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**UNITED BY MISFORTUNE: AN INSIGHT ON THE PLIGHT OF THE
INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN OF KENYA FOLLOWING THE
DISPUTED PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS OF 2007/8**

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Bachelor Thesis: UTKV03, 15hp

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ABSTRACT

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Conducted between the months of January and March 2012 in Eldoret Kenya, this study sought to find out why the internally displaced women of Yamumbi IDP Camp A remained trapped in the displacement camp. The study sought the opinions and views of the women.

By applying qualitative approach method of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions hand-recorded data was collected. Using purposive sampling 11 interviews and four focus group discussions were carried out. The respondents in this study included single women, neglected or divorced women and widows who headed their household.

The concepts of entitlement & capabilities approach theory, feminization of poverty and insecurity regimes & social policy were discussed. The relevance of each concept to the study was discussed. Later the collected data was transcribed and analyzed into five themes. The five themes include ethnicity, de-link from social contacts, gender bias experienced as women, education for a better tomorrow and source of livelihood.

Keywords: internally displaced women, entitlement, capabilities approach theory, feminization of poverty, insecurity regimes and social policy, Kenya, 2012

ACRONYMS

CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
FMR	Forced Migration Review
FOP	Feminization of Poverty
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP(s)	Internally Displaced Person(s)
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO's	Non-Governmental Organizations
PNU	Party of National Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-OCHA	United Nations Office of Coordination and Humanitarian Affairs

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“An internally displaced person (IDP) is anyone who has been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their home of habitual residence in particular, as a result of, or in order to avoid effects of armed conflict situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border” (UN-OCHA, 1999: p. 6).

Following the shift from a one-party political system to a multi-party political system in the early 1990's, Kenya has witnessed an increase in reported cases of internal displacement (*IDMC, 2006: p. 13*). As such a lot of research have been conducted to understand the link between rising internal displacement and election periods in Kenya. Two factors that feature predominantly in these studies are ethnic-based voting trend exhibited by most Kenyans, and the uneven distribution of resources (*IDMC, 2006: p. 13*). One such study by Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (*IDMC, 2006*) highlight the thought of Karanja who views “internal displacement in Kenya as a complex and multi-faceted problem which centers on disputed land questions and the right to acquire property; as well as the struggle for control of political and economic resources” (*IDMC, 2006: p. 5*). Similarly, these studies highlight the effects of internal displacement on gender relations in patriarchal societies such as Kenya and many other sub-Saharan Africa countries. A study by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (*UNIFEM, 2002*) observes that “while men play a crucial part in violence induced internal displacement by going to war, women take over headship roles in unfamiliar and uncertain situations, often with little or no social support structures to rely on. As such internal displacement adversely affects gender relations in a society” (*Kamungi, 2002: p. 8*).

Evidenced from these studies, the topic of internal displacement commands a lot of attention in the field of development. This is attributed to the fact that most cases of internal displacement occur in the developing countries at a time when these countries are expected to meet the millennium development goals (MDG) (*UNDP: 2002*). A second observation is that great emphasis is placed on the causes and effects of internal displacement. However, the causes and effects of long-term internal displacement in a society need to be equally addressed. This is because long term internal displacement negatively affects a society and its effects are felt for a long time.

Recent reports indicate that long-term displacement is becoming a common trend. Birkeland (2008) reveals that “in 2008 an estimated 42 million people worldwide became forcibly displaced of whom 26 million comprised of internally displaced persons. Out of these only 14.4 million received some support while the remaining 11.6 million did not get help due to lack of agreement over their legal

status and entitlement” (*Birkeland: 2009: p. 492*). Brookings (2011) defines protracted displacement as “a situation where the process for finding a durable solution has stalled and/ or where the IDPs become marginalized as a consequence of violation or a lack of protection of their human rights which include economic, social and cultural rights. Solutions are absent or have failed, and the IDPs remain disadvantaged; unable to enjoy their rights” (*Brookings, 2011*). Understanding the causes for long-term internal displacement might help reduce protracted displacement.

Motivated by the findings of Birkeland this study identifies the need to research on long-term internal displacement in Kenya. Supported by the observation that women and their children constitute about 70 percent of the entire internally displaced population (*Cohen: 2005: p. 1*) this study will concentrate on the internally displaced women. Secondly, considering that Kenya is a patriarchal society choosing to research on the internally displaced women would yield interesting revelations.

A fieldwork study was carried out at Yamumbi IDP Camp A, in Eldoret between the months of January and March 2012. The study sought to find the reasons that contribute to the continued presence of the internally displaced women in the displacement camp four years after the disputed presidential elections of 2007/8 in Kenya. During the fieldwork 11 semi-structured interview sessions and 4 focus group discussions were conducted. The respondents were all household heads from 22 years and older. They included single women, divorced or neglected women and widows.

BACKGROUND

The two major parties that had a lot of support before and after the election of December 2007 were the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and the Party of National Unity (PNU). The majority of ODM supporters were from the Kalenjin and Luo communities, while PNU supporters were from the Kikuyu community. Shortly after the announcement of the presidential results, where PNU was declared the winner a bitter dispute ensued between ODM and PNU supporters. Ethnic groups spontaneously rose against each other. Kamungi highlights how at least “1,300 people were killed, 663,921 people became internally displaced and a further 12,000 became refugees in the neighboring countries” (*Kamungi: 2009: p. 345*). In addition there were numerous cases of assault among women and children that were never mentioned (*KHRC: 2008*). At that moment the peace that had earlier prevailed in Kenya was put to test as the country was going through a very challenging time. With the help of the former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan a coalition government was formed between the two rival parties, thus paving way for peace and order in February 2008 (*KHRC: 2008: p. 11*).

In May 2008, the coalition government initiated a campaign to resettle all the internally displaced persons as a result of the post-election violence (*KHRC: 2008: p. 11*). At the onset of this resettlement scheme the coalition government pledged to resettle all the internally displaced persons within one month (*KHRC: 2008: p. 11*). The campaign was called “Operation Rudi Nyumbani” which are Swahili words meaning “Operation Return Home” (*KHRC: 2008: p. 11*). However, in spite of the government's initiative a report by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) in 2011 revealed that most of the displacement camps in Kenya still served as home for many internally displaced persons (*IDMC, 2011: p. 47*). Therefore this study identifies the need to research on the internally displaced women who continue to be displaced many years after the government's initiative to resettle all the IDPs.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Following a conflict internally displaced persons are faced with three scenarios concerning their resettlement. The first scenario concerns the group of internally displaced persons who choose to go back to their habitual residence. The second involves the group of internally displaced persons who seek to be given an alternative resettlement plan rather than going back to where they had fled from. This group also includes those who choose to be locally integrated in the societies where they have sought refuge. The third scenario involves the group of internally displaced persons who remain in protracted displacement. This group perseveres the harsh realities of the displacement camp as they wait for the relevant authorities to address their plight (*Brookings: 2007: p. 10*).

“Operation Rudi Nyumbani” was launched to resettle the displaced person(s) in their habitual residence or assist them find alternative resettlement. Unfortunately, many internally displaced persons still find themselves trapped in protracted displacement. A big number of the trapped IDPs are women. This study will therefore explore the third scenario in an attempt to seek the reasons that captivate them in long-term displacement.

AIMS

In order to achieve the purpose of the study three aims were identified. The first aim is to pursue the reasons that have promoted long-term displacement which in this context is four years. The views that will be highlighted by the women will be the answers that this study seeks. The women's perspective on their displacement. The second aim is to delve into the hardship situation that the internally displaced women face. Through conducting interview sessions and focus group discussions, the research will gain a better understanding of the situation in which the women are in. The third aim of this study is to answer one research question itself. The research question has been

identified to keep the study on focus thus, not drifting from achieving its purpose.

RESEARCH QUESTION

To be able to understand why some internally displaced women experience long-term displacement one research question was developed. The research question was designed in a way that enables the women to give an account of their own understanding as to why they remain trapped in the camps. Therefore, the research question is: -

What reasons do the internally displaced women give for their prolonged stay (four years after the launch of “Operation Rudi Nyumbani”) in the displacement camp ?

LIMITATION

While conducting this study a few challenges were experienced. Among of the challenges faced was the negative perception towards the motive of the study. This perception was expressed by some respondents who felt betrayed after participating in previous studies. The respondents who shared this sentiments gave a few examples to support their view. One such example was when researchers requested for their participation as respondents. Usually the researchers promised that sharing on their plight would bring an end to their displacement. However, their participation in previous studies had not altered their status quo. This challenge was overcome when the researcher carefully explained to the respondents that the study was an academic requirement. The researcher explained that as an academic requirement the study would not directly or immediately affect their status quo but would be an opportunity for their plight to be highlighted and made known to the public.

The second challenge experienced was based on ethnicity and the negative perception concerning it. This was largely influenced by the fact that during the conflict the Kalenjin community played a major role in evicting the other communities from Eldoret. Similarly, following the post election violence a majority of internally displaced persons were Kikuyu. It was therefore easy to conclude that ethnicity had influenced their displacement. This challenge was anticipated since the researcher hailed from the Kalenjin community while the respondents of this study were all Kikuyu. As expected some respondents were inquisitive of the researcher's ethnicity and interest concerning their plight and views. Tactfully, the researcher managed to convince the respondents about her mission and encouraged them to steer away from tribal sentiments.

The final challenge encountered was the short duration that the study had been allocated. Considering the amount of information to be collected and processed the researcher was able to only visit one displacement camp. Thus, recognizes that a more diverse outcome would have been

yielded had the study visited more displacement camps.

It is worth noting that although these challenges were experienced the study was still able to achieve its purpose and aims.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the past few years, there has been a rise in internal displacement; as such the topic of internal displacement conducts a lot of research. The studies produce differing revelations which is attributed to the different settings that each study is conducted. The diverse observations give internal displacement a comprehensive outlook (*Castagna: 2011; p. 2*). This study, therefore, identifies three previous studies conducted in relation to internally displaced persons in displacement camps, as it is “easy to identify and reach them” (*Castagna: 2011; p. 2*).

The first literature review is a quantitative and comparative case study research by Sert (2008). The study explores the essential role played by property rights in ensuring that internally displaced persons find a durable solution (*Sert, 2008: p. 1*). Supported by the notion that resettlement requires the availability of a location, the study insists that internally displaced persons should be able to claim property or compensation during resettlement (*Sert, 2008: p. 1*). The study also suggests that those without property prior to displacement should be considered and given some, as the answer to achieving peace and stability in a region affected by conflict lies in resolving internal displacement (*Sert, 2008: p. iv*).

The second literature review is a study of the internally displaced persons of Vavunyia in northern Sri-Lanka by Johansson (2004). This study relies on a hypothesis that absence of “personal resources” encourages protracted displacement (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*). Johansson 2004 explains how an individual’s social, economic and political wellbeing are influenced by the individuals “personal resources” (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*). The study, therefore, focuses on the “personal resources” that an internally displaced persons has (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*). “Low social status, small social networks in the places they flee from, low education, unskilled work and landlessness” are some of the features observed (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*). However, Johansson observes that being able to vote gives the internally displaced persons a “personal resources” (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*). That notwithstanding, the study maintains that the overall results obtained from the study prove the hypothesis factual as most of the internally displaced persons in protracted displacement do not have most of the “personal resources” mentioned (*Johansson, 2004: p. 2*).

Guided by the perturbing realization that “internal displacement affects gender relations adversely” (*Kamungi, 2002: p. 8*), this study identified its third literature review by Castagna (2011). This study investigates how the internally displaced women of Colombia re-organize their lives after

displacement (*Castagna, 2011, p. 2*). The discovery that “displacement in Colombia was a strategy of war, a deliberate act towards the female population (*Newland 2003: 90*), in which the factious groups use rape and sexual abuse towards women and young girls as a way of intimidation” (*Castagna, 2011: p. 1*) prompted this study. Using the “analytical framework of the actor-oriented approach and the concept of feminization of poverty” the study shows that the women are in control of their lives (*Castagna, 2011, p. i*). Through hard work and perseverance the women are able to carry on with their regular lives despite being displaced (*Castagna, 2011, p. i*). In addition social networks are created in the camps that serves the women two purposes. The first is that these social networks enable the women to support each other through sharing business ideas and general ideas on how to take charge of their lives and their future. Secondly the support systems offer curative measures. This is achieved when the women openly talk and discuss their misfortune (*Castagna, 2011, p. i*).

The past studies describe the various situations faced by internally displaced persons. The studies by Sert (2008) and Johansson (2004) are concerned with the property rights that an internally displaced person has. These studies consider the entire internally displaced population including men, women and children. The third study by Castagna (2011) is primarily concerned with internally displaced women, and seeks to investigate how they re-organized their lives and their experiences. It is against this background that this study identified the need to research further on the reasons that captivate internally displaced women in protracted displacement.

CHAPTER 2 : METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the researcher highlights the method that have been used to collect data. Qualitative method, semi-structured interview and focus group discussions are discussed. The advantages and disadvantages of these methods are also mentioned. Included in this chapter is where the data was collected, how it was collected and who the respondents were. In addition, the chapter shows how the data was analyzed. In conclusion, the chapter discusses the ethical considerations and the relevance of the applied method to the study.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

According to Bryman “methods are not simply neutral tools: they link the ways in which social scientists envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined” (*Bryman, 2008: p. 4*). This study applied a qualitative approach method. Bryman defines qualitative method as “a form of social inquiry on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live and whose main purpose is to understand the social realities of individuals, groups and cultures” (*Bryman, 2008*). The researcher observed that the subjective nature of qualitative methods makes it manageable to work with a smaller group in a society (*Bryman, 2008*). In addition qualitative approach methods makes it possible to discover hidden fundamental issues that could easily be overlooked. Similarly the method produces both exciting and diverse outcomes in two or more similar studies. This is because the findings in each study relies on a researcher’s interpretation of the data. However, a disadvantage of qualitative research is that it is hard to generalize the findings of two or more similar studies since the findings in each study are dependent on a researchers own understanding of the context (*Punch, 2005*). Another disadvantage of qualitative methods is that it lacks the support of statistical data which often enriches the findings and arguments in a study (*Punch, 2005*).

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Guided by a questionnaire the researcher applied semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Semi-structured interviews was selected because of its approachable and responsive manner. This nature of semi-structured interviews allows the respondent to delve more on the topic (*Johansson, 2004: p. 21*). Focus group discussions was chosen as it gives the researcher a better understand of the situation. Thus, supplementing the information obtained through semi-structured interviews.

SAMPLING

Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents. This was achieved through the help of the first internally displaced woman that the researcher had contact with at the displacement camp. Purpose driven sampling is an art used to select respondents based on a participant's preceding knowledge on a topic. By using purposive sampling a comprehensive amount of information is achieved (*Dahlgren et al, 2007*).

The factors that enabled purposive sampling included the ability to interact in Swahili, marital status, age and household headship. Eleven (11) interview sessions were conducted. The respondents were from twenty-two (22) years and older. The marital status of the internally displaced women served as the criteria for selecting the focus group discussions. Each focus group included atleast a divorced or neglected women, a single mother and a widow.

ANALYSIS OF COLLECTED DATA

The researcher went over the responses before each session was closed. This was a means of ensuring that careful and authentic information was being collected. The interviews and focus groups discussions were supervised at the displacement camp and each session went on for a duration of between 20-30 minutes. The collected data was hand written with the help of a field assistant while the researcher led the interviews and discussions. With the respondents permission the hand written data was manually transcribed at the end of the data collection period. By manually coding the transcribed information the researcher classified themes and categories. Using context analysis (*Graneheim et al, 2004*) the researcher carefully compared the respondents feedback. One advantage of context analysis is that it is possible to make duplicate and rational conclusions from the information obtained, with the intention of contributing awareness to the study (*Elo, 2008: p. 108*).

RELEVANCE OF THE METHOD TO THE STUDY

The nature of the research question influenced the choice of method used. A qualitative approach method was chosen to find out the reasons that have contributed to the continued presence of the internally displaced women in the displacement camp four years after their displacement. The researcher chose semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions as a way of avoiding misconstrued information. This is because semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions offers the respondents an opportunity to clarify their views before the final data is hand recorded. Secondly, respondents are more relaxed to discuss sensitive issues affecting them when interviews are conducted in a less-constrained manner. In addition, the researcher observed that focus group

discussions highlight more about the respondents' situation.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Often internal displacement is a sensitive topic to research on for both the researcher and the internally displaced persons. A major challenge that many researchers encounter when conducting research on internal displacement is how to inquire on their plight without mentioning the horrific past that led to their displacement. A past that to many would best be forgotten. However, the researcher reminded the respondents of the study's intention before and after each interview and focus group discussions. The identity of the respondents was kept safe by using anonymity while recording their views and opinions. In addition an equitable and amicable environment was maintained between the respondents and the researcher throughout the sessions.

SELECTION OF THE SITE

Between the months of January and March of 2012 this study was carried out at Yamumbi IDP Camp A. Yamumbi IDP Camp A is located in Eldoret, North Rift Kenya. The field work site was located with the help of a gatekeeper; formerly an internally displaced person prior to "Operation Rudi Nyumbani". At Yamumbi IDP Camp A, there were 22 households.

The reason for selecting this displacement camps was because Eldoret was the most volatile region in the country during the post-election crisis. As a result, the town accommodated a majority of the country's internally displaced persons. Time and resources were the second consideration for selecting Yamumbi IDP Camps A due to its close proximity to accessible roads. The third reason for selecting the camp was its location. Yamumbi IDP Camp A was set up on a piece of land belonging to the local authorities. Considering the nature of this study the researcher felt that the location was safe and favorable both for the respondents and the researcher. An aspect that would make the respondents comfortable to express their views.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is concerned with the theoretical framework used in this study. Three concepts have been identified in relation to the internally displaced women of Yamumbi IDP Camp A. The first concept is the entitlement and capabilities approach by Amartya Sen. The second concept is feminization of poverty and the final concept is insecurity regimes and social policy. Similarly, the relevance of each concept to the study is discussed. The three concepts are discussed below:-

ENTITLEMENT APPROACH THEORY

The entitlement approach theory discovered by Amartya Sen in 1943 has its emphasis on “an individual’s ability to purchase necessities in a justifiable and acceptable manner” (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*). Sen uses the term “individual ability” to include “the use of production possibilities, trade opportunities, entitlements as well as any other reasonable means of obtaining food” (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*). Having assets or any other possessions to trade off can abet the individual from experiencing lack (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*).

The entitlement theory draws its argument from three central concepts: -

The first central concept is the endowment set which entails substantial and insubstantial possession that have been justifiable accumulated (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*). Osmani identifies “land, equipment and animals as substantial possessions, and knowledge, skill, labor power and membership in a community as insubstantial possessions” (*Osmani, 1993: p. 3*). The second central concept is the entitlement set which includes all the purchases that an individual legitimately procures through trading off the possessions in his endowment set (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*). The final central concept is the entitlement mapping which shows the correlation between the endowment set and the entitlement set (*Sen, 1999: p. 45*). It demonstrates what transpires when an individual has an asset. The ability of ownership gives an individual a better opportunity to acquire or dispose off property when need arises.

CAPABILITY APPROACH THEORY

Discovered in the early 1980's, by Amartya Sen, the focal point of the capability approach theory lies in an “individual’s ability to perform certain things based on their capabilities” (*Robeyns, 2003: p. 62*). Thus, poverty as understood by Sen is as a result of “capability deprivation” (*Sen: 1999*). Sen believes that people’s choice of lifestyle is greatly controlled by the capabilities that they possess (*Tiwari, 2007: p. 173*). The three central notions of capabilities approach are discussed below: -

Functioning’s are the “accomplishes that an individual is able to realize” (*Clark, 2005: p. 5*).

Functioning's contains different things that an individual deems necessary to them; like the "ability to enjoy good health, safety, ability to access education, and employment" (*Deneulin, 2009: p. 22*). Realizing these accomplishments relies on "a group of personal and social factors" thus "functioning's are entirely dependent upon the possessions that an individual has at their disposal" (*Clark, 2005: p. 5*). In the case of internal displacement, an internally displaced person would value having a proper roof over their head, and a decent place to call home. This would in return produce happiness and satisfaction to the internally displaced individual. However, as Clark has highlighted, having a proper shelter would require that either the internally displaced person has access to a piece of land to build the house, or that they have a steady source of income so as to pay rent.

Capabilities refer to the "possibilities presented to an individual and which affect the life that the individual lives" (*Deneulin, 2009: p. 22*). An example is how some communities in sub-Saharan Africa have a tendency of practicing wife inheritance following internal displacement. This happens in instances where the woman become a widow at a tender age or if the husband owned land and property. In such cases the woman is faced with the option of being inheritance in order to continue enjoying the privileges of being married in that home. Such as being able to work on the family land as well as having a place to call home.

Agency concerns an "individual's ability to pursue and realize valuable functioning's and goals that one values and has reason to value" (*Deneulin, 2009: p. 37*). "The opposite of a person with an agency is someone forced, oppressed or passive" (*Deneulin, 2009: p. 37*). To continue with the example of wife inheritance in some cases of internal displacement, some women are able to decide whether to be inherited or not. However, there is a group of women who are not able to exercise their freedom of choice and as such they are forced into wife inheritance against their wish.

THE LINK BETWEEN ENTITLEMENT APPROACH THEORY & CAPABILITY APPROACH THEORY TO THE STUDY

Many parts of sub-Saharan Africa view agriculture as its main income earner. This makes land a highly valued asset as is it equated to a reliable source of income. A study by Kate Bird (2010) identified "agricultural sector in sub-Saharan Africa as comprising of at least 80 percent women in the labor force, however, out of this 80 percent an estimated 1 percent claim title deeds in their names while 5-6 percent claim to have title deeds as co-partners" (*Bird, 2010*). The study revealed that only a handful of sub-Saharan African women had access to land ownership. The Chronic Poverty Research Centre attributes this to the fact "many women are unable to obtain entitlements concerning land and ownership. As a result, their poverty rate becomes enhanced and complicated in the event of displacement" (*CPRC, 2010: p. 2*). An aspect which contributes to poverty being one

of the hard-to-tackle problems facing the field of development (*UNIFEM, 2005: p. 15*).

Kacowicz defines poverty as “a situation where an individual is not able to access goods, needs and entitlements vital for one’s survival due to deprivation” (*Kacowicz, 2005: p. 114*). Amartya Sen holds the same thought but insists that more emphasis should be placed on “deprivation of entitlements” (*Nayak, 2000: p. 60*). In addition Allen (2000) links poverty to social exclusion, arguing that social exclusion “highlights the different causes of deprivation which are often interrelate for example gender, ethnicity, lack of opportunity and low income” (*Allen, 2000: p. 14*).

Cases have often been cited of how internal displacement affects women who lack entitlements. In communities where women are viewed as property and cannot inherit property the women face two options in the unfortunate event that they lose their partners during internal displacement. The first option is to be inherited by a close male family member. The second option applies to women who refuse to be inherited. These women opt to abandon their homes. The communities that practice wife inheritance argue that it is a way of preserving family wealth. The situation becomes even more complicated in inter-ethnic marriages.

The study finds it relevant to include the entitlement approach theory and capability theory as theoretical concepts because of its relevance to the respondents in this study. The concept was chosen because lack of entitlements and capabilities plays a role in increasing the vulnerability of the respondents in this study to poverty and continued displacement.

FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

Aimed at explaining the worrying trend in which “women represent an uneven percentage of the world's poor” the notion of feminization of poverty (FOP) was discovered (*Chant, 2006: p. 2*). The concept arose in the late 1970's as a result of the challenges that a majority of women in the United States faced while addressing poverty (*CAUSES, 2002: p. 3*). However, at the fourth United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 FOP gained popularity when it was noted that at least 70 percent of the world's poorest were women (*Chant, 2006: p. 2*). This disparity in the percentage of the world’s poor is a perturbing drift worldwide and more so in the developing countries. So worrying is the trend that it has been termed “*the burden of poverty borne by women*” by UNIFEM (*UNIFEM: 2005*).

There are three main points that feminization of poverty is founded upon. This include the uneven percentage of women as the world's poor; belief that the trend is deepening and a positive correlation between women's poverty level with increasing cases of women headed households” (*Chant, 2006: p. 2*).

While explaining the events that heighten the stake of women towards poverty as compared to men,

“social and cultural practices; particularly exclusion of entitlement and capabilities rights” is mentioned (*Moghadam, 2005: p. 15*). Failure to address gender inequalities has contributed to female headed households being poor. This is because “deprivation of rights; entitlements and capabilities” encourages feminization of poverty (*Chant, 2003: p. 6*). Alterations in demographic arrangement has also been identified as encouraging female headed households and poverty among women. This shift in demographic patterns explains the small social networks that female headed households have (*Causes, 2002: p. 3*). Moghadam defines female headed households as “elderly women either widowed or divorced and who have dependent children. Female headed households situations are either permanent or transitory or embedded in a wider kin network of support” (*Moghadam, 2005: p. 10*).

Although feminization of poverty highlights the grim reality faced by many women, the concept has been criticised for its “over-emphasis on female headed households, gender bias towards men and mentioning income as the only cause for poverty” (*Chant, 2006: p. 6*).

THE LINK BETWEEN FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY TO THE STUDY

Internal displacement affects demographic patterns which is linked to increasing cases of female headed households (*Causes, 2002: p. 3*). Men experience a lot of emotional challenges and in some cases lose their lives during a conflict. This leaves the female population to bear the consequences and explains the sudden rise of female headed households in conflict prone areas. As a result of losing their husbands and families in the conflict the female headed households tend to have smaller social networks (*Chant, 2003: p. 11*).

It is easy to assume that female headed households indicates a progress in women empowerment and liberalization in conflict affected regions. However, it is vital to mention that many countries experiencing conflict are found in sub-Saharan Africa and quite often they are patriarchal in nature (*Bridge, 2001: p. 3*). As such a study by Bridge states “female headed households are likely to be less constrained by patriarchal authority at the domestic level and female heads may feel more self-esteem, more personal freedom, more flexibility to take on paid work, enhanced control over finances and a reduction or absence of physical and/or emotional abuse. However, they may face greater difficulties than men in gaining access to labor markets, credit, housing and essential services, and there are sometimes additional layers of discrimination against female heads” (*Bridge, 2001: p. 3*).

This study finds it relevant to incorporate the concept of feminization of poverty because it is applicable to the respondents in this research who are female household heads. The concept was identified due to women falling into poverty as a result of exclusion from entitlements and

capabilities.

INSECURITY REGIMES & SOCIAL POLICY

Esping- Andersen introduced the welfare regime model to distinguish between liberal, conservative-corporatist and social democratic welfare regimes (*Gough, 2006: p. 21*). In this model the role and the relationship of the family, the state and the market influence the welfare outcome in a country (*Gough, 2006: p. 21*). However, since Esping-Andersen's welfare regime model was mainly concerned with the rich countries in the west the model failed to include the less developed countries in the south (*Wood, 2001: p. 5*). This led to the development of insecurity regimes by Bevan in an attempt to explain the situation in sub-Saharan Africa (*Gough, 2006: p. 31*).

Although the countries that comprise of sub-Saharan Africa have a different outlook from each other, Bevan identifies that these countries share a lot of similarities thus classifying the entire region as “dangerous and ambivalent” (*Gough, 2006: p. 31*). Bevan defines sub-Saharan Africa as a region “characterized by chronic conflict and exterminatory wars, ‘vampire’ states, shadow states and absent states, mobilization via militarization, wide gaps in institutional responsibility, absent social policies and extreme suffering. In this (non-) ideal- type, chronic insecurity is the norm and social policy is the province of humanitarian aid regimes” (*Gough, 2013: p. 213*).

The weak nature of the states in insecurity regimes makes them prone and vulnerable to invasion, control and manipulation by external and powerful forces from rich countries in the west, donor and humanitarian agencies or even criminal groups. As a result motive based relationships are created between the local leaders and the powerful external forces. Usually this type of relationships affects a country when certain groups or regions in a country become marginalized or favored during the allocation of resources (*Gough, 2006: p. 34*).

The low economic status of these countries forces them to heavily rely on donor funding. As a result donor influence affects the type of social policy that these countries can adapt. Thus these countries are faced with the challenge of delivering quality and standard social policies (*Cerami, 2013: p. 9*).

THE LINK BETWEEN INSECURITY WELFARE & SOCIAL POLICY TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Thandiki Mkandawire defines social policy as “the collective interventions directly affecting transformation in social welfare, social institutions and social relations” (*Mkandawire, 2001: p. 1*). According to Gough (2006), social policy is aimed at ensuring that human welfare gets better (*Gough, 2006: p. 1*). The welfare structure in a country influences the kind of social policy that a country offers. Thus, the correlation between welfare type and social policy can either minimize or

elevate social disparities in a country (*Gough, 2006*).

Having mentioned that an “internally displaced person (IDP) is anyone who has been forced out of their homes but continues to live within the boundaries of his/her country” (*UN-OCHA, 1999*) this study finds it relevant to incorporate the concept of insecurity welfare regimes in sub-Saharan Africa and in particular Kenya. By discussing the insecurity welfare regimes this study will be able to find out if there are any social benefits or options available for the women. Through conducting semi-structured interviews and observing the living conditions of the internally displaced women this study will be able to understand the social policy in Kenya.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter explains the data analysis of this study. During the field work exercise the researcher collected data through conducting semi-structured interviews and holding focus group discussions. With the respondents permission the data was hand recorded and manually transcribed. A few of the observations noted include:-

- A variation in the length of household headship. The variation ranged from permanent cases to current cases. Some of the respondents have been household heads from the beginning as they got children out of wedlock or were never married. For others, the effects of internal displacement forced them to be household heads. This group comprised of widows and divorced or neglected women.
- Differing reasons for household headship. The different households established consisted of single mothers, neglected or divorced women and widows.
- Level of education ranged from low levels to no education at all. However all the respondents showed a profound longing for their children to be successful in future thus, sent their children to the nearby schools.
- Ethnicity. The revelation that the majority of the displaced women came from one ethnic group; the Kikuyu ethnic group.
- Strong patriarchal sentiments expressed throughout the study. This revealed that men seemed to have better opportunities in Kenya.

The revelations mentioned show that most of the internally displaced women had the same viewpoint on most of the issues discussed. As such five themes were identified and are discussed below :-

- a. ethnicity
- b. de-link from social contact
- c. gender bias experienced as women
- d. education for a better tomorrow
- e. source of livelihood

I. ETHNICITY

The first theme identified is ethnicity. Kenya as many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa is a nation where tribal identity is an important ingredient in the political arena. In addition to benefiting from accessible roads, schools, hospitals and high profile jobs, people vote along tribal lines to express their social identity. As such most of the marginalized communities are often politically under-represented (*Gough, 2006: p. 34*). Hence, the post election violence was not only politically

instigated but was also strongly influenced by tribal rivalry. During the interview sessions a few women shared their views on how ethnicity had played a role in their long-term displacement.

On 6/2-2012 Wanjiku* a 30 year old single mother of two narrated her story, as follows: -

R 1 “When I lived in the village of Kuresoi all my friends were either from the Luo community or the Kalenjin community. A thing that my fellow Kikuyu's failed to understand. I was always harassed and questioned on why I kept friends from a different ethnic community. However, following the conflict of 2007/8 I am afraid of going back to Kuresoi since I cannot fit in because my friends do not want me there anymore. This is because my tribesmen caused a lot of harm there during the violence, and even if I had the chance to go my tribesmen would term me a traitor, so it is better here in the camp where it is peaceful”

Mumbi* a 45 year old widow and mother of four shared a similar narration on 8/2-2012:-

R 2 “Married to a man from Luo, I lost my identity as a Kikuyu with this marriage. Unfortunately, my husband died 7 years ago, and I have Luo children whom I cannot take back to my Kikuyu community. My children would be unwelcome there. So honestly, if I look at myself and my situation, I wonder where I can start from; I just decide that living in this camp is more favorable for me, and nobody here makes my children feel unwanted”

On 10/2-2012 Anna Wangare* 51 year old widow tells her story below:-

R 3 “If we are not careful we might attack each other the same way Rwanda did in 1994. Never at any time have I discriminate anyone on the basis of ethnicity. However, the night of 31/12-2007 will forever remain in my mind. A large group of young men carrying machetes walked to our home. From a distance we could identify some of the men since we had lived with the Kalenjin's for a long time. As they approached my husband called out to one of the men by his name. There was no response. Again my husband called out the same name only to be slashed by a machete and ordered to shut up. The next few minutes were horrifying as they destroyed our house and physically assaulted us amidst threats to come back for our children. They claimed that the PNU leader had stolen the votes and as such all Kikuyu's would suffer the consequence. As soon as they left we screamed and called out for help but the neighbors just watched. It was that night when my husband succumbed to the injuries”

Being a developing country the transition from insecurity welfare regimes to a welfare state has not been achieved. As a result people in Kenya rely on family, friends and religious groups from their

ethnic communities for social support and protection (Cerami, 2013). The findings from the semi-structured interviews show that reliance on ethnic communities makes it hard for women who have been in inter-tribal marriage/relationships to benefit from the social support and protection from their tribesmen.

II. DE-LINK FROM SOCIAL CONTACT

The second theme identified was de-linked from social contact. Throughout the interview sessions and the focus group discussions, the theme of being de-linked from social contact was mentioned repeatedly. Most of the internally displaced women connect their prolonged displacement to the fact that they have been neglected by the society that they once trusted.

On 6/2-2012 the same extract by Wanjiku* a 30 year old single mother of two highlight the theme of de-link from social contact as follows: -

R 1 "When I lived in the village of Kuresoi all my friends were either from the Luo community or the Kalenjin community. A thing that my fellow Kikuyu's failed to understand. I was always harassed and questioned on why I kept friends from a different ethnic community. However, following the conflict of 2007/8 I am afraid of going back to Kuresoi since I cannot fit in because my friends do not want me there anymore. This is because my tribesmen caused a lot of harm there during the violence, and even if I had the chance to go my tribesmen would term me a traitor, so it is better here in the camp where it is peaceful"

The same narration by Mumbi* a 45 year old widow and mother of four on 8/2-2012 tells of her experience with being de-linked from social ties:-

R 2 "Married to a man from Luo, I lost my identity as a Kikuyu with this marriage. Unfortunately, my husband died 7 years ago, and I have Luo children whom I cannot take back to my Kikuyu community. My children would be unwelcome there. So honestly, if I look at myself and my situation, I wonder where I can start from; I just decide that living in this camp is more favorable for me, and nobody here makes my children feel unwanted"

A longing for when the camp life would end was expressed by most of the women. That notwithstanding, the women openly shared their views about being de-linked from social contacts. Social connections that they once enjoyed. As Cerami(2013) mentions one characteristic of emergency regimes of which Kenya is included, is that family, local friends and religious groups play a significant role in offering social protection (Cerami, 2013). Leaving the displacement camps

after having faced rejection seemed to be difficult. The women expressed that the displacement camp served as a unifying sanctuary for them. The women could easily relate to each other since they share the same predicament. As a result remaining in the displacement camp was both reassuring and comforting for the women as they could easily build new social connections.

Similar sentiments was shared by Njeri* on 10/2-2012. Njeri* a 38 year old widow gives her narration and tells of how the displacement camp has offered her emotional relief:-

R 4 “During the conflict, my husband got brutally murdered and so were most of my immediate relatives including the closest friends that were like family to me. I have honestly thought of going back to the village but where do I go back? Whom do I go back to? I have no family; I have no friends; I have no relatives; I have no one to turn to, I feel like a stranger back there, but here in the camp I have made many friends and most of them are in the same situation as I. The women here and their children are like family to me”

On the same day 10/2-2012 Wairimu* a 25 year old single mother shares her past during the first focus group discussion:-

FG 1 “Mine has been an unfortunate story since childhood. I lost my mother at a very tender age, and since my father could not raise me alone he married a second wife. My step-mother was very hostile and would never miss the opportunity to remind me of how I was unwanted. I remember once she told me that my mother died because she could not imagine having a child like me.....Shortly after, my father died and my step-mother threw me out of our home. I have since then had a great fear of rejection. Somehow, I feel at home in the displacement camp as I can relate to most of the women here, and no one says mean things to me”

The response that the internally displaced women gave in regards to being de-linked from social contacts evidently points to a people who have experienced betrayed from a society that they once trusted. The theme of de-link from social contacts is summed up by the fear of being shunned, disowned and rejected in uncertain times. An article by Chant highlights “demographic patterns have contributed to female headed households having smaller social networks as a result of detachment from ex-partners and relatives” (Chant, 2003: p. 11). This observation concurs with an earlier study by Kamungi when highlighting the plight of the internally displaced persons in Kenya. Kamungi states that internal displacement affects all people negatively, but its impacts are more hostile to “internally displaced women with disrupted former support structures and kinship ties” (Kamungi; 2002: p. 9).

III. GENDER BIAS EXPERIENCED AS WOMEN

Gender bias against the internally displaced women has been identified as the third theme that explain the women's continued displacement. Most of the respondents argue that their prolonged displacement is a result of gross injustices that have been committed towards them based on their gender orientation. The internally displaced women expressed attitudes of rejection and marginalization from their families and friends based on the fact that they are women. With no option of where to call home these women remain in the displacement camp. Their intention is to wait for the government through the relevant authorities to offer them a lasting solution.

On 13/2-2012 Warutere* 56 year old widow and mother to three narrated her ordeal:-

R 5 "In 1990, I moved to Burnt Forest in Eldoret, from Kiambu, and the main reason was because of the tribulations that I faced from my in laws following my husband's death. Before he died, we owned 5 acres of land and being brought up to be a hardworking person, I cultivated our land and would get very good returns yearly. Having been married at a tender age of fifteen, I assumed that the land and property was jointly ours; hence, there was no need to ask for a land title with both our names or suggest for a will in case of death. Following my husband's death, is the reason why we(three children included) have been IDP since 1992"

A similar experience is told by Rose W* a 47 year old widow on 13/2-2012 during the second focus group discussion:-

FG 2 "I got married to a very nice man and together we had three girls. He came from a very humble background, but since he was a very hardworking man he soon became rich and accumulated a lot of property. As fate would have it, I lost my husband in a tragic accident, and since his family wanted to inherit his property they tried to force me to be inherited by his older brother as a second wife, so as to retain my husband's assets. Being a Christian I strongly opposed their plans to have me inherited. As a result, I saw the actual colors of my family in law. They literally kicked me out of our home and warned me never to return, since all my children were girls. Being married meant my parents had paid the required bride price and would not take me back for fear of bad luck befalling them"

Not only did the women experience rejection and marginalization from their distant relatives but also from immediate family members. Leah Wango* a 27 a single mother shared her background on 15/2-2012:-

R 6 "I remember growing up as the only girl child in our family with four brothers. Every day we

would play in our father's land as we grazed the cattle. When my father passed away in 1994, I was the only child who did not inherit any property just because I was a girl, and inheriting me would be counted as a loss since I would be married off to another family with land and property. Now 18 years later, I am a single mother to three children and I have never been married, where do you expect me to go?"

Incidents of women being disowned and neglected by their husbands also arose. The women who had experienced this also found themselves with no property.

Wanjiru* a 37 year old mother neglected woman shares her narration on the 17/2-2012:-

R 7 "After the birth of our fifth child, my husband went to Nairobi to look for work. That was the last time the children and I saw or heard of him. In fact, born in this displacement camp is my sixth child; from an affair that I later got involved in. So when you ask us about a place of origin, I am not so sure how to answer you"

A study by Kindi (2010), explains how women in Africa experience difficulties in acquiring possession following a conflict when they lose their husbands (Kindi, 2010: p. 6). Kindi cites the following example where "UNHCR (2001) noted that in the aftermath of the genocide and massacres of 1994 in Rwanda, many women who became widows met stiff resistance from in-laws or male members of their own family in accessing land" (Kindi, 2010: p. 6). Similarly, the study by Johansson 2004 found out that "many women live in displacement camps due to the exclusion of inheriting property and land in the places they fled from" (Johansson, 2004). From the excerpts captioned above gender bias towards the female population in Kenya has played a major role in their prolonged displacement. Without a place to call home the women remain in the camp.

IV. EDUCATION FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

The fourth theme that has been identified in this study is education for a better tomorrow. While conducting the focus group discussion the women openly discussed their earlier life. From these discussions it was evident that most of the internally displaced women had very basic education. That notwithstanding, the women occasionally mentioned proper education and its importance. Despite the challenges of the camp life the respondents with school-going children likened their continued displacement to a blessing in disguise. These women had enrolled their children in the neighboring local schools where tuition and lunch was freely offered. These women seemed hopeful and determined that their children would have a better future. Leaving the displacement camp

would therefore mean a disruption to the children's education.

On 20/2-2012, Rosalinda M* a 36 year old divorced mother explained her reasons as follows:-

R 8 "My children are going to Yamumbi primary school, and one of them is a candidate this year and another one will be a candidate in 3 years. It will be unwise to move from the camp and disrupt their education"

On 22/2-2012, the third focus group was held. The women expressed similar views and opinions that they thought were very important in the displacement camp. The following sentiments by P. Waigoko* a 43 year old divorced woman was unanimously supported by the other women:-

FG 3 "When I was growing my parents did not see the importance of education, so I stayed at home. One of our neighbors sent his son to school who happened to be my age mate. Today he is a very successful man and every time I meet him, he buys for me a bottle of soda. When I ask him why he looks younger than me and can always afford to buy for me a bottle of soda, he laughs and tell me that the secret lies in education. Those words have always haunted me, and I promise to do all it takes to ensure that my two children go to school. I want them to be successful people in the future. I can only afford to send them to this government sponsored school (pointing to a nearby school) where tuition and lunch is free. I find it convenient here (in the camp)"

This study found out that having been exposed to the harsh camp life, the internally displaced women wanted a bright future for their children. A different life from theirs is what the internally displaced women want for their children. This was expressed by the sacrifice that the women were willing to make to ensure that their children attended school. A study by Cerami (2013) mentions that while many countries in sub-Saharan Africa are unable to offer a wide range of social policies, these countries strive to atleast offer the very basic provisions such as education and health (Cerami, 2013).

V. SOURCE OF LIVELIHOOD

The fifth theme that emerged from the study was source of livelihood. Immediately when displacement occurs humanitarian agencies ensure that the displaced persons have atleast the basic needs. However, this usually lasts only during the emergency phase following displacement. Having been displaced for more than four years the emergency phase had stopped. Thus the internally displaced women had to find alternative ways of sustaining themselves in the camp. During the focus group discussions and interview sessions a majority of the household heads revealed that they

had been successful in finding a source of income which made them financially independent. These women had been employed in the nearby estates as house helps or nannies and as informal workers in the flower farms around. As sole breadwinners a reliable source of income was very important. The ability to work and provide for their families influenced their continued stay in the camp. The assurance of having a steady employment contributed to their stay in the camp longer than anticipated.

On 24/2-2012, Mathai Eva* a 23 year old single mother gave her reasons as follows:-

R 9 “I’ve been working as a house help to a family in the neighborhood for the last three years; it is a stable job, and my employer is very good. I cannot see myself leaving the camp to go to a place where I am not assured of getting a job”

Permanent emergency regimes in sub-Saharan Africa rely heavily on the informal market (Cerami, 2013). Gough (2013) notes “the idea of livelihoods replaces that of labor markets in insecurity regimes, where individuals and families use diverse strategies to make a living, involving various types of labor” (Gough: 2013: p. 213). Having mentioned that these women were house helps, nannies and informal workers, their salary level was assumably relatively low. Coupled with the cheap camp life and the low economic status the displacement camp helped the women to reduce unnecessary expenses.

Rita Ndirangu* a 44 year old single mother explained her financial reasons during the fourth focus group discussion held on 24/2-2012 :-

FG 4 “I earn 1000 Kenya Shillings (equivalent to approximately 100 Swedish Kronor) every month, and I am the sole breadwinner for two children. I have to know how to budget my income so that we do not end up in the streets as beggars. Living in the camp is comfortable since I do not have to think of rent; as the camp is on government land and the humanitarian agencies donated the tents when we first got displaced. In addition, my place of work is within reach; I do not have to worry about transport to and fro work”.....

Petronela Mbugua* a 53 year old neglected woman shared the advantages of living in the displacement camp. This is highlighted below:-

R 10 “Life in the camp is not an easy one, it is not for the faint hearted since we face so many hardships (places hand on the cheek and slightly shakes head)....However, I consider life in the camp to be a blessing in disguise since it has helped me to avoid falling into the debt traps that

once controlled me. When I had a decent place to call home in Munyaka; I had so many needs that my little earnings could not meet. I sold vegetable by the roadside but that was not enough. In order to make ends meet I would borrow money from my friends, and often failed to pay back. So many times was I abused and called names. Now I have found shelter in the displacement camps; I do not need to borrow money because life is cheap and very humble here.”

Through conducting focus group discussions the study was able to learn more about prolonged displacement. Having experienced marginalization and gender bias in a patriarchal society the internally displaced women understood the need of being financially independent. During the focus group discussions the women narrated how their life as internally displaced persons told of many hardships. In order to overcome these hardships and offer a bright future for their children, the internally displaced women were willing to take any kind of work. Before being displaced most of these women had for a long time been totally dependent on their spouses or parents. The women relied on their partners and fathers both financially and with every decision that would affect their households. The ability to work and enjoy some sort of financial independence had created an attachment to the displacement camp.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this study was to determine the reasons that have contributed to the continued presence of internally displaced women in the displacement camps. The reasons that prompted this research question were the four years duration of displacement and the composition of the respondents in this study who were exclusively women.

The entitlement approach theory and the capabilities approach theory were identified to show what happens when an individual is not able to fully enjoy their capabilities and entitlements rights. Sen identifies that poverty needs to be understood in terms of deprivation of entitlements and capabilities (*Sen, 1999*). The entitlement and capabilities concepts summarise the situation of many women and girls in patriarchal societies. A situation where their capabilities and entitlements rights have been infringed upon. This was evident in the responses that the internally displaced women shared. Feminization of poverty was identified as the second concept to highlight the status of the internally displaced women, most of whom are household heads. The concept describes how female headed households have little or no social links, a situation echoed by the respondent in this study. In addition feminization of poverty explains that female headed households seem to be the poorest. Supported by the fact that the internally displaced women preferred to live in the displacement camp; where the living expenses are affordable their poverty levels are low. In addition the women took advantage of the nearby schools that offered free tuition and lunch. Although some internally displaced women had been successful in finding jobs, they only worked as casual laborers and earned little money. Insecurity regimes and social policy was the third concept used to highlight the context facing the internally displaced women. As mentioned earlier, there is a correlation between social policy and the welfare structure in a country. In insecurity regime often characterized by weak states, the social policy is usually poorly structured. This concept was applied to observe whether there were any social policies aimed at assisting the less fortunate in the society. In this case the internally displaced women.

Through conducting the semi-structured interviews and the focus group discussions the outcome of this study indicates that the internally displaced women share more or less the same thoughts concerning their prolonged displaced. Their shared views on most of the issues discussed led to five themes being identified. These include ethnicity, de-link from social contacts, gender bias experienced as women, education for a better tomorrow and source of livelihood. The five themes have each been discussed above to support the reasons that the women have given. Sample excerpts have also been used in the themes. The themes of ethnicity, de-link from social contacts and gender bias faced as women tell of how the internally displaced women have no control of how the Kenyan society views them. However, the themes of education for a better future and source of livelihoods

proves that the women have control of their future. Where to take their children to school and where to find a source of livelihood.

The major difference between an internally displaced person and a refugee is whether one has crossed a recognized border. Crossing a recognized border for the refugee means that humanitarian help and assistance is accorded until a durable solution is reached. However, since an internally displaced person resides within the boundaries of his/her country, their primary responsibility lies with the local government (*Brookings, 2005*). However, this study suggests that humanitarian agencies like UNHCR can partner with the specific country to ensure that an internally displaced person continues to enjoy basic needs like food, water, security, and health care until a sustainable solution is found. This is mainly because most countries that experience internal displacement are found in the developing countries and as such they are not able to fully address every problem that constantly arises. An internally displaced person should therefore be accorded similar rights and protection as a refugee.

The study would have yielded more varying conclusions and themes had the study taken into account gender balance and ethnic diversity. Having focused on one research question and one IDP camp the researcher observes that there is need for more study on long-term displacement. There is also a need for future research to provide an insight on internally displaced persons who seem fond of the harsh realities attached to protracted displacement. Nonetheless, the study realized its goal as its main objective was to determine the reasons that have contributed to the continued presence of the internally displaced women in the displacement camp four years after the launch of “Operation Rudi Nyumbani”?

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

- a. What does being the head of the household mean for you?
- b. How different are the roles for you now compared to when you were not a household head?
 - Applicable to widows and divorcees
- c. How many members are in your household?
- c. How long have you been the head of the household?
 - Recent (from 5 years ago) Long-term(more than 5 years)
- e. Causes of heading the household?
 - Divorced, widowed or unmarried?
- f. How do you as the household head provide for the family?
- g. Did you work before the election violence broke out?
 - If yes where?
 - If not why?
- h. Do you work now?
 - Yes
 - No
- i. If yes
 - where?
- j. If no
 - why?
- k. Do you have kin?
 - If yes -where are they?
 - If no -why?

- l. Was this the first time you became displaced?
- m. In your own opinion why are you still an internally displaced person?
- n. Describe using your own words how is it to live in the camp.
- o. Are there any advantages of living in the camp?
 - If Yes which ones.
 - If no, explain.
- p. Do you have any assets?
 - If yes, which ones? (Land, House or Livestock)
 - If yes , where is the asset?
- q. What is the condition of the property now?
 - Good
 - Destroyed
 - Stolen
 - I don't know

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

- a. Focus Group 1 and 2
 - Do you have kin?
 - If yes -where are they?
 - If no -why?
- b. Focus Group 3 and 4
 - In your own opinion why are you still a internally displaced persons?
 - Describe in your own words how is it to live in the displacement camp
 - Are there any advantages of living in the camp? Discuss if any

EPILOGUE

This study was conducted between January and March 2012. During this period the women at Yamumbi IDP Camp A, were internally displaced persons who received no assistance from the Kenyan government or any humanitarian agency. In September 2013 the International Criminal Court (ICC) at the Hague governed by the Rome Statute began its hearing on the Kenyan case. The three person's under investigation include Kenya's current sitting president Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta and his deputy president Mr. William Ruto alongside his co-accused media personality Joshua Arap Sang. The three have been accused of having taken a great part in fueling the violence that rocked the country in 2007/8. In an effort to clear their names and prove their innocence the current

government has resettled most of the internally displaced persons including the women at Yamumbi IDP Camp A. The internally displaced persons were given money to assist them restart their lives elsewhere.