. I recall what happened to me back at home, and what is still happening here in the camp. . And that is repeated year after year. Because I cannot forget.' The turmoil in his mind is amplified by the fact that he is unable to marry since he has no one to help him pay dowry, and his unmarried state is an encumbrance to his role as a leader.

In Kakuma, Riek seeks anchor in education and leadership opportunities. In the process, he has 'gained skills and capacity for leadership management', as he puts it, which he sees as of benefit to himself and to others.

It seems the turbulence Riek finds himself in constantly churns and tosses him, but does not sink or break him. He remains steady through the churning, and does himself turn out to be an anchor for others, as we see in his leadership roles generally, exemplified by his current engagement with reconciliation efforts between the Nuer and the Murle tribes. These reconciliation efforts are occasioned by the recent clashes in the camp that left five Murle people and two Nuer people dead. Further, he seeks to be an anchor through the peacebuilding process back in South Sudan in which he says he is ready to go back and engage 'anytime'.

To remain steady and reliable as an anchor in the turbulence, Riek sees the need to hold on to others for support, which he does through seeking counsel from 'the council of elders' in his community, and getting support from his friends and neighbours who are married, in order to fulfil his responsibilities. This way, he will not sink with responsibility and sink others with him in the turbulence.

Story 4: Patrick

My name is Patrick and I have a terrible experience of the war. In December 2012, my village was attacked and many people lost their lives. Our homes were all completely burnt, our town, completely destroyed. And my children ran to the bush to hide. My wife was pregnant, and she delivered in the bush. Then the following day I ran to bring them to the town. There had been a lot of murder and harassment. The Nuer had attacked us, but the government assisted in the war. I was a terribly beaten by the soldiers, telling me to surrender the gun. The SPLA soldiers, who are tribal, joined in the war.

In the recent one, this year 2013, on 27 February, the soldiers shot at us in the town of Kibor, and many people in the town were killed. I was chased, as they were shooting at us, then I ran. I got injuries and escaped, and was almost killed in that incident. Then after that I decided to flee. I went to Juba, and then I came here, with my wife, four little children, and my mother, in February 2013. I am separated from my father. I don't know where he is, or his situation. I was also separated from my extended family. Anyone who wasn't killed disappeared from the town.

We had a lot of difficulties getting to Kakuma from South Sudan. All the money we had got finished, and the children were very vulnerable and almost died of starvation. When we got to the Reception Centre, we faced more difficulties before we got registered and were given the ration card. It was a long wait, and we had to make trips on foot between the Reception Centre and the Camp Manager's office, which was difficult in our condition. It took almost a month. At the Reception Centre they used to bring some kind of music, to promote healing, and also some videos, informally. I don't think it helped though, because people were still fighting even at the Reception Centre, since they were traumatized. I think the psychosocial activities were not sufficient.

We received food and shelter, and two of the children are in school now. We also want to continue with education. I did not finish high school back in South Sudan. After Form 2 I joined a college and trained in Livestock Community Development and Management Studies. I also studied Livestock Health, and Production, and we studied human lives as well, including Community Development, Peacebuilding, and Conflict Management.

I've been working for many years, treating livestock, and also in community development activities including peacebuilding. My work involved dealing directly with those conflicting communities in terms of animal health. As we delivered those services, we also got a chance to talk to the community directly in peacebuilding, educating them on peace. As livestock professionals, we don't want people to fight over cows and kill cows because it is uneconomical. We also discouraged people from raiding cows from other tribes, explaining that the raided cows may transmit some other diseases, which may wipe out our cows

Besides education, we can really benefit from counselling. As a peace representative and a community leader, I'd say I think counselling would really help the community, especially the

women. Because our people are traumatised. I'm also traumatised, because we are affected by the war, by seeing people being killed.

My tribe has particularly been under attack, and people say "We want to wipe out Murle", you know. The government and this other tribe, the Nuer want to wipe us out. They allege that we are cattle raiders and that we abduct their children. They also want to dominate us politically. This makes peacebuilding very difficult. The civilian community may agree, but when politicians are involved, it becomes difficult. They incite the civilians.

A certain man from our tribe has launched a rebellion against these injustices, and now the whole tribe is deemed rebel. We are all suspected of being in the rebellion.

For me, peace means the absence of war, when people live a whole life, complete life, where there is no fighting, or hatred or conflict, physical or psychological. What I mean by psychological conflict is being abused, for instance being told, "You are rebel. You are worthless", you know, so you feel psychologically depressed and this becomes psychological war now, to injure you. This is happening to us here in the camp, and back in South Sudan. We are really affected.

We still hope for peace though. Peace may come, because there is time for war and there is time for peace also. People will fight, until they defuse those tensions and they kill themselves, and then there will be days for peace. They will get tired, and exhaust their energy. And of course it's God to bring the peace, not a human being.

I have peace within me. I am definite. I'm also Christian, a member of the church group, so we believe in Ten Commandments, and we believe also in co-existing. If people are created by God all of them, they need to live in peace and harmony.

I believe that fighting doesn't offer any solution. Some people believe that it brings quick solutions to some problems, but on the other hand, it is creates more damage. Like for example in my culture if you fight, there are two ways, either you beat that person thoroughly and you'll also be in trouble after that , or that person will beat you and you will be in trouble still. No benefit. I try to persuade the community not to revenge.

I'm hopeful for change in South Sudan. Change of leadership. I'm sure time for peace will come. At the moment I can't go back because my town was completely destroyed. I'd like to go and further my education outside the country, because I think one of the problems causing conflict is lack of education. So we want people who have already come here to get educated, so that when, maybe in future they go back, they will be able to solve their problems in a good way.

Patrick's journey is a run. He runs with his family to the bush to hide when his village is attacked, homes destroyed and town burnt down. He runs to bring his family to town for safety, and later has to run for his life from the soldiers, run back to town to pick up his family, and run with them for refuge in Kakuma.

Patrick's run is not a plain run but appears to be a steeplechase, in which he is seen jumping fences and ditches and generally traversing many intervening obstacles to make progress. For example, there is the hurdle of his wife giving birth in the bush, the danger of transporting his family across the border with limited finances, and the vulnerability of his children due to starvation on the journey to Kakuma.

The pace of his run slows in Kakuma where he has sought refuge, but it seems his mind continues to race with remembrance of what has happened to him, his family and his tribe. He talks of being traumatised because of having seen many people killed when his village was attacked, he laments being separated from his father and his extended family and not knowing their whereabouts, and he describes the 'psychological war' that his tribe is facing through being reproached by other tribes.

Patrick is not only seen running from something (escaping danger), but to something (grasping an ideal, peace). He ponders on his contribution towards peacebuilding, first as a livestock professional encouraging his tribe-mates to embrace peace by not involving themselves in cattle-raiding, explaining it as both uneconomical and injudicious, and secondly in his active role as a peacemaker for his community during the clash between the Murle and the Nuer tribes in the camp.

In Kakuma, Patrick appears to be pausing from his run to take a breath and have some respite and continue running. He hopes to continue with his education, hopefully in a country of resettlement, and go back to his country to contribute to peace. He hopes others will do the

same, for he believes that one of the things causing problems of conflict in his country is lack of education.

His hope seems to rest in his faith in God, as well as in his abilities, for even after running hard and continuously, he does not appear breathless but steady and confident, and ready to go on.

Story 5: Grace

I came to Kakuma in 1999 because of the Sudan war. We had to flee for our lives. My brother was accused of treason, of having joined a rebel group, was captured and was killed. They then captured my father, tied a dog to his back, beat the dog, and the dog mauled my father to death. Now I am here in Kakuma. I live with the children of my brother, 10 children. Plus one child of mine. I've given birth to 14 children, 13 have died and only one has survived.

Back in South Sudan, I had a husband who held me by force (raped me), as a result of the war. I lived with him as his wife, we had children, but they could not survive, as a result of the war. Now I can't go back there.

Here in Kakuma, we are provided with food and shelter. In 2006, I was being considered for the process of resettlement, and had gone through all the necessary steps, until the results of my blood tests were out, and I was told I had bad blood. I was diagnosed HIV Positive. The resettlement process stalled, because they do not accept HIV Positive people in Australia. I thought they would consider me for America or Canada or Holland, but nothing has happened so far, and they have not returned a 'reject' to me so that I can know once and for all. I'm still waiting, and when I try to ask, no one seems to have information about my case. I don't know where my file is. I've waited, until I'm tired.

And then last year, the wife of my brother died, and brought me more problems. I have to look after her children too. It is very difficult, and I cry a lot, when I think of all my problems. I get a little assistance from UNHCR, but not enough. The other day they gave me two basins, slippers, two bed sheets and two pieces of soap. I wish someone could help me with these children.

I do receive counselling, and medication. I started the antiretroviral medication in 2006 when they told me I have HIV, through IRC. Medication is not a problem. They also took us for

training concerning issues to do with HIV/AIDS. Those we trained with are now employed. I'm the only one who is unemployed. And it makes me wonder what's wrong with me. I just cry.

But recently, I started this business of selling food. I make doughnuts and porridge, and sell to people. I get a little money and buy vegetables to supplement the ration food for the children.

Sometimes at the waterpoints, people tease me about this disease, and sometimes they tease the children too. But I get support from the five of us who are HIV positive. We have a support group, and we meet regularly with the counsellor. When we meet, everyone speaks out their problem, then the counsellor talks to us. We stay together. Other people, like these children, also come to visit me, they stay with me, like the way you have come and found us, and we stay together. They stay with me well.

There is no peace for me in South Sudan at all. Other people may have peace, but there is no peace for me. Here in Kakuma, if there's a complicated issue, you go to the Block leader, and if the Block leader sees that problem is beyond him, he takes it to security, and if it's beyond security, they take it to the Peacebuilding unit. Then the Peacebuilding people will look at it, and will bring peace to us. Then we'll stay in peace.

But in Sudan, what peace? Whose place would I go to stay there now? There's no one there, where would I stay? I'm with my brother here, and the younger one is also here.
Personally, I try to stay at peace with everyone, even when they insult me. I realise that if I'm careless in the way I talk, it will bring problems to me. I'd rather stay, and just look at someone as they insult me. At the waterpoint, if they insult me, I just leave quietly and come home. And that will bring peace in our midst. That's how I stay, and if sometimes I find the problems are too many, I go back to my friends in the support group. Sometimes they are facing similar issues, so we talk together, and there is peace for us.

But I really wish I could find a way to have peace in my heart and my body. Probably by going to another country.

Grace's journey is an uphill road that she treads slowly, laden with a heavy burden. She tries to make progress in her journey, and wishes someone could help her with the burden, whose weight seems to increase with every step.

Grace's uphill road begins in South Sudan when her brother and her father are accused of treason and are viciously killed. Her whole family is under attack after that and she has to flee and seek refuge. From the start, Grace appears to be shouldering a burden placed on her by others – first her brother who is killed, then her father, and then her husband, who first rapes her, marries her and she gives birth to 14 children, 13 of whom die and one survives, and she contracts HIV/AIDS. Afterwards she has to take care of 10 of her brother's children, after his wife dies.

The burden is made all the heavier by the rejection she gets for resettlement as a result of her HIV status, the ostracism she receives from the community at the water points due to the same, and the lack of sufficient support for the children.

At no point has Grace considered dropping the burden to make her journey easier and faster. In fact, she works hard to make sure she keeps steady, as seen in her attempt to make ends meet by starting a food business at her home in Kakuma. Rather, she longs and hopes to share the burden with others, the same way she has received it mainly from other people. This way, she hopes to 'have peace in her heart and her body.'

From Five to One Journey

The five stories appear as five journeys which all converge into one journey. For each of them, the journey is not to be taken alone but alongside others. In each of the journeys, we see points of detour where the journeying participants involve or reach out to others, both supporting and seeking support from them, as fellow sojourners.

As Atem's inward journey of survival (what he calls 'trying to manage') continues in his place of refuge, Kakuma, it detours to include others as he is actively involved in leadership opportunities in his community. Atem has reached deep in this journey to touch some of the aspects of the warring, such as revenge, and intertribal strife. His metaphor of peace in South Sudan as 'an umbrella which protects you from the rain just from the top, but you get rained on from the sides', or 'a logo that just shows peace on top but nothing at the bottom' reflects the result of his contemplation.

Fazila's journey is not hers alone. She sees the opportunities she is fortunate to get to further her education as opportunities to reach out to others on the path to peace. She describes her passion for peace for her people in South Sudan. Fazila considers the opportunity she gets to fly to Canada to pursue university education as a communal opportunity, as she aspires to learn more about peace and come back to implement what she has learnt amongst her people, and bring them to a place of peace.

To remain steady and reliable as a leader for his people, Riek sees the need to hold on to others for support, which he does through seeking counsel from 'the council of elders' in his community, and getting support from his friends and neighbours who are married, in order to fulfil his responsibilities. His leadership responsibilities include reconciliation efforts between his community, the Nuer, and the Murle tribe. These efforts are occasioned by the recent clashes in the camp that left five Murle people and two Nuer people dead. Further, he seeks to be engaged in the peacebuilding process back in South Sudan that he says he is ready to go back and engage in 'anytime.'

Patrick's journey involves others all through. He is seen trying to save his family from danger in South Sudan, bring them to safety in Kakuma, and while in Kakuma he is trying to help his community through his involvement in the reconciliation efforts between the Murle and the Nuer who were involved in a tribal clash within the camp. He ponders on his contribution towards peacebuilding, first as a livestock professional encouraging his tribe mates to embrace peace by not involving themselves in cattle-raiding, explaining it as both uneconomical and injudicious, and secondly in his active role as a peacemaker for his community during the clash between the Murle and the Nuer tribes in the camp.

Grace values the support she gets from her support group of HIV positive colleagues and the counsellor, as well as her friends and neighbours who visit her and 'stay with me well'. Figure 4.6 below represents the five journeys and how they converge at one point and merge into one journey, the journey to peace.
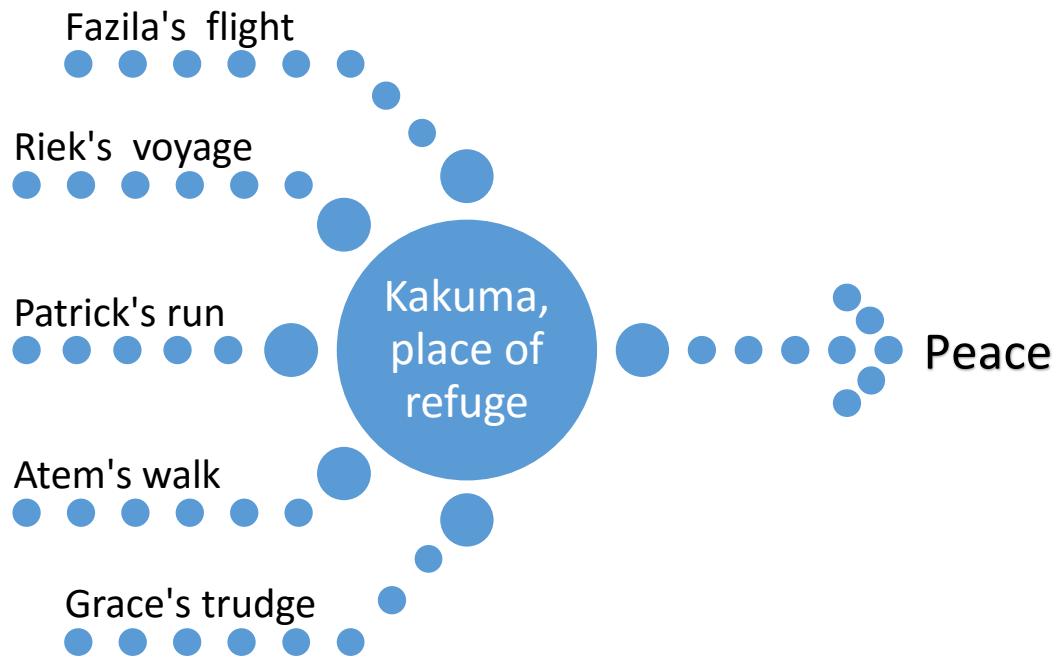
Figure 4.6: The Journey

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the discoveries of the journey of inquiry into the traumatic experiences, interventions that the participants of the study receive to cope with their traumatic experiences, and their perceptions of peace. The first section has presented the discoveries from grounded theory, resulting from following the analytical steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Straus & Corbin, 1998).

The first discovery is of the nature of the traumatic experiences, which follow the trajectory of their journey, from their country of origin, through the actual journey fleeing attack, to the camp where the participants now reside. The second discovery encompasses the interventions that are provided for the participants in the camp. The third discovery involves surprises in the journey, in terms of the other ways of coping that the participants related, besides the interventions provided for them by the UNHCR and its partnering agencies. The fourth discovery is the participants' definitions and reflections on peace, and ways of achieving it.

The second section has presented the discoveries from the narrative inquiry, applying Frank's (2010) Dialogical Narrative Analysis (DNA) to extract what the participants said in the interviews and construct the conversations into stories with a plot line. Each story is presented

as it emerged, as a journey, which even at the end of what the participant relates, seems to continue, and the five individual journeys merge into one journey towards peace.

In summary, the South Sudanese refugees are attacked in their country of origin and witness family members and neighbours being killed. Those who survive the killing disperse and families are separated as each person flees their own way, escaping the attack. They walk for long distances seeking refuge, with no rest and little or no food or water. Some are eventually able to get transport means by lorry or plane to reach the South Sudan/Kenya border, while others walk the whole way. On the way they face insecurity, hunger and thirst, and constantly worry about loved ones who were killed and others whose whereabouts they do not know.

They are eventually ferried to Kakuma from the border, and received at the Reception Centre. They are registered as refugees in the camp by UNHCR, given a ration card that allows them identification as refugees, and enables them to access food, shelter, health and education facilities. They wait at the reception centre for about a month and are resettled in the community in the camp. They are given housing materials to construct their own houses.

Within the community in the camp they continue to receive the services of a food ration and health facilities, and many of them go to school in the camp. Some get employment with the agencies that work in the camp in partnership with UNHCR. Some look for other ways of survival, and start small businesses to augment the supplies they get from UNHCR. As they settle in the camp, many remember and are disturbed by the events they experienced back in their country of origin, especially the separation from, and death of, loved ones. They suffer loneliness and a sense of insecurity and uncertainty about their future. Some receive counselling for their stress, and many turn to the education opportunities in the camp to cope, immersing themselves in these opportunities. Some turn to leadership opportunities in the camp, focusing more on serving others in the community.

The survivors face disease, and even death in the camp. Cultural practices such as paying dowry for a bride, differing gender roles and wife inheritance after one's husband dies are affected by the new setting in the camp. Many turn to faith or religion as a source of solace. Others look to resettlement in a developed country as the solution to their troubles.

Some of the survivors are hopeful for peace in their lives and in their country of origin, and see their role in helping achieve this peace through involvement in the community and through education. Others see peace in their lives and in their country of origin seems as far-fetched and neither relate to it, believe in it, nor see how they can contribute to achieving it. This experience of the South Sudanese refugees is presented below, as it emerged in the field research.

These discoveries are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 that follow.

CHAPTER 5: TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES

> The slow, brown, resistless currents of the Congo, the white wrath of Nile cataracts... create and destroy and create anew out of what they destroy…
>
> -Phillip Caputo, *Acts of Faith*, 2005, p.5.

This chapter discusses the South Sudanese participants' traumatic experiences back in their country of origin, on their journey in search of refuge, and in the refugee camp where they are now living. The meaning of traumatic experiences as discussed in this chapter follows the understanding presented in Chapter 2 that the meaning of trauma is seen as culturally embedded. As argued by Heidegger (1927/1996) and Bracken (2003), and discussed in Chapter 2, the meaning we give to phenomena is based on the social world we live in and our engagement with that world. The meaning the participants gave to their experiences is key to this discussion.

In presenting the participants' experiences as they emerged in the interviews, the chapter avoids medicalising or generalising populations as traumatised by the mere fact of having been exposed to mass violence. Recognising the danger of using 'brief accounts of the suffering … to legitimize the accompanying arguments' as Butt (2002, p. 6) remarks, the discussion seeks to draw directly from the way the participants expressed and revealed their experiences in the interviews. Consistent with this approach, each sub-section bears a participant's verbatim words in its title. The accompanying arguments, drawing on literature on trauma and related fields, are used as a discursive platform to comment on and analyse what the participants have said.

5.1 Traumatic Experiences in South Sudan

Torture and Death of Loved Ones*: 'They cut him to pieces'*

Participants painfully recalled the circumstances that led to their coming to the camp, and loved ones dying. Miriam, a young woman from the Nuba community, expressed in excruciating detail, and with a force of emotion rarely expressed elsewhere in the interviews, the account of

her father's murder and the inhumanity of the act. During the interview, Miriam repeated several times how the killers cut up her father's flesh and scattered it about 'like the flesh of a goat':

> *My father was taking the cattle to the river, to take water. And then some people who were riding on camels, and I guess they were the Arabs[23] found my father and shot him, and cut his head with a panga into pieces such that his flesh was like the flesh of a goat. ... I was still young but I remember what they did to my father… Eeh I saw, I saw all that happen. I just went and found they had made him like goat's meat ... And I was just crying. I could tell the head was my father's but the rest of the body I could not tell that it was my father....[24]*

Another story of inhuman treatment is related by Grace[25], a 42 year old woman from the Acholi community, who describes how the killers tied a dog to the back of her father, suspecting him of being a traitor, beat the dog and had the dog maul her father to death.

These are examples of the killers' attempts to dehumanise their victims thus rendering it easy and appropriate to treat them in inhumane ways without any guilty conscience. By cutting up Miriam's father and scattering pieces of his flesh around so that they looked 'like the flesh of a goat', the killers seem to be in effect relegating his status to that of a goat and in the process anesthetizing themselves from the effects of the act of killing a fellow human being. By tying a dog to the back of Grace's father and forcing the dog to maul him to death, the killers seem to be making a symbolic statement about Grace's father being unworthy of human treatment.

Dehumanisation has been used as an accompaniment for discrimination and atrocity throughout history. In his examination of the psychology of evil, seeking to understand why good people do evil, the psychologist Philip Zimbardo (2007) in a sense blurs the line between good and evil, and argues that 'the barrier between good and evil is permeable and nebulous' (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 2). Zimbardo emphasises the boundless capacity of every state and person to commit evil, and traces the systematic murder of over 50 million people beginning with the 1915 Ottoman Turks killing of 1.5 million Armenians, through the Communist Khmer Rouge regime

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[23] 'The Arabs', as used by Miriam and other participants, refer to Northern Sudanese.
24 Interview with Miriam, KRF36 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1
[25] Interview with Grace, KRF48 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1

murder of 1.7 million people in Cambodia, to the 2006 genocide in Darfur, Sudan (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 12). According to Zimbardo, the killing of these groups of people is made psychologically acceptable through the process of dehumanisation, rendering them as evil, morally inferior, less than human. 'War engenders cruelty and barbaric behavior against anyone considered the Enemy, as the dehumanized, demonic Other' (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 17). Salzman (2012) notes that in American history, the enslavement of the African people as well as the policies surrounding the treatment of Native Americans were justified and made possible by the perception that Africans and Native Americans were less than human. Indeed, the U.S Constitution held that African slaves were only three-fifths human, and Native Americans were 'vicious savages devoid of God', and this belief 'reduced dissonance arising from such brutal treatment used by the good and god-fearing settlers of the "new land"' (Salzman, 2012, p. 41).

Human beings seem to have an uncanny, limitless and creative ability to invent evil for the purpose of terrorising fellow human beings. The process is designed to instill fear and terror in the observers, and render them easy victims to the whims of the perpetrators, be it by acquiescing to the perpetrators' demands or fleeing for safety. The participants in this study fell victim to the latter response. Thomas Keneally in *Schindler's List* (1994), while describing the horrors of the Holocaust, refers to an 'inversion' of the 'moral universe', in which human beings seem blinded, altogether, to the good and the right, and darkness appears as light:

> By 1943… Auschwitz… was already something more than a camp. It was even more than a wonder of organization. It was a phenomenon. The moral universe had not so much decayed here. It had been *inverted* [italics added]*,* like some black hole, under the pressure of all the earth's malice – a place where tribes and histories were sucked in and vaporized, and language flew inside out. The underground chambers were named 'disinfection cellars', the above-ground chambers 'bathhouses' (Keneally, 1994, pp. 344-345).

This inversion of the moral universe is further referred to by Zimbardo (2007, p. 17) when he visualises morality as a gearshift that can at times be put into neutral, or disengaged altogether. Zimbardo sees dehumanisation as a tactic that facilitates moral disengagement. MacNair (2003, pp. 2-3) refers to this tactic as 'semantic dehumanization', arguing that the words that describe an object, rather than the inherent nature of that object, determine one's perception of the object. MacNair describes the resultant 'linguistic warfare' that has been used to facilitate violence against certain groups of people. By referring to people as 'deficient humans,

nonhumans, nonpersons, animals, parasites, diseases, inanimate objects or waste products', violent acts against these groups of people becomes justified (MacNair, 2003, p. 2). The tactic of semantic dehumanisation made the extermination of the Jews by the Nazi regime possible and easy by referring to and perceiving the Jews as a disease, and the 1994 Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi by the Hutus by referring to and conceiving of the Tutsi as 'cockroaches' (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 14).

And for what purpose? Why will human beings want to inflict such pain and horror on fellow human beings? Scarry (1985) argues that the intensity and absorbed manner of inflicting pain in torture signifies a deeper and far reaching goal; that of entrenching power. Scarry (1985, pp. 27-28) describes the process by which this pain is translated into power:

> The physical pain is so incontestably real that it seems to confer its quality of "incontestable reality" on that power that has brought it into being… First, pain is inflicted on a person in ever-intensifying ways. Second, the pain, continually amplified within the person's body, is also amplified in the sense that it is objectified, made visible to those outside the person's body. Third, the objectified pain is denied as pain and read as power, a translation made possible by the obsessive mediation of agency.

Scarry (1985, p. 28) argues that what is in effect produced in this translation is 'a fantastic illusion of power'. It is not real. In a similar fashion, Keneally (1994, p. 184) describes the exhilaration the literary character Amon Goeth feels at watching the execution of a young Jewish architectural engineer assigned to the construction of the barracks. Goeth had ordered the engineer's immediate execution for claiming that the foundations had not been correctly excavated. Goeth mistakes the exhilaration he feels as he watches the architectural engineer die, for a kind of compensatory reward for doing a noble duty (killing a Jew), unaware that 'these reactions had clinical labels' (Keneally, 1994, p. 184). Scarry (1985, p.28) concludes that 'torture is a grotesque piece of compensatory drama'. For the participants who watched their loved ones tortured and killed in the atrocities of the war in South Sudan, the pain inflicted on the loved one's body converted into deep heart-felt pain for the survivors as expressed by Miriam in her cry:

> *I say … it is very painful. When I'm sleeping I just think in my mind … how long will the Arab kill others like this? They get somebody and just kill and then they throw like*

this... They don't have any pain, to see that it is human being! [With deep feeling of pain in her voice][26].

The intensity of this pain translates into the illusionary power (Scarry, 1985) felt by the perpetrators, whose domination leads the survivors to flee for safety. In making the pain and torture inflicted on their victims visible to the survivors, the perpetrators succeed in their mission of instilling fear and dread that causes the survivors to flee.

Security: 'No rest'

One of the most common experiences among the refugees interviewed was the loss of security. Living in constant fear and not knowing what would happen next wore down on these survivors and was the main reason why they had fled to the camp. Refugees from the Nuba Mountains in South Kordofan especially expressed the deep, constant anxiety in which they lived as bombs from antonovs[27] were regularly thrown in the area, forcing the residents to flee to the mountains every day seeking refuge. As such, they experienced 'no rest' as Tahir, a 27 year-old man from the Nuba community expressed[28].

Sometimes the very government soldiers from whom the survivors expect protection against attacks are the ones whom the participants blame for perpetrating the violence, as in the case of Patrick, a 40 year-old man from the Murle community[29]. Patrick described how he was beaten up by government soldiers and eventually decided to run. There has been an increase in attention to this feature of wars in which the government or the state turns against civilians, its own people, in recent decades, following the end of the Cold War (Paulson, 2003). The civilian targets of these wars tend to be

> … both poor and from a minority group, having few or no allies either in their home country or abroad… A key strategic goal in this type of warfare is to create terror among the targeted civilian population (Paulson, 2003, p. 111).

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26 Interview with Miriam, KRF36 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
27 An antonov is a Russian-made cargo plane converted into a crude bomber and used by the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) in South Kordofan as a tool for civilian destruction and terror. The plane is not designed for use as an attack aircraft and has no bomb sighting mechanisms, allows no military purposeful aerial targeting, and is used for indiscriminate aerial bombardment, wreaking havoc in the lives of the civilians (McConnell, 2013; Satellite Sentinel Project, 2012).
28 Interview with Tahir, KRM13 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
29 Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1

In some instances, the violence that led the participants to flee for refuge is intertribal, especially as a result of cattle rustling between different tribes. Hiba[30], a 30 year-old Nuer woman, related how 'some unknown people' came at night and killed people in her village, including her husband, destroyed property and took away cattle, forcing her and other survivors to flee for refuge. Patrick, a 40 year old from the Murle community, describes a similar scenario:

> *And my children ran to the bush where they went to hide … And my wife was pregnant, then she delivered in the bush. It was during the fight. Then the following day I ran to bring them to the town. Then there had been a lot of murder, and some killing and harassment … Yeah, I'm also traumatised. Yeah, because we are affected by this war, by seeing people being killed … And people actually use the language of 'We want to wipe out Murle', you know. … if you are abused, and told, 'You are rebel, or you are worthless', you know … you feel psychologically depressed and this is now another, this is psychological war now… Yeah, psychological war, to injure you.[31]*

The main reason the refugees have fled from their country of origin is the pursuit of physical security – now that they do not feel safe and protected in their own land, they run for refuge. They run in search of a place where they can be secure, with a buffer against attack and possible extermination. The extermination they fear is on two fronts. Firstly there is the physical extermination, death. They literally run for their lives. Secondly, they dread what Patrick referred to as 'psychological war, to injure you'. His people are abused by others and called 'worthless… thieves… rebels', and this threatens their essence, leaving them vulnerable. They run to preserve their essence. The semantic dehumanisation (MacNair, 2003, p. 2) that entails using dehumanising labels to refer to, and conceive of, certain groups of people as nonhumans or deficient humans not only serves to justify and facilitate acts of violence against the group of people, but affects the victims too, badly hurting them psychologically and rendering them all the more vulnerable. In the case of participants like Patrick who related these experiences, the survivors had tended to internalise these labels and as a result experience considerable psychological distress.

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30 Interview with Hiba, KRF16 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1
31 Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

To the extent that the referent of security is the individual and not the state, the human security paradigm, based on the two notions of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' (Hayes and Mason 2013, pp. 4-5), offers some explanation to the security considerations that forced the participants of this study to flee from their country of origin. They fled to protect their human security.[32]

Separation: 'I have no one else'

Separation is another overarching trait of the participants' experience. The war in South Sudan is notorious for tearing families apart. Often, the outbreak of violence has resulted in separation of family members, each having run their own way, and not being able to find each other. In explaining the circumstances that led them to come to the camp, Abit, a 35 year old man from the Dinka community, described how this separation came to be:

> So ... you run, you don't see your father even your mother ... You don't see anything ... I have no one else.[33]

One of the most common features of this trait is children separated from their parents. Many survivors described how they were separated from their parents in their childhood and still do not know where their parents are to date. Joyce, a 40 year old woman from the Dinka community, was a recent arrival at the camp's Reception Centre and described her painful experience of being separated from her children:

> I came with the children. I came here with four children, and some children went to play, and then we were attacked when two children were not around, so I didn't find them. Is there anywhere I can find those children? I need to bring them back here in this camp ...: I am now weak because my two children are not there and my younger child in now sick. Now I'm confused, I can't even tell this from that.[34]

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[32] The human security paradigm has been invoked by various authors (Kaldor, 2007; Marlies, 2008; United Nations Trust Fund For Human Security, 2009; Hayes & Mason, 2013) to explain how structural violence causes refugee and migrant flows.

33 Interview with Abit, KRM02 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

34 Interview with Joyce, KRF25 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

As a result of this separation, loneliness and loss, there is a disruption of the development of what Banai et al (2005, p. 225) call 'a cohesive self-structure'[35] which consists of an integration of one's sense of identity, value, meaning, and permanence, and an ability to accomplish one's goals without being rejected or isolated by loved ones and other important groups of people. This self-structure provides a sense of stability and permanence, and can maintain a sense of consistency even under threatening conditions. The self-structure and sense of permanence can be completely shattered by traumatic experiences, as appears to have happened in the case of the survivors of the mass violence in South Sudan interviewed for this study.

The separation and loss leads to a sense of loneliness that is described by the participants, such as Amuka, a 35 year old Dinka woman described:

> *And now, I came here without father, mother, no husband. When we arrived here, I looked for a husband, and I found one. After I gave birth to two children, the husband died. Now I'm remaining, lonely… before you came here, no one has ever visited me. I'm just here lonely, and staying here with the children, even no one realises that this woman is suffering from this and that.*[36]

Herman (1997, pp. 51-52) underlines the sense of disconnection that survivors of traumatic events feel, once all that they believed in, and that gave meaning to their lives, seems to have been shattered:

> Traumatic events have primary effects not only on the psychological structures of the self but also on the systems of attachment and meaning that link individual and community… Traumatized people feel utterly abandoned, utterly alone, cast out of the human and divine systems of care and protection that sustain life. Thereafter, a sense of alienation, of disconnection, pervades every relationship, from the most intimate familial bonds to the most abstract affiliations of community and religion.

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35 The concept of a 'cohesive self-structure' is derived from Heinz Kohut's Self-Psychology model, especially as presented in his two famous works, *The Analysis of the Self* and *The Restoration of the Self* (Baker & Baker, 1987; White & Weiner, 1986). According to this model, the development of a healthy self or the tripolar self occurs along three poles: mirroring, idealizing and the alter-ego or twinship. Mirroring refers to the ability of a person to sustain a stable sense of self-esteem, develop ambitions and purposes. Idealizing refers to a person's ability to have self-direction and set challenging but realistic goals. This happens through relating with a significant other and drawing comfort and direction from him or her. The alter-ego or twinship refers to the need to feel a degree of alikeness with other people, 'being part of and connected to the human community' (Baker & Baker, 1987, p. 4). The outcome is that the person feels understood and accepted by others. He or she has a 'cohesive self-structure'.

36 Interview with Amuka, KRF06 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

The separation from loved ones and the uncertainty of ever seeing them again is comparable to the disappearances of political dissidents in Argentina and Colombia, which Taussig (1992, pp. 19-20) says 'creates a new circle to Dante's hell in that it combines the terrible fact of loss with the ever-present hope that the disappeared will tomorrow, the next day … re-emerge.' Since 1977, the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, a social movement of 'Mothers of the Disappeared' in Argentina has been meeting weekly to protest the disappearance of an estimated 30,000 Argentines that occurred during Argentina's 'dirty war' (Bosco, 2004). During this war, members of the Argentine security forces kidnapped, illegally detained, tortured and killed the victims (Bosco, 2004, p. 383). Of particular concern to the *madres* is the fact that their sons and daughters simply disappeared and were never seen again. Some of the *madres,* in their protest, have found a way to publicly represent this disappearance and reject any form of consolation by representing themselves as 'perpetually pregnant, claiming that their sons and daughters are not dead, but rather still live inside their bodies, in their wombs…' (Bosco, 2004, p.392). This extreme form of representation by the *madres* of their loss underlines the problematic and traumatic ways in which separation and disappearance, apart from death, affects the survivor.

In other instances, there is certainty that the loved ones have died hence the separation is more permanent. Participants talked of having lost their loved ones in death, and in most cases, the killers are not identified specifically. The deaths are mostly described in the passive voice as shown in the italicised phrases in the following participants' words:

Abit: "… may be *you lost* your parents, all of them.'[37]

Pubudu: '… even my parents, my father and my mother… *they have gone.*'[38]

Rachel: 'So my husband *was killed*.' [39]

 These participants do not say who killed their loved ones. In some instances, the participants report that 'some unknown people' came at night and attacked them, and they could not see the

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37 Interview with Abit, KRM02 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
38 Interview with Pubudu, KRM17 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
39 Interview with Rachel, KRM24on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

attackers clearly, as in the case of Hiba.[40] The enemy or perpetrator in the incidents described seems faceless and not clearly identifiable.

This facelessness of the perpetrator may well be either illusory or real, but either way serves the purpose of obliterating the participants' memory of the killing of loved ones. If one cannot assign a face or a particular identity to the person who committed the act, then one will not have to deal with the deep sense of loss the perpetrator has caused, the need for truth and justice, and the resultant realisation of one's helplessness in doing anything about the act. If one sees the act of the loved one being killed as an occurrence that happened and not a deed that was done, then they might be better placed to let the matter rest and move on as it were. The perception of the other as faceless and unidentifiable then becomes more of a self-preservation measure for the survivor. This could be the veiled reasoning behind the facelessness of the enemy and the passivity of voice describing the act.

Albert Bandura's concept of moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency (Bandura et al, 1996) offers an explanation for the notion of the faceless other. From their study examining 'the structure and impact of moral disengagement on detrimental conduct and the psychological processes through which it exerts its effects' (Bandura et al, 1996, p. 364), Bandura and his colleagues found, among other aspects, that 'obscuring or distorting the agentive relationship between actions and the effects they cause' served to make detrimental behaviour appear to have little consequence (p. 365). Based on Bandura's theory of moral disengagement, MacNair (2003) discusses the related tactic of 'distancing' which involves creating a 'mental distance from the reality of what is happening - isolation from horror, a mental barrier' (MacNair, 2003, pp. 3-4). The two theories explain how a perpetrator unflinchingly inflicts violence. In the case of the survivor of the violence, the reluctance or inability to assign an identity and agency to the perpetrator could be a form of mental distancing; a form of bulwark against the horror and sorrow resulting from the death of loved ones.

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40 Interview with Hiba, KRF16 on 5 July 2015. See Appendix 1.

5.2 Long Journey Fleeing Attack

The Trek to Safety: 'Those who walked far.'

The survivors repeatedly related how they and their families had walked for long distances on foot in search of refuge. In these long journeys, there was scarcity of basic necessities such as food and water, as Fazila, a 21 year old woman from the Nuba community expressed:

> *It was actually very difficult for us, especially because we were young by then. Walking without ..water. We could sometimes get water from the river, but we really suffered so much. We could not get food. Our stepmother managed to escape with very little food. So it got finished, and we were actually crying, crying every day… So we went to Kauda, footing.[41] We were footing. Three days, and three nights, no food, no water.[42]*

In addition, a number of survivors wanted to demonstrate the effect this walking for long distances had had on their feet to date. Amuka, insisted that I look at her feet to see the damage done to them, 14 years on:

> *Yeah, I passed there footing alone, and still, my feet became, just look...* [showing me her worn feet.][43]

Kerieme talked of having lost all his possessions, but then being able to purchase one extremely treasured pair of sandals that he used while walking to seek refuge:

> *I bought these* [showing me the sandals on his feet] *in order that, I don't know whether I will get money again to buy something. I bought these because they might stay for long time. ...[44]*

From the interviews, a relationship of the survivors' difficult experiences to (their) feet emerged. It appears the participants' feet are a symbol that bears testimony to what the refugees

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41 'Footing' is a terminology derived from the word 'foot' and used to mean walking for long distances. The term, a result of the corruption of the English language as spoken in many parts of East Africa, is in common usage and appears several times in the interviews.

42 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

43 Interview with Amuka, KRF06 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

44 Interview with Kerieme, KRM09 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

have been through. The feet are the lowest point of the human's physical being. It is the feet that do the 'dirty work' of walking around, getting us where we want to go, and are constantly in touch with the ground. For the participants, the effects of the journey fleeing attack had affected their whole being, reaching to their utmost lowest levels, their feet. The effect could not go lower than that.

The feet bear the toll of the experience of the escape. The symbol is visible and telling, and serves as a constant reminder of what took place. Consequently, the feet and the journey they symbolize serve as a point of identity for the refugees. It places them apart from the rest of humanity, which has not had this experience. Many of them have encountered the story of 'The Lost Boys', a world renowned group of young boys who fled South Sudan via Ethiopia and arrived in Kakuma in 1992. Some of 'The Lost Boys' are in Kakuma to date.[45] This group gained an identity of their own which is acclaimed the world over. A UNICEF (1996) report holds:

> Among these were at least 20,000 children, mostly boys, between 7 and 17 years of age who were separated from their families. These 'lost boys' of the Sudan trekked enormous distances over a vast unforgiving wilderness, seeking refuge from the fighting. Hungry frightened and weakened by sleeplessness and disease, they crossed from the Sudan into Ethiopia and back, with many dying along the way…The survivors who reached the camps in Ethiopia started to lead a relatively peaceful life. But it was not to last. This relative security was shattered again late in 1991 when fighting erupted around them, and they and children from other camps were on the move once more, eventually heading for Kenya.

The refugees in Kakuma whom I interviewed crave a similar identity, a grounding of their distinctiveness, especially in the face of so much disruption from their normal cultural practices and source of identity. In a sense they feel 'lost' in the camp. They would be 'Those who walked far'.

In her book *Identity and Power in Narratives of Displacement*, Powell (2015) provides a critique of the proclaimed identity of the 'The Lost Boys' and argues that it has been constructed to meet a particular need in the humanitarian discourse. The story of 'The Lost

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45 Atem KRM01, Abit KRM02, and Okot KRM03, participants in this study, were among The Lost Boys who arrived in Kakuma in 1992. See Appendix 1.

Boys' Powell (2015, p. 105) argues, is aimed at eliciting varying emotions in the people that encounter it, encouraging them to donate to the cause, while in fact it obscures the political situation that rendered the boys 'lost' and displaced in the first place, and does not offer any sustainable means of dealing with systematic violence. The story that creates this identity is itself problematic, as Powell argues, tracing its formation through the words of some of the 'Lost Boys' now living in the U.S:

> In order to be able to leave the refugee camps for political asylum in the U.S., Deng (through Eggers) says, "The first step in leaving Kakuma was the writing of our autobiographies". As the novel explains, the discursive act of writing was crucial in obtaining refugee status. Deng and his friends knew that the UN expected a certain kind of story. He said, "Each of us has a half dozen identities …" Deng explains that while he and the other boys took on many identities as a matter of survival, they also were very aware of the expectations the UN placed on the ways stories were to be constructed… Survivors tell the stories the sympathetic want, and that means making them as shocking as possible. "My own story includes enough small embellishments that I cannot criticize the accounts of others." For Deng, creating a narrative asked for by the UN workers was a means for leaving the camps; indeed, the label "Lost Boys" evokes a symbolic narrative—they are lost until they are able to write their story, and if the story is good enough, they come to the U.S. for an education. This narrative process of labeling, then, illustrates the way the UN acts as an institution driving the discursive structures of the refugee (Powell, 2015, pp. 112-113).

It is the story, not the actual happenings, or the causes thereof, that is the major concern in this case. The story is thus seen as a lifeline and the gateway to opportunities beyond the camp. How well and consistently a person can tell his or her story then becomes the determinant of such opportunities as resettlement or further studies. Fazila, a participant who had won a scholarship for further studies in Canada described the scrupulous process of the interviews she and others had to go through, and emphasised the importance of consistency in the story one told during the interview:

> *So the first interview they take away some [people], second, up to the third. The third is the oral interview, they ask you the reasons why you fled your country, you know, and initially they did ask us to write the story. Autobiography. Why we left our country, and may be the reasons, the experiences we are facing here, and all that. So in the final one, which is oral, they ask us the same same questions, they'd asked us when we were filling*

the form. So while we write in the first interview, the experiences that compelled us to flee from our country, the last interview they ask us to say them orally. So when your story differs from what you said, that is when now they will think you are lying. Because what you are not lying about, you can't lie, I mean you can't differentiate...Yeah, you may forget. So that's why many people mess… You can't know about some people. They give stories that are not true…. So when your story is differing, may be the time, … may be differing with the one you just told them, they know that you are lying. So your story should be in line with what you have just written. You should not divert even a little.[46]

Fazila's explanation, and particularly her emphasis on the importance of being consistent in the way one tells the story, underlines the discursive nature of the 'structure of the refugee' that Powell (2015, p. 113) refers to. In other words, the refugee has to be a certain way, his or her experiences need to comprise of certain evocative elements, and he or she needs to fulfill a pre-constructed image, and a disruption or diversion of this state of affairs shakes our experience of a stable and comfortable world.

Different scholars in the field of human rights have problematized the use of personal stories about poverty and survival to enhance descriptions of suffering and powerlessness (Kleinman & Kleinman, 1996; Malkki, 1998; Butt, 2002; Rorty, 1993), arguing that such stories serve the purpose of justifying the claims for justice and human rights in the international arena. Butt (2002, p.3) pointedly argues that these stories work as a 'rhetorical device' whose purpose is 'sustaining the illusions of a global morality' or 'human rights culture' which would not otherwise exist, without these stories. The stories, in effect, work to mask the actual absence of the voices of the suffering on the global stage.

This analysis of the way the stories are constructed and the purposes for which they are used is not to lead us to the dismissal of the accounts the survivors tell altogether, but rather to an awareness and a sensitivity to the dynamics that surround these accounts and how they might be interpreted. This awareness and sensitivity is seen to be crucial in considering ways of building sustainable peace, as will emerge in discussions in the next chapter.

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46 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

5.3 Traumatic Experiences in the Camp

Pain in the Camp: 'Bad blood'

> For sighing comes to me instead of food;
>> my groans pour out like water.
> What I feared has come upon me;
>> what I dreaded has happened to me.
> I have no peace, no quietness;
>> I have no rest, but only turmoil.
>> <div align="center">Job 3:24-26</div>

In the story quoted above, the Biblical character Job had gone through incredible suffering, having lost his sons and daughters and all that he owned within a matter of days, and eventually having painful sores all over his body. He penned the words quoted as he cursed the day of his birth. Like the Biblical Job, it seems sometimes the very threat from which the participants were attempting to escape when they fled their country of origin follows them into the camp. Hiba, a mother of three, described her desperate situation when her children fell sick at the reception centre in the camp, and were running a very high fever at the time of the interview:

> *I went to the people here, when my children started getting sick two days ago. I went to the people at the clinic and told them these children are sick, may be they can help me. So these people were not willing to listen to me. They said they don't understand Arabic ... So I came back and I was sitting here. Again this morning I went and I started explaining to them that these children need fast medication, and these people, did not even care about what I was saying. And they said they were not listening to what I was saying. So I stayed there and when I saw there was no any assistance, I just decided to come here, and stay with these children, and just wait...*[47]

For Hiba, the place she has run to for refuge from misery seems to be turning out to be a place of misery itself. While she is hopeful for relief from her troubles, Hiba finds herself in a precarious situation now with her two children urgently needing medication.

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[47] Interview with Hiba, KRF16 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Sometimes the war is a direct cause of health problems such as people shot and maimed in the war, or, like in the case of Grace, who was raped by a soldier back in South Sudan. When tested for HIV/AIDS, she is diagnosed as having 'bad blood' as she puts it. Literally, her blood is contaminated so to say, as it is infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). Figuratively, she seems to imply that her blood, symbolizing the essence of her nature, is 'bad' in the sense that bad things 'naturally' happen to her. She represents many other refugees in the camp who feel misfortunes seem to readily fall on them.

Do misfortunes indeed readily fall on them? This is a question that even as a researcher, I sometimes found myself pondering over, especially since South Sudan has been at war for over five decades and the civilian population seems to have constantly borne the brunt of the war. As indicated in Chapter 2 on my motivation for doing this research, and in Chapter 3 on the reflexive aspect of my methodology, my interest in this research arose from a concern for the plight of thousands of South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, victims of a seemingly unending crisis in their country. And so I joined the participants in asking this question in my mind, with the hope that an attempt at answering it would lead to some possibilities of the situation being alleviated. In brooding over this question, sometimes the South Sudanese, who are deeply religious and most of whom adhere to the Christian faith, have attributed the seemingly wretched state of their land to the divine (Sudan Tribune, 2012), and see the biblical words of Isaiah 18 as disturbingly referring to the land of South Sudan:

> Woe to the land of whirring wings
> along the rivers of Cush (the Nile)
> which sends envoys by sea
> in papyrus boats over the water.
> Go, swift messengers,
> to a people tall and smooth-skinned,
> To a people feared far and wide,
> an aggressive nation of strange speech,
> whose land is divided by rivers.
> All you people of the world,
> you who live on the earth,
> when a banner is raised on the mountains,
> you will see it,

and when a trumpet sounds,

you will hear it.

This is what the Lord says to me:

"I will remain quiet and will look on

from my dwelling-place,

like shimmering heat in the sunshine,

like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest"

(Isaiah 18:1-4).

Indeed, it does look like 'God remains quiet and looks on from [his] dwelling-place' and does not act on behalf of the people of this land, in spite of the atrocities they have experienced over decades. In Philip Caputo's novel *Acts of Faith* (2005, p. 3), the literary character Fitzhugh, a mixed-race Kenyan and former UN relief worker tries to explain the atrocious happenings in Africa in general and the Sudan in particular to the character Phyllis the American journalist with a rather fateful phrase: 'there is no difference between God and the Devil in Africa'. Is the state of affairs in South Sudan fateful?

In exploring ideas of ancient Greek culture that resonate with modern conceptions of fate, Eidinow (2011) examines the ancient Greek notion of luck as a means to explain daily experiences and ultimate agency. She shows how the recurring questions 'what if?' and 'why me?' are fundamental today. Eidinow (2011, p. 3) points out:

> The word [Fate] originates in a Latin word, *fatum,* which literally means …. 'what has been spoken', and was used to refer to prophetic declarations. However, even in antiquity it held a darker meaning, indicating bad fortune, ill fate, ruin, or even death… Nevertheless, even in this brave new world of self-direction, the old questions remain…: are the events of the future malleable or set fast? Who has the authority or power to decide what is to come? What techniques can provide, if not control over, then perhaps a helpful glimpse of, future events? And, perhaps above all, why have I suffered this misfortune, and how can I avoid it in the future?

The key perhaps lies in that last question '… why have I suffered this misfortune, and how can I avoid it in the future?' While we may not be able to give reasons for the seemingly relentless atrocities in South Sudan, we can at least inquire into ways of avoiding similar suffering in the

future, and consider possibilities of crafting sustainable peace as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Scarcity: *'Drying up'*

Kakuma refugee camp is situated in semi-arid land in Northwestern Kenya. It is hot, dry and dusty most of the year, and water is scarce. The heat and dryness seems to be reflected in the lives of the refugees and leaves them in what was described by participants as 'drying up': 'Drying up' here can be seen as a metaphor for lack of the vitality of life, both physically and emotionally. The scarcity and associated struggles tend to sap the survivors' energy, the very essence of their lives, and leave them dry. This was expressed by the participants, as the following excerpt from the interview with Zeneb, a 20 year old woman from the Dinka community, reveals:

> *I appreciate you... for asking me questions also, and for coming ... because here in Kakuma, we are very dry...Yeah, we are drying up. This sun is very hot. So we appreciate the fact that you are here, and also burning together with us.*[48]

Reflecting on this dryness, I previously observed (Gitau, 2013, p.13) the following experiences of a resident new to the camp:

> At the border they boarded a UN vehicle that drove them the 100 kilometres to Kakuma Refugee Camp. Finally there was going to be relief! Their days of hunger, exhaustion, fear and hopelessness were coming to an end! …But as they drove on into the expansive camp, stretch after stretch of dry, rocky, empty, grey land spread before them. Where were the trees laden with fruit? Where was the milk, honey and gushes of fresh water? Where was food? And houses and children playing, and smiling people? Where?

> They finally got to the barbed wire-enclosed reception centre of the camp. Why did it look like a prison?

This aspect of the dryness of the camp is aptly captured by Agamben (1998, p. 170) in his conception of 'bare life' of the inhabitants of camps. Agamben conceives of a camp as a space

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48 Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

of exception in which the normal juridical order is not in operation. Agamben's (1998, p. 174) description of camps spreads from his depiction of the Jewish concentration camps to embrace the camps constructed for various purposes in the post-World War II era, arguing that 'we find ourselves virtually in the presence of a camp every time such a structure [of the state of exception] is created'. With regard to 'bare life', Agamben (1998, p. 171) argues:

> Insofar as its inhabitants were stripped of every political status and wholly reduced to bare life, the camp was also the most absolute biopolitical space ever to have been realized, in which power confronts nothing but pure life, without any mediation.

The participants of the study may be categorized amongst those Agamben refers to as having 'bare life' in the sense that most of them fled their country of origin with barely anything other than their lives, as they fled attack and death. In the camp they find themselves in an uncertain situation, deprived of not only their material possessions and social connections that previously gave their lives meaning, but also their political status as citizens.

In this regard, the refugees fall in the category of people that Nash (2009, pp. 1072-1079) refers to as 'un-citizens' in her discussion of the five types of citizens produced in the relationship between citizenship and human rights. 'Un-citizens' are 'mere humans' with no recognized political status and thus no state protection per se in the country they are living in. Humphrey (2002b, pp. 118-119) argues that the refugee,

> … the individual deprived of citizenship and dependent on the goodwill and moral responsibility of strangers (international community of states) has become the touchstone of global ethics. The refugee is par excellence the symbol of the cost of the international system of nation-states based on a hierarchy of exclusion.

In other words, by being deprived of citizenship, the refugee is deprived of human rights as well, and what he or she has left, in Agambem's (1998) words once again, is *homo sacer* (bare life). This bare life then, begs filling. Many of the survivors in the camp live in anticipation of a change of their circumstances, especially in terms of being considered for resettlement in a developed country, or 'going above'[49], as the participants called it.

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[49] Interview with Juliet, KRF05 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Memories and Avoidance: *'Dark stone in my stomach'*

Some participants talked of their minds being preoccupied with the memories of the events surrounding the war back in their country, especially at night while in bed, and being very uncomfortable. In some cases, the participants used the words 'traumatised' and 'shocked' to express their feelings, like in the case of Riek, a 27 year old man from the Nuer community, describing the tragic death of his fiancée and his parents:

> She just died during delivery…I feel traumatised. I was traumatised, I was shocked, a lot of things. It's just ... negative all the time, what happened to me personally, what happened to my parents, so it is difficult… Sometime I do recall... being traumatised, when I'm in bed. ...Yeah when I'm in bed, I do recall what happened to me back home, ... I recall the trauma which happened when I was in my home country. And it was repeated year after year. I cannot forget ... I think, when I'm on my bed.[50]

In some instances, there was awareness of feelings deeply buried within and not open to scrutiny. Okot, a 35 year old man from the Dinka community, expressed how he could not 'laugh like others' because there was 'something like a stone, dark stone in my stomach that somebody cannot see. But they see my teeth' and think 'I'm feeling okay'.[51]

In the revised Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) (1) (APA, 2013), the diagnostic criteria for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) include a history of exposure to a traumatic event that meets specific stipulations and symptoms from each of four symptom clusters: intrusion, avoidance, negative alterations in cognitions and mood, and alterations in arousal and reactivity. As noted in Riek's and Okot's relating of their experiences, the symptoms of intrusion, avoidance and negative alterations in cognition and mood were present among some of the participants. Intrusion symptoms involve recurrent, involuntary, and intrusive memories, traumatic nightmares and dreams. Riek remembered how his fiancée and unborn child died and thought about his experiences when he was in bed. He said he was 'traumatised' and 'cannot forget'. Okot said he avoided showing his true feelings and portrayed a seemingly happy disposition despite how he felt inside. The cases of Riek and Okot are

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50 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
51 Interview with Okot, KRM03 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

examples of instances when participants showed symptoms specific to the PTSD criteria relating to memory and avoidance.

Banai et al. (2005, pp. 225-228) explain what happens when people are traumatised as a result of mass violence. When people undergo traumatic experiences, they create psychological barriers against the painful experience, and may develop personality traits that lead them to avoid contact and deny the pain. The fatal, lost, far-away look observed amongst many of the participants may be said to conceal the pain inside but reveal this contact-shunning trait of those traumatised. This may also explain the avoidance of assigning agency or an identity to the people who did the killing as observed in the previous section, in the use of passive voice to describe the deaths of loved ones, and attributing the killing to 'unknown people'.

Not in all cases was the pain avoided though. In some cases, the raw pain that came with the loss of loved ones was fresh and evident as in the case of Rachel who had recently lost a beloved husband in the war:

> *I feel a lot of pain, and I'm not happy in my life, because of losing my husband... I'm not happy.... I cannot feel again. I cannot have another husband. ... Because my husband treated me nicely...I married in 2001, and he died in 2011. 10 years. I loved him a lot. He never beat me, he never insulted me, he just took care of me. Even all these dresses he bought for me* [she's dressed in a beautiful flowery African dress – 'kitenge'] *... Nobody else is going to take care of me like that... I'm just thinking about the children... Sometimes I think too much I feel sick.... God knows now...*[52]

The pain she felt at her loss is clearly expressed here, but due to the disruption of their normal life and cultural practices, participants such as Rachel who feel the fresh pain of losing their loved ones are not able to undergo the normal grieving process.[53] This interrupted process of mourning can exacerbate the continuing effects of trauma and contribute to feelings of

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52 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2014. See Appendix 1.
53 Traditionally, grieving and mourning among the South Sudanese is a community affair and is displayed openly and loudly. A widow is expected to mourn the death of her husband for at least 12 months, while the community takes care of her and her family (Sneesby et al, 2010; Migrant Information Centre, 2012). This grieving process is significantly disrupted by violence and resultant displacement of the survivors such as Rachel.

hopelessness and resignation expressed by some of the participants, as covered in the following section.

Resignation: '*Nothing*'

A sense of powerlessness and resignation to the powers that be tends to permeate through some of the interviews, and is here discussed in detail due to its significance in the lives of the survivors and its implications for peacebuilding. There is a particular powerlessness especially in relation to dependency on the UN in general and the UNHCR in particular for the participants' livelihood. Participants expressed that they would remain where the UNHCR was, or go where the UN took them. The two bodies, UNHCR and UN, were personified as it were, and a clear duality depicting 'they', the powerful and able (UNHCR, UN, God), versus 'we' the weak and vulnerable (refugees) was evident. Amuka expressed the personification this way:

> *There are two strong people here on earth. God, the Father, and UNHCR. UNHCR helps me by giving me shelter and food, and God helps me by giving me life, keeping me alive until this day. ... I am weak, I can't do any job, and I didn't go to school. I'm just there. Now it's just me, and UNHCR and God. We are the only three who live on this earth.*[54]

This dependency that Amuka and other participants of the study expressed is aptly captured by Harrell-Bond (1986, pp. 90-91) in her description of what it means to become a refugee:

> It should not be surprising that once refugees move under the aid umbrella their perceptions and behavior change. Numerous signals remind them that they are now being cared for by others. They are registered for assistance in a centre above which the UNHCR flag is flying. The sources of the food that they now eat are clearly marked on bags and tins. Even the colour of the vehicles in which they are transported inform them just who is now in charge of their salvation. They are told where to sleep, and with almost no advance notice, are ordered into a lorry and on a journey which may take many hours, taken to an unknown destination… Little wonder that refugees begin to refer to UNHCR as 'their mother and father'. … As UNHCR 'children', refugees have little choice but to completely surrender autonomy and freedom of action.

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54 Interview with Amuka, KRF06 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

As with the case of the personal stories the refugees tell and their discursive nature, Butt (2002, p. 10) problematizes the issue of such dependency further by arguing that the image of the 'suffering stranger', or 'the poor', a category of people to which the refugees belong, has been constructed to legitimize a discourse of humanitarianism. Butt argues that the human rights culture needs this category of people to promote global claims of justice and human rights. Consequently, the poor learn to think in this same manner, from the paradigm of poverty, and 'embrace a collective identity based on notions of poverty' (Butt, 2002, p. 15). The 'suffering stranger', so named to denote both this identity of poverty and his/her otherness or remoteness from his/her benefactors, is then

> …just such a child [of the pronouncer of this discourse]. She is 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).

In tracing the emergence of the status of 'refugee women' as a policy priority in UNHCR, Baines (2004, p. 9) also alludes to this creation of refugees as a category of people who are vulnerable and in need, but also 'located in safe humanitarian spaces in which UNHCR can enter and rescue the innocent'. This state of dependency leads to a kind of dead agency[55] for many of the participants, who see no need or have no motivation or ability to make decisions or do anything to affect their lives. Participants expressed a sense of having acquiesced with whatever may come their way. Expressions such as, 'Things just happened like that', as expressed by Zeneb[56], were common. Chathuranjalee, a 26 year old woman from the Didinga community, similarly saw no part for herself to play in trying to improve her circumstances by going to school, as her words in the following excerpt reveal:

> *The husband says you just stay at home… Even if I'd like, what can I do. He says stay. If your husband says stay at home, wouldn't you stay?*[57]

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55 The concept of 'dead agency' here refers to the idea of being 'passive recipients of welfare-enhancing help' (Sen, 1999, p. 189). The theme of agency in relation to coping strategies used by survivors in the camp, is discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 6). Amartya Sen's (1999) and Victoria Ana Goddard's (2000) ideas of agency are considered.

56 Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

57 Interview with Chathuranjalee, KRF47 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

When asked what services she thought would be helpful for her while in the camp, she said:

> *I don't know* [resignedly]*… Here in Kakuma. I've told you those of us here in Kakuma, we just stay. There's nothing we are doing, nothing. But the problem as we stay here, the problem is food. Us we stay here… Nothing. You just get the ration, you make the food and eat, then we stay…I don't even know…Nothing. Even now as I speak to you, there's nothing… Here in Kakuma. I just stay, but if I want to go back, I just go back. (Pause). And if I want to stay, I stay. If I want to go back, I go back to Sudan.*[58]

These expressions suggest that according to these participants, their participation cannot contribute to anything worthy of note. The idea of 'just staying', denoting a non-participatory sense of existence rings through the interviews. There seems to be a certain deficiency in energy and ability to hold and sustain an opinion. As the author, Hosseini (2003, p. 311) so aptly says, 'Perspective was a luxury when your head was constantly buzzing with a swarm of demons.'

The experience of trauma refers to a paralysis or closing of the mind so that no more horror can enter. As MacNair (2003, p. 34) explains, one's mind and behaviour are immobilised or numb, and the emotions are blocked, hence the constant expression of 'nothingness'. Herman (1997, p. 33) refers to psychological trauma as 'an affliction of the powerless'. In the case of these South Sudanese survivors, the sense of overwhelm and hence a feeling of inability to control their lives and what consequently happens to them is apparent.

In his unforgettable, shattering story of troubled Afghanistan, Hosseini (2003, pp.66-67) captures a similar sense of resignation and fatalism most poignantly in his account of the character Assef's rape of Hassan, a Hazara boy, as observed by Amir, and its uncanny comparison to the ritual yearly sacrifice of the lamb:

> Assef knelt behind Hassan, put his hands on Hassan's hips and lifted his bare buttocks. He kept one hand on Hassan's back and undid his own belt buckle with his free hand. He unzipped his jeans. Dropped his underwear. He positioned himself behind Hassan. Hassan didn't struggle. Didn't even whimper. He moved his head slightly and I caught a glimpse of his face. Saw the resignation in it. It was a look I had seen before. It was the look of the lamb… *The mullah finishes the prayer. Ameen. He picks up the kitchen knife with the long blade. The custom is to*

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58 Interview with Chathuranjalee, KRF47 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

not let the sheep see the knife. Ali feeds the animal a cube of sugar – another custom, to make death sweeter. The sheep kicks, but not much. The mullah grabs it under its jaw and places the blade on its neck. Just a second before he slices the throat in one expert motion, I see the sheep's eyes. It is a look that will haunt my dreams for weeks. I don't know why I watch this yearly ritual in our backyard; my nightmares persist long after the bloodstains on the grass have faded. But I always watch. I watch because of that look of acceptance in the animal's eyes. Absurdly, I imagine the animal understands. I imagine the animal sees that its imminent demise is for a higher purpose. This is the look…

The look of desperation. Of acceptance. Of resignation. The look that seems to say, 'Let whatever happens happen. It does not matter.' As put by Zeneb in the interview, 'Things just happened like that'[59]. Krystal (2004, p. 70) describes the progression of trauma that leads a person to such a state as follows:

> …the deepening of it manifested in a growing numbing of pain and painful emotions, followed by a loss of all vestiges of self-reliance, initiative, and agency. The empowerment to say "no" and to carry out self-defense was progressively lost. At a certain point, the traumatic closure reached a malignant state, with the blocking of all mental functions: cognition, registration of perceptions, recall, scanning, information processing in general, planning, and problem solving. Finally, just a vestige of these functions was retained, with some capacity for self-observation. If the traumatic process continued, all vitality was suppressed, and the individual succumbed to psychogenic death, with the heart stopping in diastole.

Krystal (2004, p. 72) further gives an example of this progression of trauma by describing the Cambodian women, who during the genocidal attack, sometimes at the instant when their loved ones were about to be killed, developed a functional blindness which persisted for years despite treatment.

The 'traumatic closure' Krystal described appears to have reached a perilous stage for Okot as he explains his inability to plan anything. The 'just staying' and the 'nothing' themes, signifying lack of a sense of anticipation or expectation is palpable as denoted in the following excerpt from the interview with Okot:

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[59] Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

[After a pause]. *You know, here in the camp there are many things that are affecting us. When there is no way, you just keep quiet. You cannot think about it, you cannot talk about it, you can just keep quiet. That is what you conclude. Nothing happening on your planning, what you have planned or what you have decided to do … you just, I just stay and forget everything…Yes, I just sit idly, and when I sit idly, I just look like I've forgotten.*[60]

Consequently then, a sense of despair and hopelessness ensues. There is a sense in which some refugees have lost hope of their lives and circumstances ever changing. The fact of having stayed in the camp since its establishment in 1992 without hope of things changing was expressed by a number of participants. Abit for example, who was one of the 'Lost Boys' who were the first residents in the camp said:

Me I'm still the same, that life. Nothing has changed in my life. My life is still the same as the day I came to Kenya.[61]

Joy, a 32 year old woman from the Acholi community, similarly described this disillusioned state in the following excerpt:

Psychologically we are not stable. For example if you reflect on the Sudanese community, you stay. Just stay. Some have forgotten what to do, some are frustrated, many have committed suicide … For those who arrived in 1992, if you can still find them living up to this moment, then what is the hope? Also refugees are coming back from Sudan... If you look at the number of asylum seekers, a large population is coming from South Sudan.[62]

Suleyman, a 27 year old from South Kordofan, summarised this sense of despair and hopelessness by saying:

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60 Interview with Okot, KRM03 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[61] Interview with Abit, KRM02 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[62] Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

> *… there was nothing at all. From the beginning, up to the end, there's nothing good, that I've seen in my life. And for all the entire people.*[63]

Faith in the systems and structures set up in the camp seems to be held in doubt too in some instances. Asked whether she was hopeful of assistance from the camp, Hiba expressed distrust saying:

> *I don't know. They are just putting the things in the computer. I don't know. They just gave me the card, and they told me to go.*[64]

Death, the survivors' own deaths, and not the death of loved ones, does not seem farfetched in these seemingly hopeless circumstances, as expressed by Dabor, a 46 year old woman from the Didinga community:

> *People are still fighting and funerals are full and increasing all the time … I don't see. Now if all I can see is death, like the other day, after a short time, there's a funeral, someone has been killed in Sudan, on the road, do you see now? … Those here get information, so and so has been killed, now that makes me fear, I might again come across something terrible.*[65]

Not only have some of the participants given up their grasp of life in the dependency and dead agency described above, they seem to have relinquished their right to keep alive against all odds. So much of some of these participants seems dead, that actual death would seem a mere extension of the life/death state they live in. Kristeva (1982, p. 4) describes this state of ultimate abjection, death, as being 'deprived of world', a state that 'no longer matches and therefore no longer signifies anything'. It is the 'nothing' state. Primo Levi's (1959) concept of the *Muselmann*, in his autobiographical account of his time at Auschwitz, *If This is a Man*, captures the 'nothing' state aptly. The term *Muselmann,* according to Levi, referred to the inmates of Auschwitz who, as a result of their intense suffering, lived in a life/death state, and

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63 Interview with Suleyman, KRM28 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
64 Interview with Hiba, KRF16 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
65 Interview with Dabor, KRF44 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

…drag[ged] themselves along in an opaque intimate solitude, and in solitude they die or disappear, without leaving a trace in anyone's memory … non-men who march and labour in silence, the divine spark dead within them, already too empty to really suffer. One hesitates to call them living; one hesitates to call their death death, in the face of which they have no fear, as they are too tired to understand (Levi, 1959, pp. 67-69).

Though there are exceptions to this state as will emerge in the discussion in Chapter 6, for some of the participants whose experiences are related in this chapter, death seems to be the ultimate condition of the 'nothing' state.

This sense of powerlessness, resignation and disillusionment has ramifications for the work of peacebuilding as discussed in Chapter 7. If the participants feel that they cannot contribute anything to improve their circumstances, are resigned as passive recipients to anything that is done for them, and have lost hope of circumstances improving anyway, and even in some instances are seemingly waiting for death, then they are unlikely to participate in peacebuilding activities geared to improve the situation that rendered them powerless in the first place. The likelihood of the recurrence of the cycle of events leading to violence and need for refuge intensifies.

Gendered Contours: *'He took me by force'*

Of particular note is the gendered ways in which the participants are impacted by the violence and resultant displacement into the refugee camp. Both men and women are impacted in differentiated and multifaceted ways that undermine their ability to negotiate the challenges of displacement. While female participants particularly expressed their vulnerability and ways in which they were affected, male participants did not readily express these effects, and only two aspects of the gendered ways in which men are impacted, the despondency resulting from the dependency on UNHCR for provisions and the inability to acquire dowry to marry according to their traditional custom, are discussed in this section.[66] Women participants discussed rape, domestic violence, unequal opportunities to education, wife inheritance, unwanted pregnancy and sexually-transmitted diseases among the issues that affected them.

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66 A discussion of the reasons for this disparity, and a thorough consideration of the theme of gender in the context of mass violence, is beyond the scope of this research. While there has been a sustained focus on the impact of mass violence and displacement on female survivors (Baron et al 2003; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Richters, 1998; Russel, 1995; Copelon, 1995), there exists a gap in research on ways in which male survivors are impacted.

Miriam expressed the insecurity young women face in the camp, for example the threat of rape, when they go out to try and collect firewood in the camp fields:

> *Maybe sometimes I may decide to go to Laga to collect a little firewood, then come back and cook. Maybe I don't know that you cannot trust people in Kakuma. So maybe sometimes I will just go to Laga and get people who will rape me… I don't know. That is why I fear.[67]*

The threat of rape as a looming danger for the women in the camp was further expressed by Joy:

> *But you find such a thing still happens in the camp… as a single mother or a single girl. People are forcing you to have aah,* yaani *[like]… sex, they are defiling girls, they are raping women… You find women don't have a voice and that courage to report.[68]*

The legacy of rape committed during the war back in their country of origin continues to affect some of the survivors. Grace is a case in point. She described how she had been a victim of rape back in South Sudan and been forced to marry the perpetrator. As a result, she had contracted HIV/AIDS:

> *Just those issues of Sudan. You know there in Sudan earlier on I had another husband, who held me by force [raped me] as a result of the war… Yes. He took me by force, and I lived with him, until now when I had the children, the children cannot stay … so the children died. Now I can't go back to Sudan. Because of those issues of war. …my blood came out bad. That I have bad blood… Like HIV/AIDS.[69]*

In her presentation of a case study of survivors of sexual violence in South Sudan, Anyieth D'Awol (2011, p. 53) discusses the pervasiveness of the violence during South Sudan's civil wars, and notes that it 'remains a terrible legacy of the wars' today. As noted by various authors examining the landscape of conflict and violence in relation to women (Kaufman & Williams,

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67 Interview with Miriam, KRF36 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
68 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[69] Interview with Grace, KRF48 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

2010; Dutton et al, 2003; Baines, 2004; Snyder, 2011; Copelon, 1995; Ni Aolain et al, 2011; Pittaway & Pittaway, 2004), refugee and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) women are at an increased risk for gender-based violence, including sexual violence, and the aggressors range from soldiers to the refugee or IDP men with them in the camp. Pittaway and Pittaway (2004) specifically discuss the case of refugee women in Kakuma, based on their research examining the prevalence of sexual and gender based violence amongst refugee women and the inadequacy of international interveners to protect the women. Pittaway and Pittaway (2004, p. 10) argue that the label 'Refugee Woman' renders the women in the camp vulnerable and exposed to more abuse, and restrains them from expressing their other identities.

The interconnection of conflict, mass violence and rape is evident from the above interview excerpts. As Hirschauer (2014, p. 235) argues in her discussion of the securitization of rape, the Bosnian war and Rwandan genocide propelled rape in war to the fore as a key security issue, with the first convictions of rape as a crime against humanity in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in relation to Bosnia, and rape as a crime of genocide in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Hirschauer (2014, p. 186) notes:

> Yet, amid the most unimaginable, the anguish and the suffering of tens of thousands of rape and sexual violence survivors during both conflicts, something else happened. The suffering mattered. It was a shift, an un-licensing, an undoing of a status quo, endorsed for centuries. An unraveling of the unspoken; a new look at the customs, rules and the once so well-established and commonly understood narrative of war.

Copelon (1995) notes that the recognition of rape as a war crime was a critical step toward understanding rape as violence, but continues to argue that the line between rape committed during wartime and rape committed at other times is not so sharp. Richters (1998, p. 112) and Fiske and Shackel (2014, p. 4190) similarly argue that rape, in both war and peace, needs to be recognised and addressed as a human rights issue. Indeed, a sharp distinction between rape in war and rape in peace tends to diminish the import of rape as an egregious crime at all times and to put in jeopardy what happens after war is over, as Copelon (1995, p. 199) points out:

> When the ethnic war ceases or is forced back into the bottle, will the crimes against women matter? Will their suffering and struggles to survive be vindicated? Or will condemnation be limited to this seemingly exceptional case?

This is particularly true for participants like Grace who continue to experience the effects of rape while in the camp, having been infected with HIV/AIDS and losing her children at birth, as well as having to flee for safety in the camp. Her case is poignantly captured by Richters' (1998, p. 118) argument that the traumatic consequences of wartime rape are complex and multifaceted because:

> ...in war, women often suffer multiple traumatisation and rape trauma mixes with other traumas such as the loss of husbands, children, parents, relatives, homes, etc. What is experienced as the dominant trauma, and why that is the case, is often hard to detect and can vary in individuals and cultures.

In discussing the dynamics at play in the use of rape in wartime, Stefatos (2012) uses the case of the Greek Civil War of 1946 to 1949 to illustrate how the female body was in effect, through rape, being used to further political agenda. Stefatos (2012, p. 57) argues:

> Sexual violence in wartime is not simply attacking the female body; it is primarily intended to suffocate the political body. The legitimization of violence against women is primarily an exercise of political power … The target was not only the physical body but also the disintegration of the community and social chaos.

In her work *Against Our Will: Men Women and Rape*, Susan Brownmiller (1975) discusses how rape has been a common act of war through the ages, in wars of all types – wars of religion, wars of revolution, wars on terror and wars of revenge. Brownmiller makes the point that 'rape is the quintessential act by which a male demonstrates to a female that she is conquered – vanquished – by his superior strength and power' and as such, it was used by the Germans and the Japanese during World War II to achieve their objective of 'total humiliation and destruction of "inferior peoples"' (p. 49). Baines (2004, p. 2) similarly argues that 'Women's bodies symbolize the markers of some imagined nation, and "intimate" violence is employed ... to either eradicate or to create national boundaries and further political agendas'. The goal of rape is not only to attack and degrade the integrity and identity of the victim, but to dominate and dehumanise (Copelon, 1995, pp. 199-200). In the case of the participants of this study who talked about rape, it is not just a strategy that was used in the violence back in their country of origin, but its impact continues to be experienced in the camp.

The differential experiences of female survivors in situations of conflict and violence is further seen with regard to education opportunities in the camp. Even in situations where opportunity is seemingly given to all for access to education, women are in some ways rendered powerless to take advantage of these opportunities, as in the case expressed by Joy. Joy dropped out of school because she was unable to sit the required qualifying exams after a disruption in the camp that left her with no books or change of clothes, as she explained:

> *Yeah. So they said that we should sit for qualification, then when that incident happened I was somehow disorganised, having no books to revise, no clothes to change, also as a lady it was somehow difficult to cope with the situation having left with one set of clothes ... Then when others were sitting for the qualification, I did not even sit for the qualification.*[70]

Ni Aolain, Haynes & Cahn (2011, p. 34) in discussing the differentiated ways in which women experience the consequences of mass violence point to the 'unequal power relations' present in the cultural norms of the community, and how they 'translate into differential access to health resources, to education, to income, and to political voice'. In the case of Joy and others like her in the camp, being a woman meant that they could not access education opportunities provided in the camp in the same way as their male counterparts.

Another critical effect of the mass violence and displacement has been the disruption of the family system caused by death and separation, resulting in high numbers of widows or women separated from their husbands. Female participants especially expressed the difficulty they faced as a result of being separated from their husbands, as expressed by Rita, a 29 year old woman from South Kordofan, who had recently arrived in the camp:

> *I'm married but my husband I don't know where he is… My life is difficult because my husband, I don't know where he is. Life has become very difficult because my husband would help in each situation, difficult or easy ...then my husband I don't know where he is. Life for me becomes very difficult, then I think a lot.*[71]

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70 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
71 Interview with Rita, KRF10 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

In addition, practices related to marriage have taken on a new bearing as a result of death and separation, as with the case of Rachel who was threatened with wife inheritance after her husband died in the army. Wife inheritance is a custom practiced traditionally in many communities in South Sudan, which sees a woman getting married to her husband's brother, once her husband dies. Rachel explained:

> *Now I'm 29.... So my husband was killed, and when I remained at home, I was being treated badly by the brother of my husband. Because we have that custom there, if the husband dies, he (the brother-in-law)) wants to take me to be his wife... So me I had had an operation. ... he (my husband) left me pregnant. I was about to deliver. I was very sad because he died, I never took care for myself. .. I delivered through an operation. And he (the brother-in-law) wanted me to be his wife. He even took my two children, the first two children of mine, he took them by force. But my father took them again from him.[72]*

With this disruption of the family system as they knew it before coming to the camp, women tend to take on new roles to survive, the situation in effect resulting in role reversal. Joy, for example, further explained the plight facing women of her community in the camp who turn to brewing illicit brew in order to fend for their families, because they 'have no other option'.

This situation of role reversal is related to the dependency on UNHCR for provision of basic necessities, and the survivors being forced into a life of inactivity. Male survivors are particularly affected by this state of dependency. In South Sudanese cultures, the man is supposed to go out and fend for his family while the wife stays at home and looks after the children. The dependency on UNHCR in the camp has changed this dynamic, and as expressed by Joy, has led men to tend to forfeit their responsibilities in taking care of their families:

> *In this camp, most men are irresponsible. ... They say, WFP is providing food…Yeah. The men here tell us… because all of us are having the same status, we get the same size of ration, we all depend on UNHCR… They say UNHCR and WFP. ..is providing food. To everyone. So we are equal. And they also say, each child comes with the budget.*

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72 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Because each child, after being delivered, is added to the ration in your card, and is entitled to the same ration size.[73]

Not only do the men see no point, they also have no means of providing for their families in the camp. Pittaway (2013, p. 172) discusses the erosion of the culture and its resultant disruption of the order of life the refugees previously led:

> Men are not permitted to undertake their roles as providers, while women's traditional roles as mothers and wives are eaten away by conflict and the institutionalism of camp life. …
> In these difficult situations, refugees suffer from serious challenges to their cultural heritage and their ability to maintain family and community life. They struggle to maintain their capacity to create a sustainable lifestyle for themselves and their families.

Another situation that has tended to affect male survivors in particular is with regard to marriage. The marriage institution as practiced traditionally in South Sudanese cultures has been greatly affected. For instance, through the breakdown and separation of families and loss of property, young men find it difficult to secure the dowry needed in order to marry, and gain the subsequent status in the community that comes with being married. Riek expressed how his fellow clansmen did not take him seriously because he had reached the age of marriage but had not yet got married, as a result of the tragedy that had struck his parents, wife-to-be and his unborn child.

These experiences illustrate a key consequence of the survivors' experiences of the war - the breakdown of their culture. The excerpts provide evidence that the experience of war and the resultant displacement into the camp translates into the destruction of the survivors' social capital: their capacities, networks, resources and relationships (Putnam, 2000, pp. 288-290) that previously worked for them.

Snyder (2011, p. 178) discusses the ambivalent nature of women's empowerment in refugee camps and argues that while on the one hand their life choices seem to narrow down in the camp, on the other hand alternative choices which may not have been available for them back in their country of origin may arise, opening up new spaces for agency and leadership. This

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[73] Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

situation applies not only to the female survivors, but to the male survivors as well, as will emerge in the following chapter.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the participants' traumatic experiences back in their country of origin, on their journey to Kakuma, and within Kakuma refugee camp. The chapter has focused on the experiences as related by the participants, the meaning they give to these experiences, and analysis and interpretation of these experiences in the light of literature and scholarship in the field of trauma in the context of mass violence.

The theme of dehumanisation emerges as a critical issue for the participants, in relation to the torture and death of the participants' loved ones back in their country of origin. The loss of security is also an overarching condition that characterises the participants' flight for refuge in the camp. Further, separation from loved ones emerges as another predominant trait, and is seen to result in loneliness and disrupt the participants' sense of identity, value and meaning.

In considering the participants' literal journey fleeing attack, their expressions of how they and their families walked for long distances in search of refuge predominates. The relationship the participants draw between their experiences and their feet, and ways in which the feet and the journey they symbolize serve as a point of identity resonates with the story of The Lost Boys.

Within the camp, the participants are seen to experience disease, scarcity, memories of traumatic experiences back in their country of origin, and resignation. Disease is seen as an example of the seemingly fateful circumstances of the survivors. A consideration of the theme of fate is seen to lead us to an inquiry into the ways of avoiding a repeat of what the participants have suffered and consider possibilities of crafting sustainable peace.

The notion of scarcity as expressed by the participants is captured by Agamben's (1998) concept of 'bare life' denoting a state in which the survivors are deprived of citizenship and other human rights, and left with a bare life that begs filling. Memories and avoidance, symptoms specific to the PTSD criteria portrayed by some of the participants, reveal the deep pain the participants conceal inside as a result of their traumatic experiences. Resignation, which is discussed in relation to the participants' dependency on the UN and the UNHCR, is

seen to have ramifications for the work of peacebuilding as will emerge in in Chapters 6 and 7.

Lastly, the gendered ways in which the participants are impacted by the violence and resultant displacement into the refugee camp complicate the participants' ability to negotiate the challenges of life in the camp and the path to peacebuilding. The threat of rape remains a looming danger for the women in the camp, and the consideration of rape in the context of mass violence as a separate issue from rape in peace time puts in jeopardy the treatment of rape as a grievous human rights violation at all times. The breakdown of the participants' culture, and in particular the disruption of the family system, leads to the destruction of the participants' social capital, rendering engagement in productive activities difficult.

As will emerge in the next chapter, there are exceptions to the seemingly desperate situations and reactions to the events of the conflict in South Sudan discussed in this chapter, and there are participants who appear to have negotiated the events in creative ways, sometimes through self-motivation, other times as a result of interventions received in the camp.

CHAPTER 6: COPING WITH THE TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES

> The world breaks everyone, and afterward, some are strong at the broken places.
>
> – Ernest Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*, 1929.

This chapter follows on from the account of how participants experienced trauma to consider how they have coped with their experiences. The first part of the chapter examines the interventions that the participants indicated that they received from UNHCR and its partner agencies, and the second part discusses more personal ways of coping that the participants reported using other than the interventions they received in the camp. With regard to the ways of coping that the participants identified, the concept of resilience is discussed as it emerged from the interviews. This discussion is grounded in the participants' perceptions and expression of how they understood these interventions.

6.1 Interventions Received to Cope

The interventions the participants said they received in Kakuma are grouped in four main categories that emerged from the analysis of the interviews, as presented in Figure 4.3 (Chapter 4). These interventions include the basic necessities incorporated in the UNHCR ration card, which include food, shelter, medication, refugee status and security. The second category of interventions entails education, which includes primary and secondary school education, and training in various skills. The third category involves job and leadership opportunities in the camp, and the fourth category entails counselling services received in the camp.

These categories of interventions are correlated with the levels and content of interventions within psychosocial projects for refugees and internally displaced people which Baron et al (2003) discuss. Baron et al argue that these interventions are geared towards:

> … promoting mental health and human rights through strategies that decrease the psychosocial stressor factors at different levels of intervention and enhance the existing psychosocial protective factors. The stressor factors in this context are the traumatic events and human rights violations experienced by the refugees and IDP. The protective factors relate to individual

coping abilities, family strength and unity, social network, and ideological/political/religious consciousness (Baron et al, 2003, p. 260).

In the section that follows, each of the categories of intervention reported by the participants is discussed.

Basic necessities: *'The ration card'*

The refugees first receive the basic needs of food, shelter, protection and recognition as refugees when they arrive in Kakuma. Not only have the refugees suffered from scarcity of basic necessities of food and water during their long journey fleeing attack, but they have been uprooted from their homes of origin, leaving them in an unfamiliar and lost state, hence necessitating the assigning of the refugee status. The ration card received from UNHCR serves as an identity and a key to receiving the basic necessities in the camp, as Chriz, a 23 three year old man from South Kordofan pointed out:

> *Yeah, first time we arrived here, we were given the ration cards, which assist us to get very many services like food, water and housing. If we are not given the ration card, then we are not refugees, that's why the first thing we were to get is the ration card, and it assisted us in very many ways.[74]*

A number of the participants wore the UNHCR ration card on a string around their necks, which seemed to portray it as some kind of icon on which their lives hang.

The UNHCR, also known as the UN Refugee Agency, was established in 1950 and mandated by the UN to support and protect refugees (UNHCR, 2015b). The parallel 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees is the key legal document that defines who is a refugee, their rights and the legal obligations of states (UNHCR, 2001). Article 1 of the Convention defines a refugee as:

> a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular

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74 Interview with Chriz, KRM27 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (UNHCR, 2001, p. 16).

Possession of citizenship or nationality leads to the enjoyment of services such as education, health care, employment, other basic necessities and overall state protection. People with no citizenship are thus some of the most vulnerable in the world. The UNHCR seeks to provide international protection for refugees who are covered by its Statute and by the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR, 2012), hence Chriz's emphasis in the interview excerpt above of the importance of being registered as a refugee and acquiring the ration card. The UNHCR also works to avert statelessness where it is deemed to be at risk. For example, UNHCR was engaged in 'supporting and monitoring effective implementation of nationality laws in the Republic of Sudan and South Sudan' due to the risk of statelessness for a large number of people of South Sudanese origin living in the north after South Sudan's independence in July 2011 (UNHCR, 2012).

Since the conception of the Convention, there has been a proliferation of reasons why people become refugees, and the role of UNHCR has adapted accordingly, including reference to the plight of IDPs (UNHCR, 2012; Zetter, 1999; Maynard, 1999). The UNHCR acts as the lead agency in the co-ordination and provision of refugee assistance, and monitors relief programmes which are delivered by its implementing partners consisting of NGOs, the host government, and intergovernmental agencies such as the World Food Programme (WFP) (UNHCR, 2012; UNHCR, 2015b).

Attending to basic human needs after a traumatic experience is crucial to recovery, not just on the physical level, but the psychological level as well. Feeny and Zoellner (2014) underscore this importance, based on their experience working on a project in which they were to screen people for mental health difficulties soon after trauma, but found that people kept asking them for housing vouchers, clothing and food assistance. They point out:

> We should not underestimate the psychological power of food, water, sleep, clothing, shelter, and ways to contact family and friends. In the aftermath of natural disasters and in war-torn locations, these basic needs… allow for calming, for a sense of safety, and for predictability to begin to be restored… In the immediate aftermath of trauma, no matter our training, often the

best psychological help we can give is delivered in boxes and bottles (Feeny & Zoellner, 2014, pp. 326-327).

This was also my experience as a volunteer counsellor in Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps in Kenya during the 2007-2008 post-election violence. We were there to offer psychological first aid and counselling for the survivors, but increasingly we found that the people were more interested in the basic necessities we could provide, and were most keen to have their names written down on lists that seemed to hold a promise that their needs for housing and other provisions would be met.

The importance survivors place on basic necessities during and in the aftermath of violent conflict makes an examination of the way they are delivered imperative. Is the way the provisions are delivered sensitive enough to the survivors' needs, and does it address the trauma experienced as a result of violence and displacement in any way? Harrell-Bond (1999) problematises the idea of the support received by the refugees from UNHCR and its partnering agencies and asks:

> Is it possible that the way refugees are 'helped' is one source of debilitating stress for those who are in a position where they have no alternative but to receive? (Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 136).

By tracing literature and research with refugees from different countries including Somali refugees in London, Vietnamese refugees in Canada, Bosnian refugees, South Sudanese refugees, and Ugandan refugees among others, and doing a comparative study with Saharawi refugees who manage themselves, Harrell-Bond (1999) concludes that the way aid is given to refugees contributes to their stress. Amongst other things, she raises issue with the tendency to 'depersonalize' refugees, which accompanies assistance programmes, treating refugees as 'homogeneous, undifferentiated masses' and thereby robbing them of human dignity (Harrell-Bond, 1999, pp. 140-141). The experience of the loss of status, and having to depend on strangers for basic survival needs, impacts heavily on the self-esteem and dignity of the refugees. Harrell-Bond further takes issue with the contemporary 'repackaging' of refugees as 'helpless, starving masses who depend on agents of compassion to keep them alive' (Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 147). Such images serve in part to attract funding from donors, and also to maintain the 'humanitarian industry' which seems to survive on this poverty-stricken, utterly destitute depiction of the refugee (Kleinman & Kleinman, 1996; Malkki, 1998; Butt, 2002;

Humphrey, 2002a). The repackaging of the refugee thus does not seem to take into consideration the effect it has on the refugee. Harrell-Bond concludes:

> In short , the application of the welfare model, combined with the reality of refugees' initial relative powerlessness in the new environment, tends… to attract and condition the behaviour of helpers whose interests are served by pathologizing, medicalizing and labelling the refugee as 'helpless and vulnerable' (Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 153).

Having thus been rendered 'helpless and vulnerable' by the method in which aid is provided, some refugees have recourse to dramatising their situation and their burdens to the aid workers and other people to draw attention to themselves and receive help. This was the case with Sara, a 30 year old woman from the Nuer community who exhibited epileptic symptoms and demanded to be removed from where she was residing to a safer, more comfortable location, and be treated in a special way. I met and interviewed Sara at the Kakuma Reception Centre where she had run away to from her residence in the camp, claiming that her 'co-wife'[75] was beating her up and that since she was pregnant and unsafe, she needed special attention and care. Sara told me that she had a 'mental' problem, and the interpreter described Sara's epileptic symptoms as 'terrible'. She had come to the Reception Centre a few days previously and the security had tried to chase her away from the gate and she had fallen down. Sara went on to describe her problem to me:

> *Something happened to my head ... even the two of you* [referring to the interpreter and I]*, it would be terrible for you to touch me. Because… I'd try to beat someone myself, and if you run away very fast and then maybe there is water there, I'll fall in it, and then … there is a time I fell down and …What I need, I don't want to hear some people quarrelling, or people shouting. That causes problems. And I don't, shouldn't be angry too much. Or maybe have lack of food. That's something that causes me this problem also… If we have some people that are shouting, or maybe quarrelling, that problem that I have is awakened…*[76]

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75 The term 'co-wife' is used in polygamous contexts, in this case referring to the other woman with whom Sara shares a husband. In Sara's case, she had three co-wives, two of whom lived back in South Sudan.
76 Interview with Sara on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

In her vulnerable and desperate state, Sara seems to be finding meaning in her 'mental problem' as she calls it, the one condition in which she seems to have control. She talks of what she needs, what she cannot stand, and what triggers her problem. People need to maintain peace and quiet around her, and both anger and hunger are triggers. The condition gives her occasion to oppose the forces or powers that have rendered her vulnerable and helpless.

In his treatise on the social experience of pain, Arthur Kleinman (1996) describes a similar scenario in which, Mrs. Mullen, a thirty-year-old married woman from a poor Irish American family, has suffered from severe migraine headaches for over five years, and on close examination of the dynamics surrounding her illness, is seen to be using pain as a form of resistance to the social conditions that force her into her poor, vulnerable state. Kleinman (1996, p. 140) observes:

> Pushed up against the limits of control and meaning making, poor and oppressed patients may take up whatever is at hand to respond to adversity… Thus, Mrs. Mullen's pain also represents a kind of solution, albeit compromised, to the consequences of dwelling in a world of suffering. … The pain becomes a means of resisting her husband's irresponsibility and her mother's cruel manipulations. Her sense that her world is not her own, that she has no central, secure place in it, is replaced by illness behavior through which Mrs. Mullen, with surprising energy and efficacy, moves to the center of that world and even comes to dominate its flow.

Sara, like Mrs Mullen, is in a sense relegitimising herself and her dignity as a person in a world that has stripped her of all dignity and sense of control, by dramatising her symptoms and demanding special attention. This calls for sensitivity in the way the basic necessities are provided to the survivors, seeking to respect the survivors' human dignity, and desisting from entrenching feelings of helplessness and powerlessness in the survivors.

Education: 'I need only education'

Education was quoted as the second most needed service for the refugees. The participants considered education as a psychological intervention to assist in coping with traumatic experiences. Asked what interventions he needed, Pubudu, a 20 year old man from the Nuer community, for instance repeated emphatically, 'I need education… I need only education.'[77]

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77 Interview with Pubudu, KRM17 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

There are numerous opportunities for training in different skills in the camp. Not only do these opportunities provide the refugees with much needed knowledge in different areas, they seem to restore hope and give them a sense of purpose and strengthen their fortitude in facing the uncertain, the complex. Riek is extremely proud of the numerous certificates he has received in different trainings. He told me:

> This year, I received my ID, they have written something like 'Business and Community Development'…So I joined that course, for 6 months. And recently we have graduated. Then I finished that course. Currently also I am doing a certain course … Pharmacy… I just get these for my own qualification, because we do compete. We did a written interview, an oral one, and I succeeded. I was among the 27. To start with we are something like 50 people, and then only 27 succeeded…And also I've done adult education for two years… Sometimes I do conduct adult education for adult people in my community… I think the only thing that I have not yet done, and now I'm seeking to get any time, like you know, the camp has got a university. Online. It is coordinated by JRS[78]. It's online... It is education, and then psychology, and so on. Something like seven different courses.[79]

Patrick has similarly received training in different areas, and goes further to use his professional training in Livestock Development for peacebuilding purposes:

> I joined Livestock Community Development and Management Studies … Actually our aim of training was just to go and, like now I deal directly with those conflicting communities in terms of animal health. So as we are delivering those services, we also get a chance of talking to the community directly on peacebuilding…Educating them on peace, you know. As livestock professionals, we don't want people to fight over cows and kill cows. This is also uneconomical. And it is also discouraged when people are, you know you enjoy being with your cows, and again if you go and raid cows from other people, they transmit some of the other diseases there, which may now come and wipe out your cows.[80]

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[78] Jesuit Refugee Services
[79] Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[80] Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

But how does education serve the role of assisting the refugees psychologically? Taking into consideration the traumatic experiences they have gone through as related in Chapter 5, education seems to serve to mitigate the effects of these experiences on the refugees. One of these experiences is the separation from and loss of loved ones that many refugees narrated, and the resultant feeling of disconnection from all that they knew and were accustomed to. This has led to loss of community and sense of belonging. Ager (1999) notes how the refugee experience is impacted by the social disruption occurring as a result of mass violence, and this includes disruption of education. Cassity (2012, p. 59) points out that education for refugees serves the purpose of constructing 'belonging, place and identity.' Education can thus be seen as contributing to a restoration of the sense of community.

Bourdieu (2007, pp. 24-25) considers education as a form of 'cultural capital' referring to the way in which education contributes to the reproduction of the social structure of a group. Meyer (2007, p. 133) notes that education is 'a central element in the public biography of individuals, greatly affecting their life chances' and therefore significantly impacting on society. Basing his argument on the legitimation theory, Meyer (2007) discusses how education plays the role of both constructing and altering roles in society. Education legitimates 'new roles and statuses', which in effect lead to 'newly defined persons' and creates 'new competencies', thus transforming the behaviour of people in society beyond the experience in schools (Meyer, 2007, p. 133).

> If education is a myth in modern society, it is a powerful one. The effects of myths inhere, not in the fact that individuals believe them, but in the fact that they "know" everyone else does, and thus that "for all practical purposes" the myths are true. We may all gossip privately about the uselessness of education, but in hiring and promoting, in consulting the various magi of our time, and in ordering our lives around contemporary rationality, we carry out parts in a drama in which education is authority (Meyer, 2007, p. 146).

Here, Meyer stresses the power and authority that education possesses. And given that many refugees have been stripped of all power and sense of control, and in some instances suffered or witnessed dehumanisation, education becomes crucial in restoring this power. It seems to the survivors, that if they can be accepted as members of a learning institution, be subjected to

the accompanying disciplines, acquire new knowledge and sit exams alongside other people, then they have not lost it all.

Smith (2008, p. 66) discusses how education can be used as a tool for recovery from traumatic events, and points out:

> Education can help whole communities recover from war by reintroducing routines, helping people process, understand and psychologically recover from what happened during the war, teaching attitudes and behaviours that support new institutions, imparting skills of nonviolent conflict resolution, training people for employment, and preparing citizens to function in a plural, democratic society.

Of crucial importance to recovery is the sense of normalcy and predictability that a school system brings. Further, education seems to restore the lost sense of self-hood amongst the refugees. As discussed in Chapter 5, most participants had arrived at the camp in the state of what Agamben (1998) refers to as *homo sacer* (bare life), a life stripped of all status, and indeed everything else. This is the 'Nothing' state that some participants, such as Okot, described by saying 'Nothing happening on your planning, what you have planned or what you have decided to do … you just, I just stay and forget everything.'[81]

In this state of 'just staying', education offers an opportunity which some participants take to do 'something', and make sense of their lives. Suleyman, who had earlier summarised the sense of despair and hopelessness of people in the camp by saying '… there was nothing at all. From the beginning, up to the end, there's nothing good…' expresses the meaningfulness of life brought about by education later in the interview this way:

> *Yeah, of course as long as I'm still alive in the camp, the best thing that may make me understand the entire world, what is good and what is bad, is education … So it may give me the criteria, if may be tomorrow, God will give me a long life, how to show the people of Sudan, or other countries in the world, that they may be getting in the way of peace. …Yeah, because without education, there's nothing I can do with my life.*[82]

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81 Interview with Okot, KRM03 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
82 Interview with Suleyman, KRM28 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Education as an intervention then seems to humanize, where the survivor was dehumanized, construct connections where they had been severed by conflict and mass violence, reinstate a sense of belonging and create a life where there was seemingly nothing. Education is also future-oriented, thus offering a sense of hope for the survivors. It helps to reestablish a sense of connection, which is important for the recovery from trauma (Herman, 1997).

In providing the intervention of education, however, there is need for sensitivity to the realities of the survivors. These realities include the gendered ways which make women, for instance, unable to take up the education opportunities offered in the camp, as discussed in Chapter 5. Joy, for instance, had been keen to attend school and gain educational qualifications, but had to drop out of school after an incident of conflict and violence that broke out in the camp, causing a disruption that left her with no books or change of clothes. This made it difficult for her, as a woman, to continue going to school and sit the required qualifying exams.

Developing education as a tool for recovery from trauma may involve consultation and involvement of the local community to identify and mobilise local resources in the education program (Smith, 2008), to help reinstate meaning, connection and belonging.

Job and Leadership opportunities: '*People come to you daily*'

The agencies working in the camp provide opportunities for some refugees to work as 'incentive staff'[83] and as leaders of their respective communities. The incentive staff are paid a small amount of money to engage in such roles as case workers in various units and work closely with the agencies, to enable the latter to have a clear grasp of the issues the refugees are grappling with in the camp. The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) for instance engages refugees as case workers in the gender, peacebuilding, and youth development units. These engagements seem to contribute to the recovery of the refugees involved from their traumatic experiences. The sense of meaning and purpose associated with working to contribute to the welfare of others in the camp is of special significance to the participants, especially in view of the debilitating circumstances in which they came to the camp. Fazila proudly related her involvement with peacebuilding projects in schools:

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[83] 'Incentive staff' is the term used by the agencies working in the camp to refer to the refugees who the agencies employ for a small amount of money given as an 'incentive'.

And I'm glad I'm also, you know, facilitating peace in primary schools here in the camp. I actually have clubs within schools. I form teams, clubs, and one day in a week I go to the school, and I call my club members so I can come and teach them. I have a book I teach them about how to achieve peace, peaceful coexistence among themselves, how they can may be handle or manage conflict once it arises. You know with conflict, conflict is normal, it is natural, it is neutral, it is right, you know we were born and we found conflict. So, I actually try to help them manage, handle conflict when it arises in their school, and also may be at home. And also give the same knowledge to other people. So that is what I do in schools.[84]

Riek similarly described his involvement in leadership activities within his community and his contribution in helping others solve their problems.

I became the Block Leader... I have been working for the last 5 years as a tribe leader. ... people come to you daily, reporting the cases. And what you should do is give the people advice… Yeah, like now many clients are waiting for me at home. Those who have issues. Because I tell them when you want to see me come at 2 pm, at 1 pm, because at 3 pm, I'll be going to the class ... Like today I won't go to the class, because there was an issue, in my community. We are going to have a meeting with peacebuilding [unit].[85]

As Baron et al (2003) note, the job and leadership opportunities serve the purpose of creating a sense of normalcy, as well as availing opportunity for the community to take care of itself. This is of crucial importance given the destruction of order and cohesion that the refugees have experienced as a result of conflict (Pouligny et al, 2007).

The opportunities serve to develop and strengthen what McCann and Pearlman (1990, p.126) refer to as 'ego resources' and 'self capacities'. These include an awareness of psychological needs, and a willpower and initiative which enable a person to be creative and initiate purposeful activities, stick to tasks he or she has resolved to do, and persist in the face of

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84 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
85 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

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difficulties, as well as express an appropriate regard for others. Riek and Fazila, quoted above, are examples of participants whose ego resources and self capacities were evidently boosted by the job and leadership opportunities availed to them.

These opportunities are however not available for all the survivors, and many remain in the situation described by Okot, Zeneb, and Chathulanjalee and quoted in Chapter 5,[86] where nothing meaningful seems to be taking place in the survivors' lives. Further, much as those who had been fortunate to have the job and leadership opportunities in the camp related the pride and benefit they got from these opportunities, there was no evidence that they connected these experiences with recovery from trauma. Hart (2008b, pp. 119-120) discusses the need for leaders in peacebuilding to understand trauma, its effects, and the route to recovery and argues:

> … it is essential for leaders as well as followers to have an understanding of trauma and its impact on their physical, emotional, cognitive and spiritual states, along with insights to its historical and/or most recent causes. This insight tied to a set of trauma recovery actions plays an important role in healing people who individually and collectively have suffered great loss. This may be the loss of loved ones, their homes, villages and cities and trust in themselves as well as others. In most cases, they have also lost hope in any meaningful future.

This underscores the importance of understanding the interrelatedness of the job and leadership opportunities, trauma recovery and peacebuilding.

Counselling: 'At the end of the day you find yourself'

A less-quoted intervention received by the participants in the camp, yet crucial to this discussion on ways of coping with traumatic experiences, is counselling. A number of refugees have benefited from the counselling services offered by the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS) in the camp, both as clients and as trainees in the courses that JRS occasionally runs. These opportunities are limited, however, and of the 49 participants interviewed for this study, only five had received counselling or counselling training. The purpose of the counselling is to assist individuals, families and groups to resolve emotional distress. Samir and Suleyman, both from

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86 Interviews with Okot KRM03 on 2 July, Zeneb KRF15 on 3 July, and Chathuranjalee KRF47 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

South Kordofan, related how they acquired self-awareness and ability to sort out their own issues on receiving counselling and training:

And at the end of, by the end of the day you find yourself, at the beginning you were having a very big problem and you seemed like one whose day was ending, but at the end of the day you find yourself as the person who was at the beginning.[87]

Through that, when I was going through the counselling courses I received some of the procedures of how to handle yourself, even others… Yeah, in case may be now if I experience any problem pertaining to my life, I may refer myself back to the course that I've done and then I may be able to relax.[88]

One-on-one counselling is, however, a rather unfamiliar way of handling problems amongst the South Sudanese communities, and most participants were more conversant with community support and advice, especially from the community elders, which a number of participants, such as Paulo, a 19 year old man from the Dinka community, and Chriz below, quoted as psychological intervention:

What happened, I actually received a service from the elders that we found around here. They told me that since you are the elder of these small children, you have to be strong and feel like a man, yeah, so if you let yourself down, there is no way these children can survive, because you are the elder. So I understood, and also I was told that what I have to put ahead now is education.[89]

Now, when we came from there, our parents always gave us advice. They said go, and don't think of us here. You go and study, and don't think of other things. You just study, and don't think about us. So when we came here we didn't have many worries, because we know our parents have already given us advice not to think. And also people who came here earlier than us advised us also not to think about back home.[90]

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87 Interview with Samir, KRM22 on 8 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
88 Interview with Suleyman, KRM28 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
89 Interview with Paulo, KRM07 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
90 Interview with Chriz, KRM27 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Respect for elders is a major aspect of the South Sudanese culture, and what the elders say is taken very seriously especially by young men who will eventually take over the role of leading and guiding their communities.

Since the culture of the South Sudanese people is principally community oriented, it seems interventions may be most effective if they are community based. This means that the ways in which people experience and respond to traumatic events is cultivated and mediated by community structures. In describing this community-oriented perception of trauma and recovery, Hamber (2009, p. 20) points out:

> It is not only the traumatic event that requires attention: most particularly, the way in which the individual (or community) interprets the events is vitally important when considering a strategy for healing.

Kleber et al (1995, p. 4) also point to the importance of the social and cultural context in determining the impact of traumatic events, and argue that the 'disturbances of victims and survivors are determined at least as much by this sociocultural trauma as by the trauma of the event itself'. The context provides both ways of interpreting traumatic events, ways of coping with them, and facilities for helping and supporting the survivors (Kleber et al, 1995; Summerfield, 1995).

The members of the community could be said to have experienced what Alexander (2012, p.6) refers to as 'cultural trauma', which 'occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness.' This concept is also referred to as 'cultural bereavement' (Ba & LeFrancois, 2011; Summerfield, 1995). Summerfield (1995, p. 21) gives examples of societies in which people are unable to imagine their own survival if their collective way of life does not survive. One such case emerges from a study of teenagers displaced by the Sudan civil war who could not name their villages, clans or grandparents, or write a history of where they came from (Summerfield, 1995). The cultural loss can thus become a key determinant of the psychological problems that the survivors exhibit.

Given their cultural orientation to experiences of trauma, the South Sudanese survivors may thus benefit from trauma interventions that are cognizant of the effects of the traumatic events

in tearing the social fabric apart, and are planned 'to collectively mark and mourn what has been lost and to recreate some sense of social cohesion' (Kaminer & Eagle, 2010, p. 119). Consequently then, the development of 'cultural empathy' (Van Der Veer, 1995, p. 161) in counselling refugees becomes necessary. This involves becoming informed about cultural differences and being culturally sensitive, and at the same time being careful not to undermine individual differences between people from the same culture.

Olweean (2003) emphasizes the need for new models to attend to large civilian populations experiencing trauma as a result of war and violence. Olweean (2003, p. 272) argues:

> These models must incorporate an integrated flow of services and supports designed to respond to both immediate and long-term effects of trauma. They should instill in the local community the capacity to provide and expand these services on an ongoing basis. It is imperative that any model also be sensitive to the cultural context of both the trauma experience and the treatment. Thus, in addition to adaptations of standard mental health treatment methods, it is important to enlist traditional aspects of the society itself, such as its cultural and spiritual resources.

Olweean consequently proposes the Catastrophic Trauma Recovery model, which he gives as an example of 'a comprehensive, integrated treatment and training model' designed to be culture-sensitive and particularly suited to regions experiencing violent turmoil where health services are underdeveloped and the society's infrastructure has broken down' (Olweean, 2003, p. 273).

De Jong (2002) argues that contextual insight is needed in order to manage and distribute resources, including mental health services, to help refugees cope with the horrors that accompany armed conflicts. In explaining the traumatic stress refugees experience and the need for mental health services, De Jong's (2002, pp. 4-6) argument reflects many of the traumatic event experienced by the participants of this study, as discussed in Chapter 4:

> The events precipitating the act of relocation (war, persecution, hunger, disaster, death), the process of relocation (upheaval, a long and unsafe journey on foot under mental and physical strain), and settlement in refugee camps (discomfort, uncertainty, unemployment, oppression, discrimination) take a mental and physical toll. Individuals, often in such numbers as to include families and entire communities, suffer from a range of human rights violations including

torture, rape, abductions, sexual violation, war wounds, deprivation of basic needs, loss of home, loss of loved ones, and premature death.

De Jong (2002, pp. 23-24) recommends a public mental health approach in interventions responding to the psychosocial and mental health consequences of the refugees' experience, which aims at 'protecting, promoting and restoring mental health of a population'. To enhance effectiveness, De Jong points out, these interventions should, among other things, be culture-informed and adapted to local circumstances, built on culture-specific expertise and coping strategies, aim at human capital by stimulating social cohesion and solidarity, involve collaboration with the community, and promote social reconstruction and reconciliation. In operationalising the interventions, De Jong argues for an interaction between the society-at-large which he calls the macro-level, the community level which he calls the meso-level, and the individual and family level which he calls the micro-level. (De Jong, pp. 26-27). This interaction is cognizant of the fact that individuals are embedded in their families, community and the society.

In summary, as noted above, a very limited number of participants had received individual counselling or counselling training, and the majority of the participants talked of having received psychological help through being part of the community. Given the communal nature of the South Sudanese people, it seems that applying community-oriented models that are sensitive to collective trauma and are cognizant of the culturally embedded ways the South Sudanese communities experience life would be most appropriate in meeting the counselling needs of the South Sudanese survivors.

6.2 Other Ways of Coping: Resilience

In addition to the interventions the refugees discussed as having been provided by UNHCR and the partnering agencies, a number of participants portrayed other ways of coping with traumatic experiences. These ways of coping point to the resilience of some of the survivors of the conflict and mass violence. As conceptualised by Hobfoll and de Jong (2014, pp. 70-71), resilience is here understood to mean the ability to withstand negative consequences of traumatic challenges, recover quickly from any symptoms of pathology that may develop, and remain enthusiastic, committed and engaged in important life tasks and produce positive outcomes. Other authors similarly define resilience as entailing a shift of focus from pathology,

a pattern of recovery to prior functioning, and identifying and mobilizing resources to cope with the traumatic experiences and thrive (Zoellner & Feeny, 2014; Saul, 2014; Miller-Karas, 2015).

Certain characteristics were evident among those participants who portrayed resilience. These included a positive attitude, community support, a long term vision and mission, selflessness, faith in God, taking personal initiative and agency, and inner strength. The characteristics are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Each of the characteristics is examined below as expressed by the participants.

Positive Attitude: 'What has happened has passed'

One of these ways of coping was the ability to choose one's attitude and focus on the positive. Atem, a 42 year old man from the Dinka community, clearly demonstrates this choice of a positive attitude when his first child is taken away from him during the skirmishes back in South Sudan, but eventually happily reunited with him and his family in the camp. His is a deliberate decision and effort to focus on the positive, as a way of moving on in his life, as he describes:

> *Yes I'm hopeful. On my side I'm hopeful because I tried. I lost all the parents, even my brothers and sisters, and now I'm just staying, and as you can see, my mood never changes. You should see me in my compound, playing with my children. If you have time you come home, I can invite you to see them, the way I interact with them, and the way we just chat. Even when I just get home, they come to me running and say, 'Hey... baba..!' and then I just feel very fresh and then I just talk to them, from the smallest one, to the biggest one... I forget the past. And now I'm starting the new life. Yes.[91]*

This attitude extends to how one relates with others, as described by Fazila:

> *...with me now, when I have peace within me, it means I don't have hatred for somebody, I don't have jealousy may be for something, I'm yeah, I love everyone, and for me really I just like peace so much, I don't know ... I just feel I have peace. Peace of mind, peace*

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91 Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

of heart. And I just feel if everyone in Sudan could feel the same, then there will be peace.[92]

An attitude of gratitude, and recognition of what is working in their favour, even if in the very least, is also a major mark of resilience. One of the most striking refugees I interviewed was 29 year old Rachel who had recently arrived from South Sudan after the murder of her husband. She was a naturally joyful, lively, vibrant woman, in stark contrast with most other refugees. She began the interview by singing a song for me, which she described as a peace song:

Salamu Salamu, oiyeye [Peace Peace, oiyeye]
Salaam alaykum, aha [the Peace be upon you, aha]
Salamu Salamu, oiyeye [Peace Peace, oiyeye]
Salaam alaykum, aha… [the Peace be upon you, aha…]
It's a peace song, in Sudan. Yeah yeah yeah[93]

Jerem and Joy similarly demonstrated this grateful, positive attitude in their circumstances:

What has happened, has passed. And since there is still suffering and people being killed in Sudan, we just pray to God to just make peace be in Sudan, so that people will live in peace. Yeah. What has happened is gone, and people have died enough.[94]

OK. Me I think life is not that very bad in the camp. Cos there is no way that you can be totally in a very bad situation without any help. We have a lot of services and structures that can help.[95]

This positive attitude seems crucial in dealing with the aftermath of violent conflict and negotiating the challenges of displacement that the participants face in the camp. Zolli and Healy (2012, p. 127) describe the innate personality traits of optimism and confidence as some of the most protective assets against life's stressors. Krystal (2004, pp. 68-69) similarly argues:

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92 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
93 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
94 Interview with Jerem, KRM38 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
95 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

… a "healthy" infantile omnipotence is the most important asset for dealing with life's stresses and potential trauma… It is the emotional mainspring of extraordinary reserves. It provides a profound, unshakeable conviction of one's invulnerability…Individuals who have a healthy dose of the adult residuals of infantile narcissism can preserve their optimism in situations of stress and danger. They are able to retain initiative in their thinking, in their planning, or even just in their fantasy. Even when under severe stress, they manage to recognize the chances of improving the dangerous situation at varying degrees of risk.

In the aftermath of traumatic events back in their country of origin and in their circumstances in the camp, these participants are able to make a choice of how to respond, and the choice influences their actions and their relationships.

Community Support: '*They stay with me well*'

The South Sudanese community highly values living together and sharing whatever they have with one another, and the community members support each other in the midst of difficult circumstances. This is a mark of resilience in the sense that through this support, the survivors are able to withstand the consequences of traumatic events in their lives. Atem, a community leader, aptly expresses the communal way in which the South Sudanese community lives in the camp:

> *…about the life of the people who are living in the camp, we live together, and even the host community…I invite them also to come to my group. We stay as neighbours and we stay as brothers and sisters. They come, some take water and take food, and we share what we have and then we interact with them.*[96]

Zeneb also describes this community spirit when she says:

> *And there is also something we call help: I help you, also you help others. So, if I get help, now, and have that piece of education that I need, I'll be willing and able to help some others, also. Yeah.*[97]

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96 Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
97 Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Another mark of this communal essence of life amongst the South Sudanese refugees is the willingness, indeed assumed duty of the elders of the community, to give wisdom and guidance to the younger generation whenever it is needed. Paulo, who had lost both parents in the war and had to take care of his younger brother as well as other young children, described how he was advised by the elders about taking responsibility and being an example to the younger ones.

40 year old Grace from the Acholi community described the invaluable support she receives from her group of fellow survivors of HIV/AIDS:

> *That's how I stay. Sometimes I stay, and I find the problems are too many, and I go back to those friends of mine, the ones I counted for you… Those ones will help me. Even them, sometimes if they are facing those issues, they will come, we talk together, and there is peace. For us. …Now these ones sometimes, when we stay together, everyone speaks out their problem, each person their problem, then when we, when everyone has said their problem, then the counsellor, we stay with the counsellor, …And then some other people, like now those children, they come to visit me, they stay with me, like the way you have come and found us, and we stay together. They stay with me well.[98]*

Community support is especially important for the survivors because of the breakdown in ties resulting from conflict and mass violence back in their country of origin, and they continue to experience in the camp, having lost or been separated from loved ones as well as torn apart from their communities.

In her study of resilience in South Sudanese refugee women, Wanga-Odhiambo (2014) discusses the potency of social ties in dealing with the broken down social fabric and describes how the South Sudanese refugee women in Nairobi formed self-help groups and associations to support one another. One such group, the Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi (SWAN) was registered in Kenya as a non-profit humanitarian association, and had membership from different cities in Kenya as well as Kakuma refugee camp, camps in Uganda,

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98 Interview with Grace, KRF48 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

and overseas (Wanga-Odhiambo, 2014, p. 121). The groups sought to attend to the physical, emotional, psychological, spiritual and cultural needs of the members.

Feeny and Zoellner (2014) emphasise the need to support the meaningful societal ties in order to promote resilience. Community support entails rebuilding trust and the capacity to trust that have been torn away by conflict and violence (Maynard, 1999). This is crucial for the restoration of the society to function once again. As Kleber (1995, p.304) argues:

> Society provides people with "tools" in relation to the aftermath of traumatic experiences. Norms and values as well as symbols and rituals channel thoughts and emotions and consequently create opportunities for individual ways of adjustment… Cultural belief systems, along with cultural objects and social role expectations, greatly affect psychosocial adjustment in individuals attempting to master severe trauma.

A vision and long-term mission: *'I have a passion'*

Besides training and a general ambition for leadership in the camp, a further purpose, a vision or a long term mission, seemed to be a key ingredient for resilience in some of the participants. A number of the participants, such as Kerieme below, portrayed their long term goal of going back to South Sudan in the future, and helping to bring peace to the nation:

> *In future, my vision. My vision, I just want to complete my study, and then to go back if peace comes, to go back to my motherland and then to work ... then to help my people, to help my people.*[99]

Fazila was particularly ambitious and optimistic of acquiring education and being able to influence the political situation in her country in future for the better:

> *So by getting education, I just think it will help me a lot and it will help not only me but my people also, my family, my people back in Sudan. I'll use it to empower people also….so I'm looking forward to maybe go to university, study, achieve my goals, and my dreams. I go to Sudan, in whatever means I have to work for peace… What I want... I have a burden, I have a passion of people stopping fighting in Sudan, because it is*

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99 Interview with Kerieme, KRM09 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

actually... People have shed blood for many many years. I was told when I was just born, people were already fighting. I don't know for what, and I want to know the reasons why these people really fighting, and they are just one nation. So I want to stop war, by any means.[100]

Nafy[101] was aiming to be a journalist in South Sudan after completing her education, and saw herself involved in such missions as bringing the different South Sudanese tribal communities together through such activities as sports.

The larger vision of not only improving life in the camp, and one's personal life at that, propels this particular group of people beyond the immobilization, powerlessness and despair, symptoms of trauma expressed by some participants, as described in Chapter 5. This was further expressed by Riek and by Jean Paul, a 23 year old man from the Nuer community.

I have long term mission. That's why I'm still unmarried…I have more capacity in leadership management. Because I have been trained by the UN over and over … On how to manage the community…. and how to manage people ... give them counsel, and so on.[102]

As for me, as for me, yes I can say, at long last, yes I can go back for the purpose of saying let me go, and tell people this is not the right way, but this is the way to go…. My hope, if I will grow up as now I'm growing to be an elder, or to be a big person, is to change my country to be a good country….It is to change my people to be a good people. It is to change the society to know how they can live, and how they can stay with others.[103]

They have a goal they are living for, and this helps them to overcome the paralyzing power of unpredictability and lack of control that threatens their lives as refugees (Krystal, 2004).

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100 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[101] Interview with Nafy, KRF18 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
102 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
103 Interview with Jean Paul, KRM40 on 15 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Selflessness: 'My heart is for everyone'

A key attribute of these refugees demonstrating resilience is a focus beyond the self, and a remarkable leadership quality. Many of them described how they had poured their lives into causes beyond themselves, and this seemed to enable them to thrive despite their dire circumstances. Abit, a 35 year old man from the Dinka community, described his mission of preaching peace to the rest of the community, for instance:

> *Like now, I'm working as a volunteer. But I also like to tell the people how the work is going, and how the peace is going… to tell the people how to stay in peace. That is what I'm doing… Like if you get a place where there are some people near to fight you go and tell them 'hey, hey, hey, wait for me', and you also to tell them how the peace is going.[104]*

Paulo, Matida (a 28 year old woman from the Nuba community), and Jean Paul are examples of youth who found themselves entrusted or in charge of a number of young children whose parents' whereabouts no one knew. In giving of themselves to help out, their strength is drawn and grows:

> *But when I came here you know I have to do something for the children that were left behind. Like when I come, cos since I'm living with the old woman, I have also to cook for those children.[105]*

> *I have three, and my sister's sons three also, and another one, they are seven…. I'm just alone, and these kids they are very small, I'll not be able to leave them just alone like that, because no one else can help them, that's what makes me to struggle with them.[106]*

Jean Paul gave up going on with secondary education when his long lost younger brother joined him in the camp, so that he could give the younger brother an opportunity to go to school as

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104 Interview with Abit, KRM02 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
105 Interview with Paulo, KRM07 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
106 Interview with Matida, KRF12 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

well. When his younger brother joined him in the camp, however, he came accompanied by five other children, unaccompanied minors, whom Jean Paul takes care of as well, as 'the fostering family head' as he put it.[107]

Fazila, as she waits to join university, gives of her time to train children in primary school on peace.[108] Rachel can speak seven different South Sudanese languages, and gives her time to interpret for the camp officials when they speak to the refugees in different forums.[109]

Riek, a young man who suffered greatly back home when he lost both parents and his wife-to-be and baby during delivery, is now a leader of his community in the camp and spends most of his time deliberating on intra and intertribal peacebuilding issues in the camp. He described his focused leadership strategies and his then current involvement in a conflict between his community, Nuer, and the Murle community over an alleged abduction of a child by the latter from the Nuer community. Riek described his involvement in peacebuilding:

> *As a leader, I'm also a counsellor. People bring cases to me all the time. Currently, I'm dealing with the issue of the clashes between the Nuer and the Murle, in which 7 people were killed, 5 Murle, and 2 Nuer. As a leader, I was suspected of inciting my people, but I proved to the authorities my innocence, and told them I work as a peacemaker in my community, and if I was a violent person I could not hold these positions. Together with other stakeholders, we are working to reunite the two communities. I've been very busy holding meetings with my people and other joint meetings with all stakeholders, to try to reconcile the two communities.[110].*

Jerem, a pastor of the Nuba community in the camp talks of his concern for the youth and the possibility of establishing a library in the church to improve the welfare of the young people:

> *If there could be an establishment of a library, that could be of help to people because they could be staying around here and at least studying about the word of God…I feel*

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107 Interview with Jean Paul, KRM40 on 15 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
108 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
109 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
110 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

there is nothing that can help me only. My heart is for everyone and I think everyone could be assisted, not me alone.[111]

Krystal (2004), in discussing how some of the Holocaust survivors coped through atrocious experiences, underscores the power of love, and describes how the capacity for loving and serving others provided a means of preserving hope and faith, maintaining a sense of one's own humanity, and protecting oneself from withdrawal and surrender. Krystal (2004, p. 77) concludes:

> Most of all there is the clear indication that one's resilience is proportional to the capacity to mobilize one's love powers. Love outraged is experienced as anger or hate. Love rendered helpless manifest itself as shame. However, love represents the survivor's self-reintegrating and self-healing powers.

Kaminer and Eagle (2010, p.73) note that traumatic experiences can cause survivors to develop an increased compassion and empathy for others, as 'their personal experience of trauma allows for a richer emotional insight into the pain and distress of other people'. This leads to involvement in self-giving activities that result in deeper feelings of connection to other people, which facilitates recovery from trauma (Herman, 1997).

Faith in God: 'Only just tell God'

The South Sudanese refugee community in Kakuma is highly religious. In a significant way, their faith, as a means of coping amidst the difficult situation both in their country and in the camp, is unquestioned. There seems to be an assumed question, 'How else would you, or anyone, make sense of any of the things that have happened, and still live on?' which their faith answers. Like Fazila, most of the refugees believe every step of their journey is through God's intervention:

> *I believe it is the mercies of God, maybe. Yeah, I just believe every step I take it is God who is leading me. In order to go and establish peace.[112]*

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111 Interview with Jerem, KRM38 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
112 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Most clusters of homesteads (blocks) in the South Sudanese community in the camp have a structure made up of a low mud hedge and long mud benches, which the refugees described as a place of worship. Their belief in God is the source of hope, and the only cord they can hold on to in order to be saved from annihilation, as it were. Rachel said of her belief in God:

> *Only just tell God, I know God helps me... if I feel badly and I cry, if I cry say at night, tomorrow I wake up happy... I know God is with me... My God is great, and is doing something big in my life.[113]*

These individuals' faith enables them to negotiate their pain and trauma and make meaning of it, experience healing, and extend help to others. As Puljek-Shank and Puljek-Shank (2008, p. 180) found out in their work on trauma healing and peacebuilding in South Eastern Europe, this experience that transforms pain and suffering into a source of strength is both deeply spiritual and effective in helping people cope with the consequences of traumatic events. Krystal (2004, p. 78) also found faith to be a strong determinant of resilience for Holocaust survivors:

> An inner resource of enormous power was the ability to maintain some sense of continuing identification with something transcendental that would endure: God… some "higher power."

Taking Personal initiative and agency: *'Even little by little it helps'*

Stories of the refugees' personal initiatives in the face of difficult circumstances are particularly poignant. Kakuma Refugee Camp is situated in a very remote and arid part of Kenya, and economically resourceful projects are an uphill task even in normal circumstances. Yet a number of refugees make a remarkable attempt at improving their circumstances by trying out different enterprises.

Zeneb's mother had, after her husband had gone back to South Sudan and been killed, started a small business of selling vegetables in the market, and saved enough money to send her daughter (Zeneb) to a good school in Nairobi.[114]

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113 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
114 Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Jerem supplements his family's upkeep by making traditional wooden beds for sale in the camp.[115] Dabor fled from South Sudan after her husband was killed in the war, as she was afraid that her children would be recruited as child soldiers. While in the camp, she had got married again, and her second husband had also died in the war. With five children to fend for, she tried what she could, as she described:

> *So we just try, if I get a little flour, I make 'mandazi' [doughnuts], and sell outside. Whatever little I get, it helps me get some soap, onion, and so on.*[116]

Grace, who has HIV/AIDS and is currently supporting nine children of her deceased brother, and one of her own, tries to make ends meet and supplement their diet through a food business that she started. She said:

> *Just recently I started this [business], people come and eat and I get some money… Yeah, I cook this … porridge and mandazi [doughnuts]. So I get a little money, sometimes I buy vegetables. Together with the ration food they give us … Even little by little it helps… I sometimes just buy, 'sukuma' [kale]… then we stay.*[117]

An overarching theme in the resilient group of refugees is a sense of agency. Agency, as defined by Goddard (2000, p. 27), refers to 'the capacity of individuals or groups to embark on processes of autonomous self-realisation.' Sen (1999) underscores the importance of recognising, understanding and enhancing the agency of the people in need of assistance and argues:

> Understanding the agency role is thus central to recognizing people as responsible persons: not only are we well or ill, but also we act or refuse to act, and can choose to act one way rather than another. And thus we – women and men – must take responsibility for doing things or not doing them. It makes a difference, and we have to take note of that difference. This elementary acknowledgement, though simple enough in principle, can be exacting in its implications, both for social analysis and for practical reason and action (Sen, 1999, p. 190).

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115 Interview with Jerem, KRM38 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
116 Interview with Dabor, KRF44 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
117 Interview with Grace, KRF48 on 17 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

For the South Sudanese survivors in the camp, agency entails a sense of being able to influence and direct their own lives, even if in the smallest sense of the word, in the midst of devastating conditions. This is in stark contrast to the resignation and powerlessness expressed by some participants, as described in Chapter 5. Rachel for instance denotes this ability to take matters in her own hands in her adamant refusal to be taken advantage of through wife-inheritance by her brother-in-law, after her husband died in the war:

> *Yes I refused and said let me just take care of these five children. I don't want. He chased me away from home. He said you go, if you want to leave. He insulted me badly... I was even about to go crazy... Every time I went to try and find a job, he didn't care about me. He was insulting me, calling me Malaya (prostitute) because I refused. He treated me badly too much. So I said let me go to the refugee scheme, they can be able to help me. Even now he wants to come to take the three children from me ... The other two children, my father has them... I took them to school... because they were both in school the time my husband died and they said they will not leave the school because of the death of my husband...[118]*

Chriz portrayed this agency through a rare interest in my work as a researcher, and what it would achieve towards conflict resolution and alleviating the people's suffering in South Sudan and other places. He expressed his anxiety about the results of my research. He asked me:

> *Ok. What is your... what do you want to do about these conflicts in the countries where people are suffering? Is there anything you'd like to make to stop wars and conflicts?,,, Yeah, I'm so anxious about the result of it.[119]*

Suleyman made the decision and took the initiative to flee to the camp when he got the opportunity, after assessing the situation back home and seeing nothing positive coming out of it. This is in contrast with other refugees who fled for safety, having no option, and not pausing to consider their circumstances:

> *So when I saw life is bad, I got a chance of coming here, so I decided on my own, then I came.... Yeah because there was nothing at all. From the beginning, up to the end,*

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118 Interview with Rachel, KRF24 on 9 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
119 Interview with Chriz, KRM27 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

there's nothing good, that I've seen in my life. And for all the entire people… Yeah, that's why, when I got a chance I came. I flew to one of the NGOs, that is NCA: Norwegian Church Aid. They helped me to fly from there to South Sudan, then from there I used the roads to reach Kenya.[120]

Patrick had taken the initiative to move his family out of danger from his home to Juba, before eventually moving them to the camp.

*Yeah. Good thing this time now, during that attack of last year I sent my wife and little children to Juba, in the town. I was the only one person there with the rest of the family**. They are now okay. (hesitantly) looking okay... They are here now. Some of them I've tried to send them to the school now.*[121]

Joy talks of having 'developed courage' through her stay in the camp, and hence trying out ways of improving her circumstances:

I developed courage that I can do like any other person. Also whenever I have problem, I felt it's only what you can plan to make you cope with the situation. It's not that UNHCR or any other agencies are there to support you. They can support you, but not always.[122]

One of Joy's personal initiatives is starting a 'merry-go-round'[123] self-help group amongst her colleagues, which has gone a long way in meeting urgent personal financial needs and supplementing their own and their families' diet.

The concept of agency is crucial to resilience. The individual or group is an active agent in the adaptation process, makes deliberate effort and takes certain choices in response to the adversity. In their analytical disaggregation of agency, Emirbayer and Mische (1998, pp. 971-972) posit three constitutive elements of agency that make this process of adaptation possible,

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120 Interview with Suleyman, KRM28 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
121 Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
122 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 416July 2013. See Appendix 1.
123 A 'merry-go-round' as used here refers essentially to a group of people, mostly women, who contribute funds on a monthly basis and distribute them on a rotational basis to members of the group. The concept of a merry-go-round has been used widely by women's self-help groups in Kenya (Jussi et al, 2009)

namely *iteration, projectivity* and *practical evaluation. Iteration* refers to the ability of individuals or groups to select past patterns of thought and action and incorporate them into the present situation, and in effect enable a sense of continuity and order in the universe, even in difficult situations. *Projectivity* refers to the ability of individuals or groups to imagine future possibilities and think of creative ways of confronting present fears and fulfilling their hopes and desires for the future. *Practical evaluation* refers to the capacity of individuals and groups 'to make practical and normative judgments among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities' (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998, p. 971).

Restoring people's capacity to make choices in their lives is one key way of fostering resilience to adversity. Resilient people are said to have an 'internal locus of control' – a sense of being able to affect their own destiny (Richters, 2010). This renders them more capable of effectively participating in poverty reduction programmes. Individual resilience thus provides a key to addressing the overlapping causes and effects of conflict and poverty in order to promote peacebuilding and development after mass violence (Lambourne & Gitau, 2013). Chandler argues for a 'bottom-up' understanding of human security, in which the emphasis is no longer upon the intervening actors, but on empowering the people in need of assistance (Chandler, 2012, p. 223). In positing the resilience debate against the human security interventionist paradigm, Chandler (2012, p. 216), in accord with Sen's (1999) ideas on agency, argues that a resilience paradigm 'puts agency of those most in need of assistance at the centre, stressing a programme of empowerment and capacity-building'. This shifts the focus from state-based to society-based understanding of security practices, which include the interventions survivors of conflict and mass violence receive. Chandler sees this as a necessity, not an option, since the premise of security in the first place is the inability of those being secured to secure themselves, hence the need to enhance their agency.

Inner Strength: *'We tried to manage'*

The refugees from South Sudan including South Kordofan had struggled against many odds to survive the mass violence in their country and clearly, being able to get to Kakuma Refugee Camp in itself and be in a position to receive the UNHCR provisions in the camp, was a great achievement. Atem described how he managed to get to Kakuma and get help:

And then I started running away, and then we tried to manage … that's when I came to Kakuma. Then I started living here in Kakuma.... I tried to manage … when I came here life was become difficult to me, and I tried to manage.[124]

Riek had had to leave his home as a result of insecurity, when he learnt he was being pursued. When I asked him how he had coped, he said that he had basically decided to concentrate on finding a practical way of getting out of the situation.[125]

The camp conditions are evidently not ideal but a good number of the refugees learn to cope creatively and thrive despite the circumstances. Miriam describes her determination to continue with life in the camp:

I was just struggling, so that I finish my school and then I see what I'm going to do, but life it is not easy. Sometimes you may find the food is not enough, and then you will stay with hunger three or four days, if you don't have anybody who has a job, until you wait for the ration to come and then you go and collect your food.[126]

Jean Paul described how he had, at a young age, suddenly become a 'foster parent' to six other children who had arrived in the camp accompanying his younger brother. Asked how he coped, he said:

It is to understand. You understand them and they understand you…Whatever idea you have, you give them. Then they understand about life. They understand your idea, you accept what they are saying, then you advise them how they should go to school, and which time they are supposed to be at home, and how they should prepare some lunch and supper, that's the idea.[127]

The knack for survival even amidst difficult situations is repeatedly portrayed amongst the refugees. Joy for example is a mother of two, about to give birth to her third child. She describes how she takes care of her children on her own as her husband is estranged. She presents a very buoyant personality in her manner. Grace, who contracted HIV/AIDS after being raped by a

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124 Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
125 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
126 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
127 Interview with Jean Paul, KRM40 on 15 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

soldier back in South Sudan and being forced to marry him, has given birth 14 times and only one child has survived so far. She has subsequently lost other relatives including a brother and his wife, and been left to care for ten children. Amidst all she has gone through, Grace remains jovial, hopeful and good-humoured.

These are the kind of people whom Krystal (2004, p. 73) describes as having 'hidden vestigial optimism [which] permitted some limited alertness and initiative, even inventiveness.'

Kaminer and Eagle (2010) discuss how experiencing trauma can lead to positive changes in perceptions of the self. Survivors of a traumatic experience may find deep inner reserves of strength which were not apparent before the traumatic experience, and may be able to draw from these reserves to cope with the trauma, and help others.

In discussing their work on trauma healing and peacebuilding in South Eastern Europe, Puljek-Shank and Puljek-Shank (2008, p.180) refer to the great potential that exists in the pain of trauma for transformation to something positive, and explain how some of the people they have worked with have come to use their trauma as a source of strength and compassion for others. The South Sudanese participants discussed in this section manifested this potential in the way they managed to function positively in their circumstances and even reach out to others.

6.3 Community Resilience

To the extent that life for the South Sudanese refugees is community-oriented, the concept of community resilience would apply to the case of the participants of this study. The concept of collective trauma as described in Chapter 2, meaning that the impact of mass violence is experienced in relationships in families and the community at large, is one aspect of the community-oriented ways that the South Sudanese refugees experience life. If the experience of trauma is a community concern, then conceptualising coping with trauma from a community perspective is of value. The concept of community resilience thus becomes significant in this research. Saul (2014, p.8) defines community resilience as:

> A community's capacity, hope and faith to withstand major trauma and loss, overcome adversity, and to prevail, usually with increased resources, competence and connectedness.

Norris et al (2007, p. 127) define community resilience as 'a process linking a network of adaptive capacities (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity'. Norris et al acknowledge the complex interconnectedness of communities to their natural, social and economic environments.

The concept of community resilience extends and develops the idea that a focus on symptoms and effects of trauma on individuals is limited, and embraces the importance of the social context in terms of the social, and cultural, realities which structure the way violence occurs and how people recover (Bracken et al, 1995). Social reality refers to such things as family circumstances, social networks and economic position, and cultural realities refer to such things as language, religion, beliefs, values and concept of self and community.

The idea of identifying, consolidating and mobilizing different resources in order to cope with traumatic experiences resonates with the concept of community resilience (Saul, 2014; Norris et al, 2007; Pickren, 2014; Hobfoll & de Jong, 2014; Yoder, 2005). These resources include the social, political, cultural, religious, and environmental resources. Pickren (2014, p. 19) points to the immense resource that refugees have in terms of cultural ways in which they engage with the world, and how these ways can be adopted and adapted in their new environments to enable coping.

An application of the Conservation of Resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll & de Jong, 2014) can be used to explain the resilience of the South Sudanese participants discussed. This theory holds that 'individuals have a primary motivation to build, maintain, and protect the resources necessary to protect the self, the family, and the tribe' (Hobfoll & de Jong, 2014, p. 73). The theory operates on three principles discussed below (Hobfoll & de Jong, 2014, pp. 73-75).

The first principle is that resource loss is disproportionately more powerful than resource gain. In the case of South Sudanese refugees, this is seen to be true when one considers the intensity and amount of destruction of physical, social, cultural and spiritual resources that has accompanied the violence in South Sudan, and how difficult and time-consuming it is to restore these resources, if it is possible at all.

The second principle is that people must invest resources in order to protect against resource loss, recover from losses, and gain resources. In the case of the South Sudanese refugees, this may appear retrospective because the traumatic events have already taken place, but looking at

the participants who were found to be resilient, it is evident that they had invested resources that they are now able to draw from in order to negotiate the traumatic experiences, and help others as well.

The third principle states that although resource loss is more powerful than resource gain, the salience of gain increases under situations of resource loss. The state of loss seems to have the ability to stir wells of strength and capacity to transform circumstances for the better, as seen in the participants discussed, for whom even the smallest enterprises can be seen as making a difference in their ability to cope.

Some of the participants in this study cited in this chapter draw from inner strength to cope with the traumatic events, and are motivated to serve others and make the best of the situation, rather than succumb to circumstances and stay immobilized. This last principle points to the potential for post-traumatic growth, or what Linley and Joseph (2004, p. 11) refer to as 'adversarial growth'. Post-traumatic growth or adversarial growth refers to the positive changes that may arise in the process of struggling through the traumatic experience, that motivate the survivors to higher levels of functioning than those that existed before the event.

Saul (2014) also sees the COR theory as applicable in the case of collective trauma. He argues:

> Massive trauma often involves a serious loss of resources… stress occurs when people lose their resources, when they are threatened with resource loss or are unable to develop or enhance resources despite significant effort. Following major traumatic events, those with fewer resources are more deeply impacted and may fall into rapid and turbulent loss cycles in which the loss of one or more resources triggers further losses. Such downward loss spirals, which are extremely difficult to reverse, may lead to anxiety, depression, and loneliness, as well as reduced social involvement, diminished interest in life, feelings of social detachment and a sense of alienation. In order for communities to recover, these vicious loss cycles have to be interrupted and resource gain cycles reintroduced (Saul, 2014, pp. 5-6).

In order to reintroduce cycles of resource gain and help a community to recover, the Community Resilience Model (CRM) proposed by Miller-Karas (2015) may offer insight into the process. The CRM is a culturally contextualized model to help communities access their strengths and capacities for healing and recovery. It is based on the concept of 'neuroplasticity', a discovery

in the expanding field of neuroscience that acknowledges that the brain is malleable - it can change.

> If the brain can change, then so can our beliefs, feelings, and associated sensations. Specifically, new pathways or connections between neurons can be created within the brain and body. The creation of new neuronal pathways can result in greater resilience (Miller-Karas, 2015, p. 7).

The model is geared towards making interventions for survivors of traumatic experiences 'resilience-informed'. It serves to normalise and de-stigmatise the reactions to traumatic events. Within this model, people learn skills to assist them to get to their 'resilient zone', which represents 'the natural rhythm or flow within the nervous system... where we have a greater capacity for balanced thinking and feeling. We can create the best solutions for our own lives, our families, and our wider community' (Miller-Karas, 2015, p. 33).

The concept of community resilience is thus seen to be relevant and appropriate in the case of South Sudanese survivors in the camp, in helping them withstand the consequences of the traumatic events they have faced, recover, and be committed and engaged in productive activities.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the interventions received by the South Sudanese participants at Kakuma Refugee Camp designed to help them to cope with traumatic experiences, as well as the resilience portrayed by some of the participants. The discussion has in particular paid attention to the sensitivity of these interventions to the trauma experiences of the survivors, especially considering the culturally-embedded and community-oriented realities of the South Sudanese participants.

In discussing the provision of basic necessities for the survivors, the chapter has underscored the significance of these necessities for recovery not only on the physical level, but on the psychological level as well.

The importance of education as an intervention, as well as job and leadership opportunities in the camp, has also emerged in this discussion, and in particular the ability of these opportunities to humanise, where the survivor was dehumanised, reconstruct connections, and reinstate a sense of belonging, meaning and purpose, and thus facilitate recovery from trauma. This discussion has further underscored the need for sensitivity to the social realities of the survivors in providing these interventions; for example, the gendered ways in which the participants may be impacted in receiving these interventions.

In discussing counselling as an intervention, it has emerged that a community-oriented model that is sensitive to the collective trauma and is cognizant of the culturally embedded ways the South Sudanese communities experience life may be the most appropriate in meeting the counselling needs of the South Sudanese survivors.

The concept of resilience as it emerged from the interviews is portrayed in particular characteristics portrayed by some participants, namely a positive attitude, community support, a long term vision and mission, selflessness, faith in God, taking personal initiative and agency, and inner strength. These characteristics, in their interconnectedness and mutually reinforcing nature, are seen to help the participants withstand the consequences of their traumatic experiences and engage in positive and productive activities.

Finally, a focus on the concept of community resilience as a culture- and trauma-sensitive model of recovery is seen to be relevant for South Sudanese survivors in the camp, in helping shift the focus from debilitating circumstances to more positive outcomes, and identify and mobilise resources to cope with traumatic experiences, and even thrive.

Trauma-sensitive interventions that are culturally sensitive and cognizant of the complex and nuanced ways in which people experience conflict, violence and recovery, and at the same time recognise and promote the capacity of the survivors to recover, are seen to assist in recovery and prevention of recurring hatred and violence (Keane, 2003; Vasilevska, 2014), and as will be seen in the next chapter, to facilitate peacebuilding

CHAPTER 7: PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING FOR THE SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KAKUMA: FROM ASSUMPTION TO REALITY

> In the human context, peace should mean recognition of the unlimited potential buried in each and every human being, and commitment to help each other unleash the creativity in every single human being.
>
> > -Muhammad Yunus, Sydney Peace Prize Lecture, 1998.

This chapter discusses the participants' definitions of peace and explores the possibilities of peacebuilding that exist in their perceptions and expressions of peace, the traumatic experiences they have gone through and the interventions they receive. The chapter traces the journey from 'an assumed peace' as perceived and described by some of the participants, to a 'real' peace. The first section discusses the perception of peace as an assumed state for many of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, and the various ways this 'assumed peace' is experienced by different participants. The second section focusses on relationships as the core of peacebuilding, as defined and discussed by the participants. The third section discusses the all-inclusive aspects of peace as presented by the participants and discussed in the light of ideas from various peace studies scholars. The last section considers the possibilities of building a real peace that may exist in the participants' experiences, perceptions and interventions.

7.1 Assuming Peace: *'You Just Assume'*

Peace is an assumed state for many of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma. As expressed by some of the participants, this means that peace is non-existent in reality, and only seen when conjured up in one's imagination, or performed into existence. Atem used the metaphor of peace as 'an umbrella' to capture this assumption of peace:

> *Yes, I don't see there is peace there. No peace. It's a matter of an umbrella like this one* [pointing to the umbrella shade we were sitting under] *maybe if there is. Let me say for example, this umbrella, if it rains, will not protect us here, it will protect us here*

[pointing above us]*, and around here* [pointing to the area surrounding the umbrella], *it would still be raining on us.*[128]

Atem in effect points to the supposed appeal of peace as a concept, and its appearance of effectiveness, while in reality it seems to contain no substance. What is crucial about it is that the survivors are aware of the apparent emptiness of this assumed peace, but that does not stop them from attempting to be part of it. Juliet a 23 year old woman from the Dinka community, captures the emptiness of this peace in her expression, admitting that she had said there is peace, while in a real sense there was no peace:

Actually, I don't have peace. Because what I apply is in the negative, for me just to be at peace with others. But inside me, I have 'pain'. Because may be someone can mistake me. Mostly here in Sudan, like now since I don't have a husband and I'm staying with the children, someone can just come and abuse me. Someone can find me passing over there, and abuse me, 'You did this to your husband that's why he left'. You see, such a thing. Now I'm not staying in peace… Now, since now there is no peace, even though I'm saying there is peace, there is no actual, there is no real peace.[129]

This peace seems to deny the real state of things and adopt an attitude that all is well. It requires avoiding the real issue, and dwelling on the surface. It involves sacrificing one's own needs and deep-seated feelings for the sake of 'peace'. It is, as Okot, one of the participants put it, burying that 'dark stone in my stomach that somebody cannot see' and learning to 'laugh like others' and 'show my teeth' to everyone so that they believe he is happy, while he is aching inside.[130]

This peace entails going by the official construction of what needs to happen on the larger scale of things, and not concentrating on individual and community-specific needs. This kind of peace emphasises peaceful coexistence among people from warring groups, without necessarily going deep into the issues that caused the rift between them. It is giving up one's self for the greater good. Juliet describes this peace, which first involves avoiding the conflict,

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128 Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
129 Interview with Juliet, KRF05 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
130 Interview with Okot, KRM03 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

and second conforming to the pre-constructed peace, which she called the 'peace that was signed':

> *What peace means to me, is that now as ... we are living in this family, we try to avoid each other. When one talks badly, we have to come together and consult, and stay as brothers and sisters. Yeah, like now what happened in Sudan, there was a fight. After the fight now, they have this peace that was signed on…the peace that was signed... 2005 that was signed, yeah, that peace now, that peace is trying to bring us together and combine us together. That's what is peace according to me. Now we are staying in peace, as we are living here in the camp. We don't have conflict with some others. If someone tries to tell you something you avoid, for peace to exist.[131]*

The 'peace that was signed in 2005' refers to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed on 9 January 2005 in Naivasha, Kenya, which brought to an end the Second Civil War in South Sudan (LeRiche & Arnold, 2012). The CPA was supposed to usher in a period of peace in which the possibilities of either Southern Sudan uniting with, or having independence from the Sudan, would be considered. During the period following the CPA, it was assumed that there was peace in South Sudan, and UNHCR organised voluntary repatriation of South Sudanese refugees from Kakuma (UNHCR, 2005).

Juliet goes on to explain this conformity to the 'official peace', the peace that is required of them as refugees in Kakuma, and how it translates to their everyday lives in the camp:

> *Like now since UNHCR and LWF insist we must have peace in the camp, now it will bring more peace if I as a person who needs peace, I help… Applying peace, may be at the water tap, when I go there and I find somebody that has taken my 'mtungi' [water container] back there, behind there and I was in position one, I will just let the person fetch water and I fetch later. That is peace.[132]*

This kind of peace that the survivors are supposed to maintain in the camp, is an example of Galtung's concept of negative peace 'where there is no [direct] violence but no other form of interaction either and where the best characterization is "peaceful coexistence"' (Galtung,

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131 Interview with Juliet, KRF05 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
132 Interview with Juliet, KRF05 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

1975, p.29). This kind of peace, as Jeong (1999, p. 24) points out, emphasises 'a stable social order', and 'does not seriously question the causes of recurring violence in existing social relations'. It is focused on the present or the near future.

The officially constructed peace that the refugees are required to keep is comparable to the official narrative of peace and reconciliation produced by truth commissions problematised by Humphrey (2002a). Humphrey (2002a, p. 121) argues that truth commissions, through attempts to establish a collective memory of the atrocities experienced, in effect 'construct the sacrificial victim to expel the violence'. This way of constructing an official peace, which is supposed to act as a defense against lack of peace, and recurring violence, is in jeopardy.

If this peace simply conceals the 'nothing' void inside, if it covers the unhealed inner 'pain' described by the participants, and the invisible 'dark stone in my stomach', if it acts simply as 'an umbrella' that has the appearance of protecting everyone from the merciless rain-drops from the top, while they continue getting hopelessly wet from the sides, then it seems there is a gap that needs addressing. As seen in Chapters 5 and 6, the survivors have gone through deep traumatic experiences, they have received various interventions to help them cope with these experiences, and some of them have portrayed notable resilience in coping with their experiences. This points to the importance of a sensitivity to the survivors' pain and trauma, an effort to fill the void with substance, a resolve to protect the survivors on all sides, in crafting a 'real' peace.

Why do the survivors continue to cling to the assumed peace? What value is there in this kind of peace? It is as though they are saying, 'Better this than nothing.' This seems to point to their desperation. Peace is so desired, that anything that seems to have the appearance of peace seems welcome.

In so far as the assumed peace translates into an imagination of peace, however, and how it can look like if it were real, the assumption of peace has great value. Peace scholars have pointed to the value of imagining peace (Boulding, 2003; Liebler and Sampson, 2003; Delahaye & Krishnan, 2003). Philpott (2010, p. 9) and Lederach and Appleby (2010, p. 23) point to the 'utopian' idea of peace, acknowledging that peace in this mode 'may exist only in our imaginations and on paper, rather than in the real world of practice.' Lederach and Appleby see value in this kind of imagination of peace and argue that

> … an ideal-type definition offers the advantage of identifying the distance between the current scope, scale, and transformative impact of efforts to end violence and build peace, on one hand, and the fullest possible realization of peacebuilding potential, on the other (2010, p. 24).

The argument here is that if peace can be imagined, then it can be possible, and it can eventually become real. The imagination, however, does not automatically translate to reality, but calls for certain efforts to make it concrete. Positive images of peace in the future can empower creative action that can lead to change today (Boulding, 2003). With this vision, Boulding (2003, pp. 83-93) has conducted workshops on 'Imaging a Nonviolent World' with various groups, in which she encourages participants to imagine a non-violent world in the future and describe actions they are willing to commit to doing in order to make this world a reality.

The theory and practice of Appreciative Inquiry (AI) developed by David Cooperrider and his colleagues in the mid-1980s (Liebler & Sampson, 2003) speaks to the idea of imagining peace, in its emphasis on a step-by-step process of establishing a vision [of peace], and then working towards realising the vision:

> AI involves the art and practice of asking questions that strengthen a system's capacity to heighten positive potential…. In AI, intervention gives way to imagination and innovation; instead of negation, criticism and spiralling diagnosis there is discovery, dream and design. AI assumes that every living system has untapped, rich, and inspiring accounts of the positive. (Cooperrider & Whitney, 1999, p. 10, quoted in Whitney, Liebler & Cooperrider, 2003, p. 28).

The emphasis here is on the positive. In discussing the operationalisation of AI, Whitney et al (2003) point out that a focus on strengths rather than on problems, on the possibilities rather than the impracticalities, is a more effective way of realising the vision. This focus, of necessity, calls for a sensitivity to the traumatic experiences of the survivors discussed in Chapter 5. The vision and hope is seen to rise from an acknowledgement and appreciation of the pain and despair experienced by the survivors.

How do we go from an assumed peace to a peace in reality? Dabor, one of the participants, when asked to define peace, sadly says:

> *Yes, I understand peace, but I don't know peace. When will it be for real? ... I don't see.[133]*

What it might take to experience a 'real' peace is explored in the following sections.

7.2 Building Relationships: *'Peace is You'*

Most participants defined peace in terms of relationships. Peace was conceived in relation to how people related with one another, in the camp and elsewhere. The concept of 'relating as brothers and sisters', which had the connotation of family, was prevalent in describing these relationships. When I asked Amuka what peace meant to her for example, she said:

> *Peace is whereby somebody or relatives, visit you, and chat together with you. And someone like a neighbour, who can show love and affection to you and that she cares. Now if something happens to you here, she can be there. That's when I can realise that there is peace. But if there is nothing like that, I don't know where peace goes, or where peace comes from… the peace that I can see is you. Like now you've come to visit me and interview me and before you came here, no one has ever visited me. I just stay here lonely. I stay here with the children, and even no one can realise that this woman is suffering from this and that.[134]*

Amuka connected the subject of loneliness to peace. For her, there can be no peace if one is lonely. Connection with others, friends, family and neighbours, is what creates peace. She saw value in the interview for this reason.

The idea of a shared community life, with give and take undertones, seemed to prevail in the participants' description of peace. Peace is something shared. Fazila called it 'a two way traffic' whereby 'I have to give you peace, and you also have to give me peace'.[135] Riek said:

> *Peace, I have to begin by myself… I myself I must have the confidence to have peace. I have to respect myself, before I give respect to anyone… Second, I have to show peace,*

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133 Interview with Dabor, KRF44 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
134 Interview with Amuka, KRF06 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
135 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

by the way I interact with people, the way I talk to them, the way I help the community, it means peace. I must show by example first... After that, I will be in position to bring peace to the community.[136]

Peace as described by these participants entails self-reflection, but even then, the self-reflection is in relation to how they examine themselves in order to relate with others in more constructive ways. Samir described this self-reflection, leading to constructive relationships, hence peace, this way:

Personally I'll start peace within myself by recognising myself first. I should recognise the person I am, and be contented…That I am that person. Weak or strong, rich or poor, I should be contented that I am that person. So, after having recognised myself, then surely I'm also going to recognise the person next to me. I'll value his dignity, or her dignity, and I have already valued mine. So when I valued mine and I value hers or his. Then there I'm sure there is no conflict between me and that person.[137]

Peace as a quiet, private, tranquil undisturbed state is a foreign concept for the survivors. Interdependence rather than independence marks a peaceful society. No one wanted to be left alone to muse over his or her misfortunes in solitude. When they suffered, they gathered.

'Bringing peace to the community', as Riek[138] called it, entails reaching out to those in need, giving a helping hand. Pubudu put it this way:

Peace is a... is like you now. When you see those with problems and can go to help them... you can help them to become good. Or if there is somebody looking... or in the community ... you can go and ask them what is the problem, and you can help them.[139]

With these words and throughout the interview, Pubudu implied that I, as the interviewer, should help him and others 'acquire peace' by helping them out with their material needs. This means that those who are financially able (the class in which I as a researcher was automatically placed) are seen to have the responsibility of meeting the needs of those who are not.[140]

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136 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
137 Interview with Samir, KRM22 on 8 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
138 Interview with Riek, KRM29 on 11 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
139 Interview with Pubudu, KRM22 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
140 As discussed in the section on 'Reflexivity' in Chapter 3, this was one of the issues I had to grapple with during my field research.

Even in terms of education, which the participants cited as a most important intervention, the idea of other-centredness and a community orientation recurs. In describing his attempts to solicit for the building of a library for the young people of his church community, Jerem for example, saw no value in anything that would benefit him only, as an individual, and said, 'My heart is for everyone and I think everyone could be assisted, not me alone …'[141]

The five stories of Atem, Fazila, Riek, Patrick and Grace that are presented in Chapter 4 well illustrate the value of relationships for the participants, in envisioning a future of peace. The five stories are presented as five journeys, which merge into one journey towards peace. For each of the five participants, the journey involves others, both in terms of assisting others and seeking support from them. Atem for instance assists others by being involved in leadership opportunities in his community, and sees peace as comprising of living in harmony with both his fellow refugees and the host community, the Turkana people who neighbour the camp. Atem says:

> *Here in Kakuma, we live together in peace, even with the host community, the Turkana. We live as good neighbours, brothers and sisters, and share water and food. I try to maintain peace with them, and with their leader, the DO (District Officer).[142]*

Fazila considers the opportunities she has received to further her education, including going for university studies in Canada, as an opportunity to reach out to others in her community and to facilitate peace. She hopes to go back to her country after her studies and contribute to the peacebuilding process.

Riek depends on the elders in his community for counsel and support in his role as the tribal leader of his community. He also seeks support from his friends and neighbours who are married, to help him fulfill his responsibilities as a leader. At the time of the interview, Riek was involved in reconciliation efforts between his tribe, the Nuer, and the Murle tribe who had clashed in the camp. He also hopes to be involved in peacebuilding processes back in South Sudan in the future.

 Patrick is similarly involved in the reconciliation efforts between his tribe the Murle, and the Nuer in the camp. He also sees his work as a livestock officer, in which he encourages the

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141 Interview with Jerem, KRM38 on 13 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
[142] Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

community to desist from cattle-raiding, a major source of conflict and violence between tribes in South Sudan. He depends on other members of the community for support in his roles. Similarly, Grace depends on her support group of fellow HIV positive colleagues and the counsellor for support, and seeks and values the company of her friends and neighbours who occasionally come to visit. She is also seen to reach out to others through her support of her deceased brother's family.

Peace as relationship also involves diversity. There are people from different nationalities in Kakuma, and as such, they have to interact with each other and learn to live with one another, as Samir explained in defining peace:

> *...now this camp is full of diversity… And wherever you move, apart from your home, once you get out of this gate, of this compound, I have to meet people from different points of the world. So there, when I meet a person of such kind, I have to abandon my own, or hide my own personality first and try to study his personality. After studying his personality, I'll now put my shoe or admit myself into his or hers. So he will surely find that I am concerned with his or her affairs… And he will also develop some liking for me. So we'll come to be together and have no grudges against each other. Which is already peace.*[143]

This interconnectedness that the participants described in their definitions of peace is indicative of Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' approach (Buber, 1922) discussed in Chapter 2, as the underlying philosophy of the discussion of the concept of peace in this study. Martin Buber sees 'I' as consisting of 'You' as well. In other words, we cannot conceive of a person in relation to himself or herself only – he or she ceases to be 'I' devoid of relationship. Buber's 'I-Thou' is a philosophy of intersubjectivity, which takes us beyond looking at an individual solely in reference to himself or herself, and also takes us beyond reference to an individual solely in the collective eyes of the community, whereby the life of the individual is subsumed in the life of the crowd (Gabriel, 1967, p. 42; Berry, 1985, p. 71). Buber rather envisioned a community in which individuals have essentially to do with one another, but at the same time the personal life of all is enriched and not diminished. The individual is not subsumed in the community, but rather, recognises his or her personhood by recognising the uniqueness and otherness of the other person – realising that one would never be able to use the terminology 'I' if there did not

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143 Interview with Samir, KRM22 on 8 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

exist a 'You' to contrast it with. Transcending this distinction between the life of an individual person and the life of the collective means going beyond thinking of people being together, working alongside one another, and rather people recognising that their very nature, their personhood, is embedded in the other person, which has transforming power, as Gabriel argues in discussing Buber's philosophy:

> In the midst of a collectivity, man is not *with* man or *alongside* man. The isolation is not surmounted, it is smothered as a sound may be drowned out by noise. … It is only when the individual recognises the other in his very otherness, as a human being other than himself, and when on this basis he effects a penetration to the other, that he can break the circle of his solitude in a specific, transforming encounter (Gabriel, 1967, p. 42).

This 'transforming encounter' is what we find in the composite character Talia, whose story is in the introduction to this study in Chapter 1, when she realises the fusion between herself and her supposed enemy and hands her shoes over to him.

Buber's 'I-Thou' philosophy resonates with the African philosophy of Ubuntu, which similarly conceives personhood in relation to others (Gade, 2013). Ubuntu is the essence of being human. The spirit of Ubuntu is captured for instance in Xhosa, one of South African's official languages, as *Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu* which translated into English is 'People are people through other people' (Chaplin, n.d). Though the South African idea of Ubuntu has received the most scholarly attention in relation to African ideas about peace as community, other scholars have recently focused on similar ideas from other parts of Africa (Opoku, 2014; Gebrewold, 2014; Sarr, 2014). In tracing the West African concept of peace for example, Opoku (2014, p. 418) points to the emphasis on community which is born of an awareness of the interdependence of people. With this regard, the West African proverb: 'The left hand washes the right and the right hand washes the left' (Opoku, 2014, p. 418) aptly captures this interconnectedness of people.

Gebrewold (2014, p. 428) similarly discusses the Eastern African perspective of peace from the vantage point of the Kambaata people of Ethiopia, who have a similar saying as the South African people: *Mannu manna ihanohu manninet*, which when translated into English means, 'A person becomes a person through fellow persons.' The word for peace in Kambaata language is *t'úmmu,* which is an all-encompassing word denoting goodness, wellness,

kindness, generosity, and justice. Gebrewold (2014, pp. 430-431) discusses the major ways of maintaining or creating peace which include greetings and feasts, which entail sharing in each other's joys and sorrows. 'To be means to be in the community and to be in the community to be in peace', Gebrewold (2014, p. 431) concludes. Similarly, in the Kiswahili language which is spoken in most parts of East and Central Africa, the word for greetings is *salamu,* derived from the Arabic word *salaam* meaning peace. The word is rich in implication of the importance of the welfare of the other person. Peace, thus, is seen as relationship.

Lederach conceptualised the essence of peacebuilding as lying in this interconnectedness of people, or what he calls a 'web of relationship' (Lederach, 2005, pp. 34-35). Understanding the dynamics and potentials of this web, and tapping into them, is seen as crucial to peacebuilding. Schirch (2004) and Jeong (2005), similarly identify the transformation of relationships as the core of peacebuilding.

The participants' identification of peace as chiefly comprised in relationships, and the main effect of their trauma as the damage to relationships, points to the symbiotic relationship that links the building of relationships with the healing of trauma. As Schirch (2004, pp. 46-47) points out, trauma healing is one of the key interrelated processes necessary for the building of relationships, along with transforming conflict and doing justice. Similarly, trauma healing depends on building relationships and reconnecting people (Herman, 1997; Schirch, 2004; Yoder, 2004; Jeong, 2005; Kantowitz & Riak, 2008; Staub et al, 2008; Gobodo-Madikizela, 2008). Gobodo-Madikizela (2008, p. 173) emphasises the value of forgiveness which she argues serves 'to re-animate the empathic sensibilities damaged by violence both between individuals and within communities.' In discussing the importance of relationships in recovery from trauma, Herman (1997, p. 133) argues:

> Recovery can take place only within the context of relationships; it cannot occur in isolation. In her renewed connections with other people, the survivor re-creates the psychological faculties that were damaged or deformed by the traumatic experience. The faculties include the basic capacities for trust, autonomy, initiative, competence, identity, and intimacy. Just as these capabilities are originally formed in relationships with other people, they must be reformed in such relationships.

A focus on relationships leads to the idea of a community orientation in relation to envisioning and working towards peace. Peacebuilding scholars point to the opportunities that exist in relationships, especially in terms of participatory approaches and community mobilization (Kantowitz & Riak, 2008; Leonhardt, 2001; Erasmus, 2001; Jeong, 2005; Anderson, 2001; Thiessen, 2011; Richmond, 2010), allowing for the tapping into the knowledge and resources of the community, and enhancing local ownership of the peacebuilding process. Kantowitz & Riak (2008, pp. 9-10) further note:

> Participatory approaches empower communities with decision-making capacity regarding their future, in this way giving individuals and communities agency and changing the dynamic of powerlessness and an orientation towards survival that may characterize traumatized communities.

Jeong (2005, p. 34) similarly agues for these participatory approaches, which he refers to as 'endogenous measures', locally owned approaches that originate from the people directly affected by the conflict. Jeong contrasts these measures with 'exogenous measures, which depend on initiatives prescribed, induced, or imposed externally or from the top' (Jeong, 2005, p. 34).

Chupp (2003) emphasises the power of local ownership of peacebuilding projects, nested in community mobilisation. He gives a case example of a group of villagers in the Usulutan province of El Salvador who came together and formed a grassroots organization to overcome violence and teach peace. They initiated their own home-grown Culture of Peace Program, developing community circles for rediscovering nonviolent problem-solving methods in their culture, and eventually declared themselves a 'Local Zone of Peace' (Chupp, 2003, p. 96).

It appears that for the survivors, the connections with people, in the aftermath of conflict and violence, restores faith in humanity that may have been destroyed. If they can connect again to others, and work together, then there is hope for the future. The significance of the connections is made all the more poignant by the state of separation, disappearance and death of loved ones that the survivors are still working to live with.

According to the participants, relationships, built on the foundation of inner self-reflection, form the core of peace. This is as reflected in De Prewitt's (2012) diagram discussed in Chapter

2, depicting peace as a multilayered phenomenon, with the innermost core being inner peace, and the following layer, interpersonal peace. In defining peace as relationships, the survivors were acknowledging that relationships were the way they experienced peace or lack of it. They were, however, cognizant of outer factors that impacted on this experience and expression of peace, as emerges in the next section.

7.3 An Inclusive Peace: *'Peace is Everything'*

Some of the participants had a wider perception of peace and understood it to entail broader issues that impacted on their lives. This wider perception included considering and addressing the issues that had led to the destruction of peace in the first place, including political issues, structural inequalities, land and cattle disputes, and tribal enmities. Chriz articulated some of these issues in his definition of peace:

> *Peace is the absence of war and other conflicts… If there's no war and the other conflicts, it's like war may stop but other conflicts may continue, like leadership wrangles in the government and the other conflicts like cattle rustling in the country, and other conflicts.[144]*

Peace is seen to involve more than the absence of war, though the absence of war and armed conflict are its lowest common denominator (Akerlund, 2005). Absence of war in this case means not only the absence of physical violence, but psychological violence as well, including what Patrick called 'psychological conflict'[145], or war directed towards the other person's psyche, with the aim of demoralising them. In defining peace, Patrick explained it means:

> *... when people live a whole life, complete life, where there is no fighting, or hatred that we are talking about, or conflict physical or psychological conflict.[146]*

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144 Interview with Chriz, KRM27 on 10 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
145 It is important here to note that in many African languages, including the *Murle* dialect that Patrick speaks, the same word is used for both 'conflict' and 'war', hence Patrick, though he spoke in English in the interview, directly translated the word as conflict. In another instance, he referred to the same issue as 'psychological war, to injure you', as quoted in Chapter 5.
146 Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Patrick described the ways in which psychological war had been waged against his community by other tribes, who referred to his tribe as 'rebels' and 'worthless'.[147]

In her definition of peace, Fazila referred to the all-inclusiveness of peace in these words:

> *Peace means a lot. Peace is everything. Peace, I know in simpler terms it's the absence of war. So when there is peace, you know there is a lot of development. Development in terms of economy, you know, people living together, loving one another, so peace is actually very important. Because there will be no death, there will be education, you know people will be able to establish may be schools to study, and there will be a lot of development. So peace is actually good.[148]*

These all-inclusive aspects of peace are incorporated in the concept of positive peace, as defined by Galtung (1975; 1976, 1996; 2012) and Jeong (1999), involving the structural, cultural and political attributes. Galtung sees peace as very directly related to the fulfilment of the four classes of basic needs, namely survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs and freedom needs. He argues that the negation of survival needs would mean 'death and mortality', the absence of well-being needs would lead to 'misery and morbidity', the negation of identity needs leads to alienation, and the absence of freedom to repression (Galtung, 1996, p. 197). Jeong (1999, p. 25) similarly embraces this broad understanding of peace and sees the goals of positive peace as touching upon issues that influence the quality of life, including 'personal growth, freedom, social equality, economic equity, solidarity, autonomy and participation.' This understanding is in line with Patrick's definition of peace as living 'a whole life, complete life', and Fazila's description of peace as 'everything'.

Peace involves security. As Rita pointed out in her definition, peace meant she could feel safe, and not in danger of sudden violent attack, as she had experienced in South Kordofan before fleeing for safety in the camp:

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147 See a discussion of 'psychological war' in relation to dehumanisation and its effect in Chapter 5.
148 Interview with Fazila, KRF15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

Peace means to stay free in your home, without any fear, and without any attack... day or night, and without any bombing of antonovs and bombing of helicopters. That's what peace means.[149]

Security as it pertains to peace entails human security, comprising of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' (Hayes and Mason, 2013, pp. 4-5). This second aspect of peace comprises the basic necessities of food, shelter, and health facilities. As discussed in Chapter 6, the provision of basic necessities comprised the main intervention the refugees said they received in the camp.

Related to security is the concept of freedom. In addition to freedom from want in terms of the basic necessities, this concept entails freedom from threat and any form of harassment. This is especially in relation to women who felt threatened and had faced sexual and domestic violence as a consequence of the conflict, as expressed by Joy, and discussed in Chapter 5:

Peace is the state of being secure. It's a process of being safe and secure from any kind of violence. Yeah. Any kind of violence. That includes… Like harassment, assault, threat.[150]

The breakdown of culture and the resultant erosion of cultural values and social cohesion had left many survivors vulnerable and insecure. They lacked the family and community support that had characterised their lives before displacement in the camp. Further, freedom entails being able to make choices and have control of one's own life, an aspect that is lacking in the refugee camp. As discussed in Chapter 5, the refugees' dependence on UNHCR disrupted the crucial dynamic of a sense of control over their lives. In defining peace therefore, Matida described it as a state of freedom, being able to 'do what you know'[151].

Another crucial aspect of positive peace is citizenship. The sense of lack of belonging is one of the major marks of the refugee experience. Many participants talked longingly about belonging to a country, and some talked nostalgically about their 'motherland', hoping to go

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149 Interview with Rita, KRF10 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
150 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
151 Interview with Matida, KRF12 on 4 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

back there some day. In defining peace, Zeneb contrasted the state of fear and uncertainty the South Sudanese refugees were in, with the citizenship Kenyans were enjoying:

> *Like now in Kenya, there is a positive peace, 'cause they are now well settled, and each and every one, each and every citizen believes they are in their country. But in Southern Sudan, I've seen we still fear.[152]*

Peace then is the sense of a home, a place, where the refugees can stay, without being sent away, where the law protects them and gives them some form of stability, as Paulo put it:

> *Peace is whereby people stay together. People like now in the camp, we can say that they have peace why, because they are there in their houses, and nothing can chase them away from there… no one can tell us, 'Now you move from this place, go!' There is peace. We can stay. That's what I understand.[153]*

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt (1994) talks about political citizenship as a major requirement of one's sense of humanness. If one does not belong to a political entity, he or she is lost as a human being. If there is no one to claim the person politically, then it is as though he or she does not exist. Without citizenship, the other aspects such as security, freedom and development do not hold. Arendt (1994, pp. 299-300) says of a person stripped of his or her citizenship:

> … it seems that a man who is nothing but a man has lost the very qualities which make it possible for other people to treat him as a fellow-man... the world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human.

Here, Arendt is pointing to the stark reality of things. Though we know a human being is of value in and of himself or herself, and we have seen how this value extends in relation to others, the reality of things is that politically, one still needs to belong somewhere, duly registered and officially recognised, in order to enjoy certain rights.

Reychler (2001, p. 12) refers to the all-encompassing concept of peace discussed in this section as 'sustainable peace', which he defines as:

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152 Interview with Zeneb, KRF04 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
153 Interview with Paulo, KRM07 on 3 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

…a situation characterised by the absence of physical violence, the elimination of unacceptable political, economic, and cultural forms of discrimination; a high level of internal and external legitimacy or support; self-sustainability, and propensity to enhance the constructive transformation of conflicts.

Other peace and peacebuilding scholars (Kantowitz & Riak, 2008; Schirch, 2004; Jeong, 2005 and Lund, 2001; Montiel, 2009) point to this all-embracing concept of peace and in particular emphasise the importance of human security, safety from direct, structural and cultural violence, and justice. Omeje (2013) points to this all-inclusiveness of peace in discussing the diversity and complexity of conflict in the African Great Lakes region.

This kind of peace requires a wide array of actors, working synergetically to ensure a holistic approach to peacebuilding that will comprehensively tackle the various aspects (Hart, 2008a; Jeong, 2005; Philpott, 2010; Culbertson, 2010), entailing what Lederach (1997, p. 20) refers to as 'the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships.'

While the factors described in this section may be considered the outer characteristics of peace, their presence or lack thereof is experienced and expressed in terms of the survivors' inner perceptions and relationships, as seen in the participants' descriptions, and discussed in the previous section on 'Building Relationships'. This points to the interconnectedness of inner and outer peace. In the next section we will explore how this inner and outer peace can be developed together as a 'real' peace that goes beyond the assumed or imagined peace discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

5.1 Creating Possibilities: *'I developed courage'*

This section discusses the possibilities of creating a real peace that exists in the participants' perceptions of peace and their experiences. These possibilities are seen in the participants' expressions of hope and courage, an integrated approach of interventions, and a creative approach to their experiences.

Hope and Courage

Some participants expressed hope despite what they had suffered back in South Sudan, on the journey to the camp, and in the camp. Atem for instance described how he was hopeful for a better life, despite his past experiences and present circumstances:

> *Yes I'm hopeful. On my side I'm hopeful because I tried. I lost all the parents, even my brothers and sisters... I forget the past. And now I'm starting the new life. Yes.[154]*

Joy explained that that she had developed 'the courage that I can do like any other person', and acted on this courage with the attitude that despite the circumstances surrounding her, a better life was possible. She said:

> *OK. Me I think life is not that very bad in the camp. 'Cause there is no way that you can be totally in a very bad situation without any help. We have a lot of services and structures that can help.[155]*

Other participants expressed faith and hope in God. They believe it is possible to make it in life, and that it is possible to find peace. Jean Paul expressed this faith by saying:

> *My hope here in the camp is, you know, everything is God, You don't know what God will make you to be. Because God knows what to do…[156]*

This expression of hope by the participants resonates with the discipline of paradoxical curiosity in Lederach's (2005) concept of the moral imagination discussed in Chapter 2. Paradoxical curiosity is the ability to 'rise above dualistic polarities' (Lederach, 2005, p. 36). It involves an appreciation and respect for the complexity of issues in the conflict context, and allowing for multiple and even contradictory social realities. The most common picture of the refugee, which exists as a result of the image constructed by the humanitarian industry (Butt, 2002; Humphrey, 2002a; Humphrey, 2002b) as discussed in Chapter 6, is one of a helpless, dependent individual in need of rescue. As seen in this hope and courage expressed by the

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154 Interview with Atem, KRM01 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
155 Interview with Joy, KRF46 on 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
156 Interview with Jean Paul, KRM40 on 15 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

survivors, and in the section on resilience in Chapter 6 however, a number of participants showed that they do not fit into the category of the helpless, dependent, suffering refugee who must be rescued. There is potential in these participants to rise above the conventional image of the suffering, helpless refugee as it were, and be productive

The hope and courage can further be seen as what Lederach (2005) describes as the willingness to take a risk, in his theory of the moral imagination. This involves stepping with courage into the unknown without having an assurance that things will turn out well. The faith in God and hope expressed by the participants is a risk in itself. 'Faith is the assurance of things hoped for; the certainty of things not seen', as the Bible says in Hebrews 11:1. The survivors, in their faith, take a risk by hoping for and believing in what they have not seen.

Despite what has happened, the losses experienced and destruction witnessed, one can still move on with life and hope for peace. In his book *Passion for Peace*, Stuart Rees (2003, pp. 39-41) underscores the importance of 'overcoming fatalism' and the possibility of rediscovering optimism even in the grimmest of situations. In discussing the risk that may be called for in imagining and acting towards the reality of peace, Audergon says:

> Considering all the violence in our world, it is natural to feel a sense of despair or hopelessness. But, can we dare to imagine taking responsibility for our history and future? …Can we find ways to include the tragedy and traumas of our personal and collective history into our hearts without repeating them? Can we imagine a world where we actively work with the history and conflicts from which we suffer, rather than fall into repeating them? (2008, pp. 261-262).

Audergon (2008) gives an example of a project in which she and her colleagues 'dared to dream' about transforming a most difficult situation, by bringing together Croats, Serbs and Muslims for the first time in Osijek, Croatia, to discuss ways of building a sustainable community in the aftermath of the war.

Again here, the theory of Appreciative Inquiry resonates with the idea of hope and courage expressed by the participants, and the risk involved. Liebler and Sampson (2003) view the inquiry as a journey into the unknown, and an imagining of the possible. They argue:

This journey involves improvisation and a certain amount of risk. It begins with a general vision of the direction and an idea of the type of trip you're embarking on, but leaves a lot of room for the unexpected to happen along the way (Liebler & Sampson, p. 56).

The 'general vision' is the assumed peace described in the first section, and the 'unexpected' are the possibilities presented in this section in relation to hope, courage and creativity.

Whitney et al (2003) embrace the idea of moving forward in courage and taking a risk in envisioning trauma healing for trauma survivors using the concept of Appreciative Inquiry. The risk entails 'remembering of strengths and capacities, a recollection or re-creation of dreams, and a reclaiming of identity in community'. Whitney et al (2003, pp. 49-50) tentatively propose a three-step process:

We wonder if there might be a three-step process for using Appreciative Inquiry in situations of violence, abuse, and trauma; first, *within groups* of trauma survivors as a way for them to discover and articulate their forgotten strengths and visions and to build confidence and courage to go forward in relation to the Other; second *between groups* in the conflict as a way for parties to meet safely to discuss both their experiences of suffering and loss and also their hopes and dreams for the future; and third, when the *parties together* conduct the process, including interviewing, envisioning, and designing a just and peaceful shared future.

Sider (2003, p. 287) takes this further, proposing the use of 'appreciative interviewing' as a specific tool for discovering and retrieving stories that expand the language of hope and enhance the pursuit of healing and growth for the survivors. This tool helps in identifying resources to transcend trauma. Sider argues:

In the field of trauma healing and recovery, the appreciative interview – the Discovery Phase of Appreciative Inquiry (AI) – can awaken and uncover positive healing forces. Appreciative interviewing involves the art and science of asking questions that strengthen people's capacities to tap into and heighten their positive potential (Cooperrider et al. 2000). If people move in the direction of the questions they ask and where they consistently focus attention, then … Questions employing a vocabulary of hope, on the other hand, can direct attention to the possibilities for healing and growth that exist in the midst of loss. This type of questioning begins to shine light on – to uncover or reveal – positive and restorative processes that exist but might not otherwise be seen (Sider, 2003, p. 293).

The five stories that emerged from the narrative inquiry section of the analysis (Chapters 3 and 4) attest to the potential that exists in asking questions that direct attention to the possibilities for recovery from trauma and restoration of capacities for engagement in productive activities, while acknowledging and appreciating the pain and desperation experienced by the survivors.

Education and Integration

As shown in Chapter 4 and discussed in Chapter 6, education was the single most quoted intervention by the refugees, next to the combined basic services of food, shelter, medication and security. In describing the power that education has to transform, Fazila, said:

> *... education has actually changed me personally. And so, you know, education is important because it will actually help you one day may be to be able to you know, be of some help to the problem, or try to solve the problem that people are experiencing,... may be try to stop the war, you know. Education is power. I think these people, most people are not educated, that's why they are just fighting.*[157]

Fazila thus connects the conflict and mass violence that has resulted in the survivors' displacement with lack of education. Patrick similarly makes this connection when he says:

> *I think one of the problems causing conflict is lack of education. So we want people who have already come here to get educated, so that when, maybe in future they go back, they will be able to solve their problems in a good way.*[158]

Education is thus seen by the participants as a gateway to peace. As such, it can be integrated with other interventions to help the survivors work through their traumatic experiences and be involved in building peace. Education for instance may be co-opted to help deal with the psychological aftermath of traumatic experiences (Staub et al, 2008). Staub and colleagues developed an educational approach to promote healing and reconciliation in Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide. The approach aimed to educate participants in understanding the effects of trauma and victimization and avenues of healing, discuss the roots of genocide,

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157 Interview with Fazila, KRM15 on 5 July 2013. See Appendix 1.
158 Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

understand basic psychological needs, and engage with the experience of the genocide and share stories with each other (Staub, et al, 2008, pp. 135-137).

This kind of integration can also be adapted to other interventions alongside education. The integration demonstrates a sensitivity to the survivors' differing realities. Vasilevska's (2014) four principles, which she derived from her study examining the role of agencies in supporting the settlement and resilience of refugees can be used to inform this integration. These include *complexity, decentrality, atypicality* and cultural *relativity*. *Complexity* entails adapting a holistic integrated approach and not a narrowly defined one in the interventions (Vasilevska, 2014, p. 169), as discussed above with regard to education integrating a focus on trauma healing.

Decentrality refers to aligning different services so that the various needs of the survivors are not met in isolation from each other, but rather together. A problem with shelter, for instance, may be interconnected with domestic violence and issues of health, as happened to be the case with Sara, one of the participants in the study. Sara had run to the camp reception centre seeking shelter, but it emerged that she was escaping domestic violence from her 'co-wife', had a dysfunctional relationship with her husband, and suffered mental health issues. Attention to her problem with shelter would entail sensitivity to her family situation and her mental health, including the progression and presentation of her symptoms which, as discussed in Chapter 6, appear to be a way of re-legitimising herself as a person of worth.

Atypicality involves going outside the box and taking a radical perspective which is oriented towards the survivor, not on the way something would be typically done (Vasilevska, 2014). This for instance may involve challenging the image of the refugee as a helpless person, incapable of offering support. For instance, asking the refugees to contribute towards helping someone else who needs support, or to support the person offering the intervention in some way, goes against the typical way refugees are viewed and may challenge their own outlook of themselves as helpless. Zeneb, one of the participants of this research who was born and orphaned in the camp, became my self-appointed research assistant during my fieldwork in Kakuma, and in this role portrayed initiative and competence.

Cultural relativity entails acknowledging and being sensitive to different cultural values in the interventions (Vasilevska, 2014, p. 178). This may involve a sensitivity to the ways in which

the refugees' cultural values have been eroded as a consequence of the displacement to the camp. Joy for instance related how the women in her community had turned to brewing illicit beer as a result of the 'men's irresponsibility'. Traditionally in South Sudan, men are supposed to provide for their families, but in the camp, the UNHCR and its partnering agencies provide for all the refugees, rendering men's role impotent hence their supposed 'irresponsibility'. This sensitivity may lead to withholding judgement in response to the situation, as well as carefully considering the appropriateness of an intervention in this case, and thinking of alternative ways for men to express their 'responsibility'.

In its appreciation of the complexity of the survivors' experiences, this integration of services seeks to uphold the respect for all people as individuals, and protect human dignity (Lederach, 2005). It entails what the psychologist Carl Rogers referred to as 'Unconditional Positive Regard' (UPR) (Rogers, 1961, p. 283), which means accepting and respecting others as they are without judgement or evaluation.

Creativity

The creative approach to the participants' experience involves going beyond what is experienced or expressed, while speaking to it at the same time, as is the nature of poetry, fine art, music and creative writing (Lederach, 2005, p.38). For this reason, here I do not present what the participants said with regard to creativity, but rather draw inferences about how what they said suggests the need for such creativity building on the insights of peace scholars. One of the most poignant expressions that shows the need for this creativity is Okot's expression in describing his experience in the camp:

> *When there is no way, you just keep quiet.[159]*

The 'nothing' and 'just staying' themes discussed in Chapter 5, whereby we see the participants resigned to whatever may happen to them, also show the need for this approach, as does the empty distant look that many of the participants I interviewed wore.

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[159] Interview with Okot, KRM03 on 2 July 2013. See Appendix 1.

The phrase 'going beyond what is experienced' is apt here because the experiences of some of the survivors in this study seem inconceivable and may not be readily and literally expressible. In her book *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*, Lisa Schirch (2005) discusses the power of ritual and symbolic acts in transforming relationships in situations of conflict and violence. She points out that since symbols communicate indirectly, they are able to communicate a message with more than one interpretation. Symbols and rituals help people to communicate 'complex, difficult, ambiguous, and dissonant messages through symbols, senses, physical actions, and emotions' and to 'reframe problems so that people in conflict are more able to find a mutually satisfying way of addressing their human needs' (Schirch, 2005, p. 61). Rituals and symbols are part of life, and as such, can naturally be harnessed to speak to the crucial process of peacebuilding. Van der Merwe and Vienings (2001, p. 344) also point to the value of rituals in dealing with collective traumas, for example rituals helping communities to deal with the past through remembering people who have died and the loss the community has suffered.

Williams (2001, p. 492) considers the use of humour as a creative means of dealing with extreme situations such as war and conflict as 'it reveals the twistedness of the situation, and in so doing upholds the human capacity to understand and survive even the incomprehensible.' Humour helps to facilitate the adaptation to a difficult situation, helps to displace and channel other emotions such as anger and despair which if allowed would enhance the survivor's vulnerability, helps to socialize and reassert one's humanity in the face of the inhuman, and helps to convey the truth safely (Williams, 2001, pp. 492-494).

In discussing the use of the arts in peacebuilding, Lederach (2003, p. 122) points out

> The single greatest challenge facing positive approaches to peacebuilding is found in the paradox of how people in an ongoing violent conflict can develop unexpected creative action, while living in the grips of genuine tragedy, deep injustice, oppression, and trauma.

Ayindo (2008, p. 185) similarly argues that the 'arts approaches to peace' have contributed to the depth of learning that is essential in response to the deep pain and trauma experienced in situations of conflict and mass violence where intervention requires more holistic approaches. Arts are part of everyday life and 'bear potential to fully challenge our imagination in search for creative, viable and sustainable alternatives' (Ayindo, 2008, p. 186). They are of particularly crucial importance in times of pain when approaches that go beyond conventional language

may be called for (Scarry, 1985; Humphrey, 2002a; Hastrup, 2003). Scarry (1985, p. 232) argues:

> Physical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned.

As Hastrup (2003, p. 312) argues, destruction of language easily leads to destruction of the subject which language is attempting to capture, and hence the need to employ the arts to reinstate meaning into the experiences of the survivors. This reinstating of meaning leads to a sense of purpose and forms part of recovery from trauma.

Not only are some of the experiences inexpressible, they also render work and other activities difficult, if not impossible. As earlier discussed, the traumatic experiences tend to sap the energies of the survivors and leave them in no state to engage in work-related experience (Gasana, 2008; Maynard, 1997; Kantowitz & Riak, 2008). The creative act could help restore the vital energies to enable the survivors to engage in meaningful activities.

The culture of the South Sudanese people that is rich in dance, music, poetry and drama has been co-opted in some instances to help develop ways that can be used to express the experiences of the survivors. Omollo (2008) discusses the transformative potential of stage drama and artistic dance, as exemplified by a project organised by the Amani Peoples Theatre (APT) in Kakuma. Regarding the power of theatre, Omollo (2008, p. 11) argues:

> Theatre offers the opportunity to dramatize possibilities where none existed before. It offers a space in which to try alternative ideas for resolving conflict and to jar ourselves and others loose from the spell of structural imbalances, breaking the action/reaction cycle so typical of protracted conflicts. It offers a space for exposing the offending scripts of violence and structural domination and then the ability to rewrite those scripts, enacting a drama that replaces the existing conflicts with a formula that is more human and just. In this sense, theatre becomes an active process of revision and re-enactment of the systemic structure of life.

In 'exposing the offending scripts' and the rewriting of desired scripts lies the power of transformation and the possibility of moving from an assumption of peace to a real peace..

As Schirch (2005, p. 52) points out, if a community already has ritual resources for peace within its traditions, then it makes sense for peacebuilders to help the community to further develop these resources for itself. The option to co-opt culture in the creativity discipline creates many opportunities to remould relationships and create community consensus (Senehi & Byrne, 2011, p. 399). The Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation (TPO), an international organisation working with South Sudanese refugees in Northern Uganda since 1994 (Baron, 2002), is an example of co-option of culture in peacebuilding. The TPO seeks to offer culturally sensitive psychosocial and mental health services to the refugees. It aims to not only assist individuals, families and groups cope with crisis situations, but develop long-term, self-sustainable, community-based ways of coping. It draws from the South Sudanese culture through understanding and contextualising traditional practices related to mental health issues, training and utilising South Sudanese psychosocial counsellors, and working with traditional South Sudanese healers.

The creative approach rests on one of the key assumptions of peacebuilding, that conflict is not necessarily negative, but possesses a creative force that can be tapped for positive outcomes through the exploration of new options (Abu-Nimer, 2003). As with imagining peace, the theory and practice of Appreciative Inquiry also speaks to the notion of creativity, especially in regard to the constructionist and poetic principles (Liebler & Sampson, 2003). The constructionist principle of AI holds that 'we create what we can imagine', and 'we collectively make meaning of our world based on our habits, traditions, teachings, and how we view our very identity' (Liebler & Sampson, 2003, p. 58). The poetic principle holds that 'a people's past, present, and future are endless sources of learning, inspiration, interpretation, and possibility' (Liebler & Sampson, 2003, p.59). The creative discipline thus takes us beyond the impossible, the imagined, to the possible.

In strengthening their hope and courage, respecting the complexity of their experiences, reconstructing their visions and dreams, and in envisioning and dreaming a peaceful future, the survivors might be helped to fill the 'nothing' void, remove the 'dark stone in the stomach', and address the deep 'pain' inside discussed in the first section of this chapter and in Chapter 5 of this thesis, enhancing the possibility of a 'real' peace.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the participants' definitions of peace and explored the possibilities of peacebuilding that exist in their perceptions and expressions of peace and the interventions they receive. In the first section, on considering the perception of peace as an assumed state for many of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, and the various ways this 'assumed peace' is experienced by different participants, it is acknowledged that there is potential value that exists in this assumed state of peace, insofar as it translates into an imagination of peace as the participants would desire it.

Relationships emerge as the core of peacebuilding, as defined and discussed by the participants, in the second section. The five stories presented in Chapter 4, along with excerpts from other participants' interview responses, show the value of relationships with regard to peace. Revisiting Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' concept as the underlying philosophy of the understanding of peace in this research, the concept of Ubuntu, and other perspectives of peace in Africa also underscore the centrality of relationships in conceptualising peace. Further, a connection between relationships and the recovery from trauma, as well as the potential of peacebuilding that exists in the interconnectedness of people, emerges.

Thirdly, the all-inclusive nature of peace as presented by some participants, which entails safety from direct, structural and cultural violence, human security, and freedom is revealed. These aspects resonate with Galtung's (1975; 1976, 1996; 2012) concept of positive peace. This all-inclusiveness of peace highlights the need for an application of a holistic approach to peacebuilding that can comprehensively tackle the different aspects of both inner and outer peace.

Finally, in considering the possibilities of building a real peace that may exist in the participants' experiences, perceptions and interventions, we find opportunities to go beyond the expected, the impossible, and the unknown, that lie in the hope and courage that the participants express, an appreciation of the complexity of their experiences, an integration of the interventions they receive, and a creative approach in responding to their experiences. Lederach's (2005) theory of the moral imagination, as well as the theory of Appreciative Inquiry and discussions by other peace scholars shed light on these possibilities.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

>Yet, today I call you to my riverside,
>If you will study war no more. Come,
>
>Clad in peace and I will sing the songs
>The Creator gave to me when I and the
>Tree and the stone were one…
>
>The River sang and sings on.
>
>- Maya Angelou, 'On the Pulse of the Morning', 1993

8.1 The Other Side of the River

In Talia's[160] next dream, she found she had finally crossed the river, and was standing at the edge on the other side! The journey across the river had not been easy. Her pursuer, and many others, old and young, from different sides of the warring tribes, had joined them in the safety boat. The journey took many days, and the waters were turbulent most of the time. On a few occasions, a crocodile reared its head near their boat threatening to attack, but they had concertedly struck the animal with sticks, poles, and oars, and sometimes used the very weapons they had used against one another on the other side of the river. They were all called upon to row the boat to safety, a number of them in turn, and they had to learn how to do it right and arrange appropriate schedules that worked for everyone. The owners of the boat could not provide enough food for everyone, and Talia and her companions had to share the little they had and take particular care for the oldest, the weakest and youngest. The owners of the boat were focused on getting the boat to the other side. They had to be right on schedule. Talia and her companions sang songs, told stories of their past experiences, and created new stories of what they imagined could be. Finally they got to the other side. Talia found herself standing on the edge of the river, looking ahead, at the expansive plain that spread out before her. This was not the end after all! She and her companions were only just beginning another journey…

This research sought to explore the trauma interventions for South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northwestern Kenya, and their link to peacebuilding. In doing this,

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[160] Talia is the composite character referred to in Chapter 1, representing the South Sudanese refugees that I interviewed in Kakuma Refugee Camp in July 2013.

the research examined the traumatic experiences of the South Sudanese refugees, the interventions they receive in Kakuma refugee camp, other ways of coping with traumatic experiences that the South Sudanese refugees used, and their perceptions of peace and possibilities for peacebuilding. The research sought to answer the question: How do trauma interventions for the South Sudanese in Kakuma Refugee Camp link to peacebuilding?

The necessity of this research was born out of the recognition that peacebuilding specifically focusing on the national realm, attempted through international intervention, and that seeks to strengthen national institutions, has not been very successful in achieving sustainable peace after conflict and mass violence. Rather, peacebuilding mechanisms geared towards sustainable peace need to be sensitive to the trauma the survivors of conflict and mass violence have gone through and the potential for peacebuilding that exists in their experiences, perceptions and interventions that they receive. Considering the case of South Sudan, which seceded from the larger Sudan on 9 July 2011, this need is seen to be all the more poignant. This is because South Sudan has endured over five decades of conflict and war, with the civilian populations suffering the brunt of the violence. The civilians continue to suffer the consequences of the violence, and experience the eruptions of new and related fighting, which may be as a result of unaddressed trauma. With each renewed fighting, the trauma experienced by the survivors is exacerbated as old psychological wounds are ripped open. Further, many of the civilian survivors are displaced in refugee camps, such as Kakuma, where they receive interventions from UNHCR and its partnering agencies, as they wait and hope for peace in their lives and in their country of origin.

The research sought to address both a practical gap that exists between the interventions the South Sudanese survivors of traumatic experiences receive and peacebuilding, and a theoretical gap in the research and literature on trauma-sensitivity and peacebuilding. For the practical gap, it seems the traumatic experiences of the survivors are one entity, the interventions they receive are another, and peace is yet another separate entity. There is a gap between them. As we see in Talia's story, the owners of the safety boat are *focused on getting the boat to the other side…on schedule,* the experiences of the occupants of the boat notwithstanding. This research sought to link these aspects, showing how a sensitivity to the survivors' traumatic experiences is important in providing or facilitating the interventions the survivors receive, in building sustainable peace.

In terms of the theoretical gap, this research reviewed some of the studies in the growing field of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) and its link to peacebuilding. The studies reviewed underscored the crucial role psychosocial interventions have played in building sustainable peace, and highlighted the gap that needed to be filled through concerted efforts by researchers. This gap is fivefold. The studies firstly highlighted the limited evidence base for what interventions needed to be included in the area of mental health and psychosocial support. Secondly, they identified the need for a theoretical base in considering the interventions for the survivors, to allow for more concrete peacebuilding outcomes. Thirdly they identified the need to hear the survivors' voices in identifying and implementing the interventions. Fourthly the need to identify creative and imaginative interventions emerged, and lastly the studies highlighted the need for sensitivity to the culture and the context of the survivors, in research and implementation of the interventions. This gap is seen to translate to the practical gap described above. My research has sought to contribute to filling this gap.

To explore the link between trauma interventions and peacebuilding, my research involved a qualitative inquiry using semi-structured interviews, in which I sought to capture the voices, emotions and actions of the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma, and to understand their experiences. I analysed the data firstly using the analytical procedure of grounded theory, following the steps of open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Straus & Corbin, 1998), with phenomenology as the underlying principle, and secondly, using the narrative inquiry analytic procedure (Frank, 1995, 2010).

This chapter, the conclusion, ties all the pieces of the journey together, integrating the various issues brought out in the thesis to form one whole. The following section of this chapter, the encounter, discusses the findings of the research with respect to the research question. It provides a synthesis of the arguments presented in the body of the thesis and relates them to the original question and objectives of the research. The arguments relate to the traumatic experiences of South Sudanese refugees (Chapter 5), the interventions received to cope with the traumatic experiences and other ways of coping used by the participants (Chapter 6), and reflections on peace and peacebuilding (Chapter 7).

The next section, the discovery, discusses the implications of the syntheses provided in the section on findings, for existing theories of peacebuilding. Here, I discuss the contribution that this research has made to the understanding of peacebuilding after mass violence. I

acknowledge the views of other scholars and researchers in the field, and show the place of my research in scholarship in the area of trauma-sensitivity and peacebuilding. This section also presents the policy implications of the findings of my research, based on the theoretical implications discussed. I discuss the ways in which my research could influence debate and practice of peacebuilding after mass violence.

The last section of this chapter draws from the foregoing sections, tracing the entire journey of the survivors of mass violence as discussed in this thesis, and points to the areas of further research, as identified in the process of this research. Whilst identifying the contribution of this research in the landscape of peacebuilding after mass violence, this last section signposts future journeys.

8.2 The Encounter

In tracing the journey of the South Sudanese survivors of conflict and mass violence from their country of origin to Kakuma refugee camp where they now reside, this research encountered the various ways in which the survivors experienced the consequences of the war, back in South Sudan, on their journey to the camp, and now in the camp. Of particular note is the pain of witnessing loved ones being tortured and killed, and the associated dehumanisation in the hands of the perpetrators, the separation from loved ones and resultant loneliness, and the loss of security that forced the survivors to flee for refuge in Kakuma. The long journey the survivors took seeking refuge, which was not uniform but rather tended to take divergent forms for different refugees, was also seen as a journey in search of the identity they lost in leaving their country of origin and being deprived of citizenship. This was seen in their desire to identify with the notion of 'The Lost Boys' who gained much acclaim from their story of having walked for very long distances in search of refuge, and a recognised and respected identity.

Within the camp, the refugees were found to continue to experience distressing circumstances, as disease and death continued to be a reality, as well as scarcity of provisions. In this respect, some of the survivors seemed to have lost all vitality of life and seemed to be drifting along, resigned to whatever may come their way. Dependency on UNHCR for all provisions, despondency attitudes, and a lack of agency ensued in these survivors. These, combined with the PTSD symptoms portrayed by some of the survivors in the form of intrusive memories of their past pain, torture and killing of loved ones, as well as avoidance of the happenings, made

it very difficult to envision the possibility of peacebuilding and the realisation of peace for the survivors. As Talia and her companions experienced in the dream … *the waters were turbulent most of the time … a crocodile reared its head near their boat threatening to attack …*

Further, the research encountered the gendered ways in which the participants of this study were impacted by the traumatic experiences, and how these gendered ways complicated the path to peacebuilding for the survivors. The threat and experience of rape for the women survivors in particular marked a significant meandering of their path to peace. UNHCR and its partnering agencies are not adequately able to protect the women survivors in the camp from the threat of rape. Further, the identity of these women survivors is subsumed in their label as refugee women, thus rendering them vulnerable and unable to express their other identities as they negotiate their path to peace. The interconnectedness of rape with conflict and mass violence further tends to treat rape in war and rape in peace as two separate entities, seemingly suggesting that rape in certain circumstances is not as atrocious a crime, as in others. Yet, rape at all times is a human rights violation aimed at degrading the victim's identity, dominating and dehumanising her. The threat and occurrence of rape in war mixes up with other traumas experienced by survivors of conflict and mass violence thus further complicating the terrain of the journey to peace.

This research also found that the disruption of the family systems as a result of death and separation of members of family units led to disorganisation and reorganisation of the traditional roles of different members of the family. Death in war had for instance resulted in high numbers of widows in the camp, who had to take up roles traditionally held by men, such as constructing houses for their families. Further, the dependency on UNHCR for food rations in the camp had disrupted the dynamic of men fending for their families, resulting in a feeling of uselessness that led some men to seek solace in illicit brew in the camp. As a consequence, more and more women had taken on the responsibility of taking care of their families in the camp, demonstrating a role reversal. The gendered effects are thus interwoven with the effects of the traumatic experiences on the culture of the South Sudanese, forming an overarching situation in which the survivors find themselves disoriented and unable to meet the challenges of peacebuilding.

The research examined the interventions the South Sudanese survivors of the conflict received in Kakuma to cope with their traumatic experiences, and found that interventions that are

trauma- and culture-sensitive, taking into consideration the complex and multifaceted ways in which the survivors experienced and responded to the traumatic events, assisted the survivors in recovery from trauma, prevention of a recurrence of violence, and helped facilitate peacebuilding. Trauma-sensitivity in the process of offering basic necessities such as food, shelter and health facilities in the camp entails a recognition that the basic necessities are important in recovery for the survivors not only at the physical level, but the psychological level as well. The manner in which the basic necessities are offered to the survivors is therefore of crucial importance and may serve to either accentuate the survivors' feelings of helplessness and eventual apathy, or may help to empower and encourage them on the path to peace.

In offering education, job and leadership opportunities for the South Sudanese survivors of mass violence in the camp, trauma-sensitivity involves taking into consideration the ways in which these opportunities serve to humanise where the survivors were dehumanised, rebuild connections where they were destroyed by violence and displacement, and restore a sense of belonging, meaning and purpose where these were shattered during the mass violence, thus facilitating recovery from trauma. This sensitivity involves a recognition of the social realities of the survivors, including the gendered ways in which they are affected in receiving the interventions. In offering counselling interventions, as discussed in Chapter 6, trauma-sensitivity entails adapting a community-oriented model that is sensitive to the culturally-embedded ways in which the South Sudanese refugees experience life. Of particular consideration in this model is the collective nature of trauma as experienced by the South Sudanese survivors. The impact of mass violence in South Sudan was experienced in relationships in families, communities, and the society at large. The culture of the people itself was a victim of the violence, leading to social fragmentation and a dysfunctional cultural system. The community's ability to engage in peacebuilding was destroyed. A community-oriented model of counselling becomes relevant in restoring this collective ability.

The research further found that interventions offered to the survivors in the camp should recognise and promote the capacity of the survivors to recover and be well on the path to peacebuilding. This capacity was found in some of the participants who portrayed a positive attitude, reliance on community support, a long term vision and mission, selflessness, faith in God, personal initiative and agency, and inner strength. These interconnected aspects denoted resilience in these participants who were able to withstand the negative consequences of their traumatic experiences, bounce back and demonstrate enthusiasm, commitment and

engagement in productive tasks, and thrive. Of particular relevance to the South Sudanese refugees is the concept of community resilience, which resonates with the community-oriented ways in which they experience life. Community resilience is understood to mean a community's capacity to withstand collective trauma, identify and mobilise its resources to cope with traumatic experiences and engage in positive outcomes, which include peacebuilding activities. In the dream, Talia and her companions had *concertedly struck the animal with sticks, poles, and oars, and sometimes used the very weapons they had used against one another on the other side of the river.*

A reflection on the participants' perceptions and definitions of peace was another key topic of this thesis. Some participants conceive of peace as an assumed state, meaning that it is nonexistent in reality, and its seeming appearance is devoid of substance. This peace has the characteristics of avoiding the real state of things and dwelling on the surface. It sometimes takes the form of the officially constructed peace, and manifests as peaceful co-existence amongst warring groups. The emptiness of this peace demonstrates the gap that needs to be filled in envisioning peace for the survivors of conflict and mass violence. This emptiness is reminiscent of the empty void experienced and expressed by some of the participants in relating their traumatic experiences. The emptiness however does not discourage the participants of this study from being part of this peace. An exploration of the assumed peace as described by the participants revealed that there is value in this type of peace, empty as it may seem, insofar as it translates into an imagination of what peace can look like, if it were real. As discussed in Chapter 7, an imagined peace can translate into a possible, real peace, if efforts are made to make the imagined concrete.

Advancing on the path to peace revealed the ineptness of isolation and the efficacy of relationships with others, for steady progress on the journey. Relationships were seen to be the core of peacebuilding. The stories most of the participants told about their experiences of trauma, the interventions they had received, and their perceptions of peace, Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' concept which is the underlying philosophy of the understanding of peace in this research, and the African perspectives of peace discussed, all underscored the centrality of relationships in understanding peace and implementing peacebuilding. Considering the culturally-embedded ways in which people experience reality, this centrality of relationships revealed the community-oriented ways in which the South Sudanese experienced their lives,

and consequently pointed to the appropriateness of community-oriented interventions to help the survivors work through their traumatic experiences.

A further exploration revealed the connection between relationships and the recovery from trauma. Recovery from trauma takes place in the context of relationships, as the survivor is helped to re-create the capacities of trust, initiative, competence and identity that were shattered during the traumatic event, through renewed connections with other people. This restoration of the survivors' previously shattered capacities was found to contribute to their ability to engage in peacebuilding activities, which correspondingly depend on relationships in terms of community mobilisation and participation, for their success.

It emerged that this journey towards understanding of the role of trauma-sensitivity in peacebuilding is a journey towards discovery of what entails 'a whole life, complete life' for the survivors, as Patrick[161], one of the participants in the research, remarked in defining peace. The research revealed that the various aspects of this 'complete life' for the survivors, which include security, citizenship, and freedom from direct, structural and cultural violence, are all intertwined with the traumas the survivors of conflict and mass violence experience. Thus, in considering interventions that are trauma-sensitive, addressing these aspects becomes essential. This calls for the application of a wide array of approaches to effectively address the various aspects, and points to the continuous nature of the path of discovery of what would work for the best interests of the survivors of conflict and mass violence. The exploratory journey continues.

The efforts and possibilities of making the imagined peace concrete were identified further in the participants' expressions of hope and courage, which entailed going beyond the conventional, the experienced and the known. On exploration of some of the participants' perceptions, taking steps to go beyond the conventional image of the vulnerable, dependent and helpless refugee revealed the resilient individual who believed that she could make it against all odds, overcome and prevail over her traumatic experiences, and emerge as an enthusiastic, committed and productive member of her community, ready to help others. This discovery presented a possibility of going beyond an imagined peace to a possible, real, peace.

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[161] Interview with Patrick, KRM43 on 15 and 16 July 2013.

This exploratory journey also involved taking a risk and stepping out into the unknown, and leaving room for the unexpected to happen along the way. The research found ways in which some participants had demonstrated this courage, through their faith and determination, and hope that things would turn out positive. The research found value in taking this risk and daring to imagine making a difference by embracing the traumas experienced and working with what has been suffered to craft a better, more peaceful future. Interventions that demonstrate and encourage taking this valuable risk are seen to be trauma-sensitive.

An appreciation of the complex and differentiated realities of the survivors, and adapting a holistic integrated approach in the interventions they receive was seen to have potential to facilitate sustainable peace. This is especially with regard to education, which participants considered one of the most important interventions they received in the camp. It was considered that other interventions such as a focus on trauma healing could be integrated with education. Aligning the interventions to the realities of the survivors was considered to be a demonstration of respect for the survivors as individuals, and to protect their human dignity.

Further, an adventurous turn in the exploration of these possibilities considered the potential for transformation that is achievable through the creative arts. The arts are seen to take the survivors, and all of us who are concerned, beyond what is experienced to what is desired, in this case peace. By employing symbolic acts and rituals, and drawing on the culture of the South Sudanese which is rich in dance, drama, music and poetry, interventions can go beyond what the survivors have experienced and expressed, reinstate meaning where it has been lost, dramatise possibilities where none seem apparent, and contribute to a transformation from an assumption to a reality of peace. *Talia and her companions sang songs, told stories of their past experiences, and created new stories of what they imagined could be.*

8.3 The Discovery

The discoveries made in this exploration of trauma interventions for survivors of conflict and mass violence, looking at South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma as a case in point, suggest the need to revisit the theoretical basis of the provision of these interventions. My research demonstrates, in particular, the importance of putting into detailed consideration *what* traumatic experiences the survivors have gone through, and *how* they have experienced them, in designing and providing interventions for the survivors. The scope of understanding these experiences, and the manner in which they are experienced, determine the extent to which the interventions provided for the survivors facilitate peacebuilding. A lack of sensitivity to the trauma experienced by the survivors and how they experience it leads to interventions that are at best removed, and at worst detrimental to the welfare of the survivors. I argue that in providing food and housing for the survivors for instance, there is need to be sensitive to the pain of torture and loss of loved ones the survivor may be going through, and the empty void he or she may be feeling inside. The various interventions should thus not be seen as compartmentalized, each working on its own to meet a particular need, but all functioning together to help the survivor towards experiencing peace.

 This argument is consistent with Hart's (2008a) conception of the 'Peacebuilding Wheel' discussed in Chapter 1. The wheel consists of 'tangible' elements such as food, shelter, infrastructure and peace agreements, and 'intangible' elements such as psychological and spiritual needs, and Hart argues that the tangible elements need to be seen to have psychological importance if they are to contribute to peacebuilding. My research demonstrates that trauma-sensitivity is necessary in attending to the tangible elements of the peacebuilding wheel, for peace to be sustainable.

Further, my argument is consistent with Yoder's (2013) concept of being trauma-informed in working with trauma survivors, which entails being cognizant of the multifaceted and culturally-embedded ways survivors are impacted by trauma, and the need to engage different approaches in addressing this trauma. My research goes beyond this theoretical recognition and demonstrates, through the participants in the research, how the survivors are impacted by the traumatic experiences in differentiated ways, and the relationship of the interventions they receive to their recovery from trauma and engagement in peacebuilding. This research adds to

the repertoire of other studies exploring the landscape of the link between mental health and psychosocial support services and peacebuilding.

My research disrupts the conventional image of the refugee. As argued by various authors in refugee studies and discussed in this thesis, the image of the refugee presented to the world is one of 'the suffering stranger' (Butt, 2002, p. 6), a person 'reduced to bare life' (Agamben, 1998, p. 171), the individual 'deprived of citizenship and dependent on the goodwill and moral responsibility of strangers' (Humphrey, 2002b, p. 118), 'helpless and vulnerable' (Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 153), and as a group, 'homogeneous, undifferentiated masses' (Harrell-Bond, 1999, p. 140). My research demonstrates that listening to the stories of the survivors, about their lives before coming to the camp, the traumatic experiences that led them to come to the camp, and their lives in the camp, reveals individuals who are beyond the label of 'refugee' placed on them, and whose lives take on diverse and deep meanings in other contexts besides the refugee context.

Sadly, their identities have been subsumed by this refugee label, which makes it difficult for them to express their other identities and complicates negotiating the challenges that they face. Their status as refugees requires of them to be suffering, deprived, helpless and vulnerable. Yet, my exploration of the ways the participants of the research coped with traumatic experiences revealed the resilience portrayed by some of them in their attitude, faith, community engagement, having a vision and taking personal initiative. This research shows that the ability to step beyond the conventional and the expected, and a willingness to take the risk to step into the unknown, reveals the potential for peacebuilding that the survivors have.

My research further demonstrated the symbiotic relationship between traumatic experiences of survivors of conflict and mass violence, recovery from trauma, peacebuilding and peace, and established relationships as the nexus, as shown in Figure 8.1 below:
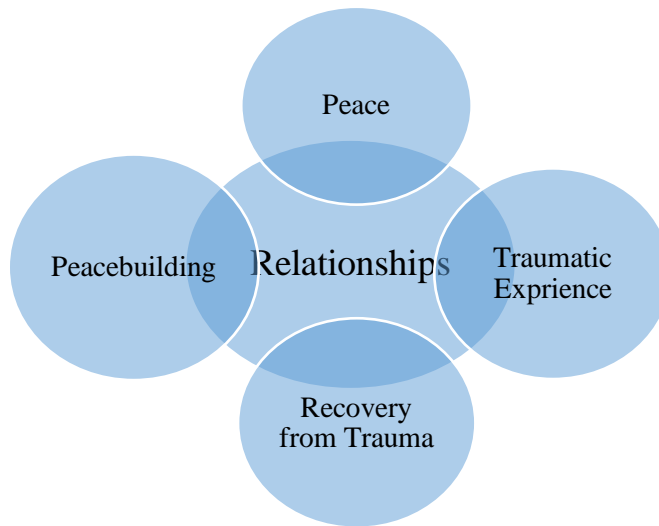
Figure 8.1: The Nexus: Relationships

From the stories they told during the interviews, it emerged that the survivors were living in a state of relative peace before violence erupted in their country of origin. One of the key traumatic experiences the participants of the research related, as discussed in Chapter 5, was the separation from loved ones, sometimes through death, and sometimes after members of families dispersed to different locations for safety. The disconnection with loved ones resulted in a sense of disorientation, thus underscoring the importance of relationships in their lives. To recover from this sense of disconnection and disorientation and begin to make meaning of their lives once again correspondingly depends on making renewed connections. This is seen in the participants' emphasis on community support in discussing the interventions to cope with traumatic experiences, and the relevance of a community-oriented model of intervention as discussed in Chapter 6. As this research has shown, the recovery from trauma, predominantly based on the reestablished connections, helps restore the survivors' capacities for productive activities, which include engagement in peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is similarly seen to rely heavily on the synergetic energy of relationships. Finally peace itself is perceived as relationship, as seen in the participants' expressions in defining peace, discussed in Chapter 7. My research thus demonstrates this centrality of relationships as the link between trauma and peacebuilding.

I have used experiential findings in this research to show that policies applied by groups and organisations working with survivors of conflict and mass violence could benefit from a specific attention to the survivors, their particular experiences of trauma, and their perceptions of what works best for them, in envisioning a future of peace. This research is based on the phenomenological understanding which emphasises the need to pay close attention to the phenomenon being studied as it is actually experienced, being true to it, and letting it show itself as much as possible (Heidegger, 1927/1996; Moran, 2000). In my research I sought to grasp the experiential world of the participants and how they were making sense of it. This revealed the complex and diverse ways the survivors are impacted by the traumatic events. This focus further revealed the type of interventions and manner of provision of these interventions need to be sensitive to these realities of the survivors.

Further, a focus on the survivors, letting them tell their story, allows for surprises and lets the survivors who go beyond the orthodox image of the vulnerable, helpless and dependent refugee to emerge. It also allows opportunity for the potential for peacebuilding that exists in these resilient survivors to be realised. Thus, groups and organisations working for peacebuilding in the context of mass violence could benefit from programs that emphasise trauma- awareness, encourage capacities for resilience in the survivors, engage the arts in peacebuilding to help go beyond what the survivors have experienced, underscore the centrality of relationships, and employ a variety of approaches to address the wide range of aspects that entail peace for the survivors.

8.4 Future Journeys

In exploring the gendered ways in which the participants of this study are impacted by the traumatic experiences, I found that there was a limited focus on the ways in which men in particular were impacted. I noted that many authors exploring the landscape of conflict and mass violence focused extensively on women (Pittaway & Pittaway, 2004; Baron et al 2003; Kaufman & Williams, 2010; Richters, 1998; Russel, 1995; Copelon, 1995), particularly on the topic of rape in war. While this focus is understandable, especially given the egregious nature of rape as a human rights violation both in war and in peace, an investigation of the ways men are particularly impacted and the ramifications of the findings to the work of peacebuilding after mass violence is worthwhile as a topic for future research. This investigation would not only serve to balance the apparent particular focus on how women are impacted, but would

also be an important contribution to the array of approaches necessary for addressing the various aspects of peace after mass violence.

Secondly, the investigation of the participants' literal journey from South Sudan to Kakuma highlighted the issue of the survivors' identity with an interesting allusion to the effect the journey had had on their feet and the story of The Lost Boys. In this way, their search for identity was implied, but not thoroughly explored or clearly expressed. Yet, the issue of identity was seen to have ramifications for the work of peacebuilding, as seen in participants who seemed to have taken up the identity of a resigned and helpless refugee who needs to be rescued, in contrast to those who exuded a more positive, enthusiastic view of themselves. It would be worthwhile to investigate in more detail, in further research, this search for and formation of the survivors' identity.

Related to the topic of identity is the overarching concern of the gap that exists between the survivors of mass violence (the helped), and the interveners (the helpers). This research has shown that this yawning gap continues to threaten the possibilities of envisioning and realising a peace for the survivors, insofar as the 'Us' versus 'Them' mentality prevails. This gap allows for the perception of the realities of the survivors as removed from and unidentifiable with the realities of those offering the interventions, and as such it seems the two groups are operating on two different sides of humanity, rather than on one which they share in actual sense. This gap is particularly visible when one considers the existence and expansion of the humanitarian industry, which seems to thrive on the presence and upsurge of victims of violence. Beyond revealing the existence of this gap and some of the ramifications it has for peacebuilding, this research did not address how this gap can be alleviated. Further research can investigate the nature of this gap, and explore ways of closing it, to allow for deeper possibilities of peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding mechanisms aimed at the macro-level and focusing on the economic, political and security structures while paying little or no attention to the micro-level psychosocial approaches have proven to be inadequate in situations of conflict and mass violence and peace has remained elusive for survivors of mass violence, as the case of South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma demonstrates. This inadequacy has highlighted the need to shift focus and explore mechanisms that pay more attention to the people most directly affected by the violence. This shift is particularly notable in the growing field of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support

223

(MHPSS) and its link to peacebuilding. With this regard, this research has explored the interventions that the South Sudanese refugees in Kakuma receive, and the link of these interventions to peacebuilding. The research has identified trauma-sensitivity as a significant element in the interventions, and demonstrated how trauma-sensitivity in the interventions the survivors receive supports peacebuilding. This sensitivity entails taking into consideration the complex and multifaceted ways in which the survivors experience and respond to the traumatic events, encouraging capacities for resilience in the survivors, engaging the creative arts, and emphasising the centrality of relationships. In this way, this research contributes to the identification of the various pieces of the puzzle that are needed for building sustainable peace after mass violence. There are more pieces to the puzzle. A new journey of exploration is called for. As Talia observed when she got to the other side of the river, looked ahead and saw the expansive plain spreading out before her, *this was not the end after all! She and her companions were only just beginning another journey…*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

S/ no.	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
1.	KRM01	Atem	M	Dinka	42	21 years	Community leader. Married, with four children. Had gone back to South Sudan in 1999 to participate in the war and came back to the camp in 2005. Incentive worker with IRC. Was among 'The Lost Boys'.	2 July 2013
2.	KRM02	Abit	M	Dinka	35	21 years	Working as a volunteer in peacebuilding in the camp. Was sponsored by someone in Texas USA to go back to school from 2003 to 2006. Was among 'The Lost Boys'.	2 July 2013
3.	KRM03	Okot	M	Dinka	33	21 years	Was teaching in a Special Needs nursery school in the camp but was retrenched in 2011. Doing a Laboratory course in the Camp hospital. Was among 'The Lost Boys'.	2 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
4.	KRF04	Zeneb	F	Dinka	20	20 years	Born in the camp. Father went back to South Sudan in 1996 and was short dead. Moved to Nairobi with mother in 2003 to attend school. Mother died in 2010 as a result of wounds sustained in the post-election violence in Kenya in 2008. Working as an incentive case worker with Peacebuilding unit of LWF	3 July 2013
5.	KRF05	Juliet	F	Dinka	23	21 years	Came to the camp with mother after they were attacked by a neighbouring tribe and the father was shot dead back in South Sudan. Went back to South Sudan in 2007 but came back to the camp after receiving no help there. Husband died in an accident. Lives with her two children, mother and sister.	3 July 2013
6.	KRF06	Amuka	F	Dinka	35	14 years	Walked to Kakuma, escaping both the war in South Sudan and an abusive husband. Married again in the camp and husband died. Lives with her two children in the camp.	3 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
7.	KRM07	Paulo	M	Dinka	19	10 years	Went back to South Sudan in 2007 and came back to the camp in 2010. No parents. Living with and taking care of little brother and sister and an old relative.	3 July 2013
8.	KRF08	Sara	F	Nuer	30	1 year	Was married as a fourth wife back in South Sudan. Living with one of the co-wives in the camp. Had run to the Reception Centre seeking shelter as a result of mistreatment from co-wife. Has one child and is pregnant. Is epileptic.	4 July 2013
9.	KRM09	Kerieme	M	Nuba	20	1 month	At the Reception Centre waiting to be settled in the Camp. Came all alone to Kakuma from Yida IDP camp and does not know where other family members are.	4 July 2013
10.	KRF10	Rita	F	Nuba	29	1 month	Came to the camp as a result of war in South Kordofan. Father was killed and family dispersed. She does not know where her husband is. Living with her three year-old son, and is pregnant.	4 July 2013

S/ No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
11.	KRM11	Isaac	M	Nuba	28	11 months	Family displaced in South Kordofan. Does not know where they are. Came to Kakuma wanting to study.	4 July 2013
12.	KRF12	Matida	F	Nuba	28	1 month	Escaped the bombing in South Kordofan. Lost three family members. Came to the camp with three of her children, three of her sister's children, and one of her brother's children. Does not know where her husband is.	4 July 2013
13.	KRM13	Tahir	M	Nuba	25	1 month	Escaped war in South Kordofan. Family members were killed.	4 July 2013
14.	KRM14	Clinton	M	Nuba	21	13 years	Fled war in South Kordofan and went back in 2009. Father died and mother sent him back to the camp to study.	4 July 2013
15.	KRF15	Fazila	F	Nuba	21	14 years	Family escaped due to the war between South Sudan and Arabs in 1999. Came to the camp with step-mother and two siblings. Father an SPLA. Mother joined them in the camp in 2012. Has won scholarship and is preparing to go to University in Canada in August.	5 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
16.	KRF16	Hiba	F	Nuer	30	2 months	Fled home in South Sudan when unknown people attacked and her husband and others were killed. Is in the camp with three children aged seven, three and one. The youngest two were running a very high fever at the time of the interview.	5 July 2013
17.	KRM17	Pubudu	M	Nuer	20	4 years	Came to the camp when uniformed people attacked their village and family dispersed. Does not know where family members are.	5 July 2013
18.	KRF18	Nafy	F	Dinka	19	19 years	Born in Kakuma. Family escaped war between the South and the North. Father was killed, mother was married (inherited) by father's brother. Has just completed secondary education in Nakuru, Kenya, through sponsorship. Wants to train to be a journalist.	5 July 2013
19.	KRM19	Deng	M	Dinka	21	9 years	Came to the camp as a result of intertribal war in South Sudan. Parents living in South Sudan. Completed high school in the camp in 2012.	8 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
20.	KRM20	Francis	M	Dinka	54	21 years	Came to the camp as a result of intertribal war between the Nuer and the Dinka. Lives with wife and seven children. Works in the Water department in the camp.	8 July 2013
21.	KRM21	Bol	M	Dinka	32	2 months	Came as a result of insecurity. His father was accused of killing someone, and he as a son was to suffer the consequences.	8 July 2013
22.	KRM22	Samir	M	Nuba	27	13 years	Escaped war in South Kordofan in 2000. Father fighting in the war. Went back home in 2009 but came back to the camp to continue with education. Has received counselling help and training from JRS. Community leader.	8 July 2013
23.	KRF23	Minoo	F	Nuba	23	14 years	Came to camp with parents due to war in South Kordofan. Mother died in 2003 during delivery. Is pregnant. Working as a Reproductive Health Instructor in primary schools in the camp.	8 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
24.	KRF24	Rachel	F	Nuer	29	3 months	Her husband was an SPLA soldier and was killed in the war in South Sudan. Was threatened with wife inheritance by the brother of her the husband, who also abused her. Escaped the abuse. Has five children but living with three in the camp, while two are with her father in South Sudan. Still suffering pain from wounds sustained during delivery, and fear of her husband's brother. Can speak seven South Sudanese languages and helps camp officials with interpretation.	9 July 2013
25.	KRF25	Joyce	F	Dinka	40	4 months	Her village was attacked by the Nuer who came cattle raiding and her husband, father and mother were shot dead. Came with four children. Two children are still missing.	9 July 2013
26.	KRM26	Jacob	M	Dinka	30	21 years	Parents were killed in the war in South Sudan. Was among 'The Lost Boys'.	9 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
27.	KRM27	Chriz	M	Nuba	23	7 years	Fled insecurity in South Kordofan. Left family members there. Came to the camp to pursue an education. Completed high school in 2011 and is teaching at Kakuma secondary school.	10 July 2013
28.	KRM28	Suleyman	M	Nuba	27	4 years	Brother to Chriz above. Fled discrimination in South Kordofan and joined his brother in the camp. Gave a brief history of the different civil wars and peace attempts between the South and the North. Has received counselling services and training from JRS.	10 July 2013
29.	KRM29	Riek	M	Nuer	27	8 years	Escaped due to insecurity after his parents, fiancée and unborn child died. Has taken advantage of different education opportunities in the camp. Works as a community leader. Involved in reconciliation efforts between the Nuer and the Murle tribes in the camp.	11 July 2013
30.	KRF30	Anna	F	Dinka	32	2 years	Escaped South Sudan when her village was attacked by the Murle and her daughter and other family members were killed. Living with five children of her relatives who were killed.	11 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
31.	KRF31	Rebecca	F	Dinka	37	2 years	Fled insecurity in South Sudan. Husband and daughter shot by warring family. First child disappeared.	11 July 2013
32.	KRF32	Akech	F	Dinka	51	14 years	Her husband who was an SPLA soldier was shot and died during the war in Abyei. She was assisted by the government and given a cleaner's job, but had to escape mistreatment of her brother-in-law, who also killed her daughter. Came to the camp with five children.	11 July 2013
33.	KRM33	Sam	M	Dinka	21	2 months	Escaped South Sudan when his village was attacked by the Murle, his parents and nephew were killed, and his sister disappeared.	11 July 2013
34.	KRF34	Awit	F	Dinka	51	1 and ½ years	Fled home when her village was attacked by the Murle who came cattle raiding. Family dispersed. Escaped with three sons and four granddaughters.	

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
35.	KRM35	Daudi	M	Nuba	52	1 month	Pastor of Nuban Community Church in the camp. Fled the war in South Kordofan in which the Arabs bombed the villages, destroyed all property and people were killed. Brought his wife, nine children and two of his brother's children in 2012, and joined them a month ago.	13 July 2013
36.	KRF36	Miriam	F	Nuba	20	9 years	Fled South Kordofan when Arabs (North Sudanese) attacked and her father, uncle and other relatives were killed. Watched the Arabs kill her father and cut up his flesh into pieces. Other relatives joined her in 2013.	13 July 2013
37.	KRF37	Amal	F	Nuba	22	7 years	Came to the camp with family seeking safety due to the bombing and killing back home. Has a six month old son.	13 July 2013
38.	KRM38	Jerem	M	Nuba	50	7 years	Father to Amal above. Pastor of Nuban Community Church. Father died when he was seven days old. Disowned by family at 17 due to converting from Islam to Christianity. Fled from the Arabs in Sudan. Makes traditional beds for sale in the camp to raise some money	13 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
39.	KRF39	Esther	F	Nuer	39	14 years	Fled from war between the North and the South. Husband was killed and she was separated from four of her five children. Later reunited with them in the camp. Working in the Reconciliation committee between the Nuer and the Murle in the camp	15 July 2013
40.	KRM40	Jean Paul	M	Nuer	23	10 years	Fled South Sudan when unknown people attacked his village to raid cattle and every one dispersed. He was shot in the leg. Eventually learnt his parents were killed when he was reunited with his brother in 2012. Also taking care of five other children who came along with his younger brother. Does not know the whereabouts of seven of his siblings. Working in the Reconciliation committee for the Murle and the Nuer tribes in the camp.	15 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
41.	KRF41	Susan	F	Murle	43	3 months	Escaped tribal and political conflict at home. The Nuer attacked her village to raid cattle, killed many people and chased others away. Her town was also attacked by SPLA soldiers. Came with three of her children and does not know the whereabouts of five of her children and her husband.	15 July 2013
42.	KRF42	Maria	F	Murle	41	5 months	Fled when the Nuer attacked and burned her village, and the SPLA soldiers also attacked. Lost two brothers in the war, but escaped with her husband and children. In the Reconciliation committee of the Nuer and the Murle in the camp.	15 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
43.	KRM43	Patrick	M	Murle	40	5 Months	The Nuer attacked his village and killed man people, his wife and children ran to the bush where his wife delivered their last child. SPLA soldiers attacked his villager, many people were killed and he sustained injuries. Worked as a Livestock officer. In the Reconciliation committee between the Murle and the Nuer in the camp.	15 to 16 July 2013
44.	KRF44	Dabor	F	Didinga	46	20 years	Escaped war between the North and the South. Parents and husband died in the war. Feared her children would be recruited as child soldiers and fled. Remarried in Kakuma, got two other children and second husband also died in the war when he went back to fight. Was working as a midwife in Kakuma hospital but lost her job in 1999.Cooks doughnuts to sell in the camp.	16 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
45.	KRM45	Toma	M	Didinga	23	20 years	Son to Dabor above. Father died in the war. Got a scholarship to attend Lenana school in Nairobi up to Form 3. Completed secondary school in the camp and is now working as a community mobiliser with Widle Trust. Married, with two children.	16 July 2013
46.	KRF46	Joy	F	Acholi	32	12 years	Fled civil war in South Sudan and came to camp with cousin. Mother joined her in 2003. Was unable to complete secondary education in the camp. Case worker with LWF Peacebuilding unit. Has two children and is expecting a third in a month's time. Separated from her husband.	16 July 2013
47.	KRF47	Chathuranjalee	F	Didinga	26	6 years	Fled war between the North and the South, in which her parents were killed. Living in the camp with husband who works in the camp hospital and two little children, one in preschool in the camp.	17 July 2013

S/No	Code	Pseudonym	M/F	Ethnic Group	Age	Duration of Stay in the Camp	Brief Details	Date of Interview
48.	KRF48	Grace	F	Acholi	40	14 years	Father and brother tortured and killed on being suspected to be traitors. Raped and forced into marriage by a soldier. Has given birth 14 times and only one child has survived. Also taking care of 10 of her deceased brothers' children. Was diagnosed HIV positive in the camp and resettlement process stalled. Cooks food for sale to supplement the ration in the camp.	17 July 2013
49.	KRF49	Ronda	F	Acholi	32	9 years	Fled from insecurity in South Sudan when husband was pursued for suspected foul play in the soldiers' barracks. Suspicions continued in the camp and she and her husband had to seek security from camp security officers several times after being threatened.	17 July 2013

APPENDIX 2: SUMMARY OF CODES FOR GROUNDED THEORY

CODE	SUB-GROUP AND PROPERTIES

Traumatic Experiences	A. Past war-related experiences
	    • Parents and other family members killed
	    • Insecurity
	    • Separation from family/disappearance of family members
	    • Displacement from home
	    • Witnessing death
	    • Domestic violence
	B. Current camp-related experiences
	i) Situational stress
	    • Long stay in the camp
	    • Disease and death in the camp
	    • No school fees
	    • Cultural practices
	    • Domestic violence
	    • Dryness of Kakuma
	    • 'Just staying': idleness
	ii) Emotional stress
	    • Uncertainty about what next
	    • Loneliness
	    • Memories of war
	    • Pain inside
	    • 'Nothing'
	C. Travel-related experiences
	    • Long walk fleeing attack
	    • 'lost boys' experience
	    • No food and water
	    • No rest

Interventions received to cope	A. Education
	    • Primary and secondary school
	    • Training
	B. Basic needs
	    • Ration card from UNHCR to provide food, shelter and medication
	    • Refugee status
	    • Security
	C. Agencies support:

	- Work - Leadership opportunities - Communication with family members back home - Happy with whatever is offered - Gender unit support for girls - Don't know D. Counselling - Some counselling from JRS - limited - Counselling from community elders - Psychiatric help for epileptic case - HIV/AIDS counselling and support - Interview by UNHCR
Interventions expected or desired	A. Education B. Psychological - Don't understand psychological help - Counselling C. Social - Services to occupy the youth - Social support D. Physical - A home - Health - Additional food - Resettlement - stability E. Abstract - Help from interviewer - Happy with whatever is offered - All what UN has promised - Don't know
Other ways of Coping	A. Attitude - Being positive - Make yourself strong - Being realistic - Being hopeful of a bright future - Defying circumstances - Passion for people in COO - Selfless – training others

	B. Faith/Religion
	    • Faith in God
	C. Take personal responsibility and initiative
	    • Work
	    • Start small business
	D. Community support

Definitions of Peace	A. Inner Peace
	    • Contented with self
	    • Self-respect
	    • Begins with self
	    • In the heart
	    • Forgetting wrong done
	    • Peace of mind
	    • Peace in the negative: 'inside is pain'
	B. Outward Peace
	    • Avoid hurting others
	    • Helping those in need
	    • Chatting together with neighbours and relatives
	    • Putting oneself in other people's shoes
	    • Being polite
	    • Educating others about peace
	    • Cooperation and understanding
	    • Staying as brothers and sisters
	    • Avoid each other and 'assume when wrong is done'
	    • Giving up one's turn at the water tap
	    • Show by example
	    • Think before response
	    • Harmony
	    • Showing love, affection, respect, unity and no hatred
	    • Intermarriage between warring tribes
	    • Having one common language
	
	C. Political Peace:
	    • Freedom from fighting
	    • Having one common language
	    • Freedom from fear

	- Security - More schools - Apply win-win method - Intermarriage between warring tribes - Economic development 'Peace is everything' - No war, 'hear no war' 'Just staying' - Total surrender - No conflict - Maintaining silence - No bombings of antonovs or helicopters - No corruption
Peacebuilding in South Sudan	A. Current state - Fighting and killing still going on - Images of peace: an umbrella that covers only the top, and not the sides; a logo only at the top - Cattle rustling - Fear and insecurity still there - South Sudan 'forever the same, whether there is peace or not' - Negative peace - Nowhere to stay - Peace only in words, not action - South Sudan 'not yet independent', though they received independence in 2011 - No UNHCR so no peace B. Causes of current state - Segregation of Arabs and Blacks - The president in South Sudan a dictator - Corruption, personal gratification, and tribalism of leaders C. Possibilities of Peacebuilding i) Political - Leaders of the country to come together - Involve Peace mediators - Reconciliation - Need for improvement of facilities

	ii) Education
	        • Peacebuilding research
	        • Educate people in South Sudan about peace
	        • Going back to South Sudan as Peace ambassadors
	iii) Community involvement

Hope for the future	A. Education
	        • Support in order to continue with studies
	        • Education for the children
	B. Personal
	        • Hope in hope
	        • To improve himself/herself
	        • Good health
	        • Doesn't know
	        • To go 'above': resettlement
	        • Help from interviewer
	C. Other-centred
	        • To help work for peace in COO
	        • Those suffering to get peace
	D. Hope in God
	        • Peace to come in its time.

APPENDIX 3: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT

Project Title
Trauma Interventions and Peacebuilding:
A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya

(1) What is the research about?

The research is about the services that refugees receive to address the experience of suffering
during and after the war in Sudan. The purpose is to find out what you experienced, what you feel
about these services, and how you think they have helped you. The research is also about what you
think these services might contribute to achieving peace in South Sudan.

(2) Who is carrying out the research?

The research is being conducted by Lydia Wanja Gitau, a Kenyan citizen and PhD candidate at the
Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia. It will form the basis for
Lydia's thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) under the supervision of Dr Wendy
Lambourne, Senior Lecturer and Academic Coordinator, Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies,
University of Sydney.

(3) What does the research involve?

245

The research involves finding out the experiences of South Sudanese at Kakuma refugee camp, and finding out what is happening in South Sudan to help achieve peace, and linking the two. Your participation involves an interview in which you will be asked questions about your experiences, your thoughts and feelings about what you went through leading to your coming to the camp, the services that you have received at the camp, and how you think receiving these services might assist in building peace in South Sudan.

(4) How much time will the interview take?

The time allocated for completing this interview will be approximately 45 minutes.

(5) Can I withdraw from the Study?

Your involvement in the research is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any stage without it affecting your rights or my responsibilities. We can discuss any concerns or questions you have about the research at any time during the process. You will be asked to sign a consent form to indicate you have agreed to participate and allow me to use your answers to my questions in this research.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?

The information that you provide will be confidential, and only the student researcher will have access to the answers you provide during the interview. The interview transcript will not have your name or any other identifying information on it. The interview tapes and transcribed information will be kept in a locked cabinet for seven years, before it is destroyed, as is required under University of Sydney policy. A number of refugees in the camp will be interviewed so no-one will know your individual responses.

(7) Will the research benefit me?

The research may benefit you directly because you may experience relief as you relate your experiences, and indirectly since it could contribute to finding out ways of building peace more effectively in South Sudan and other regions in conflict.

(8) Can I tell other people about the research?

You are allowed to tell other people about the research, but not to reveal the identity of any other participants in case they have requested confidentiality.

(9) What if I require further information?

When you have read this information, Lydia Wanja Gitau will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Lydia Wanja Gitau at +61478833893 or email: lgit9838@uni.sydney.edu.au

(10) What if I have a complaint or concerns?

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

(11) Local Contact Details:

Student Researcher: Lydia Gitau, Mobile Phone No. **+254721932005**

Admin. Assistant, LWF, Kakuma Refugee Camp, Mobile Phone No. **+254720246881**

This information sheet is for you to keep.

APPENDIX 4: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I….. give consent for my participation in the research project

TITLE: Trauma Intervention and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya.

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1.   The procedures required for the research and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I may have have been answered to my satisfaction.

2.   I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the research with the researcher/s.

3.   I understand that being in this research is completely voluntary – I am not under any obligation to consent.

4.   I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) or the University of Sydney. Moreover, if I disagree regarding the way questions are being asked I can decide to withdraw at any time.

5.   I understand that my involvement in the study is strictly confidential and no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

6.   I do/do not agree for this interview to be taped/recorded. (Please circle which)

7.   I understand that I can stop the interview at any time. If I do not wish to continue, the audio recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study.

Signed: ....

Name: ....

Date: ....

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

_____

ABN 15211513464

Mackie Building K01
University of Sydney
NSW 2006 Australia

Telephone +61 2 9036 9286
Facsimile   +61 2 9660 0862
wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au
http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict

Dr Wendy Lambourne
Senior Lecturer & Academic Coordinator

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

TITLE: **Trauma Intervention and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya**.

The researcher proposes to use semi-structured interviews in which questions asked will not necessarily follow a given fixed format but will generally follow the layout and content indicated below. Semi-structured interviews allow for the identification and follow-up of themes not necessarily originally anticipated in the study, but important for answering the research questions. There will be some primary questions asked and some follow-up questions if needed.

Questions to be asked to the South Sudanese refugees:

Question 1: Briefly relate to me the experiences that led to your coming to the camp.

Question 2: Please explain to me how these experiences have affected you.

Rationale for questions 1 & 2: These questions seek to help the researcher understand what the participant has experienced, and helps in correlating these experiences with the methods of coping used by the participants and the interventions provided at the camp.

Question 3: How did you cope with these experiences before coming to the camp?

Rationale: This question seeks to find out if the participants used any particular inner coping strategies or community-based mechanisms to cope during their experiences of the war, and also seeks to find out the relationship of these strategies to the interventions provided in the camp.

Question 4: What interventions have you received at the camp to help you cope with the experiences of war?

Rationale: This question seeks to find out what particular interventions have been employed at the camp to help the participants in dealing with trauma.

Question 5: What do you think about these interventions? Do you feel they have helped you and if so, how?

Rationale: The question seeks to get the refugees' thoughts and perceptions about the interventions and their impact.

Question 6: What does peace mean to you?

Rationale: The question seeks to find out the participants' understanding of peace. The researcher seeks to understand the participants' understanding of peace and its link to the interventions received at the camp.

Question 7: What do you think is needed for peacebuilding?

Question 8: Do you think you will go back to South Sudan? Why or why not?

Rationale: Question 7 and 8 question seek to establish the link between the participant's experiences,   the interventions received at the camp, and what is happening towards peacebuilding in South Sudan.

APPPENDIX 6: LETTER TO UNHCR

THE UNIVERSITY OF **SYDNEY**

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

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ABN 15211513464

Mackie Building K01
University of Sydney
NSW 2006 Australia

Telephone +61 2 9036 9286
Facsimile   +61 2 9660 0862
wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au
http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict

Dr Wendy Lambourne
Senior Lecturer & Academic Coordinator

UNHCR Country Representative in Kenya
P.O Box 43801 – 00100 GPO
Nairobi
Kenya

23 November 2012

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE. PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

I am writing to request permission to conduct research in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northern Kenya in June and July 2013. The research is part of my PhD under the supervision of Dr Wendy Lambourne at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia.

I am a Kenyan citizen and a counsellor at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) currently on study leave. I conducted field research for my Masters degree with genocide survivors in Rwanda, and my supervisor has extensive experience as a researcher in post-mass violence settings in Rwanda, Cambodia, East Timor and Sierra Leone. My associate supervisor, Dr Lucy Fiske, specialises in research with refugees.

My PhD research topic is "Trauma Interventions and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp". My interest in this topic arose from my previous participation in a trauma recovery program amongst South Sudanese refugees in Dadaab refugee camp. I am interested in finding out the refugees' experiences of trauma interventions

253

in Kakuma and how these might contribute to peacebuilding when the refugees return to their home country. My overall aim is to link trauma intervention to peacebuilding in conflict situations.

I am currently in the process of applying for ethics approval to conduct the research. In order to obtain ethics approval, I am required to obtain permission from the relevant authorities. A letter indicating your support would be highly appreciated.

I have attached a brief project description outlining the aims, significance and methodology. If you would like further information about this research, please feel free to email me on lgit9838@uni.sydney.edu.au, or my supervisor on wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au.

I look forward to hearing from you and thank you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Lydia Wanja Gitau   Dr Wendy Lambourne

APPENDIX 7: LETTER TO LWF

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

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ABN 15211513464

Mackie Building K01
University of Sydney
NSW 2006 Australia

Telephone +61 2 9036 9286
Facsimile   +61 2 9660 0862
wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au
http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict

Dr Wendy Lambourne
Senior Lecturer & Academic Coordinator

Lutheran World Federation
Department for World Service
P.O Box 40870-00100 GPO
Gitanga Road, Nairobi

16 November 2012

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE. PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

I am writing to request permission to conduct research in Kakuma Refugee Camp in Northern Kenya in June and July 2013, and for your assistance in recruiting participants for the research. The research is part of my PhD under the supervision of Dr Wendy Lambourne at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia.

I am a Kenyan citizen and a counsellor at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) currently on study leave. I conducted field research for my Masters degree with genocide survivors in Rwanda, and my supervisor has extensive experience as a researcher in post-mass violence settings in Rwanda, Cambodia, East Timor and Sierra Leone. My associate supervisor, Dr Lucy Fiske, specialises in research with refugees.

My PhD research topic is "Trauma Interventions and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp". My interest in this topic arose from my previous participation in a trauma recovery program amongst South Sudanese refugees in Dadaab refugee

camp. I am interested in finding out the refugees' experiences of trauma interventions in Kakuma and how these might contribute to peacebuilding when the refugees return to their home country. My overall aim is to link trauma intervention to peacebuilding in conflict situations.

I am currently in the process of applying for ethics approval to conduct the research. In order to obtain ethics approval, I am required to obtain permission from the relevant authorities. A letter indicating your support would be highly appreciated.

I have attached a brief project description outlining the aims, significance and methodology, as well as copies of the Participant Information Statement and the Consent Form. If you would like further information about this research, please feel free to email me on lgit9838@uni.sydney.edu.au, or my supervisor on wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au.

I look forward to hearing from you and thank you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Lydia Wanja Gitau   Dr Wendy Lambourne

APPENDIX 8: SAFETY PROTOCOL

THE UNIVERSITY OF **SYDNEY**

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

_____

ABN 15211513464

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wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au
http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict

Dr Wendy Lambourne
Senior Lecturer & Academic Coordinator

SAFETY PROTOCOL

TITLE: **Trauma Intervention and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya**.

- The student researcher has considered all possible risks in conducting this research project and the research supervisor considers that the safeguards provided in this safety protocol are sufficient to manage any safety risks.

- The researcher will discuss interview safety with her supervisor prior to travelling to Kenya.

- The researcher will take advice from the following local institutions regarding the safety of the planned research process: Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) Kenya, the UNHCR, and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF).

- The researcher will follow the UNHCR and LWF safety protocol and all other protocols in relation to the refugees within the camp.

- The researcher will provide the telephone number of the local contact person on arrival in the country of research, Kenya.

- The researcher has confirmed there is mobile phone coverage in Kakuma Refugee camp where the research will take place. She will have access to both local and international subscriber and will have her mobile phone at all times.

- The researcher will provide a schedule to her supervisor of the date, time and place of all interviews. The researcher will confirm the safe completion of each interview by mobile telephone with her local contact person, the LWF staff. She will maintain weekly contact with her Sydney University supervisor, Dr Wendy Lambourne, by email, phone, or SMS.
- The researcher will conduct the interviews in safe, public places within Kakuma Refugee camp. Examples of these public places are the LWF interview offices.
- There is a current travel warning from the Department of Foreign affairs and Trade (DFAT) for Australians travelling to Kenya.
  The student researcher and the supervisor have considered this warning and determined that it is acceptable to travel due to the following reasons:
    - The student researcher is a Kenyan, and the risk highlighted is for Westerners who are the main target of attacks in the specified places.
    - The civil unrest noted is as a result of the General Elections on March 4 2013. The proposed research is due to take place in June – July 2013.
    - The student researcher has extensive networks in Kenya and is able to negotiate her way around the country without difficulty.
    - The student researcher will be supported by LWF and UNHCR who ran the camp.
- The student researcher does not require a visa to travel to Kenya because it is her home country.
- The student researcher is a Kenyan and has lived and worked in Kenya her entire life until March 2012 when she came to Sydney. She is thoroughly familiar with the Kenyan local language, culture and customs. She has confirmed that should she need an interpreter to communicate with South Sudanese refugees who can speak neither Kiswahili nor English, a LWF staff will facilitate with provision of an interpreter.
- The student researcher undertakes to follow the University of Sydney guidelines on "*Fieldwork Outside Australia – A Supplement to Fieldwork Safety Guidelines*".
- This safety protocol has been agreed and accepted by the student researcher and the supervisor.

Student Researcher: Lydia Wanja Gitau... ....

<div align="center">Signature   Date</div>

Supervisor: Dr Wendy Lambourne   ....

<div align="center">Signature   Date</div>

APPENDIX 9: HREC APPROVAL LETTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Research Integrity
Human Research Ethics Committee

Tuesday, 19 March 2013

Trauma Intervention and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma
Refugee Camp, Kenya
Dr Wendy Lambourne
Email: wendy.lambourne@sydney.edu.au

Dear Wendy

I am pleased to inform you that the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) has approved your project entitled "**Trauma Intervention and Peacebuilding: A Case Study of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya**".

Details of the approval are as follows:

Project No.:   2012/2858

Approval Date: 18 March 2013

First Annual Report Due: 18 March 2014

Authorised Personnel: Lambourne Wendy; Fiske Lucy; Gitau Lydia Wanja;

Documents Approved:

Date Uploaded	Type	Document Name
11/03/2013	Interview Questions	Interview Schedule
11/03/2013	Recruitment Letter/Email	LWF Reply email
11/03/2013	Recruitment Letter/Email	Permission Letter to LWF
n/a	Participant Information Statement	Version 1 21 November 2012
n/a	Participant Consent Form	Version 1 21 November 2012

HREC approval is valid for four (4) years from the approval date stated in this letter and is granted pending the following conditions being met:

Special Condition/s of Approval

- Please provide a copy of the Participant Information Statement with the local contact details when available.
- Please provide certified translations of the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form prior to research commencing.

Condition/s of Approval

- Continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans.

- Provision of an annual report on this research to the Human Research Ethics Committee from the approval date and at the completion of the study. Failure to submit reports will result in withdrawal of ethics approval for the project.

- All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

- All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.

- Any changes to the project including changes to research personnel must be approved by the HREC before the research project can proceed.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor's responsibilities:

1. You must retain copies of all signed Consent Forms (if applicable) and provide these to the HREC on request.

2. It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.

Please do not hesitate to contact Research Integrity (Human Ethics) should you require further information or clarification.

Yours sincerely

Professor Glen Davis
Chair
Human Research Ethics Committee

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007), NHMRC and Universities Australia Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research (2007) and the CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice.

APPENDIX 10: PERMISSION FROM DEPARTMENT OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS, KENYA

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

MINISTRY OF STATE FOR IMMIGRATION &
REGISTRATION OF PERSONS

DEPARTMENT OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS

Website: www.refugees.go.ke
E-mail: refugee.affairs@yahoo.com
Tel: +254-020-2093675
Fax: +254-020-8047923
When replying please quote:

Castle House, James Gichuru Rd
P.O. Box 42227-00100
Nairobi, Kenya

RFG/ADM/7 (41)

8ᵗʰ May, 2013

LYDIA WANJA GITAU
P.O BOX 26000-00200
NAIROBI

RE: AUTHORIZATION TO VISIT KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

Your application on the above subject refers.

Permission is hereby granted for **Lydia Wanja Gitau, Passport No. A014291** to visit **Kakuma** Refugee Camp from **1ᵗʰ July** to **30ᵗʰ July, 2013** to do a research on "Trauma Intervention and Peace building"

On arrival, she is advised to report to the *DRA Camp Officer* for briefing before transacting any business in the Camp.

EDWIN NGETICH
FOR: COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS

For: COMMISSIONER FOR
REFUGEE AFFAIRS
P.O. Box 42227-00100,
NAIROBI

Copy to: - Camp Officer
KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

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