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Conflict and Gender Based Violence : The role of aid in help-seeking and recovery process for victims

## The Variety of People in Refugee Settlements, Gender and GBV: The Case of South Sudanese Refugees in Northern Uganda

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# **The Variety of People in Refugee Settlements, Gender and GBV: The Case of South Sudanese Refugees in Northern Uganda**

Yuko Tobinai\*

## **Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to show part of the actual situation in refugee settlements in Uganda. In particular, the paper focuses on the Kuku, an ethnic group of South Sudan and the gender-based violence (GBV) program in the refugee settlements.

Scholars have conducted research on gender and GBV in South Sudan and in refugee settlements. Various studies have demonstrated that changing people's understanding of gender or their gender situation in the context of the lives of refugees. However, previous works have shown the strong effect of aid on refugees and have described aid workers as monolithic. This paper attempts to describe the variety of people who make up a refugee settlement. It then looks at how this variety affects the relationship between aid and refugees, and the way that refugees view both gender and GBV.

The main field site for this study, Adjumani, is situated in Uganda near the border with South Sudan. As of August 2017, it had 18 refugee settlements. NGO staff are based in each settlement, and NGOs have contracted refugees as incentive workers. Incentive workers are intermediaries between refugees and staff. Various kinds of relationships between staff, incentive workers, and refugees have developed within the settlements. These relationships have made the refugee/staff boundaries ambiguous and have influenced the understanding of gender and GBV among refugees. However, refugees also have their own social space that is inaccessible to aid workers.

**Keywords:** gender, gender-based violence (GBV), South Sudan, Uganda, aid, refugees, Kuku

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I conducted this research as a research assistant of JICA-RI. The field research was conducted within the JICA-RI project "Conflict and Gender Based Violence: The role of aid in help-seeking and recovery process for victims." Prior to the research related to the issue of GBV, the JICA-RI research team obtained research permission from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) (Ref. Number 4533). UNCST required an approval letter from an ethical committee for condition of submitting letters showing that we were approved by the ethical committee of Uganda (Mildmay Uganda). Additionally, we received permission to carry out research in the settlements from Office of the Prime Minister, Uganda Government.

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Research aim and methods**

The aim of this paper is to show a part of the “real” situation in the refugee settlements of Uganda. In particular, I would like to focus on the Kuku, an ethnic group from South Sudan, and the gender-based violence (GBV) prevention program in the refugee settlements.

In March 2018, the number of South Sudanese refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) reached more than 4 million for the first time since the war in South Sudan began in December 2013. The refugees have been scattered throughout neighbouring countries, such as Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. Uganda is the main country hosting these refugees, with the number currently standing at around 1 million.

The South Sudanese Civil War is said to have had the most serious incidences of GBV in the world (Care International 2014, 3); a number of the survivors of this GBV have fled to Uganda. In recognition of this fact, the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) in Uganda and other international organizations that are supporting refugees through the provision of aid, have set up a system to address the effects of this GBV and prevent incidences occurring in the settlements.. Aid has a substantial effect on refugees. We cannot understand the lives of refugees without recognizing the effects that aid has on the management of camps and settlements. It is for this reason that I focus on aid when seeking to understand how refugees look at gender and GBV. This paper will help to improve understanding of the actual situation of refugees general, especially one of in Uganda.

This paper contains seven sections. The first discusses previous studies focusing on two topics: gender within the South Sudanese context, and gender and forced migration. Section 2 explains the Kukus, one of the ethnic groups in South Sudan. Section 3 will give the background to Adjumani, the main field site of this paper, and the refugees who live there. Sections 4 to 6 are the main sections of this paper in which various scenarios illustrating how

refugees understand GBV are presented, namely: 1) a presentation of a case it is said that “an attempted rape”; 2) a situation where refugees tried to reshape the meaning of that event with sponsorship from aid workers and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM); and, 3) the case of a funeral in the part of the refugee settlement that is not reached by aid. In conclusion, these cases will enable us to understand the situation of aid in refugee settlements and how this situation affects the definitions of gender and GBV among refugees.

The cases in this paper are drawn from fieldwork carried out in February and March 2018. In February, I stayed at the field office of the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), which was located in the settlement itself. During my stay I carried out participant observations at activities run by DRC and I observed the ordinary life of refugees. In March, I stayed in Adjumani town and travelled to and from the settlement. In addition to this period of data collection, this working paper draws on further research that the author has been conducting among the Kukus in Khartoum, Juba and Kajo-keji since 2007. Accordingly, the paper includes field research conducted among Kukus in Khartoum, Juba, Kajo-keji, and Adjumani. In particular, I have undertaken research in Adjumani since 2012, spanned a total of 18 months. In the Mungula refugee settlement, which is the main field site of this paper, there are a number of people whom I know well and with whom I have conducted intermittent research. I also reflect on my experience among the South Sudanese.

During my research, I used mainly Juba Arabic as it is the common language of the South Sudanese, and Bari, which is the ethnic language of the Kuku. Except in the case of interviews conducted with Madi or Dinka monolinguals, I did not use an interpreter.

## 1.2 Some arguments about gender and GBV

### • Gender, GBV, and refugee and forced migration studies

In this paper, gender is defined as the social aspects of how men and women are expected to act (Merry 2009, 9). Gender-based violence, or GBV, is defined as violence against an individual or population based on gendered identity or expression (Wies and Haldane 2011, 2).

Yoko Hayami (2009, 19) said that the anthropology of gender started from the separation of “gender” – the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – from “sex”, which refers to biological characteristics. In addition, feminists have tried to defy the gender ideology, which held that gender is natural and immutable. However, feminism could not completely get away from the assumptions of the roles of men and women based on “biological facts”.

According to Judith Butler, gender is socially constructed and “performed” (Butler 1990; cf. Hayami 2009, 26). Subsequent scholars have challenged the description of the process of constructing gender/gendered identity through performativity (ex. Laqueur 1992; Herdt 1996]. From here, I will provide a brief overview of gender, GBV, and refugee and forced migration studies.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1980s, Refugee and Forced Migration Studies became established as an interdisciplinary field. One of the main causes of displacement is armed conflict. Estimates of the world refugee population vary from 30 to 45 million, 70 -75% of whom are women and children (Merry 2009, 171). According to Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, author of *The Ideal Refugees: Gender, Islam, and the Sahrawi Politics of Survival*, gendered analysis entered the field of forced migration studies around the 1980s. It was influenced by the challenges of feminists “placing women at the center” of subjective inquiry and as active agents in the gathering of knowledge (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014a, 396; cf. Stacy and Throne 1985). The development of gendered analysis in forced migration studies followed similar trends to those seen in the Development Studies field.

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<sup>1</sup> In this part I largely depend on (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014a).

In 1989, Camus-Jacques argued that “refugee women remained ‘the forgotten majority’ on the international agenda.” In the mid-1980s and 1990s, the “Women In Forced Migration” (WIFM) paradigm gained relative prominence. Forced migration academics and practitioners largely identified and responded to refugee women as apolitical and non-agentic victims, in other words, as “women and children” (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014a, 397-402).

Around the second half of the 2000s, the view of UNHCR towards refugees changed. Rather than “simply labelling individuals as ‘vulnerable’, UNHCR staff and partners were encouraged “to analyse the protection context of persons of concern and identify the different vulnerabilities and capacities of all age and gender groups” (UNHCR EXCOM 2010).

There are many studies focused on the vulnerability of women and children in refugee and IDP camps. Camps are not always sanctuaries for refugees; indeed, refugees sometimes experience physical and sexual abuse in camps (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2006). On the other hand, life in the camps sometimes offers positive change. UNHCR and other aid organizations have considerable impact on this change, whether it is directed towards positive or negative causes. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh explained the paradoxical impacts of gender equality and empowerment policies in camps (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014a). From these previous works, we at least understand that there are ambiguities regarding the impact of aid on refugee life.

#### • **South Sudan, Gender, and GBV**

South Sudan is the youngest country in the world. It has a bitter history of colonization and has experienced civil war since gaining independence from the United Kingdom in 1956. The country spans a territory of 640,000 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of around 1.2 million. It is a multi-ethnic country composed of 64 ethnic groups. The biggest group is the Dinka, who are a pastoral, western Nilotic people; the second is the Nuer, who are also pastoral and western Nilotic; the third group is the Shilluk, who are western Nilotic but an agricultural people. The Dinka, Nuer, and

Shilluk reside in northern South Sudan. In contrast, middle or small-sized ethnic groups gather and live in the southern parts of South Sudan. Some of the ethnic groups are Nilotes and some are central Sudanic. While the ethnic groups are different, they have a similar history, ecology, and livelihood, and all have a close relationship with East African countries. Sometimes they refer to themselves as “Equatorian”.

The Muhammad Alī dynasty and the United Kingdom colonized South Sudan from 1840 to 1956, and South Sudan experienced civil wars against the current territory of the Republic of Sudan from 1955 to 2005. The colonial era and the civil wars had a huge influence on the people of South Sudan. One type of influence was militarization (Hutchinson and Jok 2002). In the militarization process and during the war itself, men are almost exclusively the perpetrators of violence, and women, children and the elderly make up many—and in some cases, the majority—of the victims (HSBA 2012).

Historically, women and children were not regarded as legitimate targets in South Sudan. During the second Sudanese civil war, small arms and light weapons flooded into the south, and this changed people’s perceptions. Sharon Hutchinson, for example, explained how the gun changed the Nuer concept of warfare and feuds (Hutchinson 1996, 103–157). According to the Sudan Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA), in contrast to killing by spear, killing by gun “depersonalized the act of killing or injuring another person and contributed to the dehumanization of the other. This made it easier, psychologically as well as physically, for combatants to target women and children” (HSBA 2012, 1).

The second civil war escalated in the 1990s, triggered by the splitting of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA), a guerrilla army opposed to the Khartoum government. The fighting escalated in Southern Sudan and many people took refuge in other countries or in Northern Sudan. HSBA states that, at the time of this split, “the scale and brutality of this attack, which included the rape and mutilation of women, set a new precedent for intra-South Sudanese

fighting and brutality” with the rape of women now being seen as a “weapon of war” (HSBA 2012, 1).

As a result of this civil war, more than 500,000 refugees fled from their countries, and more than 6 million people became internally displaced persons (IDPs). During this period of displacement, women’s situation changed. However, the nature of this change varied with some women taking on the role of head of the household replacing their missing husbands and recognizing women’s rights and gender equality (Abusharf 2009; Grabska 2014). The influence of aid was not small. Katrzyna Grabska (2014) shows how humanitarian organizations introduced the idea of human rights and gender equality to the Kakma Refugee camp. That being said, some still experienced GBV in the form of gruelling tasks or intimate partner violence (HSBA 2012). Despite describing the various types of change, all authors who have written about the gendered aspects of the ”refugee situation” have stated that aid or the situation around the refugees had a major influence on their gender role and their understanding of gender (Edwards 2007; Grabska 2014; Marybeth 2013).

The new civil war started in South Sudan in 2013, as a power struggle between current president Salva Kiir Mayardit and former vice president Riek Machar. The war started in the capital city Juba and fighting expanded to the northern part of the country. While the essence of the war is a power struggle, both Riek and especially Salva, fought based on their ethnicity. Salva is Dinka and Riek is Nuer. Dinka and Nuer are two large ethnic groups both with their homeland in the northern part of South Sudan. Until July 2016, the “Peace of Equatoria” existed in the southern part, but this peace was broken when the war reached almost all of South Sudan. This war subsequently created more than 4 million refugees and IDPs.

Colored by power struggles and ethnic conflicts, the early stages of the war saw many instances of GBV and in particular sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Many reports have been written on this topic (see for instance, Care International 2014; Rivelli 2015; Amnesty International 2017). These studies show that many women who took refuge in other countries

had experienced (S)GBV. The aid workers and organizations supporting refugees recognized this and established both a support system for the victims and a system to prevent further GBV (UNFPA 2017). Uganda, which is the focus of this study and which accepts the largest number of South Sudanese refugees, has implemented this system.

### **1.3 Scope of the study**

As mentioned above, the state of gender and GBV in South Sudan have been changed by modernization, war, and aid. In addition, as I have shown above, there have already been a number of studies on gender and the experiences of South Sudanese refugees and IDPs. Based on these previous works, I would like to show how the terms gender and GBV are defined among South Sudanese refugees in Northern Uganda, under the influence of life in a refugee camp. I want to emphasize that the paper does not intend to discuss the effectiveness of aid to refugees. Instead, it will explain what has happened in refugee settlements in Uganda in relation to GBV. Then, I intend to show how diverse the people in refugee settlements are and how these people form relationships with each other. Various studies have demonstrated that gender roles and relations and the situation of GBV change in response to displacement and the effects of aid (Edwards 2007; Grabska 2014; Marybeth 2013). Previous works have shown the strong effect of aid on refugees, yet such work tended to describe aid as monolithic. For example, Edwards (2007) discussed some of the refugee support systems in Egypt. She did not give any details about the interviewee and if she needed to mention the subject of the support program, she wrote the name of the organization, for example UNHCR or IOM. However, aid workers should not be monolithic and the way they respond to refugees and the results of the project may depend on each aid worker.

This raises various questions: How do aid workers and refugees form relationships? Who actually carries out work in the settlements? This is an important point for understanding the detail of fulfilment of the project.

This paper will examine in detail the relationship between refugees and staff, the diversity in aid staff, and the spaces that aid has not reached. I will try to answer these questions using case studies. This will be useful in understanding the current situation of refugees in Uganda and as background for forming effective aid plans.

The Kuku, which this paper will focus on, have been in Adjumani as refugees for a long time, particularly compared to other ethnic groups, such as the Dinka and Nuer. Therefore, we can see these processes more clearly and over a longer period among the Kuku than with other groups. I will refer to other ethnic groups where relevant and appropriate.

## **2. Kuku and gender**

### **2.1 Who are the Kuku?**

The Kuku originate from the former Kajo-keji County, which is located in the state of Central Equatoria, South Sudan, on the border with Uganda. They are an agricultural people and number around 200,000-300,000.<sup>2</sup>

The Kajo-keji County was made up of five payams or regional administrative divisions. Beneath the payams were subordinate administrative divisions called boma, which were groups of villages. One village was essentially composed of a single clan and the village head was the head of the clan (matat).

The Kuku speak Bari, an eastern Nilotic language. They began to migrate to the city relatively early and developed a reputation in southern Sudan as being well-educated people. Because Kajo-keji is an important strategic location for the civil wars in the two Sudans, it has

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<sup>2</sup> Figure taken from the 2008 census. There is also a Kuku population in Juba and in Uganda.

been the site of a number of fierce battles (Johnson 2007; Rolandsen 2005). Consequently, the experience of evacuating ones homeland is nearly universal to people from Kajo-keji; as with other South Sudanese, their lives cannot be discussed without discussing the experience of migration. Ugandans who have hosted refugees from this region favourably refer to them as “God-loving people” as they attend church.

According to the staff of the county office, as of 2012, 70% of the population in Kajo-keji is estimated to be Christian. Until the region’s independence from the UK the Episcopal Church of Sudan (ECS) was the only religious denomination; hence, the majority of Kajo-keji Christians are members of the ECS. Originally, people in the region held only indigenous beliefs.

## **2.2 Gender Relations among Kukus from 1900s-2012**

The oldest ethnography of Kuku is *Les Kuku: Possessions Anglo-Égyptiennes* (Plas 1910). The book has more than 400 pages, and the author wrote it based on 10 months of field work among the Kukus. The book makes reference to a number of gender-related issues, offering a glimpse into gender relations among Kukus in the early 20th century. For example, Plas said that both of the sexes engaged in agriculture, their main source of livelihood (Plas 1910, XL). However, the work of men and women was different. Women’s duties centered around household care, while men’s duties were in the construction and renovation of dwellings and attics (Plas 1910, 35-36).

From the description of relationships between men and women, and particularly those of marriage, we can understand the social position of both men and women. According to Plas, a man could have several wives. The cases where one man had a number of wives were limited. Men were usually the heads of the household in the marriage. In addition, a man who wanted to marry a woman was required to pay dowry to the woman’s family. The negotiation of the dowry was conducted by the male elders of both families or clans. However, this did not mean that women were completely excluded from the decision or from having a voice in their marriage.

Women were in fact consulted about the issue of dowry and had the right to say something about it. Plas also wrote that the Kuku sometimes exchanged blows and that at times women did not hesitate to quarrel with their husband when they were annoyed by him (Plas 1910, 43). From these descriptions, we can see that although gender relations among Kuku in the early 1900s were male-dominated, women had certain power and rights in their family.

To-date, my research among South Sudanese populations indicates some continuity in present day gender relations in the region. Of course, the colonial period, modernization, and civil wars, have engendered some changes. Nevertheless, at the time of marriage a man's family still pays dowry to the woman's family, and in general, the heads of the households are men. The role of men and women in the family is different and sometimes husbands and wives quarrel and exchange blows.

Whether men or women become the leader of a community is a good index of the social position of men and women. Around the 19th century, the Kuku had two types of social leaders. One was political, which was called matat or monye, and the other was supernatural, which is called matat lo piyon/kudu, meaning leader of water/rain as people believed they were able to control the rain. Currently, they have both types of leaders. However, through migration, colonialism, civil war, and modernization, their view of matat has changed. During my observations, it was rare to see a woman leader in the community, for example, as commissioner for the county or village chief, except within the Church community.<sup>3</sup>

When I attended meetings among relatives in Kajo-keji in 2012, women voiced their opinion and people, including men, accepted them. In addition, women had certain power in their home. Some of them graduated from secondary school and worked in the school or offices of NGOs, and they contributed to the household income. With this income, women could negotiate with their husband about family issues. In short, since the 19th century Kuku women have lived

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<sup>3</sup> Mary Kiden, MP from Kajo-keji county, is an example of a woman in South Sudan becoming a political leader.

with a certain power that continues to the present day. Nevertheless, the majority of the chiefs of the clan or village and the heads of the households are men. This fact shows that women's power has been limited.

How, if at all, did this situation change in refugee settlements? In the following section, I explore this question relative to South Sudanese refugees residing in the Adjumani refugee settlement in Uganda.

### **3. Refugees in Adjumani**

#### **3.1 Adjumani District**

Adjumani is a district situated in North-West Uganda and was separated from the Moyo district in 1997. According to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, the population of Adjumani was 225,221 in 2014.<sup>4</sup> More than 90% of the Ugandan population are Ma'di, that is central Sudanic people. Others are Lugbara, Kakwa, Kuku, and Acholi. In Adjumani, many families engage in agriculture.

The distance of the district from the South Sudanese border is around 40 kilometres. Historically, regardless of the location of the political border, the inhabitants have had a relationship with one another, whether good or bad. Inter-ethnic marriages between Madi and Kuku are quite common and many Kuku have migrated to Adjumani and Moyo. In addition, at the time of the first and second civil wars in Sudan, many Kuku took refuge in Ajdumani and Moyo. Similarly, large numbers of Ugandan Madi were evacuated to Kajo-keji when the Amin regime collapsed. This cross-border population movement has meant that communities in the region on both sides have served as both hosts and guests to each other.

Adjumani is widely known in Uganda and South Sudan as a district that has long accepted refugees. It is said that the number of refugees reached a high of 150,000 in the 1990s.

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<sup>4</sup> Uganda Bureau of Statistics. Accessed 19 November 2019. <https://www.ubos.org/>.

After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) ended the second Sudanese civil war in 2005, the number of refugees in Adjumani was reduced to around 6,000.<sup>5</sup>

However, a new war started in South Sudan in December 2013. At first, the fighting took place in the northern part of South Sudan, which is mainly Dinka and Nuer land. Dinka and Nuer refugees thus started to take refuge in neighbouring countries between 2013 and 2015. Uganda was one of the refugee host countries, and Adjumani again became a refugee host region. Accordingly, new refugee settlements were created. After war broke out again in 2016, the battlefield expanded to the southern part of South Sudan. As a result, a number of Equatorians fled to Uganda. However, at that time, the number of refugees went beyond the capacity that Adjumani could accept, so OPM and UNHCR started to open new settlements in other districts. Equatorians were mainly sent to those settlements, which is why, until now, the majority of refugees in Adjumani have been Dinka. However, members of other ethnic groups, most of whom are “old” refugees who came to Uganda in the 1990s and remained there after the CPA, also reside there. The history of the South Sudan-Uganda border area shows that the people in this area have had continued interaction and experience with refuge; there is some cross-border familiarity.

Despite differences in language and nationality, the lifestyle of people in northern Uganda and southern Sudan is quite similar. Their livelihood is a mix of agricultural farming, animal husbandry, fishing, and hunting and gathering, and they employ similar methods of cooking.

UNHCR states that the number of refugees in Adjumani is around 235,420,<sup>6</sup> which exceeds the number of Ugandans in the area. As mentioned above, the majority of refugees are Dinka, which in Adjumani, represents almost 80% of the entire refugee population.

As of March 2018, there are 18 refugee settlements in Adjumani, many of which are placed in the outer areas of the district. Some of them are new while others have been in place for

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with the Refugee Desk of OPM, Adjumani, March 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Operational Portal South Sudan. Accessed 14 November 2019.  
<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/southsudan/location/1925>.

some time. In addition, there are some settlements where individuals are living with other ethnic groups, though in some cases one ethnic group occupies one settlement nearly exclusively.

### **3.2 The refugee support system in Adjumani<sup>7</sup>**

Since the 1990s, Uganda has promoted a Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) for refugees. Uganda has provided land and encouraged refugees to cultivate it and make a living for themselves. According to the Refugee Act 2006, Uganda recognizes the right of the country's refugees to work, move around the country, and live in the community rather than in designated camps. The Refugee Department of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) has mandated the protection and support of refugees in Uganda, and UNHCR is a leading organization that supports refugees and takes a central role in the management of the refugee support system. OPM cooperates with UNHCR, and UNHCR leads other humanitarian organizations in responding to the specific protection and basic needs of refugees in both short-and long-term assistance programs. Both OPM and UNHCR have regional offices in Adjumani, and both take a core role in the West Nile region. In short, Adjumani is one of the centres of the refugee support system in Uganda.

OPM is the main body for enrolling people who have newly arrived as refugees in Uganda due to the war or for other reasons. It also negotiates for cultivated lands with host communities and then sends settlement commandants out to assess the situation and subsequently deal with any problems. UNHCR, meanwhile, coordinates refugee support. They conduct their tasks in conjunction with their Operation Partners (OP) and Implementation Partners (IP). In Adjumani, UNHCR has two main IPs- the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the Danish Refugee Council (DRC).<sup>8</sup> Of the eighteen refugee settlements in Adjumani, LWF supports eleven settlements and DRC supports seven.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> This sub-section was written based on (Mayer 2006; The International Refugee Rights Initiative 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Other organizations also had contracts with UNHCR. Here, I note only the main ones.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Draku Gaffully, Center Supervisor, and Jesica Alanyo, Livelihood Coordinator, DRC, March 2018.

Within the protection cluster, there is a GBV sub-cluster. International organizations and NGOs are brought together and coordinated under the lead of UNHCR, creating a referral pathway for survivors of GBV. Some NGOs, including DRC, have a program for correspondence to survivors of GBV.<sup>10</sup> Drawing on the specific example of Mungula, a refugee settlement in Adjumani, I further explore this program below.

### **3.3 Mungula refugee settlements and DRC**

#### **• Mungula Refugee settlements**

The Mungula refugee settlements, established in the early 1990s, were placed at the southeast part of the Adjumani district. They are some of the oldest refugee settlements in Adjumani. They are comprised of Mungula 1 and Mungula 2, the latter of which is called “Aliwara” by the refugees. The distance from Mungula 1 to Mungula 2 is around 3 km. In this paper, I focus on Mungula 1.

In November 2013, before the South Sudanese civil war, the population of Mungula 1 was around 1,000 people. The majority of the settlement residents belonged to the Kuku, but Ma'di and other ethnic groups were also present. The number of refugees in Adjumani decreased because of the CPA. As a result, some settlements were closed and the OPM relocated the remaining refugees to Mungula. At that time, many refugees had been in Uganda for more than 20 years. Some of the residents of Mungula came from South Sudan to marry refugees in Mungula, while others were Ugandans who came from outside of the settlement (also because of marriage). At that time, OPM provided each refugee household with a 30m×20m piece of land for residence and additional land for cultivation.

The situation of Mungula changed in early 2014, soon after the South Sudan civil war broke out, and the flow of refugees rapidly increased. OPM responded by establishing new

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with Guema Kennedy, peace assistant of Acord and Rosa Minasyan, Protection Officer, UNHCR Sub Office Adjumani, August 2017.

settlements while also placing refugees into old ones. In addition, Mungula started accepting new refugees from South Sudan. As mentioned in Section 1, the main battlefield in the early part of the war was the northern part of South Sudan. The main ethnic groups of refugees at that time were the Dinka and the Nuer, and the majority of the refugees who entered Mungula were Dinka.

In February 2018, the population of Mungula 1 was around 8,000, and 80% were Dinka. Most of them hailed from Jonglei state and came to Mungula in 2014. After the influx of Dinka began, the Refugee Welfare Committee (RWC) held an election. The chairperson is a Dinka priest, and the vice chairperson is a Kuku woman.

Most new refugees in Mungula were not given cultivated land. As it currently stands, refugees in Mungula can only receive food support from UNHCR and other organizations once a month because it has not yet been five years since they started their life as refugees. However, this level of support is not enough to satisfy all family members. Some of the new refugees rent land from Ugandans, while old refugees continue to cultivate the land OPM gave them.

The relationship between new refugees (mostly Dinka) and old refugees (mainly Equatorians) is not good, as they do not wish to interact with each other. They have their own churches and communities, and they do not want to participate in each other's events. If there is a reason for them to cooperate, they will, but if not, they will never engage deeply with each other.

A senior DRC representative in Mungula told me that compared with other settlements in Adjumani, the situation was not so bad. Concerns such as inter-ethnic conflict and GBV did not occur on a frequent basis and people could live peacefully. She added that Mungula was an old settlement and had the structure of a self-governed system when new refugees arrived. That is why only a few incidents of violence have occurred in the settlement.<sup>11</sup>

From these situations, we can understand that there are diverse ethnic groups living in Mungula, where new and old refugees co-exist.

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<sup>11</sup> There are some differing points of view on this issue. For example, a refugee boy told me that shortly after new refugees came to Mungula, trouble arose because these refugees did not know the way of life in Uganda.

• **The Danish Refugee Council in Mungula**<sup>12</sup>

In the Mungula I settlement, the UNHCR IP for camp coordination is the DRC. The Red Cross and the War Child Canada (WCC) also provide some support in the areas of education and health.

DRC has carried out its activities in Adjumani since 1999. In 2005, after the CPA was signed, DRC started to support repatriation. Even though the number of refugees decreased, DRC did not close its office in Adjumani and it continued to provide support to the refugees in the area. When the South Sudanese Civil War began in December 2013, members of DRC responded rapidly, working in many places including the Dzaipi reception centre, the Elego collection point, the Nyomanji transit camp, and other settlements. In 2015, UNHCR left Zone 2 of Adjumani (including Mungula 1 and 2) under the control of DRC. LWF was then in charge of Zone 1.

At the time of data collection with DRC, there were 118 staff members in the West Nile region, all of whom were Ugandan. In addition, DRC had a number of South Sudanese incentive workers in each settlement. Within Adjumani, DRC provides a wide range of aid: field-livelihood, water and sanitation, emergency response, and protection. Its field office is located in Mungula 1. Presently, there are eight staff working in the field office, including one woman who is in charge of GBV. The office covers both Mungula 1 and 2, and seven of the eight workers come from outside Madiland; thus, they predominantly communicate with one another and with the refugees in English.

The DRC staff member responsible for GBV began work with DRC in 2017, having specialized in counselling at university. However, she performs multiple tasks in the settlement and does not deal with GBV or gender issues exclusively. There are also a number of South Sudanese incentive workers, all of whom can speak English, who assume the role of mediator and act as go-betweens for staff and refugees. Some have been in Uganda since before 2013. One of the incentive workers has lived in Uganda since he was a child and was educated there.

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Draku Gaffully, Center Supervisor, and Jesica Alanyo, Livelihood Coordinator, DRC, and some field staff in Mungula, March 2018.

All staff members stay in Adjumani town, almost 15 km from the settlement, and travel to work on weekdays.<sup>13</sup> Certain staff members said that they wanted to stay in the settlement, but the living environment was not yet ready; in particular, their office and residence in the field had not yet been completed. As a result, DRC staff do not live together with the refugees. We can say that the lives of refugees and the staff are separated. Still, there is frequent contact between refugees and staff, with communication covering various themes beyond merely aid-related topics. For example, when the staff stayed in one of the rooms in the office, refugee women visited them and began chatting to them about family issues, fashion, housework, or their children.

According to my observations, the main tasks of the DRC in Mungula 1 involve livelihood and protection. For instance, in the livelihood sector, DRC forms agricultural groups composed of refugees and Ugandans, providing them with land to cultivate together. This improves their cultivation capacities and builds networks between refugees and host communities. The protection sector also engages in various types of tasks including dealing with the issue of GBV.

In Adjumani, aid for GBV is divided into two areas: prevention and response. To prevent GBV, DRC provides opportunities for dialogue, awareness meetings, and empowerment by these activities. In fact, even the refugees themselves made their working group about GBV. According to the chairman of Mungula 1, a women's group has been formed and the with members hold sensitization meetings on GBV. If GBV occurs, DRC responses include cooperating with the police, providing counselling, sending the survivor to hospital, and protecting the survivor at a protection site. In addition, DRC and the refugees can use the referral system established by the GBV sub-sector.

In the next chapter, I will discuss gender roles and the definition of gender and GBV among Kukus in the refugee settlement.

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<sup>13</sup> Some staff members do not come to the field on Fridays.

## 4. Spreading the terms “gender” and GBV

### 4.1 The Roles of Men and Women in Mungula 1

As mentioned in Section 1, refugee and forced migration studies have called for the protection of women’s rights and gender equality. This has had a significant influence on the field and practice of refugee aid. Various studies have shown the results of this influence (Grabska 2014; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014b; Marybeth 2013).

I begin this discussion by describing a day in the life of a Kuku family in Mungula 1 during the rainy season. The family, made up of the wife, husband, their 5 children (aged from 4-18 years), and the baby of the eldest daughter, has lived in Mungula for more than 25 years. Around 6:30am, the family members wake up. Soon thereafter, the older children or the mother put some charcoal on the stove, then put a kettle with water on top. Other children sweep the inside and outside of the *tukls*.<sup>14</sup> Having hurriedly taken tea and had something to eat, the children leave for school. The husband works the land, while the wife goes to the borehole to draw water. The eldest girl, who does not go to school, takes items to the market to sell. Upon returning from the borehole, the wife starts preparing lunch.

Around 1:00pm, the husband brings the children back from school, and they eat lunch. After lunch, the children return to school and the husband returns to the fields; he is joined by his wife. The family comes back to the house in the evening; some of the children start to wash their clothes while the wife and the other children go to the borehole. The eldest daughter prepares dinner. At the end of the day, the husband goes to see his friends.

This is a typical day in the settlement. In addition, people sometimes conduct community work, such as attending meetings or events. In the dry season, some families start to repair their house or construct a new building. This is mainly men’s work. This schedule is almost the same in

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<sup>14</sup> *Tukl* is the name of a house in East Africa.

all ethnic groups in the settlement. From this description, we see that the roles of men and women are not that different to the “traditional” ones outlined in section 1.

Near the entrance to the settlement are a number of small stores; the marketplace is behind these stores. The main traders are women. The market is open from morning until evening. From the market, you can see a small hut where men sit and chat.

The scene at the entrance of the settlement, is symbolic of the roles of men and women in the settlement. In the settlement, men generally only cultivate land, while women both cultivate land and have responsibility for the housework and all other work, such as going to the borehole, pumping the water into jerrycans, and carrying it back to the house. They sell the harvest, cook, and sweep the house. In comparison, men just work on the land or outside of the house to earn money.<sup>15</sup> This does not mean the men are not busy. However, it is evident that, in general, women work longer hours than men.

Meanwhile, we cannot simply say that the position of women is lower than that of men. Due to the role that women play in their home, they have a certain power both in the home and in the community. Against this backdrop, how do Kuku refugees think about the term “gender”?

#### **4.2 Knowing “gender” and “gender equality”: Understanding the term “Gender” among the Kuku**

The term for a woman in Kuku is *wate or nokan*, while the word for a man is *lalet or monye*. Yet, what is the word for gender?

When I visited a Kuku family who lived in Moyo town, I asked them how to say “gender” in their language; this prompted a discussion. Finally, they gave an answer and stated that gender means the tasks of men and women; though not everyone agreed. They derived the Kuku term from the meaning of gender, which indicates that the Kuku understand the term in English. In

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<sup>15</sup> Repairing and constructing houses is men’s work.

South Sudan, the Kuku are recognised as a generally well-educated ethnic group. It is therefore not unexpected that they would know the meaning of the term “gender”. However, they know the word in English. This shows the effect of “others”, including international organizations, introducing this term. The same is true of the term “GBV”.

As mentioned above, UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations have emphasized gender equality. Refugees are also sensitive to this topic. Half of the members of the RWC were women. The chairperson of the RWC, who is a Dinka pastor (man), told me that they are careful to ensure there is a gender balance in the RWC. The refugees were also sensitive to the term “gender balance”.

The consular staff member responsible for dealing with GBV explained to me that only a few cases of GBV had been reported since she started working in Mungula in 2016. According to the chairperson, GBV frequently occurred when the Dinkas arrived in Mungula 1. However, upon attending the sensitization and awareness meeting, the instances of GBV decreased. This overlapped with what the DRC staff stated when interviewed. Refugees do know what GBV is and that it is a bad thing.

The influence of aid is clearly apparent here and its effects on refugees cannot be ignored. However, refugees also have their own perspective on the roles of men and women. How do they exist together, and how do aid programs and aid workers relate to this?

To explain this, the next section examines the case of “an attempted rape” and how the refugees responded to it.

## **5. What the case of attempted rape shows**

### **5.1 In between?: Ambiguity of refugee/staff borders**

In February 2018, I was staying for a time at the DRC field office in Mungula. The women DRC staff arrived at the office around 11 o'clock. They did not live in the office but there was a room

for them with two beds, where the staff stored their belongings, changed clothes, ate, and chatted. One day, they told me about the status of women in Uganda. They complained that the social status of women in Uganda is still low. One staff member then produced some clothes, which the other staff members began to evaluate (dressing is one of the greatest concerns for the majority of women in Mungula). A refugee woman then entered the room, saw what they were doing, and joined in evaluating the clothes and chatting. The women enjoyed chatting until one of the staff issued instructions to the refugee woman, after which time all of them left the office and started their own work.

As described above, DRC staff in Adjumani are Ugandans. Most hold a bachelor's degree or at the least an A-level certificate, and most came to Adjumani from other places. Of course, as the UNHCR implementing partner, DRC staff are in charge of managing a number of programs in the settlement. Refugees do not have such roles. This illustrates the clear difference between the refugees and staff.

To illustrate the nature of the relationship between refugees and aid workers in a refugee settlement, I will describe the coordination meeting that was held with staff and members of the host community. Such meetings are held once every three months. The meeting that I attended was held in November 2013. Thirty-one (31) people attended: 19 were OPM and UNHCR staff members, 7 were RWC members, and the rest was made up of the settlement commander, members of the police department, a teacher at the school, and the elders of the host community. Staff from NGOs such as the DRC did not attend this meeting.<sup>16</sup>

An OPM staff member assumed the role of chairperson. She could not speak Madi, so after a brief discussion it was decided that the meeting would be conducted in English. This was despite the fact that almost all of the people, except for the chairperson, could speak Madi. The topics of the meeting included students dropping out of school, the organization of roads, and land

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<sup>16</sup> Only an incentive worker from DRC attended. However, this meeting was held in November 2013, which means that it was before the South Sudanese Civil War began. At that time, the presence of NGOs was not so large.

issues. Surprisingly, the chairperson simply announced the decisions made by OPM and UNHCR regarding the requests that people had made at the previous meeting. The refugees and members of the host community did not have any say in the decisions. Again, this shows a clear line between refugees and aid workers.

In contrast, NGO staff in the field and refugees had exchanges on a daily basis. Their relationship was more flexible. Sometimes, it appeared more clearly as superior and subordinate, at other times they appeared more casual and as friends. Refugees and aid workers sometimes have a connection with each other as the people living in Uganda together. Such flexibility in the relationship between the field staff and refugees has an impact on the effectiveness of aid, and on the lives of the refugees. This blurs the line between refugees and staff.

In addition, being an incentive worker is important. While they are refugees, they also serve as DRC staff members. The nature of the role means that all incentive workers can speak English and some of them have graduated from high school or university.<sup>17</sup> Sometimes they take on important roles in the refugee community. For example, Kakwa<sup>18</sup> has lived in the refugee settlement since the early 1990s. He can speak Bari, Madi, Juba Arabic, and English. This means that he can communicate with almost all of the residents in the settlement, the staff, and with the host community. He has worked for DRC since 2012 and at the same time he has taken a number of other roles in the refugee community. He is expected to act as a mediator between DRC staff, refugees, and ethnic groups. For example, he takes up complaints from refugees in their local language and reports these to the DRC staff in English.

Incentive workers understand the logic of aid as well as the situation of refugees. They also play a central role in the implementation of aid programs. The role of the incentive workers in shaping the understanding of GBV among refugees is by no means insignificant. They are situated in between refugees and staff, thus blurring the line that separates the two.

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<sup>17</sup> For example, a Kuku incentive worker took refuge and studied in Uganda during the second civil war. He finished his O-levels and went back to South Sudan after the CPA.

<sup>18</sup> An ethnic group of South Sudan. Their homeland is Yei and Morobo, next to Kajo-keji.

## 5.2 The case of an attempted rape

The following case of “an attempted rape”, which occurred in a protection site in Mungula 1, demonstrates how an aid program and workers cite such occurrences.

In the very early hours of the morning on 8 February 2018, a case had occurred at the protection site. By the time I heard about the incident some 5 hours after it occurred, the perpetrator had already been apprehended.<sup>19</sup> The victim was a Madi woman who had come to the protection site because of family issues. The perpetrator was a Kuku man who was also a resident of the protection site. At around 4am, a woman’s scream was heard. As the site was located next to a police station, the police and other individuals went to the house from which the scream had emanated. It was the perpetrator’s house. The police opened the door, saw the scene, and detained the man.

An incentive worker from DRC was alerted about the incident; they subsequently informed DRC staff who came to visit the settlement following reports of the incident. When the incentive worker informed the staff, they looked at each other and sighed heavily.

The two female staff members who were in charge of GBV issues went to the police station and interviewed both the victim and the perpetrator. On the way to the police station, a staff member said to me: “You know, one of the problems of protection sites is that the people do not get along well. They cannot form a good community.” Moreover, they complained about the victim and not the perpetrator. They said “she” did not trust them. It seemed that, from their perspective, the person who was thought to be the victim was seen as the troublemaker in the settlement.

One of the staff members was Madi, the victim was also Madi and another staff member could speak Madi. Accordingly, the interview was conducted in Madi. A policeman was also present during the interview. However, because he could not speak Madi, the main interviewers

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<sup>19</sup> I gathered information about this incident from different informants, combined the information and wrote this outline.

were DRC staff, and sometimes DRC staff translated and explained the interview to the police officer.

The victim explained the situation in Madi. At first, the staff listened to her explanation; however, they gradually became annoyed and, finally, stopped her from talking by saying: “Wait, you didn’t talk about the perpetrator. You only complained about the DRC.” The interview indicates that the staff blamed the victim rather than listening to her account of the incident. Next, the staff spoke with the perpetrator, who was put into a room at the police station. The staff and perpetrator spoke in English, and the perpetrator explained that he always supported the victim and gave her food or money when needed. When he came back from work that night, the victim was at his house. He asked what she needed, but she did not answer. He then asked if he could visit her at her house later and she agreed, so he went to her house and tried to listen to her talk. She suddenly stood up, locked the door hunched over him, and screamed.

DRC staff members listened to his explanation quietly, and afterwards they started to talk. They noted that the victim told a different story and that they thought the perpetrator’s story was true, though his behaviour was not right. He agreed with this and apologized. After this interview, the incentive worker went to speak with the perpetrator in Bari language.

The situation then changed. An elderly Ugandan man who worked at the hospital in the settlement visited the police station and insisted that he was an uncle and guardian of the victim. He asked the staff to explain the incident, and he proceeded to blame them. According to him, the father of the victim was Ugandan, and her mother was South Sudanese. When the war started, the victim was in South Sudan. He thought that was why she was in the settlement as a refugee. However, she was Ugandan, so she did not have to stay there. The arrival of the uncle at this stage further complicated the situation. The victim and perpetrator, the police, the DRC staff, the incentive workers, and the uncle of the victim were engaged in discussions at the police station for almost three hours. Finally, the victim demanded 3,000,000 Ugandan shillings<sup>20</sup> as

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<sup>20</sup> Approximately 100,000 Japanese yen.

compensation for the incident. The perpetrator tried to negotiate the amount but did not succeed. The DRC staff could not do anything about this. Finally, this issue was relayed to UNHCR, and UNHCR staff concluded that the perpetrator did not need to pay the compensation.

This case shows three things: First, all those who were in some way attached to refugee aid recognized rape as GBV. Refugees, aid workers, incentive workers, police, and members of the host community all saw rape as a form of GBV. That is why the incident was immediately reported to DRC staff and why GBV staff responded to it. This shows that the refugees and the aid workers shared the same meaning of GBV. Considering the fact that the Kuku did not have the concept of gender, they came to know these words and the concept through life in the refugee settlement. Second, the DRC staff members know about life inside the protection site. They are aid workers and even though they do not stay in the refugee settlements, they communicate with refugees through incentive workers. In this sense, there is a reasonable distance between the refugees and the aid workers. However, through everyday communication, they came to know about the life of refugees (especially the residents of the protection site). Third, this case illustrates the relationship between aid workers, refugees, and the host population in the field rather than in the office or at the national level. Refugees insist on their rights without hesitation. The relationship between the host and refugees was complicated. Aid workers in the field were like members of the settlement, rather than being a dominant presence.

As mentioned above, refugees are put in a weaker position than nationals or aid workers. However, the various kinds of relationships between aid workers, incentive workers, and refugees in the field have endured. The aid workers have interacted with them frequently. In addition, the presence of incentive workers is important for forming these relationships. They are placed between aid workers and refugees, and they mediate between the two, while, crucially, translating ideas of gender and negotiating ideas of gender between aid workers and refugees.

There is however a place where the effects of aid provision do not reach. This will be explained in the next section.

## **6. The place aid does not reach**

This section will use two case which occurred in Mungula 1 to illustrate the actual gender relations and the relationship between refugees and aid.

The first case happened in November 2013. At that time, the majority of the residents of Mungula1 were Kuku and Madi. One day, the settlement commander gathered people at the meeting place. Approximately 30 people came. The commander announced to those in attendance that the event for the Day of International Migrants would be held at Mungula 1. He also told the group that the event would be held in each refugee settlement, that UNHCR would provide some funding for it, and that the people needed to prepare for it.

In response, residents started to discuss the event. They discussed the need to prepare food for the event. They also recognized that since the money given by UNHCR would not be sufficient, they would need to collect extra money for the event from the refugees themselves. Those present gave their approval for the collection of extra money and soon after decided on an amount. They then started to talk about the recreation activities and performances for the event. A Kuku woman suggested that a play depicting refugee life should be performed. Many agreed, and thereafter those wishing to participate gathered to practice the play every afternoon.

At the first of these practices, participants discussed the theme of the drama and the roles. The theme was centred on a drunken student who was late for school every day because of his drinking. Although he was scolded by the teacher, he was unable to resist temptation and continued to drink. He then fell into a coma; his family brought him to the hospital, and finally he died. At the end of the play, people danced the *Bora*, which is a kind of original Kuku dance. Most parts in the drama were in the Kuku language. However, a Madi was cast as the teacher since it was the only part that didn't require speaking in Kuku. Of note, most of the cast were women except the main character.

Unfortunately, I could not stay in the settlement long enough to see the event, so I did not see how it turned out. The settlement commander told me that the refugee desk of Adjumani and a number of public officers would come to the settlement to attend the event.

This case shows that refugees have been somewhat successful in building a life for themselves in their place of refuge. While the decision to hold the special event was suggested to the refugees and primarily funded by OPM, residents took a lead role in managing the event. Despite having an audience that came from a different area, they decided to present the drama in the Kuku language and generally tried to make the event their own. That is, they tried to recreate and reshape the event which had been mandated from the top. At the same time, during the preparation process they were open to others joining them, as indicated by their welcoming of Madi into the process. They chose a theme for the drama that could be shared with the host community. Although this event was almost official in nature (it was carried out jointly by UNHCR and OPM), the refugees made it their own. The leaders of this event were women. This means that in Mungula<sup>1</sup>, women have a certain power in the official spaces such as International Refugee Day.

The second case centers on a Kuku funeral. One day in February 2018, I, along with most Kuku in the settlement, attended a funeral of a Kuku man in Mungula 1. In Mungula, if a member of the Kuku dies, almost all Kuku in the settlement attend the funeral. The funeral took place in a house, and people put up a tent outside the *tukl*. Many people sat surrounding the altar under the tent, while several women worked in the kitchen. After finishing the prayer, people started discussing alcohol as the deceased man was an alcoholic. The problem of alcohol is not seen as a personal issue but rather as a community problem, thus it is discussed on a community level. One of the elders offered the wife of the deceased a chance to talk. She then proceeded to complain about her husband. At the time of their marriage, he had continued to drink and did not give her money for food or other things. However, his family blamed her, and they did not eat together. She wanted to divorce him but could not. She asked her family to send her money but her husband

spent this money on alcohol. She complained about this and shared that they quarrelled. The father of the departed agreed with her and expressed his regret, while the mother tried to protect her son. The exchange of words between family members did not go anywhere. Finally, some elders tried to mediate and get back to the theme under discussion. At this point, some elders proposed creating a community for Kuku in the settlement.<sup>21</sup>

The story relayed by the wife of the departed shows that she definitely experienced some kind of GBV in the settlement. Her husband spent her money on alcohol and did not give her money for everyday expenses. It was a form of economic violence. The wife then said, “we did *molo* each other.” *Molo* means quarrel or fighting in Kuku,<sup>22</sup> and it is probable that her husband also subjected her to some physical violence.

However, it seems that people did not think that this was a case of GBV. I did not hear anyone who attended the funeral say that it was GBV and no one suggested informing DRC of this case. Of course, they did not inform DRC about it before the funeral.

Did they know about GBV? Yes. Almost all of the Kuku are old refugees who have been in Uganda for more than 20 years. They know the life of the refugee in Uganda well. Even some of the women who were working in the kitchen were part of awareness-raising meetings held by the DRC to address GBV. They know what kinds of behavior and experiences constitute GBV and that it is not allowed. Why didn't they inform DRC of this case?

When the meeting was held, the issue was dealt with as a community issue; a community based on ethnicity - Kuku. This community itself does not have any relationship with the aid workers or the organizations. It is just for the Kuku in the settlement. When an issue is shifted to the issue of community they do not think about it in terms of GBV or as something they need to inform DRC about. This case demonstrates that members of the refugee communities do not always turn to DRC for support in the event of GBV, including intimate partner violence. And that

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<sup>21</sup> This community was established later.

<sup>22</sup> It also has the meaning “war”.

it would be important for DRC, and other organisations. In short, aid and refugee life are to a certain degree divided. Aid is thus another world for refugees.

## **7. Conclusion**

In this paper, I have explained several cases which occurred in a refugee settlement. I have focused on aid and on one refugee settlement to engage in a much deeper exploration of relationships between aid workers and refugees and how these are formed.

In conclusion, I will try to answer the questions raised in the introduction, namely: How do aid workers and refugees form relationships? Who actually carries out work in the settlements? How does the diversity of aid workers affect refugee's definition of gender and GBV?

Both field staff and incentive workers carried out work in the settlement. All DRC staff in the community are Ugandans and are at least high school graduates. In addition, they have formal contracts with DRC. In contrast, incentive workers are refugees who are employed on a part-time basis. At this point, staff and incentive workers are completely different. However, some of the incentive workers have been in Uganda longer and have a good academic background. Refugee life in Uganda has a certain kind of effect on them. In addition, incentive workers are valuable to both DRC staff and refugees. They became the link between refugees and aid workers. Their presence creates various kinds of relationships between refugees and aid workers. This was especially so with workers who are employed in the field and interact with refugees directly. They can share their ideas about life in the settlement.

How then does the gender definition of aid institutions and the one of Kukus exist together?

The case of "the attempted rape" illustrates the various relationships between aid workers, refugees, and the hosts. It is said that aid profoundly shapes the life of refugees. There

is a high possibility that this type of relationship affects the way refugees think of gender and GBV. Regardless of these types of situations in the settlement, refugees sometimes have their own community or world that is separate from the aid workers. This was demonstrated by the case of the Kuku funeral. Despite knowing what constitutes GBV and the forms of behaviour that are not allowed, they did not report what was said at the funeral. They did not intentionally fail to inform aid workers or the Ugandan government about it but simply did not think of it as GBV because the case was regarded as a “community issue”. This means, therefore, that despite the extent to which aid penetrates the life of refugees, there are still places that aid does not reach. There are of course cases of “attempted rape” that aid workers are informed about. Thus, it depends on the case and the circumstances. This illustrates the relationship between aid and refugees. While the influence of aid and on refugees cannot be denied, refugees do have their own space or community in the settlement. It is another world. I cannot evaluate this “other world”. Additionally, I recognize that my field data is still insufficient to analyse how aid affects refugees - this is my next task. However, my research has presented a part of the “real” situation of refugee settlements and all aid workers—not only the staff in charge of GBV and those who regularly interact with the refugees should know that these kinds of spaces exist in the refugee settlements. This fact will help our understanding of refugee life and in further developing the aid system.

Map. The Two Sudans and Uganda



*Source:* Made by author.

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## Abstract (in Japanese)

### 要約

本ワーキングペーパーは、ウガンダの難民居住区における人々の生活の一端を示すものである。特に南スーダン出身の一民族、クク人と、居住区におけるジェンダーに基づく暴力（GBV）プログラムに焦点を当てる。

南スーダン、ウガンダにおけるジェンダーと GBV について調査してきた研究者たちは、人々のジェンダーに対する考え方や、ジェンダーに基づく家庭内や共同体内での役割が難民居住区での生活を経たことによって変化してきたことを描いてきた。しかし支援者の多様性とそうした多様性がいかに難民のジェンダーへの視線に影響するのかについては描き切れていなかった。本ワーキングペーパーは難民居住区内に難民—支援者に二分されない様々な人々があり、そうした多様性がいかに難民—支援者関係を創り出していくのかを描きだし、それがいかに難民のジェンダーや GBV に対する考え方に影響してきたのかについて考える。

アジュマニ県はウガンダ北部に位置し、2017 年現在で 18 の難民居住区があった。各難民居住区では NGO が活動しており、NGO は難民をインセンティブ・ワーカーとして雇用していた。インセンティブ・ワーカーたちは難民と NGO スタッフの間を取り持つ。難民や、国際機関、NGO スタッフ、インセンティブ・ワーカー、そして難民を受け入れるウガンダの人びととの間で様々な関係性が創り出されている。こうした関係性は難民と支援者との境界線をあいまいにし、ジェンダーや GBV に対する理解の仕方に変化をもたらす。しかしその一方で、難民たちは支援者が立ち入らない社会的空間も持つ。

本ワーキングペーパーは、難民と支援者がジェンダーや GBV に対し、同じ定義を共有していると同時に、そうした定義が使われない難民独自の社会的空間も持つことを示す。それが支援の「届かない」場所である。

**キーワード：**ジェンダー、ジェンダーに基づく暴力、南スーダン、ウガンダ、支援、難民、クク人