Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims’ Perception of Justice

Careen Hutchinson
Nova Southeastern University, hcareen@nova.edu

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Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims’ Perception of Justice

by

Careen A. Hutchinson

A Dissertation Presented to the
College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Nova Southeastern University
2017
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June 2017
Nova Southeastern University
College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences

This dissertation was submitted by Careen A. Hutchinson under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.

Approved:

July 7th, 2017
Date of Defense

July 18th, 2017
Date of Final Approval

Ismail Mweningi
Ismail Mweningi, Ph.D.
Chair

Judith McKay, Ph.D.

Abubakr Elhooor Ph.D.

Ismail Mweningi
Committee Chair Name, Ph.D.
Chair
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the circle of family and friends who supported me throughout this academic journey. To my dear mother Audrey, without whose unconditional love and support this would not have been possible. My beloved sister Yvonne, her patience and unbelievable love was the wind beneath my wings. To my father Daniel, who stood in the shadow and secretly expressed his pride for me I am grateful.
Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge my dissertation committee for their guidance and support throughout this writing process. Dr. Muvingi, my chair, his stellar support, patience, and encouragement is most invaluable. Dr. Abubakr Elnoor’s expertise on the culture, language, and this conflict enriched this study beyond belief. Dr. Judith McKay’s incredible knowledge of the dissertation process added to this highest academic success of my life. Dr. Nest Hyatt, my mentor, has been unwavering in her support and belief in my ability. The Gateway Church family’s support, love, and encouragement is most appreciated. You have all played a priceless role in my achievement. Thank you.
Table of Contents

List of Tables .............................................................................................................................. v
List of Figures .............................................................................................................................. vi
Abstract....................................................................................................................................... vii

Chapter 1: Introduction ............................................................................................................. 1
  Background ............................................................................................................................... 1
    A Historical Overview of Darfur ............................................................................................. 9
    Darfur, the Current Conflict ................................................................................................. 17
  Problem Statement ................................................................................................................... 19
  Rationale .................................................................................................................................... 29
    Justice ...................................................................................................................................... 33
    Justice and Structural Violence ............................................................................................ 39
  Purpose of the Study ................................................................................................................ 40
  Significance of the Study .......................................................................................................... 42
  Summary .................................................................................................................................... 45

Chapter 2: Literature Review .................................................................................................... 47
  Overview .................................................................................................................................... 47
  History of Sexual Violence in Conflicts ..................................................................................... 50
  Defining Rape ............................................................................................................................ 53
    Causes of Sexual Violence-Rape in Conflicts ..................................................................... 54
    War, Conflicts and Genocide – Cases of Rape in Conflict Zones ....................................... 57
  Bangladesh Women .................................................................................................................. 61
The Comfort Women of Japan .................................................................................. 62
The Abuses of Darfur Victims .............................................................................. 64
Obstacles to Accessing Justice ............................................................................. 65
Theoretical Framework ......................................................................................... 71
Summary .............................................................................................................. 78
Chapter 3: Research Method .............................................................................. 79
Overview ............................................................................................................. 79
Phenomenology ................................................................................................... 83
Research Questions ............................................................................................. 87
Sampling .............................................................................................................. 88
  Sample Size ...................................................................................................... 89
  Criteria for Sample Selection ......................................................................... 90
  Procedure in Selecting Sample .................................................................... 92
Research Site ...................................................................................................... 93
  Gate-keeper(s) ............................................................................................... 94
  Sample Recruitment .................................................................................... 95
Data Collection: Face to Face Interviews .......................................................... 96
  Interview Questions ..................................................................................... 97
  Data Transcription ..................................................................................... 105
Ethics and Reflexivity/Validity ......................................................................... 108
Chapter Summary ............................................................................................. 111
Chapter 4: Analysis and Results ..................................................................... 113
Appendix B: Adult Consent Form ................................................................. 215
Appendix C: DWAG Research Site Approval Letter ..................................... 219
Appendix D: Demographic Data Sheet for Research .................................... 221
Appendix E: Semi-Structured Open-ended Questions for Research .............. 223
Appendix F: Chronology of conflict events in Darfur/Sudan.......................... 224
Appendix G: Interview Summaries ................................................................. 231
Appendix H: Single Codes & Categories ....................................................... 240
Appendix I: Commonality of Superordinate & Sub-ordinate Categories ....... 284
Appendix J: Frequency of Occurrences of Superordinate & Sub-ordinate
Categories .................................................................................................... 292
Appendix L: Hierarchy of Needs (BHN Theory and Analysis) ....................... 295
Appendix N: Contribution to the Field .......................................................... 296
List of Tables

Table 1. Provides an Overview of Three Authors’ Generalization to the Strategies of Data Analysis................................................................. 115

Table 2. Superordinate Categories and Sub-ordinate Categories .................................. 122

Table 3. Conceptualization of Categories with Terms and Definitions......................... 123

Table 4. Cyclone Theory......................................................................................... 197
List of Figures

Figure 1. Example of the various styles of probing .................................................. 103
Figure 2. The function of methodology in research ............................................... 112
Figure 3. Process of data analysis. The first stage of data analysis that occurs from
the interviews through data transcription and recognition of codes as they
emerge freely ........................................................................................................ 116
Figure 4. Condensing/summarizing data into simple codes .................................... 119
Figure 5. Acknowledgement .................................................................................... 127
Figure 6. Hindrance .................................................................................................. 137
Figure 7. Power ......................................................................................................... 145
Figure 9. Security ..................................................................................................... 162
Figure 10. Voice ....................................................................................................... 172
Abstract

This qualitative research study used hermeneutical phenomenology to understand how female victims of the Darfur conflict perceived justice, as related to their lived experiences. Reports from the various international media and Human Rights Organizations and United Nations agencies have revealed a disproportional number of victims’ claims on the lack of effective legal ramifications for perpetrators and the high impunity rates that rob victims of achieving justice for the atrocities they have experienced. The purpose of this investigation was to discover how and if the challenges that the victims’ experienced shaped their interpretation of justice, and how they made meaning of these experiences, as related to their perceptions of justice. This study was important for building peace, since there could be no peace without justice.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

In the ongoing Darfur conflict, attention has been centered on the atrocities meted on the victims and those opposing the Government of Sudan (GoS), mainly the marginalized peoples of Darfur. At the center of the discussion in many quarters is the problem of impunity. A series of negotiations and facilitated mediations have taken place, but the end of the conflict has yet to occur. There have been numerous talks and proposals for ending the conflict or at least developing an effective armistice, but little progress has occurred so far, leading to a sustainable resolution. In 2008, the Max Plank Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, in collaboration with the Peace Research Institute of Khartoum University, organized an open dialogue with representatives from all the political forces in Darfur, including civil society, to address the root causes of the conflict in Darfur (as cited in Wolfrum, 2010). The talks took place between Khartoum and Heidelberg, Germany. These talks resulted in the Heidelberg Darfur Dialogue, which is considered the draft of the then future, Darfur Peace Agreement (Wolfrum, 2010).

The Heidelberg Darfur Dialogue would be the first of many. In 2009, the African Union (AU) held an African Union High-Level Panel (AUPD) in Darfur to address the multi-layered conflict and make recommendations for a resolution. Recommendations from this panel ranged from the process of reaching a Global Political Agreement (GPA), from permanent cease fire to promoting reconciliation within Darfur (AU, 2009, pp. 77-93); these represent noble efforts, but the conflict remains ongoing. To date, there have
been at least 15 UN Security Council Committee (UNSCRC) resolutions concerning Sudan, and by extension Darfur, but leadership has failed to reach a resolution in ending the conflict. While efforts by the various parties are commendable, the victims remain, experiencing the brunt of human rights violations.

All of leadership’s talks and proposals have failed to create a successful resolution to end the conflict in the face of gross human rights violations. The former U.S Secretary of State, Gen. Powell, went on record on September 9, 2004 to state that genocide was occurring in Darfur, in his now famous speech:

I concluded, that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the Government of Sudan and the Jingawei bear responsibility -- and that genocide may still be occurring. Mr. Chairman, we are making copies of the evidence that our team compiled available to you and to the public today. (Powell, 2004, para. 2)

This speech created an international frenzy, but victims still suffer.

In March of 2005, the UN Security Council referred the situation of Darfur to the International Criminal Court, and in June of that same year, the International Criminal Court (ICC, 2017) opened investigations on the allegations. The focus of the investigation centered on allegations of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity that were committed in in Darfur (ICC, 2017). The ICC (2017) has issued five indictments for the arrest of culpable people in the Sudanese government. Below is a summary of defendants and their charges, as published on the ICC’s website (https://www.icc-cpi.int/darfur):
1. Concerning, Ahmed Harun and Ali Kushayb, on April, 27, 2007, the Pre-Trial Chamber I issued warrants for the arrest of these defendants. The warrant cited that there were sufficient evidence supporting the belief of an armed conflict between the Government of Sudan that included the Sudanese Armed Forces, the Popular Defence Force (PDF) that incorporated the Janjaweed militia who acted against organized rebel groups. The rebel groups, operating inside Darfur and who are engaged in this conflict, are comprised of Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). In 2003 and 2004, allegations, leading to the indictment, were that the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Janjaweed militia acted in concert to carry out part of a counter-insurgency campaign. This campaign included several systematic and widespread attacks on the towns of Koodoom, Bindisi, Mukjar, Arawala, and surrounding areas. Furthermore, allegations of criminal acts against the civilians in these towns, primarily from the Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit ethnic groups, were committed. The criminal acts against these populations included murders, rapes, and violations of the personal dignity of women and girls, persecution, kidnappings and forcible transfers, imprisonment, or severe deprivation of liberty. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

2. Ahmad Harun was the Minister of State for the Interior of the Government of Sudan during this period. He was alleged to be in charge of managing the Darfur Security Desk, which would give him the responsibility of coordinating the various bodies of the government that were part of the counter-insurgency. These
bodies of government, alleged to be under the authority of Ahmad Harun, included the police, the armed forces, the National Security and Intelligence Service, and the Janjaweed militia. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

By virtue of Ahmad Harun’s position as Minister of State for the Interior of the Government of Sudan, he was knowledgeable of the Janjaweed’s methods and crimes committed against the civilian population. Ahmad Harun’s public addresses amounted to his knowledge and support of the Janjaweed militia attacks on civilians, as well as the pillaging of towns and villages. His position at the Darfur Security Desk, while being Minister of the State for the Interior of the Government of Sudan, authorized his personal participation in key activities of the Security Committees. His responsibilities allowed him to recruit, arm, and fund the Janjaweed militia in Darfur, making him directly and intentionally contributed to the commission of the crimes against the civilian populations in the above mentioned areas. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

3. Ali Kushayb was reported as a member of the Popular Defence Force and one of the Wadi Salih’s most senior tribal leader, who was alleged to have been in command of the Janjaweed militia. His position as the commander lasted from August 2003 to March 2004. Mr. Kushayb’s alleged crimes included the implementation of counter-insurgency strategy in Darfur that resulted in the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Additionally, it has been alleged that he enlisted fighters, armed and funded the Janjaweed, and provided them with food and other supplies. He is also alleged to have personally
participated in the attacks of civilians. These attacks, listed as rape, torture, and killing of civilians, took place in the towns of Kedoom, Bindist, Mukjar, and Arawala. His crimes were committed jointly with Ahmed Harun. Ahmed Harun and Ali Kushayb remain at large. Since the ICC does not try cases in absentia, the case remains in the pre-trial stage until the defendants are arrested and transferred to the seat of the Court in The Hague. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

4. Concerning Bahar Idriss Abu Garda, due to insufficient evidence, the Pre-Trial Chamber on Mr. Abu was formerly indicted on three charges of war crimes, submitted by the prosecutor that alleged on September 29, 2007, an attack targeting the African Union Peacekeeping Mission in Sudan occurred. It was alleged Mr. Abu led an attack on the Haskanita Military Group Site (MGS Haskanita), in the locality of Umm Kadada, North Darfur, by a splinter group from the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), along with another rebel group. Twelve people were allegedly killed, and another eight AMIS soldiers were severely wounded. Other properties, belonging to UNAMIS, were damaged or destroyed. Charges against the defendant could not be confirmed leading to dismissal of the case. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

5. Concerning Abdulla Banda Abakaer Nourain, a unanimous decision by the Pre-Trial Chamber I, on September 11, 2014, confirmed charges of war crimes against Abdallah Banda. The alleged crimes of Mr. Banda were reported as an attack on the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) at the Haskanita Military Group Site on September 29, 2007. The attack led to the death of 12 AMIS soldiers and an
attempt to kill eight others. Banda commanded a splinter group of members from Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Army (SLA). This assault was alleged to have been led by Abdallah, who may have been planning the coordination of the attack. Mr. Banda’s failure to appear in court leaves the case in Pre-Trial Chamber. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

6. Concerning Abdel Raheem Muhammad Hussein, a warrant for arrest was issued on 1 March 2012 for the arrest of Mr. Raheem. It is alleged that, as Minister of Interior and Special Representative of the President in Darfur, he was an influential member of the Government of Sudan. In this capacity, Mr. Raheem made substantial contributions to the formulation and implementation of the common plan, inter alia, in coordinating national, state, and local security agencies. In his position, he recruited, armed, and funded police forces and the Janjaweed militia in Darfur. His involvement in the common plan allowed for the unlawful attack on the civilian population who were perceived by the Sudanese government as being close to the rebel groups. This targeted population primarily belonged to the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa groups. The crimes were committed by the Sudanese armed forces and/or the Janjaweed militia recruited, armed, and funded under the command of Mr. Raheem. Mr. Raheem’s case remains in pre-trial, as he remains at large. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

7. Concerning, Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir (President of the Republic of Sudan), two warrants were issued for the arrest of Mr. Al-Bashir. The first warrant was issued on 4 March 2009, and the second on 12 July 2010. Pre-Trial
Chamber I stated that there were sufficient evidences supporting that Mr. Al-
Bashir was culpable of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide. As
president of the Republic of Sudan, Mr. Al-Bashir and other high ranking
Sudanese political and military leaders formulated a common plan. The plan was
a counter-insurgency campaign against groups opposing the Government of
Sudan in Darfur. The opposition was made of the Sudanese Liberation
Movement/Army (SPLM/A), the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), and
other armed groups. It is alleged that Mr. Al-Bashir and members of the
government coordinated an unlawful attack on the civilian population primarily
from the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa ethnic groups, whom he perceived as
members of the opposition. The Sudanese Armed Forces and the allied
Janjaweed, Sudanese Police Forces, the National Intelligence and Security
Service (NISS) were the members of the counter-insurgency campaign. This
counter-insurgency, under the authority of the president, conducted systematic
acts of pillage, murder, torture, the contamination of wells and water pumps,
extermination of entire villages, and the rape over 1,000 women and girls. The
case against Mr. Al-Bashir remains in the pre-trial chamber since he remains at
large. (ICC, 2017a, para. 1)

The conflict continues. Impunity seems the order of the day for war crimes, and
justice seems to elude those who need it the most. Stories, such as the following reported
below, showed a broken system where the tragedy existed from regional insecurity
embedded in the conflict to gaps in the legal and law enforcement agencies:
On June 3 2005, a 13-year-old girl was raped by a man in uniform near a military camp in Northern Darfur. She was taken to a hospital by her family for treatment the following day. As a result of the rape, she had a tear between her vagina and anus, which required eight stitches. The case was reported at the police station. The chief prosecutor reported that on 4 June, a delegation, including representatives from the prosecutor’s office, the military, the police criminal investigation team, and AMIS, went to the crime scene with the victim and conducted an investigation. They did not find any evidence and explained that this was due to terrain and the climate. All the soldiers from the military bases in the area were called in for an identification parade. The victim could not identify any of the men. The doctor who had treated the victim and completed the Form 8 was not provided with an evidence collection kit by the police, and valuable evidence was lost, which could have helped to identify the perpetrator. The police are patrolling the area around the scene of the incident and remain searching for the perpetrator. As the alleged perpetrator is military, jurisdiction to investigate has been passed to Military Intelligence which is now reportedly trying to identify the soldiers who were on duty at the military camp on the day of the attack. (UN, 2005, para. 2)

The severity of the problem of sexual violence is not confined to Darfur, Sudan. Statistics, available through the United Nations (UN, 2014), showed that in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, between 100,000 and 250,000 women were raped during a 3 month period. During the Sierra Leone civil war, from the years of 1991 and 2002, more than
60,000 women were raped, according to reports by UN (2014) agencies. More than 40,000 women were raped in Liberia’s civil war during 1989 through 2003, and up to 60,000 in the former Yugoslavia in the years of 1992 to 1995. At least, 200,000 have been reported in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since 1998 (UN, 2014). The statistical data here showed a reoccurring problem that was more global than regional and indicated that continued research was essential in combatting this type of violence to strengthen techniques and models in the field of conflict resolution.

**A Historical Overview of Darfur**

To comprehend this conflict, one needs a fundamental understanding of the region’s history, its people, and their culture. Darfur has a rich, complex history that is colorful in its transition of ethnic/tribal control and dominance over a significant span of time. The complexities of tribal groups and territorial control have shaped the region into what it is today. Studying a problem that was associated to a region was challenging in itself, but without infusing the region’s history into the foreground, the study could prove disadvantageous in connecting the problem with the people that this research addressed.

Sudan, as a country, has a long and beautiful rich history. Its history contains the culture of Nubia, Merorites, and even Egyptian connections. It was out of this densely rich history that Darfur eventually arose. The political and ethnic transformation within the Sudan, before the cessation of South Sudan in 2011 to become its own country, carved a political empire in Darfur.

Darfur, the word, is a combination of the Arabic word *dar* (meaning home or abode) and the name of the principal ethnic group’s name *Fur*. So Darfur means home of
the Fur. Daly (2007) stated, “The Fur has inhabited the region since pre-modern times and from the sixteenth century to present the population has been ethnically mixed” (p. 5). However, in times of expansion, the majority of the state’s population might have been non-Fur although the term Darfur from early times denoted, “Fur homeland and the territories and peoples over which the Fur state held sway” (Daly, 2007, p. 5).

Darfur’s region is located in Northwestern Sudan and lies approximately between lines 10° and 20° North and 22° and 27° East. It consists of roughly 311,000 square miles (500,000 sq. km), which is the equivalent of one fifth of Sudan’s total area’ pre-ceSSION. Darfur’s population is estimated at between 4.5 and 5 million, constituting about 10% to 12% of the total population (Sidahmed, Soderlund, & Briggs, 2010). Darfur is bordered by three countries; Libya to the north, Chad to the west and the Central African Republic (CAR) to the southwest (Sidahmed et al., 2010, p. 19).

The Fur Sultanate, which was the kingdom of Darfur is historically a centralized state which rose to dominance about 1650 (Sidahmed et al., 2010, p. 19). At the height of the Fur Empire, in the 18th century, the territory of Darfur extended from the Nile into Chad and south to the Bahr al-Arab. This area is approximately 340,000 square miles. At other times, the empire and its territories were almost extinguished; for example, after 1874, the conquest by al-Zubayr occurred during the Mahdiyya periods of 1880s and 1890s, following the Anglo-Egyptian annexation of 1916 (Sidahmed et al., p. 5). In spite of the occupation of most of the territories of Sudan by colonial powers during the 19th century (e.g., the 1821 Turko-Egyptian conquest and the 1898 Anglo-Egyptian occupation), the Fur Sultanate managed to retain fragile independence until 1916.
In 1916, the British-dominated colonial administration conquered the Sultanate in November of that year (Sidahmed et al., 2010, p. 19). The independence of Sudan in 1956 kept the territorial region of Darfur consistent, as defined by the Turco-Egyptian of the 1870s, as well as the Mahdist and Anglo-Egyptian provincial boundaries. Darfur is currently divided into *states*, designated as Northern, Western, Southern, Central and Eastern Darfur (Sidahmed et al., p. 5). The entirety of Darfur lies in the Sahelian belt of the desert, as well as the semi-desert, savanna, and oasis.

Presently Darfur is a plateau of approximately 2,133 to 3,281 feet above sea level. Most of Darfur is outside of the Nile’s watershed and is watered by seasonal watercourses and springs from its dominant geological feature: the Jabal Marra. The Jabal Marra is a volcanic mountain range that runs north-south for almost 70 miles, parallel to about 24 degrees east, and reaches about 9,843 feet in height, rising above the surrounding savanna. Orchards, terraced fields, and pastures, which almost reach the lip of the crater, are present in this mountain region (Flint & De Waal, 2008, p. 2). The northeast of Jabal Marra is another volcanic mountain formation, Jabal Meidob, which is approximately 5,577 feet high. In the traditional southern border of Darfur, which is north of the Bahr al-Arab, no perennial streams exist (Daly, 2007, p. 6).

Patterns of settlement of the people of Darfur are primarily determined by the climate, which is typically tropical. There is only one rainy season, and it occurs between the months of May and September. The heaviest rainfall is in the southernmost part of the territory with approximately 28 inches per annum. The least amount of rainfall is in the north, with approximately 3 inches per year (Daly, 2007, p. 6). Northern Darfur has vast
sandy plains, with jutting mountains, jagged ridges, with the occasional “ribbons of green along the seasonal watercourses” (Flint & De Waal, 2005, p. 1).

Dry acacia lands and savanna, supporting the agriculture near and in watercourses with seasonal grazing, are located at the end of the desert to the south (Daly, 2007, pp. 6-7). Western Darfur’s southern regions, which include the areas of Jabal Marra and Dar Masalit, are among the highlands and borders with the country of Chad and hold some of the richest agricultural lands (Daly, 2007). Streams in these areas are periodic; however, the waterbeds supply water throughout the year through the wells and the areas that are cultivated after the floods.

The people of Darfur have resilience and resourcefulness (Flint & De Waal, 2005). Darfuris are skilled at extracting their living from the land through their relentless hard work and knowledge of the territory. They possess invaluable knowledge of the crevices from which food or livelihood can be obtained. The women of Darfur are determined and tenacious (Flint & De Waal, 2005). They exhibit the fortitude necessary to live in unforgiving environment. Flint and De Waal (2005) stated that women living on the edge of the desert knew how to gather a variety of wild grasses and berries as supplements for a diet of cultivated millet and vegetables with goat or cow’s milk. The women know the farms and villages within a hundred or more miles. They are not hesitant to embark on the journey by walking or riding to sell goods, buy, or even work (Flint & De Waal, 2005, p. 1). The nomads of the region travel 300 or more miles twice a year with their herds. In the seasons, when there is exceptional rain or an unusually dry season, they tend to travel further compared to the average person by 300 miles (Flint &
De Waal, 2005, p. 1). The people who are considered “settled,” the *non-nomads*, also migrate to “open up new areas of farmland” (Flint & De Waal, 2005, p. 1). This migration is often observed in the eastern Darfur, where villages are established and dismantled, along with the availability of water supplies and fertile soils. The cultivation in the far south, which is along the forest edge, gradually creeps southwards every year (Flint & De Waal, 2005, p. 1).

For centuries, Darfur was considered the crossroads of Africa and the Muslim Middle East. People of Darfur traded extensively between both these regions. Although Darfur lies between Africa and the Middle East, Darfur remained considered a part of the *bilad al-Sudan* (i.e., “the land of the Blacks”) by the medieval Arab geographers. This term was used to describe the Sahel (Daly, 2007, p. 1). The region straddled the Hajj routes used by West Africans, where they made the pilgrimage to Mecca for centuries, and they inadvertently left their mark. Arabic and Muslim culture slowly suffused and coexisted with the indigenous traditions of Darfur (Daly, 2007).

The central Sudanic-belt, to which Darfur and Wadai belongs, is the highland zone of the state formation. Formation of state in this region pre-dates the shrouded history of the rise of the Fur Sultanate. The oldest state in the highland of the Sudanic-belt is the Daju. The Daju are a non-Muslim family whose rule originated in the east of Darfur (Daly, 2007, p. 16). The Tunjur eventually exceeded the Daju, and the Tunjur established an empire based on long-distance trade. The Tunjur people ruled from palaces in the hilltops in Uri, Ayn Farah, and elsewhere. Daly (2007) posited that the dispossession of the Tunjur might have been gradual, and it culminated in the rivalry of
two royal houses (i.e., the Tunjur of Wadai and the Keira of Darfur). Remnants of these two groups’ rivalry for dominance in tribal politics of the region until the arrival of the Europeans remain evident today (Daly, 2007, p. 16).

With the dispossession of the Tunjur, the Fur state emerged. Dally (2007) assigned two interpretations to the development of the Fur state. First, the Keira, a branch/clan of the Kunjara (a section of the Fur), were vavasours in the Jabal Marra region of the Tunjur. After the collapse of the Tunjur between 1580 and 1660, the Keira principality rapidly expanded and filled the gap left by the Tunjur. The second interpretation of the rise of the Fur kingdom is that the Keira married into the Tunjur royal house (Daly, 2007, p. 18). For clarity, the Fur are the Keiras of the Kunjara.

Daly (2007) posited that the Fur appeared to have expanded over a considerable period of time, beginning with the base in Jabal Marra to the southwest. Traditions indicated that other people were forcibly expelled southward because they were non-Muslim. Daly (2007) stated that consensus of historical traditions held that the Fur progress encountered the eastward migration of the Baqqara tribes; over time, the Baqqara tribes occupied, then dominated the lands between the Fur and those they displaced.

Put in a historical context, the problem in Darfur was centered on land ownership. People considered the concept of land ownership in the Darfur region as traditionally communal (UN, 2005). The traditional land division into “homelands” (i.e., “dar”) was directed to the division of areas for tribal residency, so that “individual tribes can be said to have a historical claim” (Un, 2005, p. 20) The self-perception of the local population is
crucial to the land ties, and the UN (2005) attributed it to Sultan Ali Dinar, the last sultan of Darfur (UN, 2005, p. 20). Leadership changed land laws in the 1970s, which made individual land ownership possible. However, land ownership was attributed to the state; those who possessed land for at least 1 year had the ability to claim land legal title (UN, 2005, p. 21). Loyalty to the government became an incentive for those who did not own land (UN, 2005, p. 21).

One must understand the current issue in the context of more than just an episode of spontaneous eruption directed against neglect based in marginalization, mismanagement of government, and racism. The current crisis is rooted in resources; in this case, it is vested in control for the basin of Lake Chad. Darfur is geographically in the eastern region of the great basin of Lake Chad, not an actual part of the Nile valley, although the watershed between the two tends to be indiscernible. The Darfur crisis is another episode in the tragic struggle for control of the Chad Basin (Collins, 2008).

Ecological and demographic transformation have occurred in recent years, and these have had significant influences on inter-tribal relations (UN, 2005, p. 21). The most recent and continuous conflict in Darfur can be attributed mostly to the more recognizable problems of environmental, social, and political changes. For example, the 1984 to 1985 famine that enveloped Darfur created a catastrophic problem through desertification in previous years. The GOS basically left the people of the region to die (Daly, 2007, p. 3). The drought and desertification influenced the entire Sahara region. This influence was a direct contribution to the migration increase. Migration of groups of nomads from Chad, Libya, as well as other states, to Darfur, which had more fertile areas,
eventually led to harsher living conditions due to the overwhelming influx of people. Moreover, it led to clashes between the immigrant population and the indigenous tribes (UN, 2005, p. 22). However, the improvement of human and animal health began to create demographic problems, as the nomads no longer returned to deserts of seasonal grass as frequently as before. There was a breakdown in security in the region, and dangerous and irresponsible political agendas contributed to the worsen situation (Daly, 2007, p. 3).

People having access to weapons also aggravated inter-tribal conflict. Weapons used in the inter-tribal conflict were funneled through channels with Chad and Libya. The conflict of the South of Sudan enabled easier access to weapons (UN, 2005, p. 22). Several foreign governments poured arms into the region as a means of containing Libya’s regional ambition, especially its ambition for “friendly” rule in Chad (UN, 2005, p. 22). Additionally, a number of armed Chadian rebellions were initiated from Darfur. Consequently, each of the major tribes of Darfur and some village peoples took the opportunity to organize militias as a way to defend themselves and promote group interests (UN, 2005, p. 22).

The latter part of the 1980s conflicts occurred primarily among sedentary and nomadic tribes. Identifiable inter-tribal clashes occurred among the Fur and several Arab nomadic tribes. The nomadic Arab tribes eventually organized themselves in an alliance of sorts called the Arab Gathering, and some of the Fur tribe members responded by organizing the African Belt alliance group (UN, 2005, p. 22). Originally, Al Bashir’s government and the local tribal leaders mediated the clashes. Nevertheless, tension
remained during the following years, and the clashes continued. Overtime, the Darfuris became resentful of the government due to its ineffectiveness or unwillingness to resolve the ever-unfolding situation occurring in Darfur (UN, 2005, p. 22).

**Darfur, the Current Conflict**

The root causes of the current Darfur conflict is complex. As noted, desertification; tribal feuds, stemming from immigration and ecological changes; easy access to weapons, ineffective governance; and the emergence of rebels defense groups have played major roles in the current conflict (UN, 2005, pp. 21-22). The perceived ineffectiveness and marginalization by the government on the population in Darfur led to the creation of the organized groups that eventually developed into rebel groups. The Sudan Liberation Movement/Army and the JEM started to seriously organize in 2001 to 2002 to demonstrate a cohesive opposition to the government in Khartoum (Collins, 2008).

The organization of the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SPLMA) and JEM was a direct response to the belief that the government was the cause of Darfur’s problems (Collins, 2008, pp. 286-287; UN, 2005, pp. 22-23). These two groups were connected loosely by the commonality of their perception of the problems in Darfur that led to the rebellions, which essentially occurred due to the region and the people of Darfur’s marginalization through socio-economic and political means (UN, 2005, p. 23). The most impressive aspect of the two groups, SPLMA and JEM, is that their stated political agenda involved the entire Sudan and its various ethnic groups in the demand for more equal governmental and political participation in representation (UN, 2005, p. 23).
The escalation of the current conflict may have occurred due to the rebel movements; in late 2002 and early 2003, the rebels launched their initial military activities through directed attacks at local police stations and looting of the government’s property and weaponry (UN, 2005, p. 23). In March and April of 2003, the government installations in Kutum, Tine, and El Fashir came under attack by the rebels, where they destroyed military aircraft and killed soldiers. The government was taken by surprise, as peace talks negotiations with the SPLM/A were advancing, and the government was ill-prepared to respond. Instead, they withdrew from rural posts to the urban centers (UN, 2005, p. 23).

The government’s response to its lack of control over the rural areas was to call on local tribes to assist in fighting the rebels because leadership faced the challenge of using its armed forces, made up of mostly Darfuris (UN, 2005, p. 23). The government’s use of local tribes served to exacerbate already existing tensions between the different tribes. The local tribe peoples who responded to the government’s call for assistance derived from Arab nomadic tribes who traditionally had no homeland but desired to settle in the region; thus, they found it the most advantageous opportunity to be allotted land (UN, 2005, p. 23). Seizing on this opportunity, the government’s leadership began a system of recruitment through tribal leaders and government officials who were paid with grants and gifts. However, the leadership did not accept all tribes as recruits. Recruits were accepted from Chad, Libya, and some other states. Leadership chose these recruits to avoid weapons falling into the hands of the tribes opposing the government. The recruits became known as the “Janjaweed,” a local term used to describe armed bandits
who rode on camels or horsebacks (UN, 2005, p. 23). For an overview of Darfur conflicts see Appendix F.

**Problem Statement**

The conflict in Darfur has revealed several problems, namely the following:

The diversity of development needs across each region in Sudan remains a challenge for designing and implementing projects … the general situation of human rights in the Sudan poses challenges, especially in the conflict-affected areas such as Darfur, Kordofan, Blue Nile states and Abyie. The combined effects of poverty, instability, lack of infrastructure, and conflict continue to have serious consequences on human development and human rights also caused by the ineffectiveness of Sudanese justice mechanisms and rule of law institutions. The legislative, the judicial, the law-enforcement institutions have severe operational and capacity deficits-in addition politicization of these institutions and perceived biases by the population have led to low levels of confidence in State capacities to provide justice and security. (United Nations Development Programme Sudan Country Office, 2015, para. 2)

One must have a comprehensive understanding of the victims’ formation of perception to satisfy one’s need for justice; the attributions are associates with justice, and justice and peace are viewed as separate entities. Without a comprehensive view of the current beliefs and applications of justice versus the observations and meaning of justice from the victims, there was the possibility of misrepresenting or failure in fulfilling the need for justice. The absence of justice should be examined beyond the
scope of inaccessibility to the current systems of justice and include the lack of the victimized perceptions. Justice must be explicitly applicable to the victims.

Furthermore, the absence of justice is present in several ways: man-made and through naturally occurring environmental factors. The escalation of the conflict in 2003 was a symptom of underlying issues of injustices, mainly occurring through marginalization, as well as environmental problems through desertification, political exclusion, lack of economic opportunities, and lack of security contributed to the conflict (UN, 2005; AU, 2009; Wolfrum, 2010).

Gerard Prunier (2008) a prime example, in which a natural and a human-made situation exposed the lack of justice; in 1980, it occurred under the Nimeiry government and entailed the appointment of Ahmed Ibrahim Diraige (successor to al-tayeb al-Mardi) as the provincial governor to Darfur. Due to the constant neglect, political and infrastructural, of Darfur and the needs of the people, Diraige set out to completely overhaul the government structure in the province (Prunier, 2008). The new administration found itself embroiled in a battle for water resources. The region had few boreholes for water, and these were badly neglected to the point where the use of water from these holes made residents sick due to water contamination from sewage (Prunier, 2008). The funds that were earmarked for the water project had been misappropriated. Miles of pipes destined for Darfur remained at the Port of Sudan, and no one claimed the cargo for proper distribution. Moreover, the rural workers for the water department were not paid their salaries on time. The relevant ministries in Khartoum simply falsified reports that did not reflect the truth about the situation (Prunier, 2008, pp. 48-50).
Diraige, as governor and along with his administration, worked futilely to stymie the situation, but he had no control over the lack of rain nor the desert encroaching deeper south (Prunier, 2008). The assistance, needed from the central government in Khartoum, was not forthcoming. The situation became more threatening in 1983. In November of that year, Diraige wrote Nimeiry a letter detailing the situation and the need for assistance. The letter famously became known as the “famine letter” (Prunier, 2008, p. 50). In the letter, Diraige warned the then president Nimeiry that unless:

Serious food aid was requested from abroad, a famine in Darfur was unavoidable in 1984. The letter served only to infuriate Nimeiry, as his ‘al-Mussallaha al-Wataniya’ Arabic for ‘patriotic reconciliation’ had reconciled him with the Arab world especially those who were suspicious of his former association with the communist party, the oil monarchies of the gulf states and alliance with the United States had led to impressive investment from the Arab states which was dubbed ‘the future breadbasket of the Arab World.’ (Prunier, 2008, p. 50)

Diraige sent the letter with a plea for foreign aid, and it contained an indirect threat to the future plans for Sudan (Prunier, 2008). Nimeiry ignored Diraige and failed to respond to the urgency. On the 23 of December in 1983, Diraige confronted the president in Khartoum. The meeting ended abruptly and disastrously, as Diraige walked out and flew to Saudi Arabia 48 hours later (Prunier, 2008). The minister of finance, Ibrahim Moneim Mansur denied the warning of famine and claimed it was “exaggerated” (Prunier, 2008, p. 50)
In early 1984, Darfur minimum food deficit was estimated by Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) at 39,000 tons (Prunier, 2008). The GOS once again disparaged the impending disaster and countered the FAO’s figures with a mere 7,000 tons, of which approximately 5,400 was slowly released (Prunier, 2008, p. 50). The disaster was already completed, and the meager response was too late.

In summer of 1984, it was impossible to deny the famine, and Nimeiry officially declared Darfur a “disaster zone” (Prunier, 2008, p. 50). He proceeded to ask the international community for 160,000 tons of food aid (Prunier, 2008, p. 50). In Darfur, large make-shift IDP camps hurriedly formed and 60,000 to 80,000 starving people trekked across the country to camps sprawled on the outskirts of Khartoum. The injustice of neglect not only aided an environmental disaster, but also created a human crisis.

The government’s response to the displaced people was to reclassify them as Chadian refugees, and it began to repatriate masses of Darfuris by truck to Kordofan (Prunier, 2008). This reclassification of the country’s citizenry was a clear act of injustice. This disaster was followed by the current Darfur crisis, in which neglect and the government’s failure to respond to the needs of the people contributed to the escalation of the crisis and resistance, as a means of accessing justice through various conventional and unconventional means. Division, within ranks, and the formation of subgroups showed the problem at hand (Prunier, 2008). Years later, the problems of Darfur would resurface, and the challenges would incorporate new actors. The current conflict has been remunerated by various factions, including the JEM (UN, 2005).
The Sudanese JEM identified themselves as “a national organization open for all the marginalized Sudanese people” (UN, 2005, p. 20). They have transformed into an armed movement, and “following intense government-led attacks on the indigenous people of Darfur, JEM re-launched itself as an armed movement” (UN, 2005, p. 5). This group identified the problems of Darfur and Sudan as the following:

Sudan has been controlled by elites of the Northern Region throughout its independent history; that this control has remained the same irrespective of the nature of the government of the day. The hegemony of the Northern elites has prevailed through democratic, theocratic, socialist, and military governments alike. The domination of the North that is reckoned to constitute only five percent (5%) of Sudan’s population is so pervasive and has been maintained at a huge cost to the nation. The result is obvious: wars, famines, disease, and poverty. (UN, 2005, p. 2).

The issues, identified as contributors to the conflict, are part of the overall national political and government institutions/structures; therein, these injustices are hidden, which then lead to lack of peace.

Additionally, in 2000, a condensed book appeared on the streets of Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. *Seekers of Truth and Justice* authored the book, entitled *The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan*. This book has since been translated from Arabic to English by El-Tom (2013). The author(s) of the book used statistics to bolster their claim that Sudan was being controlled by the Northern Region inhabited by a little over 5% of the population of Sudan (that was before the cessation of the South in
24

2011). The author(s) of *The Black Book* posited that the region (Northern Region) was
hegemonic and that power of the entire country was monopolized by three ethnic groups.

The author(s) reiterated that all of Sudan’s presidents and prime ministers came
from this particular region (El-Tom, 2013). Disturbing information in *The Black Book*,
showed that key political, development, financial, law enforcement, and national security
positions, from ministerial posts to heads of banks, developmental schemes, the army,
and police force, were held by members of this region.

Part 2 of the book appeared in August of 2002, and it offered more statistical data
showing the different regions of the country’s mal-distribution of power, wealth, services,
and development opportunities (El-Tom, 2013). It claimed these were obtained from
various sources, such as government official, strategic reports, presidential decrees, and
Chambers of Sudan Civil Service (El-Tom, 2013). Some activists prepared the
information outlined in the presentation; a year later in 2003, they took up arms to fight
against the government. At that time, this armed conflict, was considered “Africa’s
youngest civil war,” and a year later, the result was “800,000 displaced, 120,000 refugees
and no less than 100,000 fatalities” (El-Tom, 2013, p. 91). The lack of balance and
fairness have created a reactive force of armed response, where justice is lacking and
peace is not attainable.

Detailed and disturbing issues included exposing successive governments’
injustices that have occurred since the country’s 1956 independence from the British
government (El-Tom, 2013). The political orientation of respective incumbent
governments showed consistent patterns with injustices. Accusations of overt favoritism,
to the detriment of other Sudanese and toward a specific circle in Sudan, have been levied against the regime. There has been disproportionate care and attention of services and developmental resources to the favored part of the country by the various incumbents, the Northern Region, where most of the ruling class elites have their origin (El-Tom, 2013).

The rights of citizens, not of the elites, have been systematically breached by previous and current governments. They have accused the government of racism, to which this objectionable behavior has been projected onto others not belonging to the elites or their region of origins (El-Tom, 2013). The history of unfairness has shown the evolution of poverty, illiteracy, disease, and lack of development (Et-Tom, 2013). These are but some of the issues that underline the problems and fuel the conflict. These driving issues elucidated the hypothesis of this research: There could be no peace in the absence of justice.

The Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2004) reported on the situation in Darfur and stated that early in 2003, forces of the Sudanese government, in collaboration with the Janjaweed, a government backed ethnic militias, engaged in committing war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic-cleansing. The report showed that these two groups, the GOS and the Janjaweed, specifically targeted civilians, who belonged to the same ethnic groups as the members of the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the JEM for abuse (HRW, 2004). HRM (2004) further stated that more than 2 million had been directly affected by the conflict. The region’s population at that time was estimated at approximately 6 million. Attacks and abuses were described as attacks on villages, killings, sexual violence, looting of livestock and household goods, the destruction of
property, and other unnamed abuses. The near collapse of the economy of the region also affected 2 million people, according to the report (HRW, 2004). Figures from the United Nations (2005) showed that deaths related to the attacks equated to 180,000, and those who were displaced equated to 2.5 million, although most of those were internally displaced persons (IDP). Nonetheless, the HRW (2004) estimated that 200,000 sought refuge in neighboring Chad. The government and rebels conducted atrocities, which showed a picture that injustice created conflict; hence, where conflict was fueled by injustice, there was no room for peace.

The overt abuses of the victims by the perpetrators are egregious and offensive to human sensibilities; however, the more subtle insensitivities are no less detestable. HRW (2004) reported the following:

In some locations, the response of Sudanese authorities has exacerbated an already appalling situation: in Bindisi, West Darfur, authorities have harassed and even detained pregnant [due to rape] girls and women, threatening them with charges of fornication if they do not pay a fine. (para. 2)

The legal institution, under which the 1991 Criminal Law exists, treats sexual contact of any kind outside of marriage as a crime. Under Islamic (Sharia) law, unlawful sexual intercourse (i.e., adultery; Zina) is punishable by law. Although both men and women are subjected to penalization under Sharia law, it has been noted that in practice women are discriminated against in evidentiary rules and the application of the law (Tonnessen, 2012). These issues show qualification for the statement that there can be no
peace without justice. Considerations of the problems are pertinent to apprehend the victims’ perception of justice and make practical applications to sate this need.

Almost all complaints coming out of the region, especially as it relates to sexual violence (majority are against women), is that justice is not being served (Tonnessen, 2012). Reports from agencies, such as the Amnesty International (AI, 2004), HRW (2004), and Doctors Without Borders/Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) have pointed out that justice was not being served in Darfur. Recommendations by several UN (2014) commissions, sent to investigate human rights violations in Darfur, were in favor of using local justice systems; however, the extent and power of those making the recommendations were minimal, and leadership did effectively use this power (Tonnessen, 2012). Lack of support of the application of the use local justice system (i.e., Judiya) in the conflict, especially violence against women, was that most non-Darfuris, participating in the resolution of this conflict, did not understand the significance of this model (Tonnessen, 2012). This issue showed another problem of the perception of justice.

Justice, from a local advantage, is achieved through the traditional system of adjudication of Judiya. The Judiya (male dominated) is the main mechanism for mediation, reconciliation, and justice in the traditional sense. Judiya is flexible and can be viewed as non-effective by outsiders. It is generally applied as the generic term for mediation, however it is not a court or a judicial proceeding (United Nations Environment Program [UNEP], 2014, p. 8). Judiya is a process of consensual arbitration and mediation. The Judiya traditionally is designed to achieve a beneficial compromise
and centers or focuses on the idea of punishment. *Ajawiid* refer to those who play a central mediation role. They are respected members of the community and hold the positions of traditional leaders (UNEP, 2014, p. 8). In conflict disputes, mediation through the Judiya and recommendations of the Ajawiid can be rejected by conflicting parties, but if the recommendations are accepted, then these are binding (UNEP, 2014, p. 8). This system has weakened over time with the involvement of the central GOS, which has caused a decreased sense of ownership by the civil society (UNEP, 2014, p. 10).

Traditionally, the Judiya entailed a community centered system of conflict mediation and resolution, but the federal government interjected itself in the system and usurped the authority of the tribal leaders (UNEP, 2014). The government took the lead in the process, traditionally conducted by the tribal elders, by setting the agenda of the scope of the matters of jurisdiction by the Judiya. This scope of agenda is limited to “focus on few issues that are pertinent to the security of the area rather addressing the wider concerns and root causes of the conflict from the local communities’ perspective” (UNEP, 2014, p. 11). Leadership using this approach have developed structural violence, as it was the government’s mandate that took precedence, rather than that of the communities.

This application of structural violence was based on the definition of Iadicola and Shupe (2012): “Structural violence is violence that occurs in the context of establishing, maintaining, extending, or reducing hierarchical relations between categories of people within a society” (p. 384). The federal government embedded itself in a local system of justice, took the lead role, and adjusted its Judiya process for the federal government’s
benefit, leaving the community at a disadvantage. This disadvantage is similar to Rawls’ (1972, 1999) definition of justice, and Galtung’s (1969) definition of positive peace. Utilizing the aforementioned circumstances of government interruptions and adjustment of traditional effective community structure, coupled with regional neglect through marginalization, political exclusion, and non-responsiveness to environmental disasters, violence against the population, one must understand that justice was the foundation of peace. To facilitate the process of achieving justice, one must begin to understand the sufferers of injustice perception of justice.

**Rationale**

This research concentrated on the interpretation of justice based on the lived experiences of female victims of sexual violence in Darfur. Research showed that the Darfur victims, especially victims of sexual violence, faced numerous obstacles in their pursuit of justice (HRW, 2005; Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005). These obstacles are primarily concentrated in the legal and law enforcement institutions (HRW, 2005; Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005). Therefore, the premise of this research was to study (a) how female victims of the Darfur conflict perceived justice based on their lived experiences and (b) the way(s) in which justice was the source of peace in Darfur.

Galtung (1969) stated peace “contains an element of equality, the absence of exploitation” (p. 14), and positive peace referred to cooperation and integration between human groups. In summary, one usually defines peace in the “negative direction … and is used in the sense of absence of organized, collective violence” (Galtung, 1969, p. 13). Positive peace, is the following:
The sum total of other relatively consensual values in the world community of nations – exemplified with presence of cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth and development, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism, and dynamism. (Galtung, 1969, pp. 16-17)

While peace can be obtained or idealized in terms of “the absence of organized or collective violence” (Galtung, 1969, p. 16), it fails to embrace other aspects of positive peace concept, as outlined by Galtung (1969). States, nations, organizations, and even individuals can impose peace through terror; however, Galtung considered this occurrence negative peace. Negative peace does not ideally accommodate justice because one may obtain it through violence and injustices. Hence, a lack of justice did not lead to peace and inhibit healing, which was related to positive peace. The importance of this concept of justice leading to peace comes through healing.

There are two major schools of thought regarding the concept of justice leading to peace or a semblance of peace. The two schools of thoughts include restorative justice and retributive justice (Galtung, 1969). Restorative justice contains a focus on the needs of the parties involved in conflict or dispute, such as victims and offenders. This idea essentially removes, in part, the need to satisfy the rules law and focus on the need(s) of the community. It does not stress the need for punishments (Galtung, 1969).

In restorative justice, the victim(s) are given an active role in a dispute, while the offender(s) are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions (Galtung, 1969). There is an expectation for the offender to repair the harm they have done. This repairing may occur by way of making an apology, returning stolen property, or contributing positively
to the community, such as through community service. The primary focus of restorative justice as a theory of justice was that emphasis was placed on crime and wrong-doing, not as means of punishment, but as means for repairing relations (Galtung, 1969). The offences and offender are perceived as violations/violators against the individual or community rather than authorities.

Restorative justice presents a noble idea; however, it falls short in power dynamics. Restorative justice is not necessarily suited for situations in which the power dynamics of the parties are unequally balanced, and there is no real incentive for a “more powerful offender” to comply with the limits of restorative justice toward a “powerless victim” (Galtung, 1969, p. 16). Another problem with restorative justice is its directional focus. According to Lofton (2005), leadership of restorative justice seeks to restore the unattainable or undesirable or even something that was non-existing in the first place. Conversely, Harris (2004) presented a few perspectives of debates that have been advocated in this school of thought. Harris (2004) stated that there were at least four fundamentally different perspectives in the restorative debate. Restorative justice, although similar to transformative justice in that it aims at interpersonal and social transformation, is not the same as transformative justice. The process of restorative justice is aimed at personal and interpersonal transformation and such transformation provides spaces for social transformation (Harris, 2004). Restorative justice occupies a continuum between retributive and transformative justice. Restorative justice and transformative justice advocate for the same thing(s) if properly understood (Harris,
Both perspectives of justice aim at interpersonal, as well as larger, social transformation.

Restorative justice appears an ideal model that show the best outcome for all parties and the restoration of the victim and perpetrator (Harris, 2004). The difficulty with this concept is that the voice of the victim may be lost; there are potential unseen pressures to comply with such type of justice model. Furthermore, restorative justice fails to address the issue of an unrepentant and unremorseful perpetrator (Harris, 2004). Restorative justice is noble in its intent but is unrealistic in the confines of practice.

Retributive justice theory considers proportionate punishment as a morally acceptable response to crime (Harris, 2004). Retributive justice is concentrated on the victim and seeks to satisfy the victim’s loss, even though such loss at times cannot be replaced or repaired. This perception of justice is centered on punishment of the perpetrator as a means of achieving justice (Harris, 2004). Retributive justice, such as restorative justice, tends to focus backwards. The focus is on punishment that is warranted for wrong-doing or injustice of past actions. A weakness of retributive justice is the potential for revenge as a means of justice. Wars, genocide, mass rapes, and ethnic cleansing are usually ripe for retributive justice. The problem that was often overlooked was that in such cases, the tables could quickly turn; instead of proportionate punishment as a means of justice, revenge became the motive in retributive justice (Minow, 1998).

While the aim is punishment, it can also serve as a deterrent for potential future injustices. One way to ensure that retributive justice does not become a means of revenge is to ensure that the punishment fits the crime (Minow, 1998). Outside intervention, in
cases of ethnic cleansing, genocide, and wars, are useful in ensuring that the need for justice does not become acts of revenge. Restorative and retributive justice have a place in the pursuit of justice but neither has the complete answer for the need of justice. These two schools of thought are not necessarily suited to the resolution of the Darfur conflict (Minow, 1998).

The International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ, 2010) report posited, “People have different ideas about what constitutes justice” (p. 15). The goal of securing peace should not overlook the experiencers’ perception/interpretation of justice; since justice is a precursor of peace. One must understand the experiencers’ concept of justice in order to satisfy fully that need, thereby obtaining positive peace.

**Justice**

As previously mentioned, the problem of war rape (gender-based sexual violence) is staggering; more importantly, the lack of justice for the victims and the high rates of impunity for the perpetrators are important. This research was directed toward understanding the victims’ perception of justice based on their lived experiences, which highlighted how justice was defined.

Rawls (1972) provided the general conception of justice, as “All social primary goods, liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favored” (p. 20). Rawls (1972) further posited that the concept of justice was a two pronged structure:
(a) Each person had the same indefeasible claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme was compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all; and (b) social and economic inequalities were to satisfy two conditions. First, there had be offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity; second, they obtained the greatest benefits of the least-advantaged members of the society (the difference principle). (p. 43)

According to Rawls (1972), justice is based in equality and fairness. Utilizing this definition, one should understand that justice was actually defined from the lives and freedoms of the people involved and institutions that offer “significant instrumental role in the pursuit of justice” (Amartya, 2009, p. xii). In this general westernized conceptualization of justice it is understood that institutions do not offer justice but rather institutions act as instruments for re-enforcing and or enhance justice; “justice is ultimately connected with the way people’s lives go” (Amartya, 2009, p. x). Admittedly, justice is a relative concept, according to the following:

It must be relevant to an established public order under which a certain scale of justice is acknowledged. Scales of justice vary considerably from land to land, and each scale is defined and ultimately determined by society in accordance with the public order of that society. (Khadduri, 1984, p. 135)

In the differences of the scales used in determining justice, there is a common thread that divides justice into two basic categories: positive justice and Divine or Revelational justice (Khadduri, 1984, p. 135). Positive justice shows the following:
Men are capable of determining their individual or collective interests and know
that which they may need or to which they may aspire; they therefore can,
individually or collectively, establish a public order under which a certain scale(s)
of justice are likely to evolve by tacit agreement or by formal action. This kind of
justice, a product of interaction between expectations and existing conditions.
(Khadduri, 1984, p. 135)

A society with the presupposition that mankind is weak and incapable of rising
above the infallibility of the *imperfection of humanness*, thereby society cannot do the
following:

Determine what their collective interests are and lay down impartial standard of
justice…a superhuman or divine authority is invoked to provide either the sources
or the basic principles of the public order under with a certain standard of justice
is established. (Khadduri, 1984, p. 135)

Divine or Revelational justice is in contrast to positive justice, as it is a product of
intuition or divine inspiration and is intrinsically “interwoven with religion and ethnics,
coincides with Reason and may fall in the category of natural justice” (Khadduri, 1984, p.
135).

The two above mentioned types of justice is essential to society. Particular
societies that lend preference to one or the other tend to establish laws and or codes of
conduct inclusive to the general provisions of justice. Khadduri (1984) furthered the
following:
In Islam, Divine Justice is enshrined in the Revelation and Divine Wisdom which the Prophet Muhammad communicated to his people. The Revelation, transmitted in God’s words, is to be found in the Qur’an; and the Divine Wisdom, inspired to the Prophet, was uttered in the Prophet’s own words and promulgated as the Sunna, which subsequently come to be known as the Hadith, or the Prophet’s Traditions. These two authoritative or “textual sources,” the embodiment of God’s Will and Justice, provided the raw material on the basis of which the scholars, through the use of a third “derivative source” of human reasoning called ijtihad, laid down the Law and Creed. (p. 135)

People in Sudan, an Islamic country, apply such Islamic theory, as Khadduri (1984) stated the following:

God is the Sovereign of the community of believers; He is its ultimate Ruler and Legislator. The Revelation and Divine Wisdom are the primary sources of the developing public order, presuming to meet the community’s growing needs and expectations. The principles and maxims of justice derive from Revelation and Divine Wisdom are considered infallible and inviolable, designed for all time and potentially capable of application to all men. (p. 135)

Nevertheless, one should understand that the principles in which Divine law would operate represented an ideal and perfect system. Lombardi (2013) stated the following:

Since 1950, Sudan as with a large number of Arab countries have enacted constitutions containing provisions that declare Islamic norms to be a source of legislation. The wording of these provisions varies in subtle but significant ways.
Arab constitutions use different terms to describe the Islamic norms that serve as a source of law. Some refer to “fiqh,” others to “sharia,” and still others to “the principles of sharia.” (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753)

Furthermore, these constitutions characterize the role of Islamic norms differently. Most clauses describe Islamic norms either as “a chief source of legislation” (masdarun raisun li’l tashri’) or as “the chief source of legislation” (al-masdar al-raisi li’ltashri’), although a few use slightly different formulations” (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753). Within the confines of the legislation is the concept of justice administered, and it entails ideology of moral principles of right living. The notion of justice in the Qur’an and traditions is based on good morals. Traditionally, justice is “enunciated in the Qur’an by specific examples, expressed in legal and ethical terms, to distinguish between just and unjust acts as well as to set underlying rules indicating what the scale of justice out to be” (Khadduri, 1984, p. 184). Leadership implemented these notions to develop constitutions in Arabic countries.

In the 1960s, Islamists Sudan pushed for the state to adopt an Islamic constitution. It was in 1968 that “a constituent assembly with Islamists in leadership positions proposed such a constitution” (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753). Leadership wrote Article 113 of the proposed constitution to state the following: “The principles of the Islamic Sharia are the chief source of legislation” (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753). The people of Sudan, having gone through a series of military coup d’etats and changes of governments, experienced revisions to the country’s constitution that influenced
legislature. The conduct of moral behavior and principles of justice (only on paper) continued to be governed by Islamic laws. Lombardi (2013) stated the following:

In the 1980s a series of military regimes in the Sudan decided to compensate for their lack of democratic legitimacy by reaching out to Islamists. They revised statutes to make them conform to Islamic law. In 1998, the second of these regimes drafted a new constitution that reflected the concern that provisions making Islamic norms “a chief source” or “the chief source” continued to be ambiguous on the key question of whether all state law would have to respect those norms. The 1998 Constitution, like the earlier 1968 Constitution, declared Islamic law to be one of “the sources” of legislation and then stated explicitly that no law could be inconsistent with Islamic law or any of these other sources. (pp. 751-753)

Leadership rewrote Sudan’s 1991 Penal Code to explicitly state in the Memorandum:

There has been a continuous call by the Sudanese people for an Islamic penal code in the Sudan addressed to consecutive governments of the Sudan since independence. Thus the first thing that the Revolution for National Salvation paid attention to after finishing the important steps for securing the country’s safety and unity was asserting the country’s identity and the promulgation of the original Sudanese Laws derived from Islamic Law. (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753)

Section 3 of the memorandum entitled sources clearly identified the foundation of the legislation, and thus the concept of justice applicable to the Sudan (especially in legal
and political sense): “The legislature sanctioned Islamic Shariah as the main source for the law whereby the law rules shall be based on Shariah’s sources, and general principles and shall contain Hudud, Qisas and Diyah principles” (Lombardi, 2013, pp. 751-753). In tradition, the principles of justice in Sudan are based on Islamic Law. Leadership uses the Islamic Law to express the notion of justice, which Khadduri (1984) stated represented a concept from the Divine/Revelational justice.

**Justice and Structural Violence**

Using Rawls’ (1972) definition of justice as fairness and equality, and Amartya’s (2009) concept that it represents a lived experience, reinforced and or enhanced through institutions, one must note that institutions (and states) can fail to live up to the expectations of societies and individuals by obstructing access to fairness and equality (Iadicola & Shupe, 2012). When the obstruction of fairness and equality is embedded within a structure, whether a political or governmental system, it contains structural violence. Galtung (1969) defined structural violence as “violence that is built into the structure of the society and manifests itself in differences of life expectancy” (p. 20).

Structural violence exists contextually when leadership must conduct the establishment, maintenance, extension, or reduction of hierarchical relations between categories of people within a society. In addition, this violence can occur when violence is the resulted outcome of the organization of a society that affects access to basic necessities of survival (Iadicola & Shupe, 2012, p. 384). In the case of Darfur, the lack of access to security and safety through law enforcement and judicial channels would constitute structural violence. Lawrence and Karim (2007) noted, “The law is neither an
objective nor a neutral path to the solution of problems raised by social agents, and particular contexts reveal how the law itself can be instruments of structural violence” (p. 218). The 1991 Penal Code of Sudan represents the law as an instrument of structural violence because leadership use it to treat sexual crimes with generalities and set women at a disadvantage in accessing justice, which equates to fairness and equality. Galtung (1969) defined this type of justice as peace, and Rawls (1972) defined it as justice.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this research was to examine how lived experiences were used to ascribe meaning to justice, particularly from the perception of female victims of sexual violence in the Darfur conflict. The importance of this study was based on the challenges victims face in pursuit of justice for the atrocities of crimes levied against them. Various reports from Human Rights Organizations (HRO), governmental agencies, especially the United Nations (2014) and victims testimonies, revealed challenges for those seeking justice for the atrocities unleashed on civilians especially females of sexual assault.

This research contained an element of gender issues because all participants identified as females. Interest developed from conducting a gender specific study based on the issue of sexual assault in conflict impinge on previous studies that showed that women were less likely to be combatants, but they “constitute the greatest proportion of the adult civilian population killed in war and targeted for violence” (Roberts, 2010, p. 115). There was even more staggering news in the plight of women and girls in conflict zones.
Roberts (2010) stated that human rights violations relating to violence against women is a global problem, “Every day, women and girls around the world are threatened, beaten, raped, mutilated and killed” (p. 115). This violence occurs without the fear of punishment. In addition to these abuses, Roberts (2010) concluded that 1 out of every 3 women, a population of approximately 1 billion women, were “beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused in her lifetime, whether at the hands of family members, government security forces or armed rebels” (p. 115). Roberts (2010) stated, some victims informed AI delegates that they were “reluctant to instigate legal proceedings for fear that they may lose the economic support of their family or spouse” (p. 115). Other factors relating to economics that contribute to the subsequent vulnerability of these women include poverty, lack of education, access to information, and healthcare services (Roberts, 2010, p. 115).

This research focused on females who were subjected to sexual violence because their experiences in the legal and law enforcement agencies were more challenging than compared to of the men; the laws placed a heavier burden on females with sexual allegations (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005). Sexual violence includes rape, abduction and sexual slavery, forced impregnation, forced marriages, sexual torture, sexual mutilation, indecent assault, and other physical violence (UN, 2005). The International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur concluded that the government forces of Sudan and Janjaweed militias, backed by the government, used rape and sexual violence with a deliberately strategic aim to terrorize the targeted population, ensure control of the Internally
Displaced Persons (IDP) population’s movement, and perpetuate their displacement (HRW, 2005).

Furthermore, HRW (2004) documented a high volume of incidents that had occurred in all three states of Darfur, where women and girls experienced rape and various other forms of sexual violence during the attacks on villages by the GoS using its forces and militias as its proxy. Where ethnic conflict exists, “rape can be both a military strategy and a nationalistic policy, expressions of hatred toward an ethnic group, the ‘rape of the enemy’ women can be an explicit order or condoned tacitly by the government and its military” (Swiss & Giller, 1993, p. 612).

Significance of the Study

One must note that in armed conflict, violence against women, especially sexual violence, is based on a traditional notion, in many conflict zones, that women were properties and this often translated into women being viewed as sexual objects. Globally, the female gender has historically been attributed the role of transmitters of culture or the symbols of a nation or a community. When violence is directed against women, it is often considered to be a direct attack on the value or honor of a society. This view lends itself to think of women as potent tools of war (Roberts, 2010). One generally views war rape as an assault on the individual, the family, and the community. Sexual violence in conflict is “an attempt to dominate, humiliate, and control behavior, rape in war can also be intended to disable an enemy by destroying the bonds of family and society” (Roberts, 2010, p. 115). Swiss and Giller (1993) stated, “The terrorism of rape sometimes forces entire communities into flight, further disintegrating the community’s safeguards against
rape” (p. 612). Women in armed conflict, treated as sexual objects, are considered emblems of national and ethnic identity and the symbols of ethnic, racial, religious, and national group pride (Roberts, 2010). To injure the women is to inflict mortal hurt on the larger group, which can leaves an indelible and inglorious scar.

Reports from the UN (2005) highlighted a series of challenges in the reportage and prosecution of rape/sexual violence (per the ICC: Rome Statute: rape is a war crime). The challenges that existed in the pursuit of justice for the victims was the fundamental basis for this research. Moreover, the media, UN (2005), and human rights organizations (HROs; HRW, 2004) reports showed significant numbers of challenges that the victims faced in pursuing justice. The challenges are buried in the structural procedures required for the reporting of the crime as well as in the institutional structures themselves. For instance, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2011) reported numerous challenges faced by victims and or family members in their attempt to report assaults to the authorities pursuant to obtaining justice. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2011) found, “Rape or other forms of sexual violence committed by the Janjaweed and the GoS soldiers in Darfur were widespread and systematic.” (p. 9).

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2011) further stated that there appeared the inability or unwillingness to hold the perpetrators, members of law enforcement agencies, armed forces, and pro-Government militia accountable by the GoS. Additionally, the investigation by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2011) found that in some cases, the actions of these authorities aggravated the situation, and the rape survivors were often re-victimized though insensitive treatment and
humiliation. The GoS has taken steps to respond to some of the sexual violence allegations, but there has been a failure to act effectively in investigating with due diligence, which adds to the problem of impunity and prohibits prevention (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2011, p. 9).

The victims of sexual crimes face bigger obstacles when seeking justice. They have to confront challenges that are based in gender biases that are embedded in the administration of justice and throughout the legal framework as well as within the culture. The survivors of sexual violence are often re-victimized by the law, discriminatory judicial and enforcement practices, effective protection, and redress are practically non-existing (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 2011, p. 14).

Hence, the aim of this research was to contribute to further examination in conflict management and prevention by presenting experiencer centered solutions as application to both these areas.

This study made significant and original contribution to the field of conflict analysis and resolution because this researcher solicited the experiencers’ expertise on justice and accommodated their interpretive definition in the development of a new theoretical model in addressing the problem of the absence of peace merged in lack of justice. The original theoretical model, the cyclone conflict theory, shows the inter-relational components perceived as associated with justice and the behavioral patterns. Researchers can use the cyclone conflict theory to posit that the components of conflicts that affect justice function similar to a cyclone. The behavioral patterns of the affective
components oscillate around the central point (i.e., justice) and is affected by unmet conditions related to needs.

**Summary**

This research showed the problems associated with the conflict in Darfur. It has showed that in conjunction with the presented issues, the primary factor was justice. The aim was to establish an understanding of the perception of justice based on the experiencers’ vantage point. While this was an ambitious feat; nonetheless, it was worthy of attention because of the countless efforts that have been made to combat conflicts and manage or prevent future violence of this nature.

The research goal was directed to the link between the challenges faced by the experiencers and the need for and perception of justice. This need for justice had to be explored in a way that provided insights and possible answers as to the best, if not most appropriate, and effective measures to achieve this goal. The need for justice was best approached from the standpoint of the experiencers’ perceptions who determined the meaning of justice. This research provided findings that enhanced one’s understanding on the formation of meaning of this beautiful, albeit often misunderstood, word.

Chapter 2 is the literature review and contains a discussion of current literature that shows the problem of rape as a weapon of war, the definition of rape in this context, and the challenges for the victims. This chapter also includes other similar conflicts to establish the preexisting problem of war/conflict rape. Additionally, the theoretical framework is introduced to provide a guide for the study. Explanation of the chosen theories, along with the development of each, is presented. The theories show support for
the existing problems but also explain the concept of justice from the participants’
perception.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of this research. This chapter contains the
procedural details of the study. The methodology opens the research regarding
conceptualization, the process of data collection, interviewing, transcription of the data,
and the ethical principles that guided the study.

The analysis and findings of the study are presented in Chapter 4. This chapter
provides the step-by-step process of coding, categorizing, and applying the categories.
The analysis and findings includes the voice of the participants and indicates insights on
the personal experiences that victims use for meaning-making, which influence their
perceptions of justice.

Chapter 5 contains the interpretation of the data and contribution to the body of
knowledge. In this chapter, the research is explained from the researcher’s viewpoint, as
developed from interaction with the data and knowledge gained throughout the process of
conducting this research. The interpretation of the data is built on the methodology,
thetical framework, and data analysis and findings. Every element of the research
contributes to the researcher’s interpretation of the data. This chapter serves to answer the
research questions proposed as a justification of this study.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Overview

Sexual violence in conflict serves multiple purposes. On the basic level, sexual violence in conflict is used as an intentional tool of humiliation, not only for the victims and their families but for the larger communities of which they are members. Men, especially in communities in which sexual violence is used as a tactic in conflict, are shamed by the perpetrators for failing to protect “their” women (Iadicola & Shupe, 2012, p. 334). Men use wartime sexual violence as a means of destroying the fabric of the family and communities’ structures, more so, when there are public rapes/gang rapes committed by armed men in front of the entire terrorized group. Men use these public rapes to force family members to watch each other’s rapes or the family members to commit acts of rape/sexual violence against each other. Fornegovic-Smalc (1994) posited, “Even those who witnessed the rapes passively are considered victims – secondary victims of rapes” (p. 174).

The armed forces and militant groups also use sexual violence in conflict as a “morale booster” and reward for bravery (Bidwell, 1973, p. 21; Iadicola & Shupe, 2012, p. 334). Rape as a morale booster for the terroristic group is an act of aggression with the primary purpose of destroying the victim’s human dignity. The sexual act is not important but the meta-message that the act symbolizes. The aim of rape, especially gang rapes, is to demonstrate power. Men commit this act to destroy the identity of the political, national, and religious group to which the victims belong (Fornegovic-Smalc, 1994, p. 175). The men create hierarchy between the groups position, making one inferior
to the other that holds the superior position. Marital rapes, wrapped in gang rapes, represent a systematic attempt to break and annihilate the political and military enemy (Folnegovic-Smalc, 1994, p. 175).

Contextualizing martial war is important as it aids in understanding the culture in which rape can sometimes be dismissed as merely a part of the tactics of war. Marital rape is a part of war crimes. War crimes were recognized as a feature of war for a long time, but in the Nuremberg Charter on 1945, Buis (2003) defined it for the first time at an international level. Buis (2003) considered this international recognition of war crimes as the violation or breach of the laws or customs of war. The Geneva Conventions of 1949 stipulated that each party to an armed conflict of an international or non-international character (either states or other armed groups) must respect and apply the general principles of humanitarian law (Buis, 2003). The principles of humanitarian law is particularly aimed at restricting the means and methods of warfare and to protect war victims. Buis (2003) stated, “Rape and enforced prostitution are explicitly forbidden in the Geneva Convention IV, Article 27, and in the 1977 Additional Protocols (Article 76.1, Protocol I, and Article 4.2.e., Protocol II)” (p. 269). Lilly (2004) explained martial rape in terms of wartime rape:

Wartime rape and other forms of sexual assault on women were the subject of legal and religious concerns about their ownership and value…wartime rape is recognized by the international community as a war crime. It can also be prosecuted as a crime against humanity, if evidence conforms wartime rapes
resulted from systemic government planning, but crimes against humanity are difficult to establish. (p. 270)

Marital rape falls under several categories; for example, mass rape represents a cultural and or genocidal weapon. Moreover, rapes of this nature are well organized, systematic and usually public. Men use rape to “wound the honor” of the enemy, as Lilly (2004) stated, “These rapes are aimed at the male relatives and friends of the victims. The message is clear—they are wounds to the masculinity, honor, and competence of the enemy soldiers who are unable to protect their women” (p. 270). Men use rape as part of military culture; this is an unusual configuration of military norms about masculinity, sexuality, and women. Men also use rape for revenge and elevated masculinity, as Lilly (2004) stated, “The uniform, an essential element in war, symbolizes membership as well as the range of expected and approved behavior. Powerful military group expectations and indoctrination of masculinity may use rape as a gesture of group solidarity” (p. 270). Men further use rape as part of the “rules’ of war-pay and pillage, as Lilly (2004) further posited the following:

Before armies were created with regularized pay, soldiers were often recruited with the promise of booty—including sexual booty—as their reward. This form of payment, including rape, was nonetheless regulated because uncontrolled pillage meant, in effect, the control of the army had been lost. (p. 270)

Finally, men use rape as gratuitous/random behavior. Lilly (2004) finalized, “All modern armies have regulations prohibiting rape… under certain social conditions, individual
soldiers violate such rules despite the threat of severe punishment and victimize civilian female colleagues” (pp. 270-271).

**History of Sexual Violence in Conflicts**

Sexual violence in conflict is not a new phenomenon; however, the purpose for the use of this war tactic changed over time. Historically, men used sexual violence, primarily rape in conflict, as “a spoil of war” by the Vikings in the Middle Ages (Iadicola & Shupe, 2013, p. 332). The Greek and Romans used this tactic alternately on their imperial reigns (Iadicola & Shupe, 2013, p. 332). Jenner (2004) reiterated this point that women of the conquered people have historically been considered, “spoils of war” and during times of war were subjected to being rape by their captors (p. 1). The ancient Hebrews and the Greeks captured foreign women during wartime and made them concubines and ‘wives’ (Jenner, 2004, p. 1).

Genghis Khan, the 13th century Mongolian warlord was notorious for his sadistically sexual and violent appetite (Bidwell, 1973, p. 20). Genghis Khan’s court attendants, in soliciting his opinion of his “greatest pleasure in life,” received the response: “It is to defeat your enemies, chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to ride their horses, and clasp to your breast their wives and daughters” (Bidwell, 1973, p. 20).

The English soldiers of the 15th century would sexually abuse, and rape, women, and therefore obtain the rights to her property. British soldiers, during the American Revolution, would abduct women and rape them in war encampments (Jenner, 2004, p. 1). Jenner (2004) stated the following:
Anthropological accounts from the early twentieth to middle twentieth century indicate gang rapes of women captured by Yanomamo raiding parties in Venezuela and sexual abduction of women in Kenya by Gusii tribesmen who could not afford bride prices. In the late twentieth century, rape was used as a systematic wartime tool of intimidation and genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian forces organized widespread imprisonment of Muslim and Croat women in detention centers and military brothels, where they endured multiple rapes. An estimated 50,000 women and girls were systematically raped.

(p. 1)

During World War II, the occupation of Poland, the military used young women that they had captured to service the soldiers in brothels they had organized (Iadicola & Shupe, 2013, p. 332).

In relation to this study, one must understand that consideration to the history of rape cannot exempt race and racism. Rape and racism in the historical context is not far removed from the issue of rape in Darfur, as accounts of rape have revealed a deep-seated existence of racism. People have generally applied race as a tool of discrimination between persons of phenotype differences due to skin color, hair texture, ancestry, and cultural tradition (Sieke, 2004, p. 167). Rape, as associated in the U.S. slave era, “was more than a chance tool of violence. It was an institutional crime, part and parcel of the White man’s subjugation of a people for economic and psychological gain” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 153). The institution, under which this particular crime was embedded in racism, was known as the Patriarchal Institution; it was the representation of
the White over the Black, but layered beneath that obvious act or racism was the specific dominance of the White male over the Black female. The Black woman was crucial to the slave industry, which was representative of racism. The Black woman was dually exploited, as she was both a source of labor and reproducer. She was master over her own body and all its parts (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 153). She became the critical source of maintenance of the institution that held her captive. Brownmiller (1975) quoted historian Winthrop D. Jordon, stating, “Sexually as well as in every other way, Negroes were utterly sub-ordinated. White men extended their dominance over the Negroes to bed, where the sex act itself served as a ritualistic re-enactment of the daily pattern of social dominance” (p. 154).

Racism is discrimination that is political, economic, and social; the nature of racism is based on hereditary racial and ethnic differences (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 153). Systemic and systematic violence is a consequence of the construction of race, which entails the structural violence often demonstrated through systemic and systematic violence, such as wars crimes and crimes against humanity. These types of violence, such as racial genocide and ethnic-cleansing, are by-products of the construction of race conjoined with the construction of class, gender, and sexuality (Sieke, 2004, p. 167).

Racism and rape, as is theorized through racist construction, is essentially a notion of racialized sexualities that projects and promotes the sexual preferences and practices of an ethnic other as deviant. People use racism to legitimize the use of violence against the other and utilize a “disciplinary practice of racial control” (Sieke, 2004, p. 168). In race and sexual violence context, rape is a power dynamic. The ideologies and politics of the
racist are an existing and an exacting method of the perpetuation of power relations (Sieke, 2004, p. 168).

To review the history of sexual violence, primarily rape, in conflict, the tactic appeared the same; however, the reasons have become politically organized in nature. The tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia and the ICC (2017a), recognized that men used sexual violence/rape political with the intention of changing the geographical and ethnic demography of these regions. Whatever the purpose for the use of sexual violence in conflict/wartime, the need for justice by the victims and the international community raised pressure to end impunity and deliver effective protection for those who have been victimized whether pre or post conflict.

**Defining Rape**

Time period, place, and gender, according to Lambert (2004), have shaped the definition of rape over centuries. Limiting rape as solely the forced usage of the victim’s body for sexual fulfilment does not give justice to the total experience that the victimized person endured. Rape, however goes beyond the forceful sexual use of an unwilling person, it is the subordination of the victim to the aggressor, it is the assertion of the assailant’s power over the assaulted and the stripping away of the power and rights of the victim (Branche & Virgili, 2012).

The most common perception of rape is the nonconsensual vaginal penetration by penis, the Latin “per vim stuprum” (Lambert, 2004, p. 169). The broadest definition of rape was adopted by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in 1998. The ITCR established that rape, a war crime and act of genocide, was the “physical invasion
of a sexual nature, committed on a person under circumstances which are coercive” (Lambert, 2004, p. 170). One advantage of this definition is that it does not limit the circumstances that establish coercion, the gender of the victim, and the type of sexual act, such as vaginal, anal, oral, penile penetration, or penetration with a foreign object (Lambert, 2004, p. 170).

**Causes of Sexual Violence-Rape in Conflicts**

As the historical context of rapes, used in conflicts and wartime, differs and changes over time, similarly the causes differ in context. There is no single cause or ideal reason for the use of sexual violence and rape in conflict. Humiliation, intimidation, boosting of morale, or rewards for the victimizers have shown as reasonable causes for this most intimate invasion of persons and communities (McCaughey, 2004). For example, where there is social hierarchy, rape often occurs (McCaughey, 2004). The conception of a constructed social hierarchy lends to the dynamics of the powerful and the sub-ordinate, soldiers at war, one group that is enslaved by another, adults in charge of minors, and even men in marriages (McCaughey, 2004, p. 167). Rape may be expressed as sexual entitlement, possession dominance, and intimidation (McCaughey, 2004, p. 167). The precipitation of rape usually comes in the form of the need for dominance and control; however, each precipitating factor varies from social and cultural context (McCaughey, 2004, p. 167).

McCaughey (2004) suggested that gang rape of a woman by a group of men occurred because of the existence of men’s desire to bond socially and sexually with one
another. However, this social bonding is at the expense of the woman. In the case of gang rape, the woman is the ultimate alibi for homophobic males (McCaughey, 2004, p. 168).

Rittner and Roth (2012) posited that rape, as a policy particularly in genocidal forms, involved gender, sex, and violence. However, rape was much more than just gender, sex, and violence because the wreckage of the action extended well beyond the mere meaning of these terms, further than the actual reach of the experience/realities (Rittner & Roth, 2012, p. xv). The performance of rape can and is often extended to the communities of origin and well beyond the targeted individual (Branche & Virgili, 2012).

Rape has always been a part of human culture (Smith, 2004). The act of rape has continuously impacted the individual, women, and the men and children affected by the atrocity. Rape has throughout centuries, had an inevitable effect on the ‘evolution and development of cultures all over the world’. As it stands today, rape is still a concern for modern society (Smith, 2004). Rape, according to Bourke (2007), is a form of social performance; it is the embodied violation of another person. Bourke (2007) stated, “The infliction of cruelty is a choice” (p. 6). Males make up the greater number of (sexual) abusers (Branche & Virgili, 2012, pp.3-4; Brownmiller, 1975; Ellis, 1989), and the number of people who set out to exploit the human propensity for suffering is significant (Bourke, 2007, p. 6). Based on this information, this research was intentionally comprised solely of female participants to ascertain better their view of the issue.

The sexually violent perpetrators are not content with simply inflicting suffering, but through this injurious action, they insist that the victims give meaning to the anguish inflicted on them (Bourke, 2007, p. 6). Acknowledging that a part of the act of sexual
violence is to ensure that victims make meaning of the experience shows the phenomenological research on victims’ perception of justice based on their lived experience. In the 1994 Rwandan genocide, African Rights (2006, as cited in Totten, 2009, p. 18) reported that some of the women, who were sexually assaulted and tortured, were told by the perpetrators that the women would not be killed but would have their lives spared, so that they would endure continuous suffering with conscious memories of what they and their loved ones had suffered through (Temple-Raston, 2004). The insistence of continuous suffering through memories was a part of the strategy of the perpetrators. The essence of a phenomenological research was to “explicate the meanings as we live them” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 11).

In the Somalia civil war, Somali men, not of the same tribe, raped the women of the Bantu Somali tribe (Branche & Virgili, 2012). The men intended these attacks to demonstrate the power that one ethnic group had over the other. Somali Bantu were seen as socially and racially inferior to their attackers. The attacks also demonstrated that the men of the Bantu Somali tribe could not protect and defend the honor of the women (i.e., sisters, wives, and mothers). This act showed the inequality of relationships between the tribes, especially the men (Branche & Virgili, 2012). The men who perpetrated the violence on the women represented a certain physical and social virility; conversely, the men who failed to protect their women represented a symbolic castration or impotence, thereby creating a relational inequality between the men (Branche & Virgili, 2012).

Akurang-Parry (2004) stated that four identifiable types of rape existed in the zones of Africa that contains conflicts (p. 8). Akurang-Parry (2004) posited that
genocidal rape was aimed at annihilating ethnic or political groups; this type of rape occurred in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, which was carried over into the Congo. The second type of rape is political rape (Akurang-Parry, 2004). Men used political rape as punishment of political opponents of regimes; for example, men in the Zimbabwe government created the militia group, “Green Bombers” (Akurang-Parry, 2004, p. 10).

Next, soldiers, military, or police conduct the rape of opportunity (i.e., *opportunistic rape*), relinquishing any rule of law when they resort to rape (Akurang-Parry, 2004). This act is usually carried out in areas where there is intermittent civil dissonance. Akurang-Parry (2004) reported that cases of opportunistic rape occurred in Nigeria, in the Niger Delta region that is rich in oil. Lastly, there is the conscription and kidnapping of young girls designated to perform “sexual acts and other services for militia men and soldiers” (Akurang-Parry, 2004, p. 8). These acts are evident in conflicts in Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sudan, and Zimbabwe. Akurang-Parry (2004) stated, “All four examples can be seen in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo where, according to Human Rights Watch, sexual violence against women is a ‘war within a war’” (p. 8).

**War, Conflicts and Genocide – Cases of Rape in Conflict Zones**

**Rwandan genocide rape atrocities.** The abuse of women in the Rwandan genocide, as reported in African Rights (1995, as cited in Totten, 2009, p. 83), indicated that those responsible for the genocide did not have a prepared list of women targeted for rape, neither were there specific instructions given to the Interahamwe to rape women. However, the mandate to destroy the Tutsi was a clear implication to rape their (the
Tutsi) women. The report showed that women and girls were the “spoils of the genocide” (African Rights, 1995, as cited in Totten, 2009, p. 111). In fact, the militia forced young girls to undress, and then made them march by “areas where they would be raped and/or killed” (African Rights, 1995, as cited in Totten, 2009, p. 111). Adding insult to injury, many of the girls and women, enslaved by males for the sole purpose of being raped, were referred to as “wives” (Totten, 2009, p. 111).

The accounts of sexual violence against women that emerged from the survivors and other agents related to the Rwandan genocide represent acts of horror to normalcy (Totten, 2009). The degradation of the female body, psyche, and identity remained long-lasting. As Totten (2009) posited, the referencing of the rape victims as wives was another attempt at reclassification. This reclassification added insult to injury and the militia might have designed it to further strip the women of any semblance of power or control they might have.

**Bosnia-Herzegovina: National death through rape in genocide.** On December 4, 1943, the idealistic vision of Josip Broz Tito involved creating a state of “Brotherhood and Unity” that would “transcend ethno-national loyalties” (Morus, 2002, p. 45). This brotherhood was realized through the creation of the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia. The federation was made up of six republics, namely Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia (Morus, 2002, p. 45). However, his death in 1980 would leave a vacuum where power-hungry, unscrupulous politicians, idealistic intellectuals, and media personalities with ruthless agendas played on the
discontentment of the population, where no capable leader had emerged (Morus, 2002, p. 45).

Slobodan Milosevic’s increasing influence disrupted the existing balance among the republics, and there was consecutive cessations beginning with Slovenia (Morus, 2002, p. 45). Slovenia achieved independence after a brief ten day war. Croatia followed and experienced war that ended officially in 1992, although it continued until 1995 in the region of Kreijina (Morus, 2002, p. 46). Bosnia-Herzegovina was the most multi-ethnic and religiously intermixed state of the Yugoslav republics (Morus, 2002). This republic was of the opinion that it had no chance of surviving in the Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. The majority voted to secede; in March 1992, they declared independence (Morus, 2002). In April of that same year, war broke out. War would last until December of 1995 (Morus, 2002, p. 46). The ensuing result would be one of the modern world’s most notorious atrocities.

Morus (2002) estimated that from 1992 to 1995, Serb forces raped approximately 20,000 to 50,000 women and girls, the majority of them Bosniak. Camps, dedicated to the raping of women, were common in the wartime landscape of the region (Morus, 2002, p. 47). Women and girls, in the age range of 6 to 70 years, were repeatedly raped in schools, hospitals, homes, and even in barns. Some of the victims were held and repeatedly raped for as much as 2 years. The taunts of the misogynist assaults were deepened by the similarity of the victims to their tormentors (Morus, 2002). More terrifying, was the fact that fathers and brothers were forced to rape their own family members. They were usually killed for refusing to comply with the perpetrators’ orders.
Many women endured forced impregnations and were held captive until it was impossible for their pregnancy to be terminated (Morus, 2002). Adding insult to injury, these women were forced into domestic servitude, having to cook and clean for their rapists. The men bought and sold women or traded them for goods, and even gave them to other perpetrators as rewards (Morus, 2002). Men also turned these wartime rapes into pornography. A survivor’s account showed the following:

   Everything was dark, but the bed on which they were raping was lit up, like when they interrogate you and point the light only on you. Only that bed was lit up with a spotlight … I had a feeling that they were sometimes recording or filming.

   (MacKinnon, 1994, p. 73)

   Not only did the men subject these victims by turning them into commodities for further victimization beyond the immediate scope of the conflict, but the women had to contend with future humiliation. The victimizers held control of the victims’ identities in the immediate circumstances, as well as the future labeling of these women (MacKinnon, 1994). The men used imposed debauchery as a tool of entertainment and gratification for the terrorizing group.

   The victims’ self-identities were constructed by the enemy in two ways (MacKinnon, 1994). The dual identity construction was within the confinement of the acts occurring at that time but also how others would attach other identities to the experiencers: as victims or survivors. The experiencers would have to contend with the other view of the self, as assigned by the larger community (MacKinnon, 1994). This issue was the reason for the purpose of this study because justice, as perceived by the
experincer, was important to understand to eliminate any suppositions of its meaning to those who were the *experts* of their own needs.

**Bangladesh Women**

In the spring of 1971, Bangladesh was the target of a genocidal campaign by the Government of Pakistan. The Bangladesh women’s bodies became a central part of the geopolitical landscape for the intended destruction of that nation. Men committed individual and gang-rapes, abductions, and forced prostitution in rape camps as some of the initial tactics used in the genocide (Debnath, 2009, p. 47). While those atrocities were devastating to the women and the country of Bangladesh, the worst was yet to come in the form of justice. The state government, in an attempt to “rehabilitate” the victims of rape during the genocidal campaign and the existing societal taboo regarding sexual crimes, designated the victims through reclassification, as “heroines” (Debnath, 2009, p. 53). This redesignation represented a “strategy” in removing the negative stigma of their experiences and restoring their “value” as marriageable women (Debnath, 2009, p. 53).

The poorly thought-out scheme of reinstating the victims into the larger society included returning them to their husbands or pairing them with Mukti Bahini (fighters) (Debnath, 2009, p. 50). The men who accepted the offers expected to receive rewards with profitable dowries for the inconvenience of a having “spoiled woman,” basically subjecting the violated females to re-victimization in which justice alluded them (Brownmiller, 1973, p. 83). This effort involved getting the society to begin “acting normal” by removing the shame of the destroyed “feminine codes of honor” (Debnath, 2009, p. 50). The state’s *noble* attempt at providing a sense of justice was ill-designed, as
men seem to have been the recipients of financial justice, while the women faced subjugation to the design and desire of their male counterparts.

This atrocity against women once again showed the importance of understanding experiencer perceived justice, rather than subjecting the victim to further humiliation in a weak attempt at the removal of “shame or guilt” from the national identity (Debnath, 2009, p. 50). Therefore, this researcher conducted this study to understand appropriate ways to fill the experiencer’s needs. This approach had to which remain comprehensible and relatable to the lived-experience.

**The Comfort Women of Japan**

During World War II and the years leading up to it, Japan set in motion a well-organized, highly developed military machine undergirded by a master-race mentality to establish its right to rule its neighbors (Chang, 1997, pp. 3-4). As with many other conflicts, the extent of destruction and human devastation remained extensive and often too gruesome to digest. This act involved a body politics, in which women were the topical landscape of war. Women were raped, sexually mutilated, and demonized. Many of these women chose to kill the babies born from conflict, and those who could not bring themselves to commit murder of the unwanted babies, to this day, have denied that their babies derived from their tragedy (Chang, 1997, pp. 89-92). Many of the female masses were subjected to repeated sexual violence and were further humiliated by being forced to become “war wives” or “comfort women” to the Japanese soldiers (Chang, 1997, pp. 89-92). Even the title resulted in insult and humiliation, as the choice to “comfort” the
barbarianism was not their own (Chang, 1997, pp. 89-92). Again, the reclassification associated with the violence, increased the violence, rather than diminished it.

The above mentioned synopsis of the sexual violence that occurred in the various wars and or conflicts showed the extensive use of this wartime tactic on females, ethnic groups, communities, and even national destruction (Chang, 1997). Sexual violence, biased toward women during conflicts/wars, has often been dealt with in terms of leadership applying “resolution” in various ways but rarely from the perspective of those with direct experience (Chang, 1997, pp. 89-92). Justice comes in many forms from reclassification for the preservation of the larger society in attempts at minimizing the devastation to outright denial of the atrocities levied against women. The obvious problem was that justice from the victims’ perceptions is rarely, if at all, brought forward (Chang, 1997, pp. 89-92). The preceding information shows the importance of this phenomenological research in conflict resolution.

As highlighted in the various scenarios of sexual violence against women in conflict (Chang, 1997; Debnath, 2009), the problem of rape as a weapon of war (martial rape) remained global. This epidemic was not restricted to region, race, ethnicity, religion, culture, politics, language, or any other compartmentalized category that made up the whole human experience. However, this research focused on Darfur, specifically the ongoing conflict in that region. Interest in this region and conflict was personal and did not serve to minimize other conflicts or regions that had and or were subjected to similar tools of war.
The Abuses of Darfur Victims

The assaults in Darfur are generally directed to Black African females by the GoS troops and Janjaweed militias (Totten, 2009, p. 154). In many cases, the rapes are perpetrated solely for terrorizing the Black African females of the Darfur population. The terrorizing of the Black African females includes shaming and making them, the women, pariahs consequently humiliating the Black African males and ultimately destroying the very seams of the Black African community and increasing the Arab population by making “Arab babies” (p. 154). Totten (2009) cited the Refugees International (2007) report and noted that the pattern of violence, implemented by the GoS via the Janjaweed, included rapes targeted to the ethnic groups in Darfur. The systematic destruction of the Black African communities directly linked to the raping of the women of Darfur (Totten, 2009, p. 154). News reports, such as that of Kinnock (2006) about the assaults of Darfur women, showed the situation as deliberate action aimed at eroding the “tribal ethnic lines, and the brutalization of women and children as weapons of war” (para. 4).

The assaults on the women have varied. The GoS and the government backed the Janjaweed militias to use numerous tactics to terrorize the women, from forced nudity in front of gangs of men to individual and gang rapes and sexual slavery; many assaults occur in the open, such as in fields, villages, and in their homes in the presence of family members. The 2004 AI report on rapes in Darfur showed that pregnant women were also victimized, and those who resisted being raped were “beaten, stabbed or killed…and female children, some as young as eight years old were held as sex slaves, some of them for months at a time” (para. 4).
The international community and HRO’s researchers viewed the GoS and its representatives’ sexual violence in Darfur as targeted destruction of an ethnic group (AI, 2004, Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005, 2014); according to the UN (2005) definition of genocide, these acts equaled genocide. Researchers viewed the complete annihilation of an ethnic group over time as a strong possibility; however, the GoS denied any such atrocity, and its refusal to accept the HROs’ reports of these sexual violence are clear and present (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005).

**Obstacles to Accessing Justice**

The reports (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005) of the atrocities committed by the GoS and other security agencies in Darfur are significant; leadership and researchers must address these reports immediately. Even in the face of these atrocities, another occurring atrocity is the lack of access to justice (UN, 2005). Victims face obstructions when reporting assaults they have experienced at the hands of GoS and rebels. For example, obstruction, in conjunction with the direct violence, is probably the single most problem facing the victims (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005).

There are numerous obstacles impeding the process of justice for victims. Obstacles range from familial, social, and legal challenges. In a 2005, the UN reported that the GoS was accused of mass rapes. The GoS conducted these acts against troops and the Janjaweed, a government backed militia (UN, 2005). The aforementioned atrocities were being ignored by and a position of non-action taken by the GoS to halt the rapes or prosecute the perpetrators (UN, 2005). The report also alleged that officials of the GoS threatened and, in some cases, arrested the victims of rape in an attempt to force victims
to recant their charges. The UN (2005) requested that the GoS abolish laws and all legal applications would grant immunity to state employees from being prosecuted (Totten, 2009, p. 155). Refugees International (2007, as cited in Totten, 2009) reported that the laws of Sudan granted immunity to military, security services, police, and border guard members. The Popular Defense Forces have integrated many members of the Janjaweed, which by proxy exempted them from being prosecuted (Totten, 2009).

Louise Arbour, United Nations Human Rights Commissioner, released information on the fact that the victims could potentially face criminal charges by the courts. This release of information would only occur if the victims could not prove their case (BBC News, 2005, para. 2). This release of information acts as a deterrent for women from making any accusations relating to their experiences.

Community and familial pressures also pose challenges to victims seeking justice. AI (2004) showed that victims were cognizant of their community and family members treating them as pariahs for being raped; these family and community members often refused to inform the authorities and loved ones about their ordeals. For married women, they feared being disowned by their husbands and for unmarried girls (i.e., being labelled as unmarriageable). The unmarriageable status is derived from them being considered in a diminished status or devalued as a person (Totten, 2009, p. 155). The women often found themselves as a sacrifice of sorts, having to buffer between being raped and saving the life of a male relative. In a 2006 Washington Post article, Timberg (2006) interviewed a young woman, which highlighted this dilemma, the young woman stated, “‘It is better for me to be raped than for my brother to be killed’ (Timberg, 2006, para. 2).
Numerous reports showed the continuing conflict in Darfur and the challenges that existed in the governmental structure that obstructed progress toward prevention of the atrocities, especially concerning sexual violence and protection for the most vulnerable (AI, 2005; BBC News, 2005; Timberg, 2006). Some of the most disconcerting reports have testimonies of the victims themselves. HROs and UN (2005) agencies have conducted investigations, gathering victims’ testimonies that tell tales of woe, frustration, and antagonism in the victims’ pursuits of justice. Despite the information gathered, the reporters did not concentrate on the violence experienced by the victims by the initial perpetrators; instead, they concentrated on the perception of justice based on their lived experiences (AI, 2005; BBC News, 2005; Timberg, 2006).

The UN (2005) reported that rape cases investigations were poor and inadequate because these could not effectively sustain a legal case on behalf of the victims. The UN (2005) stated that there were no active investigations into the complaints; therefore, the perpetrators continued as unidentified. The police and prosecutors generally have the tendency to reject any allegations of rape even with the support of medical reports (UN, 2005). Police seem of the opinion that the medical doctors are responsible to determine rape rather than the court, after gathering evidence from active investigations, while relying on lesions or the absence thereof to determine whether rape took place (UN, 2005, p. 19).

An incident that was included in the UN (2005) report showed that it was alleged that four women were gang raped by soldiers (while they went to collect firewood near a military camp in Northern Darfur). The uncle of one of the victims, along with several
Omdas, took the victims to the police station in the IDP camp. They were taken from IDP camp to the main police station to lodge a formal complain of rape, but they were refused the right to lodge the complaint based on the medical examination’s conclusion. Another report from Western Darfur cited the rape of a married women and mother of six children, whose complaint of rape was refused by the police based on the medical examination result; therefore, the case was dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence. Incidentally, other women had witnessed the incident this rape case (UN, 2005, p. 19).

Due to such reports by the UN (2005), the concept of justice for the victims is difficult to grasp, when such blatant negligence obstructs the justice that victims are looking to achieve. Incidences, such as these, show the blatant structure of violence that exists (Price, 2012). This example shows the re-victimization of the victim, instead of access to justice, which was the desired goal. One must understand how the lived experiences shape the victims interpretation of justice (Price, 2012). Hence, only by understanding how victims interpreted justice, especially as it related to their lived experience, could this researcher honestly begin the process of healing and gaining positive peace.

Aside from the weaknesses in the investigations of sexual violence, other obstacles are present. The weaknesses or gaps further act as justice alienation for victims. The lived experiences of the victims, as they encounter justice and alienation, creates space for differing interpretations of justice. For instance, state agents (e.g., members of the armed forced or police officers) are immune from prosecution for the abuses they commit in the course of their official duties. Victims have even identified state agents as
perpetrators of sexual violence and other atrocities (Tonnessen, 2012, p. 6; UN, 2005, p. 90).

Examples of the hurdles in the legal system are numerous; the UN (2005) found one such example in a February 19, 2005 rape case, initiated in the Special Criminal Court for the Events in Darfur. A day later, the case was sent to the military court. The reason for the case’s transfer was due to a request by the defense’s counsel on grounds that those accused of crimes were members of the armed forces which essentially was covered by the Criminal Circular No. 3/1995 (UN, 2005). Less than a month later, the counsel for the victims filed an appeal objecting to the transfer citing that the accused were not on duty at the time of the offense.

Approximately 3 months later, on June 2, the case was sent back to the Special Criminal Court, but it was admonished that the accused being of the military should be treated accordingly (UN, 2005). Less than 2 weeks later, the Chief Justice decided that the Special Criminal Court for the Events in Darfur had jurisdiction over the case. It took 6 days after the Chief Justice’s ruling before the first hearing was held (UN, 2005, p. 21).

UN (2005) cited another problem in pursuing justice: the process of identifying the perpetrators:

In identification parades (tabor), rape victims, and this often includes minors, are not protected. Victims are brought face-to-face with the suspect and without any anonymity/safeguard provisions (such as a one way mirror) and are expected to identify their assailant(s) under potentially intimidating circumstances. (UN, 2005, p. 22).
These parades usually place the victims at risk of their perpetrators and their cohorts intimidating and retaliating against them (UN, 2005). Victims often encounter frustrating legal maneuvers in their search for justice. Therefore, this research was important in understanding how these lived experiences were interpreted in relation to justice. Gaining an understanding of victims’ interpretations of justice based on the lived experiences was focused on helping to create an effective processes for satisfaction of human needs.

The previous examples served to show the various obstacles for victims seeking justice and eventually a sense of peace (UN, 2005). Fear of reprisal and intimidation that derive from the total absence of proper protection for the victims and witnesses who seek redress are sources of impunity for the perpetrators. For female victims, the addition of gender-based discrimination within the legal system adds to their woes. The lack of competent prosecution of sex crimes is discovered as based on the lack of “understanding the nature of sexual crimes” (UN, 2005, p. 23).

Due to the trauma that the victims experienced and the way the trials were conducted, the courts’ verdict and sentencing led to low conviction rates (UN, 2005, p. 23). Victims’ experiences of violence, from a structural base, is evident in the laws; the National Security Forces Act of 1999, revised as the Police Act of 2007, provided that those who are members of the Armed Forces, the Sudanese police, and security forces were granted conditional immunity against acts committed in the course of their duties (as cited in Tonnessen, 2012, p. 6). This provision represents bias in favor of men, especially when one considers the case of sexual violence against women.
Under the Evidence Act, Article 77, and the Sharia law, women alleging rape have to bear the burden of proof; this need for proof eliminates the burden of investigation from the police (as cited in Tonnessen, 2012, p. 6). According to the Criminal Act of 1991, any sexual contact (consensual or not) that occurs outside of legal marriage is a crime. Under Sharia law, it is known as *zina*, unlawful sexual intercourse, or adultery (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005). Article 149 of the Criminal Law 1991 sets the stage for a difficult if not impossible defense in rape cases (as cited in Tonnessen, 2012, p. 6).

The difficulty of the accuser is based in the incredibility of the criteria for the burden of proof that is placed on the victim. If a woman (or man) cannot prove that there was no consent to sexual intercourse, they are charged with the crime of *zina* because they have inadvertently confessed to being sexually penetrated outside of marriage or before marriage. *Zina* is not sufficiently differentiated from rape because the descriptions overlap in the current legislation (Tonnessen, 2012; UN, 2005). Moreover, in conjunction with the confession, four *righteous* male witnesses, who observed the actual penetration of the male genital into the woman’s genital (females are eliminated from being witnesses), or a pregnancy shows enough witness testimony to convict the victim. Hence, this need for proof creates obvious challenges for a woman to report rape and pursue justice.

**Theoretical Framework**

The theories used in this study encapsulated the groups’ consensus on the perception of justice, the concepts of the perception of the variables that impact justice,
and the overall conditions in which justice operates. Theories are the borders used to explain the interpretation of the data’s content in context. The theoretical framework is the explanation of human behavior or a phenomenon within the limitations of the selected theory. In part, the theoretical framework is “concerned with the interpretation of intentional human behavior and its products – the things made as an intended consequences of the behavior” (Stecker, 2003, p. 20). In practice, theory is essential to conflict resolution, as it is basically an identifier to “the human dimension of conflict” (Stecker, 2003, p. 20).

Rawls’ (1972) theory of justice and Burton’s (1990) human needs theory most exemplified the voices of the respondents, regarding perception of justice, conception of the categories (variables), and conditions associated with justice. These two theories were most applicable for the study, as both fully showed the relationship between the perception of justice and the needs identified in the participants’ interviews. In addition to the two aforementioned theories, this study incorporated feminist theories to present a coherent analysis for the gender specific study. The feminist theory of war and the feminist ecological model (Sjoberg, 2013) were sufficient equilibrium for the analysis.

The feminist theory of war showed, “The omission (of gender) is a grave error, because the meanings, causes, and consequences of war cannot be understood without reference to gender” (Sjoberg, 2013, p. 3). The importance of the feminist theory of war is that it shows “core concepts of security, observed new empirical phenomena, and provided important accounts of specific conflicts and security dilemmas” (Sjoberg, 2013,
Inclusion of this theory in this study added to the understanding of conflicts and the functionality of tactics on the population, especially on women.

The feminist theory of war showed the gender component to the meaning, causes, and consequences of war/conflicts that this researcher could not understand without this particular reference. This researcher used this theory to confront the patriarchal system of dominance and present the importance of feminine perspective of the impact of such power dynamics. The feminist theory of war shows the influences of a male dominated system of power on the sub-ordinate gender group (Sjoberg, 2013).

Analysis and resolution of conflicts contains huge gaps, where gender is not a major consideration. The feminists can offer an approach to global politics and potential impacts on conflicts from various perspectives. Some of these perspectives are “realist, liberal, constructivist, critical, poststructural, and postcolonial” (Sjoberg, 2013, p. 4). These perspectives often yield different and even contradictory findings about predictions for politics on the global scale. The feminist theory of war was a valid theory for this study because it was in line with the perception of the sample population and offered a panoramic view that was global in nature.

**The ecofeminist theory.** Is a movement that makes connections between environmentalism and feminism… it articulates the theory that the ideologies that authorize injustices based on gender; race, and class are related to the ideologies that sanction the exploitation and degradation of the environment. (Sturgeon, 2016, p. 23) Ecofeminism is an “antimilitarist direct action movement…and develops its multivalent politics from that movement’s analysis of the connection between militarism, racism,
classism, sexism, speciesism, and environmental destruction” (Sturgeon, 2016, pp. 23-24). The roots of ecofeminism is in feminism and environmentalism, which serves to bridge the gap between both of these theories.

Ecofeminism is “a significant and complex political phenomenon, a contemporary political movement that has far-reaching goals” (Sturgeon, 1997, p. 24). Ecofeminist theory was appropriate for this study because it connected the problem of the environment, usually associated with a male-dominated perception and female subordinate position. This researcher used it to address the concerns of power intrinsically tied to a patriarchal system. This researcher used the ecofeminist theory to explore the Darfur women’s perceptions of justice, relevant to male power and their control.

**Basic human needs (BHN) is.** The idea that there exist core and universal needs whose fulfillment is a necessary condition of human life and development – of Basic Human Needs (BHNs) – possesses a compelling face validity, an appeal to common sense, that has made it enduring if not always irresistible. (Avruch & Mitchell, 2013, p. 5) The importance of applying this theory to this study and resolving conflict could be summarized in the words of the theorist himself: “It is only on the basis of an adequate explanation of the problem that we can evolve a constructive approach to solving it” (Avruch & Mitchell, 2013, p. 108; Burton, 1990, p. 1). Additionally, the use of theory in explaining conflict was that theory was a necessary guide in conflict resolution. Burton (1990) summarily stated, “One of the major obstacles in dealing with basic problems [of] conflict has been the absence of an adequate theoretical framework and, even more
serious, the absence of a realization that such a framework is necessary for solving a problem” (p. 25).

Maslow (1954) was the first to propose the hierarchy of needs theory, which was more psychologically focused compared to physiologically centered. Sites (1973) further developed the idea of human needs; he acknowledged Maslow’s (1954) work as influencing his own. In Maslow’s human needs theory (usually demonstrated on the pyramid diagram; see Appendix M), needs are presented from the most basic necessities that influence the psychological wellness to self-actualization. The primary needs are essential to the growth and development of humans, and without the basic needs being met, all other needs will remain unmet (Maslow, 1954). Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs, which influenced Sites (1973) concept of “human needs” (p. 20). This concept was further developed by scholars, such as Burton (1990, 1997).

Sites (1973) posited that eight defined essential needs required satisfaction in order to produce normal individual behavior. Sites’ (1973) position on the universal human needs includes the basic needs for “consistency of response, stimulation, security and recognition, and derivative needs for justice, meaning, rationality, and control” (p. 20; Rubenstein, 2001). These primary needs remained in line with Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs theory, in which physiological, safety, belongingness/love, esteem, and self-actualization represented the progressive stages of satisfaction or fulfillment of needs are central (Maslow, 1954; Rubenstein, 2001; Sites, 1973).

Burton’s (1990) viewed the human needs theory as “a relatively objective basis, transcending local political and cultural differences, for understanding the sources of
conflict, designing conflict resolution processes, and founding conflict analysis and resolution as an autonomous discipline” (p. 20). In other words, the needs theory is not just relegated to specific cultures, religions, regions, or political system, it is also relevant to human beings as a general principle. The needs theory shows the innate human necessities. Burton’s (1990) construction of the needs theory was in response to other schools of thought, such as Freud (1962) and Lorenz (1997). They posited the notion that human were predisposed to violence and conflicts that were innate and aggressively instinctual, which indicated conflicts remained situational. However, Burton (1990) stated that external factors promoted conflicts and aggressive behavior (Rubenstein, 2001).

Rawls (1972) paralleled Burton’s (1990) needs theory, accounting for the individual’s place in a collective and the rights and well-being of the individual, as measured against the whole. The role of justice, according to Rawls (1999), was the following:

Denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others. It does not allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger sum of advantages enjoyed by many…in a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled; the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests. (pp. 3-4)

The theory of justice rests on the premise of the following:

The basic structure of society, or more exactly, the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of
advantages from social cooperation. The basic structure is the primary subject of justice because its effects are so profound and present from the start. (Rawls, 1972, pp. 6-7)

Rawls’ (1972) position on justice was one of the distribution of fundamental right and duties; this position was a determinant to the level of advantages available through social cooperation.

Since this was the premise of justice, as Rawls (1972) posited, the experiences of the Darfur people were inextricably linked to the biased system of the GoS toward this group due to the structure of the centralized political system. The system restricts social cooperation of the Darfuris in politics, economics, healthcare, education, and other areas of the country’s functioning cooperative body. In this sense, the theory of justice (Rawls, 1972) and the basic human needs theory (Burton, 1990) show the participants’ perceptions of justice.

The feminist theories were used to explain the unique understanding of the females’ perception of justice. These theories show the point of view of the women’s experiences from a position of sub-ordinate and dominated place. The feminist theory of war (Sjoberg, 2013) and the ecofeminist theory (Sturgeon, 2016) showed insight as to the personalized vantage point of placement within a system and the influence of this placement, as it related to perceived justice. This researcher used these four theories (Burton, 1990; Rawls, 1992; Sjoberg, 2013; Sturgeon, 2016) together to provide a unique, yet dynamic perception of justice.
Summary

This chapter provided the various definitions of rape and an overview of the history of sexual violence in conflict. The context of rape as a weapon of war was used in various conflicts. The theoretical framework and the major focus of this work was the crime of sexual violence against women and the challenges in pursuing and securing justice.

There were clear connections and overlapping issues embedded in the issue. Although this study’s central theme was on the victims’ perceptions of justice based on their lived experience, the connections presented were important in establishing the issue in a relatable context. Understanding the connections of the history, the region, and or the people, the economic structures, policies, treaties, allies and opponents, and disagreements are part of the development of the current crisis. It would not have been prudent to ignore already existing problems rooted at the foundation of this current crisis. In order to present a clear and unbiased study, this researcher designed a study that could best reflect and represent the phenomena being researched.

Using the victims’ perceptions as data, this researcher utilized qualitative study to achieve this goal. Qualitative studies are grounded in lived experiences, which may be situational in focus, but it must not be misunderstood as being isolated from the people’s life in its entirety (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Hence, Chapter 3 contains the methodology used in gaining understanding of the phenomena.
Chapter 3: Research Method

Overview

The previous chapter addressed the issues of rape in various wars/conflicts and provided an overview of the history of Darfur, the emergence of the current crisis, and the challenges of female victims’ pursuits of justice. Chapter 3 is designed to elucidate this research from philosophical and theoretical perspectives that best describe the foundational issues of the research and the associated questions posed. The method by which phenomena is examined is based in the structural design of the study.

This researcher used a systematic procedure to understand the issues associated with this study, which were extrapolated using multiple steps. These steps began with identifying the problem and examining literature relevant to the region, the conflict, the people, policies, environment, history, law, and many more related topics on Darfur. This step was followed by studying theories that addressed concerns, solutions, and recommendations to the current crisis. These two steps led to the discovery of the gap existing in previous works dedicated to the study of Darfur crisis (Kinnock, 2006; Totten, 2009). The nascent concept of this research emerged and developed into a cohesive and coherent study. The formulization of the research concept, into a developed and practical idea, led to the design of the research.

Research design, as posited by Denzin and Lincoln (2008), “is a set of guidelines that are used to connect inquiry strategies and data collection as associated with theoretical paradigms” (p. 33). The nature and goal of this project is rooted in qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) cited, “The importance of qualitative inquiry for the
study of human group life… qualitative research… was born out of concern to understand the other” (pp. 1-2). Designing a qualitative research basically puts the focus on “interpretation includes shaping a problem for this type of study, selecting a sample, collecting and analyzing data and writing up the findings” (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 11).

Qualitative research “describe life-worlds ‘from the inside out’ from the point of view of the people who participate” (Flick, von Kardoff, & Steinke, 2004, p. 3). Qualitative research emphasizes ‘inquiry’. It is the process by which the researcher, “seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features.” (Flick et al., 2004, p. 3). Qualitative research describes the intricacies of a complex family of interconnectivity of terms, concepts, and assumptions; that is it cuts across ‘disciplines, fields and subject matters’ (Flick et al., 2004, p. 3).

Traditions of inquiry within qualitative research are “found in foundationalism, positivism, post-foundationalism, post-positivism, post-structuralism and many other research perspectives, and/or methods, connected to cultural and interpretive studies” (Flick et al., 2004, p. 3). Denzin and Lincoln (2003) further posited the following:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world; they turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to self. (p. 4).
Essentially, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), qualitative research is conducive to natural settings where there is an attempt to make sense of or interpret the phenomena ontologically and epistemologically. It is basically the meaning that people bring to these activities in the natural settings.

There is no single methodological practice preferred or privileged over another in qualitative research, as it is a multi-disciplinary method. Qualitative research incorporates a set of interpretive activities, “it has no distinct theory or paradigm nor distinct set of methods or practice that are entirely its own” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 9). In reality, qualitative studies use “semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis, statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 10). A qualitative researcher may also utilize “the approaches, methods, and techniques of ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics, deconstructionism, ethnography, interviews, psychoanalysis, cultural studies, and survey research and participant observation, among others.” (Nelson, Treichler, & Grossberg, 1992, p. 2).

Aspects of qualitative research open the door for vast possibilities on how best to approach and understand the assumptions being addressed. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) stated, “All qualitative researchers are philosophers” (p. 33), and it is within this sentiment that one takes advantage of utilizing a philosophical role in answering the unanswered questions. Qualitative research is inquiry of meaning situated in the natural environment using one’s lived-space and experiences. In other words, it is the study of a particular phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). These perspectives are embedded in
the research methodology, which entail the procedural steps used to design the research, analyze, interpret, and eventually discover the potential for future research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

Looking for meaning situated in the natural environment may be simplified as seeking to understand a phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This simplified notion leads the researcher to further define the research more clearly into both a methodological and theoretical framework. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) established that qualitative research was multi-disciplinary (i.e., narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, case study, etc.).

The expressed purpose of this study was to investigate the lived experience of adult women from Darfur and their perceptions of justice based on their experiences. This researcher also sought to understand how the respondents’ concepts of justice were forged regarding their personal experiences as women in the ongoing Darfur conflict. In addition, an element of this study was designed to understand the concept of justice, as related to rape as a weapon of war. The details of assaults was not the primary focus, but the perceptions of justice, as based on such experiences, was the sole focus. Therefore, this study was focused on understanding the essence of perception: how victims perceive justice. Merleau-Ponty (1979) stated the following:

Phenomenology is the study of essences; and according to it (phenomenology), all problems amount to finding definitions of essences; and according to all it, all problems amount to finding definitions of essences: the essence of perception, or
the essence of consciousness…also a philosophy which puts essences back into existence. (p. vii)

The nature and query of the study dictated the design of the research. The phenomenon and the conflict within the phenomenon asserted not only a philosophical contemplation, but a theoretical one as well. The complexities of conflict, especially where gender was concerned, remained multi-layered and multi-dimensional. In these multiples, this researcher unraveled layers and levels that required an interpretation of subjectivity to begin to understand the essence hidden within to make sense of the issues.

Guidelines can be developed from various concepts and can be quantitative or qualitative (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Both qualitative and quantitative studies seek to answer questions put forward by the researcher. Qualitative provides a latitude that lends to literary descriptions in a way that is not necessarily readily available in quantitative methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Hence, this study used the qualitative approach.

**Phenomenology**

Phenomenology shows the ranges of approaches in research and the philosophical movement of direction of the research. Phenomenological research (Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994) is one aspect of social science focused on capturing and describing human experiences and how it is understood (Hein & Austin, 2001). Smith (2012) further described phenomenology as “the conscious experience as lived from the first-person perspective. The phenomenological research places” (p. 134) the

Emphasis on the meaning of lived experience … ‘borrow’ other people’s experiences and their reflections on the experiences in order to better be able to
come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of
human experience, in the context of the whole of human experience. (Van Manen,

Conceptually, phenomenology has to be categorized as a branch of research
methodology, philosophy, and basically the source of qualitative research (Maykut &
Morehouse, 1994). The methods used in phenomenological research are primarily
designed to allow the authentic subjectivity of participants’ voices in them relaying their
personal experiences (Moustakas, 1994). Hence, it was important to conduct this study as
a phenomenology to glean the lived experiences of participants to the phenomena
experienced in women in the Darfur conflict.

The goal of phenomenology, according to Merleau-Ponty (1962), is to describe a
phenomena. Another definition, as suggested by Grbich (2007), is that phenomenology
seeks to understand the “hidden meanings and the essences of an experience together” (p.
20). Berrios (1989) posited that phenomenology was a reference to a set of philosophical
doctrines that shared ontological and epistemological ideas. Furthermore, it was the
strategies used in managing and organizing the consciousness in describing how we relate
to our world (experiences). Hence, phenomenology, as applied to research, is essentially
the study of a phenomena regarding its nature and meanings (Finlay, 2009).

Phenomenology was previously associated with philosophy, regarding the contemplation
of life and its occurrences. The radical movement, which changed the course of
phenomenology, is mostly credited to Husserl who initiated a new way of examining and
understanding phenomenology (as cited in Finlay, 2009). His recasting of
phenomenology highlighted the focus on consciousness and essences, as related to a phenomena (Finlay, 2009).

Husserl’s new theorization of phenomenology was later reconstructed by Heidegger (1962), who improved the discipline by promoting the hermeneutic dimensions, which focused on the interpretive, as well as the existential dynamics of phenomenology. Heidegger’s (1962) restructured focus aligned with Langdridge’s (2007) definition of phenomenology, which stated that phenomenology “aims to focus on peoples’ perception of the world in which they live… what it means to them; a focus on people’s lived experience” (p. 4). Langdridge (2007) also expressed that phenomenology was based on the concern of meaning-making and how experience drove meaning.

While phenomenology encompasses the philosophy and actions associated with it, two popular schools of thoughts exist under the umbrella of phenomenology: hermeneutic and transcendental. Utilizing the interpretive model, this research examined the lived experience of women in Darfur conflict and their conceptualization of justice from a phenomenological perspective, using hermeneutics. The theoretical perspective of phenomenology showed support for the understanding of constructionist epistemology (Crotty, 1998).

Hermeneutic phenomenology represents a departure from Husserl’s original transcendental phenomenology (as cited in Finlay, 2009). Hermeneutical phenomenology is oriented, according to Van Manen (1990; Creswell, 2013), toward lived experience, with the goal of intentional analysis, not to reiterate the experience but with an attempt to “conceive objective meaning” (Figal, 2012, p. 525). Hence, this researcher examined the
lived experiences of several individuals and narrated their lived experiences through one-on-one interviews. Approaching this phenomena from the hermeneutic view allowed the researcher to “attempt to get inside the mind of the other, while still treating the other as other and not reducing it to what is within one’s own experience” (Moran, 2008, p. 276). Husserl posited that hermeneutics was “an analysis of perception by emphasizing more strongly the interpretive element of a web of possibilities” (as cited in Moran, 2008, p. 277).

Heidegger (1962) presented this form of phenomenological study as having rejected the notion of suspension of personal opinions; he opted for the interpretation of narrative as the description. This interpretive premise rests on the notion that with effort, one can subjectively arrive at the objective nature of the lived experience as realized by the experiencer. Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology is the focus of subjective experience of individuals and groups (Heidegger, 1962). Moustakas (1994) explained hermeneutics in this way:

All science and scholarship is empirical but all experience is originally connected, and given validity, by our consciousness… it is impossible to go beyond consciousness, to see, as it were, without eyes or to direct a cognitive gaze behind the eye itself… From this point of view our picture of the whole of nature stands revealed as a shadow cast by a hidden reality; undistorted reality exists for us in the facts of consciousness given inner experience. (p. 161)
In the case of this research, the text was the data collection, which was completed in the form of one-on-one interviews. Correct understanding of text was achieved using the hermeneutic analysis.

This study depended on phenomenological research methodology and the one-on-one in-depth interviews as the sole source of data collection. Creswell (2013) noted that exploring the detailed descriptions of people’s lived experience assisted in the discovery of the structure of that particular phenomenology, which made it a viable research methodology. Thus, employing a Hermeneutic phenomenological approach to this study, with the goal of uncovering the structure and essence of the experience with the relationship to justice within the confines of the Darfur conflict, the detail description of the women who lived through it was paramount.

**Research Questions**

In order to address a particular phenomenon in this research, this researcher identified the specific aspect of the phenomenon being investigated. This inquiry, as posited by Creswell (2013), did not begin at the process of “designing a qualitative research but commences by initiating ‘broad assumptions central to qualitative inquiry” (p. 42). These broad assumptions generally begin with the observation of an issue or problem, whether in existing literature, scientific studies, or real world scenarios. Creswell (2013) stated the following:

Qualitative research questions are open-ended, evolving, and non-directional: restate the purpose of the study in more specific terms; start with a work such as “what” or “how” rather than “why”; and are few in number, five to seven (p. 107).
In studying these “phenomenon,” open-ended research questions are asked with the goal of listening to the “participants, we are studying and shaping the questions after we “explore,” and we refrain from assuming the role of the expert researcher with the “best” questions. (p. 43)

In phenomenology, the central question addresses meaning (i.e., it seeks to uncover). Moreover, the organizing of research questions, as provided by Creswell (2013), covers the central question, issues subquestions, and leads to procedural subquestions.

Using Creswell’s (2013) guide in designing a qualitative research, for the expressed purpose of investigating the concept of the perception of justice based on the lived experiences of Darfur women in the ongoing conflict, four research questions were posed for inquiry:

1. How do female victims of the Darfur conflict perceive justice?
2. How do these victims’ lived experience influence their understanding of justice?
3. What challenges/obstacles do victims perceive as hindrances to obtaining justice?
4. How do Darfur women ascribe meaning to their lived experiences?

**Sampling**

This study was designed to gain insight into women’s’ perspectives of justice based on their lived experiences. Therefore, this researcher engaged a sample of this population with experiences in the phenomenon that best reflected the goal of the study. The targeted population of interest for this research included adult females, originally
from Darfur, Sudan and who were currently living in the United States. The sample used was selected based on the participants’ interest, availability at the time of the collection of data, and their ability and choice to willingly speak on the issue of their lived experience in the Darfur conflict, as it related to their perception of justice.

**Sample Size**

Sample size is the “tuning fork” of research, as it is the reflective representation of the population in which the phenomenon is being studied (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 12). The fact that qualitative inquiry:

- Seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants, it is important to select a sample from which the most can be learned.
- This is selective approach in securing data source (participants) is called purposive or purposeful sample. (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 12)

It is gathering data in a manner that is meaningful and intentional to avoid ambiguity. Sampling for this research was developed using purposeful sampling, which Creswell (2013) described as “the inquirer selects individuals and sites for the study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and the central phenomenon” (p. 125).

Thoughtful consideration must be given to the sample size used in qualitative research. Sample size consideration is an inclusive discussion in qualitative research study. Utilizing a relatively small population sample seems to be the consensus among the prominent qualitative research scholars. Justification for using a small sample size is that it provides a substantive reflection for finding meaning without relying on
assumption or generalization (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). In qualitative research, it is usually acceptable for the determination of a sample size to occur once the researcher achieve saturation of themes, arriving at a point where, as posited by Glasser and Strauss (1965), “No additional data can be found” (p. 65).

In designing this research, the sample sized was set at a range of 10 to 15 participants. The sample size of 10 to 15 participants fell in line with Creswell’s (2013) suggestion: “In phenomenology… the number of participants range from 1 (Dukes, 1984) up to 325 (Polkinghorne, 1989). Dukes (1984) recommends studying 3 to 10 subjects, and in one phenomenology, Remen (1986) studied 10 individuals” (p. 126). Based on Creswell (2013), a manageable sample size of 12 participants was used in this research study.

**Criteria for Sample Selection**

Selection of participants for this study was guided by the researcher’s delineated conditions, pertaining to the relevance of the investigatory phenomenon. There are general criteria that are necessary when conducting research; such general criteria includes age, gender, ethnic, and cultural considerations, among other specified requirements (Moustakas, 1994, p. 107). Participants were not required to speak about the intimate details of their experiences, but rather their perceptions based on their lived-experiences of the Darfur conflict; they also satisfactorily met the following criteria:

1. Female.
2. Originally from Darfur, Sudan.
3. Age 23 or older at the time of the interview.
4. Must have experienced the Darfur conflict between the years 2003 to 2014.

5. Must have relocated from the Darfur area for more than 1 year.

6. Must live in the United States and available for face-to-face interview.

This study focused solely on females who experienced sexual abuses, as defined by the UN (2014) through the International Criminal Court (Rome Statue), in the ongoing Darfur Conflict in Sudan. This excluded males, although reports by HROs to the UN (2005) have revealed that men have been subjected to sexual abuses in the ongoing conflict. Children (i.e., females under the age of 23-years-old) also were not included in this study. Following the ethical guidelines of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), this researcher noted that children were considered a vulnerable population.

Special care and consideration were given to potential harm via memory and recalling unpleasant experiences that may have resurfaced. Although this study was not geared toward the actual experiences of abuses, but rather on gaining insight into how lived experiences shaped the perception and definition of justice, precautionary measures were set in place to address any potential problems. Any problem that might have surfaced would have been noted and recommendations for psychological care through licensed service providers would have been suggested to participants had they requested such services.

Participants who did not possess minimal proficiency in speaking or comprehending the English language were also excluded from this research. There were two women who fit the criteria for inclusion but were excluded from the study. The first woman expressed hostility toward the researcher, stating that many researchers had
conducted interviews for research on the issue of Darfur but did nothing in return to help the Darfuris. The second woman was not comfortable communicating in English and wanted to have a family member act as her translator. Based on these two circumstances, these women were excluded without prejudice.

**Procedure in Selecting Sample**

The first stage in conducting research was to identify a problem or area worthy of research; this stage was achieved by the utilization of literature review. Reviewing literature is a proven method of understanding the topic of a potential research. Reviewing literature provides the researcher with information on what is said about the topic and what if any gaps or lags exist in the information/data of interest. For this particular study, the proposal containing the literature review was submitted to the IRB at Nova Southeastern University in the spring of 2015, which was approved in summer of the same year. No other IRB submissions were required by any outside agency.

Identifying participants for this study was completed using the criteria for sampling set by this researcher, as outlined in Criteria for Sample Selection. The specific goal of this research was to identify adult women from Darfur who had experiences with the ongoing conflict in that region. The ambitious goal of attracting potential participants to this study was initiated by distributing a letter of participation to the potential sites contacted via email, which contained an overview of the study and requested use of the site for research purposes from agencies/organizations (Appendix A). A significant selection of agencies and organizations, including not-for-profit, humanitarian agencies, government organization, and the UNHCR, were involved with the Darfur conflict and or
gender rights throughout the United States; these were the targeted recipients of the letter of participation. Initial contact was conducted via emails and or telephone calls in an attempt to introduce the research personally.

The researcher also requested that leadership at agencies/organizations contacted would forward the letter to their associates. This forwarding occurred to increase the potential for a large number of participants in single regions. In the end, two organizations, dedicated to the plight of Darfur refugees and that community at large in the United States, responded positively: one in Chicago and the other in Washington, DC. Over a period of several months, telecommunications, emails, and texts were exchanged to establish the common goals and interest of either parties clearly. These communications resulted in a satisfactory negotiation with the Washington, DC’s agency, accommodating and facilitating the researcher and the study as compliant with the associated institution.

**Research Site**

For this research, the site selected for accessibility to the sample population, was a non-profit agency located in the Washington, DC area (see Appendix C for letter of site approval), where a large population of Darfuris reside within a tristate area, which was easily assessable. The people at this site also had a singular focus on issues affecting Darfur women in the United States and Sudan. Hence, this site was satisfactory for the research for several reasons (a) accessibility to the sample population by acting as a gatekeeper (Miller, Birch, Mauthner, & Jessop, 2012); (b) people at the site could assist in securing a diverse group of women from the Darfur region who are now living in the
United States; (c) researcher could reach a sample size that was needed for this research; (d) the site’s administration and staff were trusted by the community studied and that trust was extended to the researcher; and (e) agency founder and researcher were previously known to each other professionally and had already established trust regarding ethical integrity.

**Gate-keeper(s)**

Utilizing a research site that also had the role of gate-keeping raised potential concerns for selection biases, coercion, and manipulation of trust. Gate-keeping/gatekeepers refers “to those who are in a position to ‘permit’ access to others for the purpose of interviewing” (Miller et al., 2012, p. 55). The gate-keeper, a scholar herself, was asked to respect the ethical guidelines of research conducted involving human respondents. Both the researcher and gate-keeper spoke extensively regarding potential bias and favoritism that might occur during recruitment. To stymie any potential bias or unethical influence and ensure informed and free consent, this researcher requested a diverse sample group of women who represented the cross-section of the population. The diversity of the sample included education, profession, and age (adult).

The researcher communicated with the potential participants via telecommunication and emails prior to each interview session. This communication allowed the respondents the opportunity to decide on their participation in the project. Interviews were conducted at a location, usually in the respondents’ homes, which removed the influence of a gatekeeper directly or indirectly. At the appointed time of
each interview, the participants were reminded that participation remained voluntary, and withdrawal from the study was possible without any reprisal or consequence.

**Sample Recruitment**

Participants’ recruitment was initiated immediately upon approval of the study. The study satisfied adherence of the ethics and standards for conducting research on human subjects/participants, as outlined by the IRB of Nova Southeastern University. After approval, recruitment through internet searches, emails and telephone communications progressed for approximately 6 weeks before securing an agency/organization for the research site. One organization, in the Washington, DC area could sufficiently satisfy the criteria for participants.

During the initial phase of contact and follow-up communications, the researcher sought to establish a professional albeit amicable relationship through brief personal re-introduction, and a summary introduction of the research and its goals. An overview of the study was discussed, and all questions and concerns of the agency were addressed and answered by the researcher. A Participant Demographic Data Sheet (PDDS; see Appendix D), designed by the researcher, along with the Participant Invitation Letter (Appendix A), was submitted to the agency to allow an easy and organized process of identifying potential participants, eliminating anyone who did not meet all the criteria outlined. These instruments were sent to respondents with a request to respond to the agency and researcher via phone or email/text.

The initial group of respondents yielded 15 women; however, three were quickly disqualified: (a) One had been out of the region before 2003; (b) one was not comfortable
with communicating in English and wanted to have a family member act as interpreter, expressing unwillingness to participate on the grounds presented; and (c) the third person hostilely expressed her displeasure of researchers gathering information but not being able to assist in ending the ongoing conflict. Respondents who were ineligible for the research were thanked for their time and interest.

The respondents who qualified for participation equated to 12 women. The researcher and participants worked for 2 weeks to set a schedule for conducting each interview, with the researcher visiting respondents in either their homes or a central location. The respondents, eligible for the study, supplied the locations, dates, and times of their availability, understanding that the interview process would be no more than 1 hour, with an option to continue or reschedule if necessary. Once the dates and times were agreed on, the researcher sent confirmation emails or text of acknowledgement for the agreed appointment and received texts or email receipts of confirmation from the participants.

**Data Collection: Face to Face Interviews**

Once consent forms were signed and secured from each participant, they were given a copy of the signed form. Participants were then requested to complete and review the PDDS to ensure that there were no inaccuracies. The participants’ lived experiences, relating to the Darfur conflict, was the primary sources of data from which the researcher constructed and developed this study. The one-on-one in-depth interviews were purposefully relied on, with the goal of following the phenomenological inquiry design. Lincoln and Guba (1985) posited, phenomenological inquiry of peoples’ real life
experiences was suited for conversations/dialogues that were designed as open-ended interviews.

**Interview Questions**

Some scholars presumed that narrated experiences shared a type of structure and essence that allowed interviewing to be used as a tool of phenomenology (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). Based on this concept the following interview questions were developed:

1. What were some of your experiences in the Darfur Conflict?
2. What was your perception of justice prior to your personal experience in the conflict?
3. How does your experience in the conflict shape your understanding of justice?
4. How would you describe your need for justice?
5. What are some of the challenges you believe exist in achieving justice?
6. In what way(s), if any, did your understanding of justice change over time?
7. What steps did you take to report your experiences (abuses) in pursuing justice?
8. What is your definition of justice?
9. In what ways has the conflict impacted your life?
10. What are some of the things/actions you would recommend that would help victims receive their perception of justice?

Relying on the interviews to access the participants’ view of reality, the data collection process was designed for responsive interviewing; wherein, the participants
(interviewees) and the researcher (interviewer) formed a relationship during the interview
sessions. This process required the researcher to preserve the sacredness of ethical
obligations (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). To reiterate the point of the purpose of interviewing,
Van Manen (1990) stressed that interviewing in hermeneutic phenomenological human
science was twofold:

(1) As a mean for exploring and gathering experiential narrative material that may
serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human
phenomenon, and (2)… used as a vehicle to develop a conversational relation
with a partner (interviewee) about the meaning of an experience. (p. 66)

Thus, the responsive interviewing process was designed to fulfil the goal of “generating
depth of understanding” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 189).

In this research, data were obtained from 12 one-on-one interviews. Each
interview took approximately 60 to 90 minutes. Some interviews ran longer compared to
the schedules 1 hour due to participants’ responses and desire to expound on their
experiences. Fortunately for this researcher, the interviews were schedule on a holiday
weekend in which the Sudanese community had a regional festival and sport tournament
planned. This situation was serendipitous, as the interview site and the base for the
activities were in a central location and the availability of participants was high.

At the initial meeting for each of the scheduled one-on-one interviews, the
researcher produced copies of the informed consent form. Time and care was employed
to (a) explain the consent form to ensure that each participant clearly understood the
purpose of the study, (b) their rights as a participant in the study, (c) the details of the
benefits and risks of being in the study, (d) and the interview process. The researcher showed the interviewees the audio device: a Marantz professional audio recorder. This device would be used in recording and storing all data retrieved during the interview process on the CompactFlash (storage for the Marantz).

In a few cases, the researcher demonstrated how the audio device worked and replayed the simple greeting demonstration. In addition to the audio recording, the researcher took hand written notes; the researcher asked participants if they had any concerns or questions about the research or the interview process, and answered questions from participants; and the researcher obtained the signatures and initials where required of participants after all explains and questions/concerns were addressed and answered. The researcher then reviewed the PDDS with the participants to ensure that the information was correct and complete (see Appendix D).

All participants were informed that every measure to safeguard their identity and privacy would be utilized, and all information and data collected would remain in the strictest confidence. Confidentiality measures, as explained to the participants and utilized by the researcher, included that all identifying information would be and was changed for each respondents’ protection. This change was accomplished by the use of pseudonyms (even in cases where the participant expressed their comfort in the use of their real names) on the audio recording, transcript, participant demographic data sheet, and any other documents that would contain identifying information. All recorded interviews and associated typed documents would remain locked and secured in the
researcher’s home office file cabinet. All uploaded files (audio and typed) would be kept on the researcher’s password protected electronic device (laptop-tablet).

Using Soderberg’s (2000) method of setting goals for the interview, participants were asked a series of questions from a list of 10 pre-prepared questions. These questions were used to direct the interview process toward the objective of the research. Not all questions were used in each interview, as the researcher used active listening skills to follow the participants’ lead, while acting as a guide to keep the interview on track. The pre-prepared interview questions were used to maintain continuity in the conversation, as each question was linked to one another. Engaging active listening skills, the researcher identified explicated changes in thoughts or transitioning of ideas, and deftly applied questions that accommodated these transitions without interrupting the continuity of the conversation, as suggested by researchers (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 108).

Utilizing the approach of transitioning remained in line with Moustakas’ (1994) position, explained as “the relationship that is always present between perception of natural objects that are external and perceptions that are internal” (p. 47). The perception of the external and internal are related to things such as memories and judgment which is a part of phenomenological science. The method of transitioning was useful in obtaining the experiences and perceptions of the participant(s) being interviewed. At these points of the interviews, transitions were essential in eliciting the interviewees’ own descriptions, as suggested by Rubin and Rubin (2005).

Moustakas (1994) posited, the “constructions of a question or problem that … guide the study and reveal findings… become the basis for future research and reflection”
Although the questions were pre-prepared to guide the researcher in soliciting details of the data, the interviews were set in an informal structure that was interactive. The informal and interactive structure of the interview was designed by using open-ended questions and or comments. These were the motivation of obtaining from the participants a “textural and structural descriptions” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 114). Where there was need for clarity or depth, follow-up questions were used to aid in pursuing the topic of interest of the research by filling in any apparent gaps that appeared missing in key information shared by the participants.

Applying the recommendation of one dissertation committee member, this researcher engaged in small talk prior to delving in the interviews. This strategy was used as a way of getting to know the interviewee in a non-scholarly way and allowing the interviewer to be known to the participants. In the Sudanese culture, it is a general practice to be served tea (or another refreshment) and sweet pastries. Maximizing the opportunity to connect with the participants, the researcher took this opportunity to engage in conversation about the interviewees’ skills at baking the treats or asking questions about the tea and tea service. In addition to talking about the participants’ family (children), this act served as an icebreaker and set the interviewee at ease.

Once the ‘official’ interviewing process began, it was reiterated that the participant was under no obligation or pressure to participate in the study, and the purpose of the study was also restated. To begin the questions, the researcher asked participants about their memory of Darfur prior to the conflict, their family, and life. They were then asked general information about their experiences with the conflict.
posing these questions, the researcher allowed the participant to relax and simply share
details about the real-life experiences without having to think about providing politically
correct answers. These probing questions were designed to solicit information in a way
that was not intrusive of the person’s opinion but rather probing for details that lead to
probing questions.

Probing, according to Patton (2002), are often oriented toward details,
elaboration, or clarification. Although these three styles of probing questions differ, these
basically seek more details. These techniques were used in various stages of the
interviews; if the participants were vague with descriptions or lacked depth in their
meaning, then effort was made to gain a connection with meaning and the conflict
scenario presented. This process followed Moustakas’ (1994) suggestion of tapping into
the experience of the participant (see Figure 1).
Figure 1. Example of the various styles of probing.

An example of such scenario includes the following:

- Participant (Sara), “They came to the village and take, if you don’t give them they can kill you.” Here, the researcher had to probe as to who came to the village, what did they take and what do you mean, ‘they can kill you’? There is clearly over-lap between clarification, detail, and elaboration probing. Another example would be,

- Participant (Sara), “It was scary because they come at night.” This statement pushes for details as well as clarification. The researcher needed to know whether or not the ‘scare factor’ was associated with the night or some other factor. Furthermore, more description of what was meant by ‘scary’ as
expressed by the interviewee needed to be clarified. The researcher used the clarification and detail probing to obtain description of ‘scary’. The interviewer requested more information, “Why are the villages only attacked at night?”, and “was it because it was night that you were scared?” It was necessary to use this approach to gather as much description as possible to hone in on the essence and meaning of the participants’ experiences.

Once the interviews were concluded, the researcher gave the participants an opportunity to add any information that they believed would add to the dialogue or that would benefit the researcher. Most participants expressed their gratitude to the researcher taking an interest in the Darfur conflict, and especially the plight of the women’s issue.

The researcher reminded each participant that they could receive a copy of the transcript of their interview only if they requested it, and they could have the opportunity to review, verify, and correct any information that was inconsistent with the content of their statements. They were also encouraged to provide feedback, as it pertained to them needing to provide clarification to the dialogue that might have been omitted at the time of the recording. All participants were reminded that a follow-up interview might be requested by the researcher or participant if the need arose. Contact information, emails, and phone numbers were, at that time, confirmed to ensure that future communication, if needed, would be possible. None of the participants had any follow-up questions or concerns.

At the conclusion of each interview, the researcher organized a package for each participant, assigning a pseudonym and number (usually the date and time of the
interview the purpose of the interviewer’s recollection). In addition to the identification assignments, the researcher wrote a brief interview summary of each of the participant using the handwritten notes taken during the interviews. This technique enabled the researcher to retain a recollection of the participant and the interview process, while minimizing the risk of forgetting any of the participants. Brief descriptions included but were not limited to the participant’s physique, the clothing worn, the home in which the interview was conducted, children and researcher’s interaction with them (if applicable), food served, and pre-conversations (see Appendix G).

During the transcribing of the interviews, the researcher had to request clarification of statements given by participants at the time of the interviews. The follow-up questions were conducted via phone calls and emails. These follow-ups were minimal and mostly consisted of words or phrases (relating to participants’ accent) that were unclear on the audio. There were no major challenges in transcribing the interviews.

The researcher found that transcribing the interviews personally enabled the process of analysis to become more fluid in identifying themes and categories. Furthermore, transcribing the interviews allowed the interviewer to recall each participant and specific details about the interviews that made each person memorable. It also provided the researcher the opportunity to hear the meaning and message, along with the meta-messages of each person’s voice.

**Data Transcription**

Each interview was immediately uploaded to the researcher’s password protected laptop/table. This was to avoid any mishap of mistakenly erasing the interview or
possibly losing the recorder. Each of the respondent’s audio recorded interviews were assigned its own file before being placed in a single research study (i.e., after an interview, the researcher uploaded the interview and assigned a file name). At the end of the interview process, all 12 audio interviews were then placed in a single file with its own assigned identification. Furthermore, the organization of the research data, consent forms, PDDS, audio interviews, and transcripts were packaged and labeled individually, then combined in a single file for manageability.

During the transitional travel period of collecting the data and returning home, all materials (printed and digital) were kept in the researcher’s personal luggage (that was locked with a locking device with a numeric code) in a sealed envelope in the guest rooms of host families or with the researcher’s ‘carry-on’ luggage during travel time. All printed materials, consent forms, PDDS (Appendix D), transcriptions, and in the case of one participant, who insisted on giving the researcher a copy of her documented abuses and asylum papers, collected for this research remained locked in a file cabinet in the researcher’s home office. Digital materials were stored on the password protected laptop/tablet.

All the audio interviews were transcribed personally by the researcher in the privacy of the home office to ensure and maintain confidentiality of the participants and the security of their information (Creswell, 2013, p. 142). Transcriptions were conducted at night because of the consistency of silence and little chance of being interrupted by phone calls or other communicable devices/ mediums, as well as other members of the household. Interview transcription consisted of the researcher uploading the audio data to
a password protected laptop/tablet. The audio uploads were completed by inserting the compact flash-drive into the laptop, uploading the audio file, and storing the data on the hard drive.

Once the data were secured on the laptop’s hard drive, the researcher labelled each interview numerically in the order in which these were conducted. Transcription of the data began by listening to each uploaded interview using a Sony MDRZX 110 headphones set and transcribing these as Microsoft Word documents.

For the purpose of anonymity and confidentiality, participants were assigned pseudonyms for storage, analysis, and reporting of the data collected. This system of pseudonyms reduced and or eliminated the risks of revealing the identities of the respondents. Pseudonyms were selected from books, personal acquaintances, and a website that specialized in African/Muslim girls names. The reason for selecting names associated with Africans/Muslim was to keep the cultural integrity of the group that was being researched and maintaining a cultural realism for the research.

Transcribing the audio data into a “line number transcript” (Alverez & Urla, 2002, p. 42) proved time consuming, as it required the researcher to play each interview multiple times to correctly retrieve information. Although this approach proved tedious, it was quite helpful in the researcher capturing statements and tones that were missed or overlooked at the time of the recording.

Adhering to the structure of phenomenological research as a way of maintaining the authenticity of this study, the technique of self-examination was consistently utilized in order to contain biases and preconceptions in check. This self-examination, as posited
by Moustakas (1994), was conducted in several phases. The self-checking began prior to the initiation of the study (i.e., at the time of literature research). Using the strategy of journaling, biases, attitudes, beliefs, fears, and experiences relating to the phenomenon were documented. This provided a cathartic release, allowing for the removal of the “hidden self” to be exposed and creating a “clean sheet” on which to begin the research (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85).

Using previously held knowledge as a self-check method was in line with Moustakas’ (1994, p. 85) statement of epoche, which was essentially setting aside ones’ prejudices, biases and even the preconceived ideas held about things. Bracketing is an excellent method of utilizing the skills of epoche, as this aids the researcher in focusing on the research singularly by using the topic and questions set aside to be answered as the sole guide. Remaining neutral meant that the researcher had to frequently revisit the topic of the study and the questions set as answered.

Ethics and Reflexivity/Validity

This research emphasized female perspectives of justice based on their lived experiences, as relating to the Darfur conflict. This study was gender-biased due to the researcher’s interest in the topic, nature, and focus; therefore, the study was reliant on this singular gender group. Participation for the study was voluntary and no coercion prior to, during, or after the study was used to identify and secure participants for this research.

This research adhered to the ethical standards, as relayed by the IRB, which was followed and upheld by this researcher. No deception, whether in content or interaction with participants/agents, was involved in this study. All participants were provided with
the informed consent, indicating that their participation was voluntary, and they had the right to withdraw from the study or decline to answer any questions (Appendix B). Data validation of one-one-one interviews through data summaries were submitted to participants who requested the same; this was completed via emails that were sometimes followed up with telephone communication.

The researcher must maintain an unbiased and ethical position when conducting research. In order to present the voices of the participants through the isolation of personal interference with the data, it was important to develop “the freedom from suppositions the Epoche… a warning to be alert, to look with care, to see what is really there, and to stay away from everyday habits of knowing things, people, and events” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85). Using epoche to “invalidate, inhibit and disqualify all commitments with reference to previous knowledge and experience (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85), this researcher tabled “everything in the ordinary, everyday sense of knowledge” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85).

A personal goal of this researcher was to remain truthful and honest to the shared narratives of the participants. Previous professional experiences, such as interning with a psychologist who specialized in domestic abuse and child sexual abuse cases, as well as working as a social worker for several years, worked to the advantage of the researcher in understanding the complex dynamics associated with victim-survivors. In addition, having these professional experiences, the researcher’s training on interpersonal communication with this population was beneficial in the skills of listening using
empathy, respect, patience, reframing, and rephrasing to pull information and conversational techniques to set a tone of non-judgmental secure space.

The researcher held an awareness of personal nuances, biases, idiosyncrasies, opinions, and political views that might have an influence on the outcome of the study. It was the hope, with all efforts made at being transparent, that the participants’ shared narratives would help build an understanding of the development of perception of justice through the value of lived experiences. Hence, transparency was important throughout in all aspects of this research, which was the most appropriate way of building and maintaining ethical responsibility and reliability in the field of research (Miller et al., 2012). Transparency, as the basis for establishing and maintaining reliability and ethical responsibility throughout research, is the conscious effort in deciding how much of oneself a researcher reveals (e.g., any and all pre-conceived notions held that could be deemed as biased; Miller et al., 2012).

Ethically, the researcher worked on maintaining the standard of protocols to ensure the validity of this research that relies on the trustworthiness of the work and of the researcher. In this study, all efforts were ardently made to eliminate or minimize personal values and beliefs so that these did not impede the participants’ voices, but rather helped enrich the understanding and interpretations of each storied narrative.

Professionally, the researcher has worked as a social worker. In this capacity, interactions were with victims, mostly girls of various ages as young as 7-years-old to mid-teens, and women of domestic violence. During the course of conducting this research, the researcher was reminded and informed of experiences that had some impact
on her personal views and strong opinions. Professional experiences, family secrets, and social interactions that could have, if left unchecked, influenced the biases and been projected onto the participants’ narratives.

Being honest and open about previous knowledge of similar situations was employed to combat undue influences. For this researcher, the perception of justice was based on ones’ experiences. Keeping this in mind, the researcher refrained from imposing personal definitions of justice on to the participants’ shared narratives. Also considering the aforementioned factors, reflexivity was maintained during all the phases of the study. Therefore, this researcher worked on remaining conscious of existing biases in order to refrain from misrepresenting or misinterpreting the narratives of the participants as expressed in the interviews.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided the steps used in the design of this research and included the process of data collection. The methodology drives the study’s intent and focus in a systematic way, providing the researcher with a foundation based on empirically tested guidelines on which to create a valid and reliable research. The steps outlined in this chapter indicated the intent and focus of this study. The purpose of the study was maintained throughout each phase of the process. The data collection highlighted the procedural steps used in objectively gathering the pertinent information needed to extrapolate the most detailed information from direct sources. The collection of data was the primary source of facts necessary for analysis. In summary, Figure 2 shows the function of methodology used in this research.
Figure 2. The function of methodology in research.
Chapter 4: Analysis and Results

Overview

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of the process utilized in analyzing the interviews and to reveal the naturally emerging codes by deciphering those that needed to be discovered through a more scientifically systematic approach. Coding and analysis deals with the process of essentially connecting the data collection (methodology) with the findings/interpretations of the data. In this particular research, this chapter is designed to convey, systematically, the process used in identifying the participants’ perceptions of justice, as it related to their lived experiences, by using their own words as a guide to discover the in-depth meaning and create a scientific approach to understanding the phenomenon.

The procedure used in coding and analysis describes in detail the operations used to meet this chapter’s goals. Coding and analysis are a conjoined processes in research. As for the order in which coding and analysis occur, there is an intertwining of the processes. Coding emerges from the analysis of the raw data; likewise, analysis is developed from the codes. Coding and analysis cannot always be described as levels of demarcations in research, usually both are interlocking, but through a systematic explanation, each can be identified separately in the overall process.

In coding and analysis, the goal is to “try to unearth something, ‘telling something meaningful, thematic’ in the various experiential accounts” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 86). The data must be deciphered through the analytical process to uncover the answer(s) to the questions posed in the research study. In order to make the discovery of meaning,
theme(s) are identified and grouped together. Van Manen (1990) described themes as the “experience of focus, of meaning or point,” and the theme formulation is “at best a simplification… the themes are intransitive” (pp. 87-88). Van Manen (1990) further posited that themes gave the “means of getting at the meaning of the experience…. gives shape to the shapeless… describes the content of the notion… always a reduction of the notion” (p. 88).

**Data Analysis**

According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996), data analysis is simply a procedural system used in phenomenological research to identify essential features and the relationships of a phenomenon. In qualitative research, data analysis is comprised of preparing and organizing the data (transcripts, photographs, etc.) for analysis. The methods of analysis of data range from examination, investigation, inspection, scrutinizing, dissecting, and evaluating to interpretation of data. Moreover, data analysis includes reducing that data into themes through a process of coding and condensing themes into manageable, a relatable and coherent structure. The reduced, coded data and or themes are then represented in figures, tables, or a discussion (Creswell, 2013, p. 148). Table 1 shows a general explanation of data analysis strategies.
Table 1

*Provides an Overview of Three Authors’ Generalization to the Strategies of Data Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sketching Ideas</td>
<td>Write margin notes in field notes</td>
<td>Highlight certain information in description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking notes</td>
<td>Write reflective passages in notes</td>
<td>Draft a summary sheet on field notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summarizing field notes</td>
<td>Draft a summary sheet on field notes</td>
<td>Make metaphors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with words</td>
<td>Make metaphors</td>
<td>Write codes, memos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identifying codes</td>
<td>Write codes, memos</td>
<td>Identify salient themes or patterns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing codes to themes</td>
<td>Identify salient themes or patterns</td>
<td>Note patterns and themes</td>
<td>Identify patterned regularities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting frequency of codes</td>
<td>Count frequency of codes</td>
<td>Count frequency of codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating categories</td>
<td>Factor, note relations among variables, build a</td>
<td>Create a graph or picture of the framework</td>
<td>Contextualize in framework from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating categories to analytic</td>
<td>logical chain of evidence</td>
<td>Make contrasts and comparisons</td>
<td>literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating categories to analytic</td>
<td></td>
<td>Display findings in tables, chart, diagrams,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framework in literature</td>
<td></td>
<td>and figures; compare cases; compare with a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating a point of view</td>
<td>For scenes, audience, readers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displaying the data</td>
<td>Create a graph or picture of the framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Table taken from John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* 2nd Edition ©2013
Bailey (2008) posited that data analysis began with the transcription of the recorded materials. Transcription of the audio data provided the researcher with a virtual re-visitation of the interviews. This re-visiting of the interview was achieved by the extended handling of the audio data and the prolonged exposure to the content. The researcher had the opportunity to intently listen to the details, intonations, and emphasis used by the participants in their self-expression. The researcher’s active listening provided a thoroughness that enriched the familiarity with the data in overall depictions and the specifics of the details as narrated by the participants. Familiarity with the data effectuated the free forming of open codes that emerge naturally. This explanation of data analysis naturally segues into coding (see Figure 3).

**Figure 3.** Process of data analysis. The first stage of data analysis that occurs from the interviews through data transcription and recognition of codes as they emerge freely

**Coding Decision**

It was imperative for the researcher to establish the most effective and appropriate coding technique for the research. Consideration as to the coding method most applicable
for the research should include the discoveries to be made, the insights the coding reveals, and the connections to the participant’s processes and or the phenomenon under investigation (Saldana, 2009, p. 51). The following is a list of consideration as to the appropriateness of a particular coding method for one’s study:

1. The coding method(s) should harmonize with the research’s conceptual or theoretical framework. The type of research [methodology] determines the method of coding. For example ethnography would use an amalgam of In Vivo, Emotion, Values, Versus, Dramaturgical, Verbal Exchange or even Evaluation Coding.

2. Coding method(s) should be related to or address the research questions. (Structural Coding is used to organize data around specific research questions. Any additional coding methods choices following this must assist in finding answers. [This two or more coding method is known as ‘eclectic coding’]).

3. The researcher should be comfortable and confident applying the coding method(s) to the data collected. (The coding method should help the researcher in provoking exercises in thinking rather than evoke a sense of confusion).

4. The data should lend themselves to the coding method(s). (The codes should be relevant to the data collection; is it appropriate for field notes, interview transcripts, surveys, etc.).

5. Coding method(s) should provide the specificity needed for the research. (The method of coding should generate a sufficient overall number of codes or a
sufficient ratio of codes to data that enable the researcher to see the complexity and not complication).

6. Coding method should lead the researcher toward an analytic pathway.

( Method of coding should clearly lead toward the construction of categories or taxonomies, the development of patterns or themes and even the beginnings of a grounded theory). (Saldana, 2009, pp. 50-51)

The specific coding method that is utilized in this research was themeing the data, which Saldana stated was “more applicable to interviews and participant-generated documents and artifacts, rather than researcher-generated field notes” (p. 141). Themeing the data is described as “a phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means” (Saldana, 2009, p. 50). Themes are simply statements or ideas expressed by participants during interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). These statements or ideas may be expressions describing cultural behaviors, the explanation of causes of an incident or event, or even the morals that are derived from the participants’ stories. The following is an example of themeing used by this researcher:

**Researcher:** What were some of the things you saw that you felt there was no justice?

**Fathia:** “The government and the authorities were promising that they would rebuild the villages and they would provide peace and safety so we could go back and live even better but nothing has happened. People just linger in the camps and nobody was helping them. The only people who were helping were the International agencies through aid… but there was no justice… even the
international community, they didn’t do that much…just like feeding them but nothing else.”

Summary: Main Points in Participant’s statement

1) Broken promises (Hindrance)

2) Need homes to be restored (Safety/Security)

3) Humanitarian aid does not equate justice (Communication)

The participant’s statement was condensed to three major points that explain her perception of what justice is or is not. These three points are tied to the concept of justice according to the participant’s words.

Figure 4. Condensing/summarizing data into simple codes.

Step by Step Coding and Analysis

Themeing the data was one of the coding and analysis processes used in the first cycle coding method. In this research and in the coding and analysis process, the researcher wrote a summary on each transcribed interviews and a brief synopsis of the
participants’ interview summaries (see Appendix G), providing an overview of participants’ thoughts. These summaries provided the researcher with a full view of the important points of the participants’ perceptions, as related to their lived experiences.

The next stage involved deciphering the textual content of each interview through a line-by-line analysis; specific phrases or even paragraphs were broken down into main points (see Appendix H). This type of analysis allowed the researcher to thoroughly examine each interview in the minutest detail without eliminating concepts that reflected the participants’ voice. As the codes emerged, basic categorizations were prescribed. The codes were listed alongside the phrases and or paragraphs, as spoken by the participants. Appendix I shows the process of grouping common categories and subthemes (subcategories).

The next step in the coding process was that of the second cycle coding. This phase of coding involved “fitting categories one with another” (Saldana, 2009). The second cycle coding serves “to develop a coherent synthesis of the data corpus” (Saldana, 2009, p. 149). This research emphasized focused coding, which searches for the most frequent or significant initial codes to develop “the most salient categories” in the data corpus and “requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense” (Saldana, 2009, p. 155; see Appendix I).

An example of a code that influenced a category and its sub-ordinate categories is below:

Participant’s statement: “…some people they are not given their rights…other things have been taken from them…people don’t have trust…”
Code: Infringement of rights and GoS abuses obstructs justice

Superordinate category: Hindrance

Subordinate categories: Distrust/Corruption/Power

Six superordinate categories and 15 sub-ordinate categories became apparent (see Appendix I). These superordinate categories and subcategories represented the general collective voice of the respondents regarding their perception of justice. These superordinate and sub-ordinate categories were essentially variables that aligned with the perception of justice based on the experiencers’ experiences. These were significant enough to be accepted as the superordinate categories and subcategories, as the majority of the respondents’ expressions were suited for the categories that emerged from the data.

The superordinate categories emerging from the data included acknowledgement, hindrances, power, safety, security, and voice. Some of the subordinate categories were found as related under multiple categories, while others were specific to a single category. The instances where a sub-category had multiple association were acceptable as these still presented an interconnectedness of the superordinate categories.

Categories and Theoretical Analysis

This stage of the analysis was germane to the research, as it provided clarity and efficiency in working with and explaining the data. This stage summarized Saldana’s (2009) point that “the act of coding requires that you wear your researcher’s analytic lens… how you perceive and interpret what is happening in the data depends on what type of filter covers the lens” (pp. 6-7). Having identified the superordinate categories
and subcategories using the line-by-line analysis, defining each category in its broadest and most inclusive terms was the next natural step.

The analysis of the data supplied the various superordinate categories; each superordinate category was then conceptualized to present a guidepost through a general description of the terms. The superordinate categories further yielded subcategories. These subcategories included identifiers of issues that tied to and were affected by the superordinate categories. The relationship of the superordinate and sub-ordinate categories showed an imagery of a cyclone, which are essentially *spin-offs* (see Table 2).

**Table 2**

*Superordinate Categories and Sub-ordinate Categories*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Superordinate Categories</th>
<th>Sub-ordinate Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>safety, security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindrance</td>
<td>Power, distrust, corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Corruption, safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>Security, health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>International community, equality, safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>Gender rights, communication, security, safety</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Definition of the superordinate and sub-ordinate categories are taken from various dictionaries (Waite, 2013; Merriam-Webster, 2000; Spears, 1998) and further definitions were developed using the content and context of the data in which the superordinate categories and subcategories emerged. The expanded definition concepts were developed using an analytical approach that dissected the data, and thus identified the central concepts. The central concepts, from which the superordinate categories and subcategories were constructed, were then compared to the accepted definitions (see Table 3).
### Table 3

**Conceptualization of Categories with Terms and Definitions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Acknowledgement      | 1. Accept that something exists or is true; show that you have noticed someone by making a gesture  
2. To recognize the rights or authority; to admit as true; to recognize as valid  
3. To give recognition to someone or something; Admission; stating that something is so |
| Communication        | 1. Share or exchange information; pass or convey emotion  
2. The act of transmitting; message; exchange information or opinion; to make known  
3. Sending and receiving information; an announcement or statement in written or spoken form |
| Corruption           | 1. To make evil; Deprivation; bribe, spoil, rot; morally degenerate  
2. To make someone or something evil or wicked; the process of becoming evil or wicked. Dishonesty; bribery  
3. Dishonest or illegal behavior; act of corrupting |
| Distrust             | 1. A lack of trust; suspicion  
2. Have little or no trust in. No faith or trust in the reliability or ability of someone or something. Unacceptability of the truth of a statement without proof  
3. Lack or absence of trust; lack of confidence in someone or something |
| Equality             | 1. The condition of having the same amount or degree of something as someone or something else  
2. Impartial, free from extremes.  
3. Equality proposes balance from biases and partiality. |
| Gender Rights        | 1. Equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys.  
2. Women’s and men’s rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female |
| Health               | 1. The state of being free from illness or injury; a person’s mental or physical condition  
2. Sound physical or mental condition; overall condition of the body; well-being  
3. Freedom from diseases of the mind or the body; vigor; general condition of the body or mind.  
4. Soundness as of society or culture |
| Hindrance            | 1. To impede the progress of; to hold, obstruct; bar; block  
2. A thing that delays or obstructs someone or something  
3. Someone or something that interferes with something; an obstacle |
<p>| International        | 1. The collective state actors and organizations recognized |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>internationally such as the United Nations (including other functionaries under the UN), the ICC, and other “organizations created by states and to those established by private persons or bodies…” intergovernmental’ and ‘non-governmental organizations’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. “Belief in a community wider and higher than the political units into which men are divided…the law of nations rests on the postulate of an international society which orders and sub-ordinates sovereignties for the common good of humanity…the existence of a sense of community and the willingness of particular collectivities to keep their conduct in conformity with the higher good of a universal community”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. “Intergovernmental and externally based non-governmental relief operations”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>1. The ability to do something; the ability to influence people or event. Political authority or control. Strength, force or energy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Having the authority to do something; control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>1. The condition of being protected from danger, harm, or risk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Freedom from danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The state of being safe; freedom from harm or danger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>1. The state of being or feeling safe from danger, harm, loss, injury, or theft. An office or department concerned with protection of people and property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To protect against danger or threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. To guard; to make safe; freedom from worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice</td>
<td>1. A medium or channel for representing someone’s opinion; to express an opinion by speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. An opinion or the right to express an opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. An instrument or medium of expression; a choice, opinion, or wish openly expressed; right of expression.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation and conceptualization of each superordinate category and sub-category are accompanied by respondents’ expressions to best demonstrate the intent and value to which the categories and their subs was developed, determined, and assigned.

The conceptualized superordinate categories and their sub-ordinates were further explained using the previously mentioned theories. The four theories, including Burton’s basic human needs, Rawls’ (1972) justice theory, Sturgeon’s (2016) ecofeminist theory, and Sjoberg’s (2013) feminist theory of war, fully explained the relationship between the
perception of justice and the needs identified in the participants’ interviews. Each superordinate category and sub-ordinate categories showed a need for or at least a gap between the perception of and the accessing of justice.

To reiterate the point, the analysis of the data was heavily weighted on the above mentioned concepts. Need, in its various forms, is a precursor to justice and the perception of justice hinges on hindrance or access to satisfying needs. When there is a present need that is hindered, justice, or fairness becomes lacking. It is in the moments of lack/need that injustice is evident; the perception of justice, as discovered in the analysis, is related to particular needs. These needs are not always tangible but reside in the abstract sense and although intangible, these needs are relative to the perception of justice. The theoretical framework as incorporated in the data analysis, serves to and explains the data in detail.

Commencing with the analysis, initial definitions obtained from various dictionary sources are supplied and used in guiding the development of the analysis. The analytical explanations of the data are also contributors of in-depth definitions presented in the critical analysis. The order in which the superordinate categories and sub-categories are presented does not reflect the importance of one over the other but rather the researcher’s choice of an alphabetical ordering of the information, especially in regards to the superordinate categories.

The analysis emphasized several concerns that associated with the participants’ perception of justice. The emergence of basic ideas and ideals might appear insignificant compared to the larger picture. However, upon further inspection, it became apparent that
the lived experiences of individuals within a collective and the group itself perceived even the smallest details of the experiences introspectively. While some of the superordinate categories might seem obvious, others were not so obvious. All the superordinate categories and subcategories were assessed and accepted from the complete pool of interviews; these were recognized by the researcher as significant in the representation from the consensus.

As stated previously, the general consensus of the sample group revealed that there were six superordinate categories and 15 subcategories (some of the sub-ordinate categories were duplicated under different superordinate categories and were themselves superordinate categories at times). Analysis of the categories determined that the underlining perception of justice related to the theory of human needs, especially as posited by Burton (1990), which acted as a symbiosis for the two feminist theories presented. Basic human needs exist on at least 5 to 6 Tiers; analysis of the data revealed that the fundamental concept of justice was formulated on the principle of achieving or accessing various aspects of human needs as specific to Darfur. The analysis order was not of major concern but was presented in alphabetic order, as the researcher’s preferred choice.

Acknowledgement. Acknowledgement (the superordinate category represented by the overlapped section of the Venn diagram) showed an impact on safety and security. Acknowledgement, the superordinate category, was reiterated throughout the interviews. In considering the emphasis placed on acknowledgement it was noted that safety and security were associated with this superordinate category. Safety and security were
basically spin-offs of the dominant problem, acknowledgement. The absence of acknowledgement influences the existence and or effectiveness of both of these sub-categories. In order to have safety and security, there needs to be acknowledgement of the crisis, the truth of its seriousness of atrocities and the needs that develop as a result of the crises. In the context of this study Acknowledgement was viewed as internal and external agents for justice.

Figure 5. Acknowledgement.

The consensus of the group exposed that acknowledgement was an important concern relating to the phenomenon, the respondents’ lived experiences, and the perception of justice. Acknowledgement, as relayed by the participants, was perceived as the GoS’ non-existing verbal admittance to the reality of the situation in Darfur, its minimization of the crisis situation, ignoring human right’s needs and violations, its responsibility to the causes of the crisis, its protecting the people of the region, its behavior in not recognizing the plight of the victims, its failure in fulfilling promises made regarding the restoration of homestead, its defiant response to the international community’s outcry of the atrocities especially those stemming from the UN through
intervention and or mandates, and the ICC’s (2017a, 2017b) indictments of the named perpetrators.

Repeated statements regarding the government’s denial that there is a grave problem of abuse and systematic machinations to permanently destabilize the region through violence reverberated throughout the interviews. The denial of the atrocities of the GoS, the malicious activities of the Janjaweed toward the people of Darfur and its affiliation with the GoS, and contravention of the Sudanese government of the international community’s (UN, NGO’s & HRO’s) recommendations for resolution weighed heavily on the perception of justice. Emphasis of acknowledgement was primarily concentrated on the Sudanese government and its conduct toward the people of Darfur and the ongoing crisis. Acknowledgement as defined above falls in line with this need as expressed by the participants.

Acknowledgement as it emerged from the data, underlines the fact that respondents viewed this as a major factor in their perception of justice. Acknowledgement serves to provide credence and validation to an event, person(s), or thing. The repeated expressions for the need of acknowledgement was unmistakably noticeable in the analysis of the data. This need to have the victims’ experiences, the atrocities, and their current conditions acknowledged by the GoS and even a more vocal position of the international community, which in their perception has been waning over the years, was a necessary component of justice. Acknowledgement is clearly a need that existed for the respondents. This need qualified as being substantial to the resolution of the conflict and the victims’ demands for justice. Acknowledgement, as a need, was one
of the basic ontological human needs. This need was an essential component of the “individual and group identity,” as it was a recognition of being a significant part of humanity.

The need for acknowledgement, in the case of Darfur, was through circumstances that imposed a type of deprivation on the people and their communities. This deprivation was derived from the structural violence, imbedded in the social and or political institutions and policies of the GoS. These institutions and accompanying policies served as deliberately constructed violence against the Darfuris. The structural violence violated the individual and communities, and has, as proposed by the respondents, largely been ignored, minimized or denied by the GoS. It is at this point that the overt need for acknowledgement emerges. Statements showed the point that the needed to be acknowledged:

**Researcher:** Based on what you saw and experienced, how would you describe justice?

**Sayeda:** “...the GoS to acknowledge...because the government is denying...all the facts (*sic*). The government is denying that the people who were tortured, the government is denying that there are IDPs, that have people who ran from their homes, and denying to compensate the people...like give them something back for what they have lost...and so, justice is all this happens...the people have to be returned, they have to get compensation, they have to get something back from what they have lost.
…the government to acknowledge all the abuses and mistakes they made…the
government has had a lot of meetings and…and…peace talks…outside
Sudan…and there were mediators, but they (GoS) never applied the
recommendations. They will sit down for months…for years…they were in
Qatar…they went somewhere else and when they come back they…and bring the
recommendations, they never applied this…The have to acknowledge the peace
talks…and uh…and completely apply the recommendation…” additional
statement made regarding lack of acknowledging or denying the victims, “…if
you want to go to the camp to help people…they have to get a license…and
authorization…and so…nobody has a power to do anything…everything you
have to go back to…all these authorizations are linked to the government of
Sudan….and they’re the ones who have the whole power…And so, if that’s your
enemy, you are a loser…yea…you know…you cannot fight the authority that is
powerful in the country…and they’re the ones who are abusing the people, so of
course they don’t wanna leave evidence. And also, they will not allow you…take
your issues to somebody that can help you.”

When asked of her preference of the mode for justice, local (tribal), national, or
international, her response was the following:

**Sayed**a: “…on tribal level…it will not have a good outcome because the
government doesn’t accept and doesn’t…ugh…acknowledge or…or
respect…rights.
Sara: “…because God…you know puts outlines how human beings should interact to each other...and this government is using…is using the name of Islam…but what they are doing is not…not at all Islam and that’s one thing, you, even Muslim countries should think about it and do something about it….the Islamic countries they just cover him (Bashir)...you know...and giving him money...everyone...just wanting to do business…”

Researcher: So do you think these countries are guilty...they are just as guilty as Bashir?

Sara: “Yes. Yes, yes they are...they protect him. They don’t speak up on the truth...they ignore what’s going on”

For victims, having the GoS and other Arab countries, to which the Sudanese political structure claimed the country’s historical and political identity, acknowledge that the ongoing conflict was seen by the Darfuris as irrevocable and a major step in accessing justice. However, acknowledgement would put the onus of responsibility of the problem that was indeed one of structural violence on those, in this case the GoS, who had the greatest influence within the system (Burton, 1997).

The fact that there was this inconceivable denial from the GoS regarding the atrocities and welfare of the people highlighted other problems, such as safety and security. These two problem emerged as subcategories to the superordinate category, acknowledgement. These are discussed in the following sections

Safety. Safety specifically addresses the state, feeling, and condition of an individual and or a group’s well-being from external threats. Conversely, security
incorporates the group’s or individual’s well-being, as relating to external danger but adds to the fact that such well-being is associated with an authority (department or office) providing the needed protection to ensure such safety. The following statement expresses the lack of and the need for both safety and security:

**Layla:** “At the morning time…yea, burned my village at the morning time…and on that time is killed my three uncle(s) (sic)…my mom…my mom’s brother…three on one day…and uhm, the…the…the police station on my village…it is like forty-five mile….we tell the police…and didn’t happen nothing…and nobody gonna take the people injury…and nobody gonna even…ask who is kill this person?…and we see that is the Janjaweed…we see in our eyes…that is the Janjaweed…and nobody follows…uh…follows them and ask them…that is why we are not feeling like people from Darfur… we are not feeling we have government.”

The above statements made by the respondent presented insight into some underlying problems associated with the lack of acknowledgement of the victims’ reality and the needs associated with the current atrocities that are taking place in Darfur. Denials of torture, the displacement of people, and even applying the recommendations developed in “peace talks” indicated that there was no urgency by the GoS to ensure the termination of the conflict or implementing actions to bring safety and security to the region and its peoples. Testimonies of torture that addressed the non-existence of safety and security, as it related to the failure of the GoS’ acknowledgement of the seriousness of situation in Darfur, was a major concern for the victims.
The statements below provides additional support to the plight of the victims in needing the acknowledgement of the existing conditions in the region and the non-existence of need for safety and security:

**Fazia:** “…I saw them [Janjaweed] tying young children just like animals together and tie them on…a tree…and leave them to die from hunger and thirsty…all the people run because the village is set on fire…some people get raped… I was personally attacked and raped…was beaten and have a lot of scars on…body…the [Janjaweed] raped me so badly to the point it caused infections and …had to take…uterus out. Now…cannot have children anymore…”

Statement, such as that of Fazia, showed that without the acknowledgement by the GoS of the crisis in Darfur, there was no incentive to assist in ensuring conditions for safety and providing security for the residents of the region. Refusal of the GoS in the acknowledgement of both the atrocities and the recommendations that were arrived at the conclusion of the peace talks, to implement any effective measures in alleviating the dangers to which the victims were exposed as impediments to the process of justice.

The dominance of acknowledgement, as shown in the data analysis, represented an expression of a need. Acknowledgement adds an element of humanization, where it is withheld – dehumanization becomes a part of the process in which injustice occurs. Acknowledgement is in essence the substance of giving credence and identity to people and their plights. Utilizing acknowledgement in conflict, whether to a specific group (usually marginalized) or events affecting such groups; is a powerful statement of humanizing and de-escalating conflicts. It is a basic human need that can begin to address
the need for security (second tier of Maslow’s [1954] hierarchy of needs).

Acknowledgement also supplies a basic of fairness to members in a society. In the case of Darfur, acknowledgement is a part of the politics of recognition; it is an act that can, with reason, “combat deep-seated forms of injustice in relations of identity and difference” (Patchen, 2003, p. 17). Injustices cannot be confronted and resolved until acknowledgement is present, this is the road to justice.

The importance of acknowledgement demonstrates the power to heal and protect, as Patchen (2003) posited the following:

The politics of recognition is not impotent; its logic is powerfully appealing and for this reason, demands for recognition are among the most important mechanism through which relations of identity and difference are shaped, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse. (p. 17).

Patchen (2013) stated that acknowledgment was not impotent, but it was powerful enough to impact the relations of identity and difference. This point of emphasis highlighted the fact that as a need, and especially pertaining to the perception of justice, acknowledgement should not be overlooked or minimized, especially in the case of Darfur.

The general consensus of the respondents intimated that justice was intimately tied to acknowledgement that was further interlaced with security and safety. The relationship between acknowledgement, safety, and security was evident when examined from the point of view of the experiencers. Where there was denial or even minimization of the magnitude and emergency of the crisis in Darfur by its own government, there was
the opportunity for increase in abuse and misuse of power and authority, as well as the reduction an or elimination of safety (in zones, services and resources) and definitely no interest in providing regional security at the behest of the people. It is evident that when there is lack of acknowledgement or minimization of the crisis then there is no inducement to provide security and ensure safety in the region.

Another aspect of acknowledgement as relevant to the conflict in Darfur is that of the feminist theory which posits that war (conflicts) are gendered. It is dominated and executed by males or at least a masculine persona. The participants’ statements reveal that the system withholding acknowledgement is male oriented and dominated. It is highly important to recognize the gendering of the conflict. This gendering of conflict includes the logic of war/conflict and the tactics used in connection with wars/conflicts relegate the females to a sub-ordinate position on the social hierarchy of the power system (Sjoberg, 2013). The Darfur conflict exists in a male dominated structure and a social system of patriarchy.

The lack of acknowledgement in this case can be tied to the social structural ties to patriarchy wherein there is the ideology that women may not need to be acknowledged or given an explanation to the decisions of the male. The ecofeminist theory, considers the environmental factors that influence social behaviors. The Darfur conflict operates in a physical environment consisting of hardships this hardship is transferred to social psychology and acknowledgement, in this case especially of the women, is contradictory to this social fabric. The genderedness of conflicts rightly expresses the employment of “strategies in gendered ways… particularly, strategies that target women not as women.
Acknowledgement reflects that safety and security are not priority of the dominant toward the sub-ordinates’ position and can be viewed as a weakness to the dominant’s position. Here, acknowledgement as a need and related to the justice theory, presents an alternative view this need is multilayered – it is tied to the GoS’ recognition and affirmation of the situation but also the acknowledgement of the type of conflict. The masculine gendered orientation of the conflict ignored is an important aspect of the existing need for acknowledgement. This social environmental factor is essential to perception of and accessing justice.

The paucity of the GoS’ acknowledgement of the conditions in Darfur is but one aspect on the ongoing problem surrounding the region, the crisis, a potential resolution, and a sense of justice for the victims. As incredible as the lack of the GoS’ acknowledgement to the dire situation has been, it is but one aspect on impact on the victims’ perception of justice. Another prevalent category that dominated the general consensus of the group was that of hindrance.

**Hindrance.** Hindrance (this superordinate category is represented by the overlapped section expressing equal commonality of the sub-ordinate categories) is explained in the diagram to show the relationship between the superordinate category, hindrance and sub-categories power, distrust and corruption. This superordinate category addresses the problem of leadership, the lack of motivation in pursuing a permanent solution of peace on behalf of the Darfuris, roadblocks prohibiting a resolution, activities
used that act as a barrier to resolution, the frustration the victims face in their perception of justice. The relationship between the superordinate and sub-ordinate categories are interconnected, as hindrance is perceived in the three sub-categories, corruption, power, and distrust. The internal power structure (i.e., GoS) related to its influence politically, socially, economically, and institutionally (authority in and over the laws, health, resources). This internal power structure usually connotes a negative perception as corruption is seen as a major part of the system of power. Where the power-corruption dynamic exists distrust emerges as a natural response. Hindrance, therefore, is multi-faceted as it represents the complex dynamics of the external (leadership/GoS) image and the internal perception of the victims toward that the external image. In essence, hindrance is a projection of power, corruption, and distrust (see Figure 6).

*Figure 6. Hindrance.*

Hindrance as a superordinate category is not surprising since the lack of acknowledgement from the GoS is in part a hindrance to justice. Hindrance, in this research, emerged as a superordinate category, seemingly, independent of but us in
actuality related to acknowledgement. The basis for hindrance as a superordinate category rather than a sub-ordinate to acknowledgement is the repeated sentiments of the respondents through the examples submitted from the consensus. These sentiments of the respondents exposed the numerous examples of the GoS’ actions through its abuse of power and gross corruption that generates mistrust, fear, frustration, and hopelessness in the population. These patterns of obstructive actions prevent the course of justice through national and international interventions.

The collective group expressed concerns of hindrances that act as impediments to accessing justice. Hindrance as a factor in the perception of justice, to the group ranged from interpersonal interactions to international implications. Issues of reporting an assault were obstructed by the authorities (police) that were attributed to the structural institutions of law and order. Other problems that impede the process of reporting attacks and assaults were the lack of direct and immediate access to reporting agencies; distances that had to be travelled before contact with the appropriate personnel or offices were problematic. For example, when asked if a report was made about her assault, Fazia replied, “No, we’re in the villages, you know? To…to go a report to the police you have to go to a bigger…like a city or township…even if you make a report…nobody cares, nobody will help you.”

The absence of direct local reporting agencies factors in to the idea of the thing that serves to obstruct the process of obtaining even the minutest semblance of justice for victims. Considering the fact that the victims’ experiences are traumatic in and of themselves, the added pressure or tension of exerting energies that have already been
stretched to the limit in order to gain access to initiate the process of seeking justice, is most devastating and possible dangerous for the victims. This added tension can and does often serve as a hindrance for those most in need of assistance and justice. Initiatives by local and international agencies to assist victims have be thwarted by the GoS, as stated by respondents, such as Sayeda. Licenses needed by humanitarian agencies to work in the region must be obtained through government bureaucracy, the same government that fails to acknowledge the truth of the situation in the region.

To continue, another respondent’s (Haga) reply to the question of reporting a crime and or assault that was personally experienced or by a family member was expressed in this manner:

**Researcher:** “Have you ever gone to the police to report a crime that was done to you or your family?”

**Haga:** “No”

**Researcher:** Why?

**Haga:** “’Cause we don’t have power, we are scared…”

**Researcher:** “Scared of what? Why would you be scared to report a crime done to you?”

**Haga:** “…if we go….he might kill us…or…ssss….send somebody to hurt my family…we’re afraid…We just need the European Union to help us and whoever has the power.”

The above excerpt indicate a genuine fear of the authorities’ response to reports of crimes or assaults meted out on the victims. Such fear of the authorities is a hindrance to
obtaining or even initiating the process of seeking justice. This fear and distrust (as indicated by Fazia’s earlier comment) is not only relatable to hindrance but it can also be tied to the previous superordinate category of acknowledgement. The lack of acknowledgement is in essence an arm of hindrance, and reiterates the conditions faced by the people in Darfur and leaves no room for safety and security which when added to lack of direct access to local trustworthy agencies, is relatable to hindrance as a major concern for the people in the region.

Other concerns that express the notion of hindrance is that of the current government administration. As a whole, one of the fundamental issue was that of the GoS retaining its power for the last thirty or more years:

**Fazia:** “…the first thing for justice to be implemented, the government of Sudan has to be changed…because the cause all of these uhm…atrocities is the government, the government does the harm but they are in denial…they don’t report to….it correctly to the international community to ask for help to sincerely resolve this issue and eradicate the problem…they just deny and they add more, like they encourage the janjaweed to go make more…more…uhm…uhm…victims…and…and…you know, make more crimes but at the same time they never report them correctly…they (the GoS) never stop them (Janjaweed)…they (GoS) never help the people. And so, if the government continue to be the one that is existing now, there will not be a solution. Because their mindset is to…not to bring any justice to the people of Darfur…they don’t want ….but they wanna mistreat them (Darfuri)…to continue…yea. The first
thing is democracy in Sudan because even here in America, the president has to be elected and he has a certain amount of time…but in Sudan, this guy has been there thirty-something years…and nobody is able…they…they fraud elections, the elections are not correct. So, they continue to come back to power…and they lying to the people that they come democratically which is not…do democracy is the…they key word to be able, you know…to implement justice”

Another respondent expressed her sentiments regarding the government in the manner:

**Neimat:** “Because the government…you know government, they have money….they can send people, they can buy (bribe) people…and we are human, you know….some people are very soft (vulnerable to bribery)...for their thinking...”

**Sara:** “Uhm, the first thing you have to do to make Darfur peaceful and nice town….like not always wars like that…you need…you need to the president out…he….the president…has…he has to get the president to quit his job…he can’t be president no more….because that…he’s making everybody have the wars and killing people…and he don’t want….ahhh…Darfur people to learn.”

Overwhelmingly, the consensus is that the country’s current leader needs to be removed in order for the process of justice to become a possibility. The air of corruption, targeting of individuals, families, and tribes are all part and parcel of the need to have a new government take the reins of Sudan. Hindrance, as it relates to the GoS as the central focus of obstructing unfeigned justice for the victims of the ongoing conflict in Darfur
and the lack of access to genuine assistance in reporting crimes and assaults, is further tied to other concerns. Such concerns relating to hindrance include corruption, distrust, and power. The aforementioned statements made by multiple respondents have emphasized the depth of these concerns. The aforementioned inclusion of participants’ self-expressed concerns support the superordinate and sub-categories as related to the definitions provided and used in this research context.

These definitions are magnified by the statements of the respondents. The case of power, corruption, and distrust have been made in the statements that represented the general expressions of the sample group. Hindrance contained within it, the misconduct of the GoS whether through corruption that was aligned with bribery, threats, and or retaliation to the victims and their families; power, that was exercised through denying access to NGO’s and HRO’s license or permits to enter the region, or expelling these organizations working with victims of sexual assault or other crimes. These respondents’ statements give credence to the existence of these concerns as it pertains to the process of accessing justice.

Hindrance indicated the causes or conditions that impinged justice. This was also present in superordinate category (variable), acknowledgement, due to its impact on the perception of justice. Wherever there was hindrance impeding the access to the alleviation a need or conditions that fuel atrocities, suffering, and terror, then constitutions could be addressed within the confines of the basic human needs (BHN) theory.
The inclusion of hindrance as a related factor of the two proposed theories was purposeful. Hindrance showed an expression for obstruction to something – a need or desire. In Darfur, hindrance is associated with various mechanism such as corruption, power (misuses by the GoS) and the effect of the mechanisms of hindrance: distrust. Hindrance serves as a blockage to achieving specific needs, whether it is safety, security, equality, acknowledgement, etc. The list of needs are infinite. Hindrance relating to the theory of justice indicated that fairness or rightness was non-existing and that there were societal designs that hampered the rights and freedoms of some in favor of others (Rawls, 1999).

The obstruction of justice, which is the rights and freedom of all members within a society, is essentially hindrance. Factors of the conflict in Darfur, and the participants’ perception of justice, are embedded in hindrance. Deep-seated roots of the problems of justice in Darfur are at the highest levels of the Sudanese political and social structures. Power, corruption, and distrust emerged as overwhelming concerns for the respondents and influenced their perception of justice. Reiterating the participants’ views, justice is a miscellany of ideals emanating from needs as associated with lived experiences. Participants revealed their distinct experiences that mirror each other, and overwhelmingly, support the idea that justice is associated with conditions in the various spheres of one’s environment that influence personal and social conditions. Such conditions are inextricably tied to the ideas and ideals of justice.

Lived experiences are the agents through which the concept of justice is realized and it is these lived experiences of the participants that form the principle of their truth to
the perception of justice. The feminist perception to hindrance and its sub-ordinate categories is the structural realism in war (conflict). This realism is the conflict concerns itself with structure and function of war/conflict. Hindrance and its connection with power, distrust and corruption is reflective of the patriarchal governance seeking to maintain control over the subjected (the gendered subjugated) by means of coercion and force. The Darfur conflict provides an implication of such governance, as Acker (1990) posited, “Gender is a foundational element of organizational structure, where it is ‘present in processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power” (p. 20).

Once again, the environmental factor is prominent. In the political patriarchal structures the preserving of the gendered system is present. The ecofeminist theory supports this gendered organizational structure that is protected at all cost while it operates as a hindrance to the ‘outsider’. The intentional use of the environmental hardships to coerce, bully and intimidate the victims in order to maintain the status quo creates the need for and the perception of justice for women. Hindrance exposes a dyadic need, that of the victims and that of the perpetrator. The need of the victims was discussed above. The second layer of hindrance is that it is a type of fortification in preserving the antagonist’s position and interests. Essentially the hindrance exposes the dual dynamics of need. The need to retain power by obstructing justice and the need to limit or eliminate any opportunity of the subjugated victims accessing justice.

This is also demonstrated in the next superordinate category: power. The definition of power as supplied previously continues to suffice at this juncture. Power
was a consistent category that surfaced throughout the data analysis. Power was previously defined and is a sub-category of hindrance but now is presented as a superordinate category. Although power was a major part of hindrance it is also a superordinate category that was tied to safety (see previously mentioned definitions). There are two specific reasons as to why power is used as a superordinate category; power was expressed as both a negative and a positive concept for either ascertaining or hindering justice. In either case, power is always related to safety.

*Figure 7. Power.*

Power, as a positive concept, is often referred to external sources by the respondents. The power of external agencies, such as international HROs or the United Nations, is perceived as the ability to enforce justice and provide safety for the affected population in the Darfur region. Statements made by respondents emphasize this sentiment perception. Power from agencies outside Sudan is seen as the most likely source of obtaining justice and safety. Respondents revealed that preference for outside the country (international community) power is the reasonable and acceptable means and trust in alleviating the ongoing crisis. The following statements support this position:
Fathia: “For justice to be implemented the United Nations must change this current government of Sudan...because without that, nothing will be, you know...just. People who are wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) to be abducted and...and...sent to justice...uhm...hold accountable...the UN to mediate between the government and the rebel groups...and come out with a peace plan.”

Sara: “Justice is to arrest Al-Bashir and try him...and all the other people beneath...beneath...uhm...his political friends...his politicians. Justice is that Omar Bashir who is wanted...he should be given to the ICC...him and his officials...that...that were responsible...the fifty people who are wanted...if those can be removed...the rest of Sudan may be able to give justice to everybody and be able to solve their issues among them...but the criminals and the corrupted people around them should go...that’s the first step of justice...the international community should take them.”

Faiza: “…the first thing for justice is democracy in Sudan because even here in America, the president has to be elected and he has a certain amount of time...but in Sudan, this guy has been there thirty-something years...they fraud the election, the elections are not correct...so they continue to come back to the power...the international community has to come in with the power to monitor the elections safely. The UN must use its power to make sure the elections are correct and the people can be safe to change the government.”
Layla: “UN, you should give us our justice because he is responsible…the UN was responsible for everybody. They should give us justice or for everybody…who is who…from Darfur, from Iraq…because the UN was responsible for justice…that why the make the UN…because he should…UN should to protect any person, any people in the world. Justice is if…is for the UN or whatever governing body to…to…to make just with the person who committed….or committed the crime, when that happens that means that justice occurred…I would feel like any justice happen if that doesn’t happen and it’s just like nothing if that didn’t happen”.

Amina: “…the international community and the NGOs…they should come in and restore peace, they have the power….make sure the people are able to return to their land…and get their justice….and get to have…like…courts and uhm…prosecute the people who commit the crimes… and also protect….th….the people from the Sudanese government…from a monetary standpoint….the UN has the…the capabilities to…to…uhm…support the process from a financial standpoint”

Fatima: “The government uses a lot of things to divide the people…they are powerful…they use methods and ways to divide the people so that there is conflict…the people of Darfur are not divided…they don’t have trust among themselves because the government use its power, its money…the government gives money (bribes) to some to spy on others…you know…make some people close and give them jobs and occupations to spy against others…and those people
get everything. The others who are not willing to work for the government in this way, they are punished…they don’t have real intentions to bring peace to Darfur…if they want to…if they wanted to, they could have done something some time ago…they have all the means to bring ahhh…peace and justice but they don’t want to…”

These participants presented a solid argument of their view of power regarding securing justice. The weight of power, for them, rested on the international community, specifically the United Nations. The belief is that, the international community, has the power and finances to influence change in the Darfur crisis especially in the safe removal of the current government where the bulk of the responsibility for the crises lies, in their eyes. The concentration of the perception that justice in Darfur and for the people of that region is tied to the removal of the current government, primarily President Omar Al-Bashir, is not an understatement. The GoS is perceived as embedded in blatant corruption and it has an impact on safety; which are the two sub-categories of the superordinate category, power. This is a fitting segue into the concept of power in the negative perception.

Power cited in the negative as presented by respondents, is directly connected to the actions and behavior of the GoS. The GoS’ power through sovereignty permits abuses, insecurity, and lack of safety for the people of Darfur. For instance, participants’ responses that reflect this sentiment are as follows:

**Fathia:** “…the sovereignty of the government can be problem….the government will ask them (UN/Int’l agencies) to do things through them, the
government….and then, the government will claim…ahm…that they (GoS) will do this, do this and the UN or the Int’l organizations will give them (GoS) money but they won’t do what they (GoS) promise. So the government sabotage, the work of the UN. The government gets cash to do something and they take the money or whatever it is …and in the end they don’t benefit the people….The UN should directly interact with the people who were affected, not to put the government of Sudan in between because the government is the cause all the suffering for the people and they cannot be the judge and jury or the judge and the criminals…they are the criminals…so whenever the UN/Int’l community consider the sovereignty and they give chance to the GoS, to be involved that’s when the justice gets lost…for justice to happen is when the UN and the Int’l community acts directly with the victims and make plans to help them (victims) without thinking about the GoS…that way justice will be implemented.”

**Sayedah:** (Addressing the power of the government’s control over the citizens’ free speech outside Sudan) “…when people go out and sit for talks, peace talks…outside the country, you know…if you went from inside the country you cannot say what you wanna say, because the government parties they’re watching you…and if you say any word…when you come back…you find a report about you, written. And they will not allow you to have a job, they will punish you…all of those things. So people who go to peace talks (international conferences) from Sudan…they just watch, they cannot talk…only those you go from abroad…who live outside Sudan…but actually those…talks are controlled by the government
because other people from Sudan, who witness the war, when they come and they know what’s going on,…they cannot talk to each other…”

Khadija: “…the leaders, they still…still….the leaders still do their crimes…so the people cannot get their justice because the leader have the power. Who can stop them? You? Me?”

The respondents’ views showed that power was perceived and displayed in positive and negative ways. Beyond the negative and positive perception of power, there was also the concept that power was outside of the experiencers'/participants’ control. In both perceptions of power (negative and positive), it was deemed in the hands of others, rather than within the experiencer’s control. There was a sense of disconnect between power and the experiencer. Power was considered distributed through a negative or positive conduit of individuals. The revelation of this concept was that the holder of power (or those who hold it) might or might not choose to use it to the benefit of people in need.

Another noticeable point was that power on the positive end of the spectrum power was associated with the international community, while the negative view of power was associated with internal systems (GoS). This view of power, internally or externally, hinged on a somewhat skewed spectrum. The positive perception of power that aligned with the external agent, is limited and subjected to the negative (internal) source. The perception of power as a negative conveyed the idea of recalcitrance that removed any limitations or subjection to modified behavior acceptable to potential solutions. It was this imbalance associated with power that caused concern for safety in
the region. The following statements showed the thoughts of participants regarding safety, as it was associated with the *power* of the GoS:

**Sara:** “…war came…turned our lives upside down….you will be in your house…people will come to your house and point gun to you and ask you to leave…they loot your house or if you don’t leave they set your house on fire. You are obligated to run even if you are not trying to leave your house, you gonna leave because they put it on fire… Some [people] who cannot hear, some who cannot see…they [Janjaweed] put their [the disabled] houses on fire…they burn inside the house and died…”

**Neimat:** “…they rape women…even the soldiers, yes…the government soldiers…they come into the house…and…and in front of the men in the house they….call…they call his daughter and they take her outside…and they rape her in front of his [father] eyes….They can’t say anything, because they [soldiers] kill them if they say anything. They [soldiers] call them [women and girls] bad names or they come in the house…make problems in the house…if anyone opens mouths, they kill them….they rape women….they just rape….they just abuse womens (*sic*) and kill them….like two or three of them….males….they rape one woman.”

**Haga:** “If you go to farm…they, Janjaweed will say….if you finish, you gonna get half and we gonna get half…but the women can’t say nothing…because you don’t have *power*…if you say that, they gonna get everything. If we go [to the police] he might kill us….Who’s gonna listen to you? Nobody will listen to you…we
don’t have power. We need the European Union to help us or whoever has the power.”

The participants’ statements highlighted the problem of safety, as it was tied to power. The excerpts of the participants’ statements showed that the misuse of power and the negative power perception allowed for unsafe environment for the people. The perception of positive power was that the external agents (i.e., international community, whether noted as the UN, EU, or international NGOs) was the conduit for safety. In this case, safety and power were interlinked.

Power’s association with the Basic Human Needs Theory and Theory of Justice is reflective of the dyad dynamics of the internal and external. As a superordinate category, power is linked to the concept of positive – external agencies. The need of an interposed authority, overriding that of the internal, negative power. The existence of the need for the external (positive) power as an intervening force is due to the current structure of violence, as Burton states, “Structural violence is sometimes associated with some specific acts (agencies)…” (1997, p. 32). Needs linked to structural violence, as in the case of Darfur, is supported by Sites (1973; Burton, 1990) insight, known as “needs as analogues of emotions – that is, “giving needs a naturalistic basis,” wherein needs naturally arise out of conditions affecting the human wellbeing. This need, one for positive power, is in essence a demonstration of a need and a belief in the theory of justice that recognizes the effects of human behavior in conflicts (Burton, 1990).

Examining power as a superordinate and sub-ordinate category, the emergence of a dyadic perception is noted. Power perceived as positive and negative, relative to
The impact of lived experiences on the development of the perception of justice and the dimensions to the layers of justice. The power dyad interplay with the perception of justice exposes the negative power, the internal agency – GoS and its affiliated agencies and the belief in the positive power, external agencies – United Nations and the international community, identified as outside HROs and NGOs.

Power designated as an internal factor is interconnected with various levels of the country’s political structure. The typification of internal power is corruption and is the motivation for distrust among victims of the conflict. The internal or negative power system disregards the rights of all. Rawls (1999) posited one principle of justice that “Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all” (p. 266). The fact that the internal (negative) power structure is rife with corruption falls short of this principle of justice. The belief in the actualization of justice on the other hand, is deputed to the external power structure. One reason for this belief in the external (positive) power structure is the perception of the “stability of justice as fairness and how its stability connects with the good of a political society” (Rawls, 1999, p. 180). External (positive) power is associated with governing entities with stable political structures. Numerous statements by respondents linked their perception of justice with variables akin to stability. Since stability has been interrupted and continues to be absent in Darfur, and the instability is linked to the internal political structure, the alternative for justice is the external agency.
Power irrefutably is associated to the gendered hierarchy. As noted above, power is represented as a dyadic structure; positive and negative. This dyadic structure is present internally and externally, however the commonality of the internal with the external is that of ‘genderedness’.

Power within both of these structure is with a patriarchal system. The dominance of the masculine authority of the reality and or the expectancy associated with the need for justice are unmistakable. The negative perception of power is linked to the internal patriarchal system. This system has its roots, history, functionality and trajectory in the patriarchal system – there is no deviation of its existence from the current gender base. The positive power structure is also a gendered system. While it is viewed as a source of fulfillment of the existing need, it does contain the similarity of a patriarchal authority. Once again, it is clear that the feminist theories shed light of the issue of power as a need in a new light. Accessing power for women, is subjected to the usual gendered system. The perception of justice is tied to the patriarchal structure whether internally or externally. The eco-environmental consistencies are never removed from the state of ‘genderedness’- the patriarchal structures of the ‘good and the evil’.

As power is associated with safety or the lack thereof, safety itself becomes a superordinate category and is tied to health and security as its subs-categories. The primary reason that safety is listed as both superordinate and sub-ordinate categories is that it conveys two clear positions. As a sub-ordinate category (to acknowledgement), safety addresses an underlying concern that is embedded in the denial or ignoring of crisis, conflict or the harmful situation; in this case, the plight of the people of Darfur.
Whenever a potentially dangerous situation is not acknowledged or is blatantly or subtly denied, the impetus for providing protection and ensuring safety in the environment and for the people is unlikely to occur. The travesty of denial impedes justice. This point has been highlighted above through participants’ statement.

Conversely, safety as a superordinate category, addresses disturbing issues that emerge or is developed or eliminated when safety is the primary focus. Safety, as a superordinate category places emphasis on factors that impinge on the well-being of the people of the Darfur region in the current conflict. The effects of safety are undergirded with health and security.

Safety. Safety is represented by the overlapped section of the Venn diagram (see Figure 8). Power as a superordinate category exposes the relationship of health and security. Security and health, as linked to safety, highlights the effect of the conditions wherein safety has dramatically affected the lives of the people of Darfur. Where safety is compromised security and health are affected.

*Figure 8. Safety.*
Previously integrated definitions of safety and security is retained at this juncture. At this point, health (as a sub-category) is incorporated in the research. The purpose of health being a sub-category to safety is primarily due to the repetitive submission of testimonies that emphasize the salient connection of the two; safety and health. It is rather easy to view safety as a condition that protects from danger, harm or risk in terms of the physical environment. While this idea is true; safety in conflict is also inordinately associated with health especially in regards to women and children.

**Health.** Health, as related to the wholeness and well-being of individuals and a collective of individuals, was submitted by multiple participants as a troubling issue of concern. Several respondents contended that priority to health was not met or at the extreme disregarded and controverted as a necessary need for attention. The indifference that exists in the inattention to health is related to a myriad of factors; the most obvious is the denial of the problem of the seriousness crisis in Darfur, cultural outlook and stigma of sexual assaults and the trauma, pregnancy and health complications associated with it, and the religion of the people.

Safety, as it is related to health concerns, corresponded to religious beliefs, cultural beliefs, and even gender biases. The point of health being tied to safety were articulated by a significant number of respondents. All participants who stated this disturbing issue maintained that health was directly related to safety in their disclosures. In the absence of safety, health and healthcare services are negatively impacted. Without the proper safety measures in place, the health of women and the community at large suffer. Where safety is absent the issues such as cultural nuances – i.e. stigma of rape and
any resulting pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases can put the woman, the child and even the family in danger. Religious beliefs that prohibits the option of termination of a fetus (conceived through rape) can lead to depression and extreme measures of the woman seeking unsafe and dangerous choices in concealing and terminating pregnancy. 

Health has a direct connection to safety because when safety measures are in place, access to health services are readily available. Furthermore, safety acts as a protection to victims where biases and social intolerance exist. The example below shows the trend of healthcare and its connection with safety:

**Neimat:** “After… uhm … rape… sometimes to the hospital and no investigation… no treatment… even sometimes they (hospital workers) don’t treat them (victims). Some of them, it’s shame… to talk about it… they (hospital staff) come in and they ask them (victims), they feel shame. Not just for rape… for nobody. In Sudan, it’s our culture…it’s shame to go…to… for example, if I was in my house and some man come and rape me…it’s shame for me to talk even to my family…if I don’t (get) injured, I just go and hide it…because they (family and or community) don’t believe you…they think you went and did it to yourself. They punish you. They (some sexually assaulted women) become pregnant then you can tell…they punish you…they don’t believe you….the community don’t believe you, the woman. They can kill the woman…her family will kill her because of the shame to the whole family by being pregnant out of marriage. Some women get pregnant…they try to use (unsafe) medication to abort the baby…that medication could kill them…they use illegal medication”
When the respondent was asked about the possibility of having a medical abortion done at the hospital, her response was, “No, because they don’t do operation….it’s….it’s religion.” The researcher repeated the question citing the conflict situation and the sexual abuses that often lead to unwanted pregnancies, the participant emphatically stated, “Nobody care…they don’t…not even the police, not the hospital, even they don’t care.”

**Layla:** (Responding to questions about the injured/wounded in village attack)

“…and we don’t have nothing, we don’t have medicine. Even we’ve…if they take them to the hospital, they say…we’re ha… we…don’t have any medicine to give them and they doctor is not here, we should schedule tomorrow…and see…they people, they are bleeding…some people they are bleeding and they don’t have blood and they’re gonna die…”

**Researcher:** “You mean this was at a hospital?”

**Layla:** “This is a hospital, in Capcaberra…I saw this happen…before I came to Cairo…that is happen to me really…and that is very hard for me…and I feeling for that, every minute I feeling for that.”

**Researcher:** Who is in charge of the hospitals?

**Layla:** “The…the person in charge…the Bashir political…in the Bashir’s political…they’re gonna be in the charge…and if they in the charge, they not gonna do nothing…”
Accusations of the government and affiliated agencies mismanaging humanitarian aid sent by the international community (HROs/NGOs) were cited as a part of the health problems:

Sara: “International aid groups take stuff to Darfur…the government gets them and they just put it in the market…a lot…even like blankets…stuff that they brought to help relief, then they (government) go get dirty stuff from neighboring Arab countries and they give that to the Darfurian…but the good stuff, from Europe…from America…they…they sell it…you see most of the things that organizations brought…next day…like they…uhm…blue…I mean blue plastic tents…that they brought so they can help people make tents and stay in Darfur…if you go to Nyala, everybody has …they make their own…we call it racuba, it’s like…a tent…and it’s blue, it’s well known…only the humanitarian brought for the victims…but…they all in the market….the government has control of them…when the humanitarian agencies come, they don’t come with full staff…sometimes they hire people from Sudan to work with them and show them where to go…the government has control on those, most of them are from north Sudan. First of all, they making good money, they don’t want the Darfurian people to get jobs…but they bring people from the north…second, they change the reports. When the humanitarian agencies are there and something happens, those people from the north, they control the way they write the reports…so they don’t tell the truth. They (workers affiliated with the GoS), they go with the humanitarian relief people…and they’re there and control everything. The Darfur
people has many disease now…they don’t give them the right relief material…they give them something old or something….like…you know…”

**Researcher:** Expired you mean?

**Sara:** “Yes, expired….now they get cancer in their stomach…they get cancer in their liver…they get thing that they never had. In the past Darfur never have any kind of these disease…just like, you know…diarrhea, influenza…but after this problem now…people has cancer, bladder, she has kidney, she has the heart attack…many things she has…many, many, many…she has infection…skin allergies. The chemical they sprayed….these have affected their bodies”

**Researcher:** What chemicals? Who sprayed chemicals?

**Sara:** “The government planes, they spray from the sky…they fly over the villages and spray these chemicals.”

The participants’ assertions showed a direct relationship between safety and health occurring as an internal power component. The linkage of safety and health further highlighted that security is another connecting factor. The existence of a lack or gap in safety creates a deficit in health and security (protection) of the affected population.

Safety and its sub-ordinate categories demonstrate the genderedness of this need as it relates to justice. Safety is a gendered concept and is linked with environmental factors. Recognition of the body-politics in war (the people affected by war rather than the economics of war), typically is constituted as collateral damage. In the feminist theory concerning war/conflicts, people are an integral part of the environment. People are the conductors of culture and culture impact land, economies and politics. However,
safety as a gendered concept is rationalized as militaristic protection of resources, position, power, authority, etc. In the patriarchal system, the female is a commodity, and excess commodity is disposable. Where the female commodity is not expendable, the female to be protected as a property. This property may be for the community, country, or the economy. Safety as a need is valued and that value is determined by the gendered system, not the subjugated. The dyadic structure of safety, internally and externally, is reliant on the patriarchal structure. This patriarchal structure has the ability to ensure or withhold the satisfaction of the need, safety and its sub-ordinates.

Reiterating the point of safety and security, the former deals with the well-being, state, or condition of peoples’ body and mind (health). The latter, security implies protection of someone or something through and office, position or department. Security, in this case rests on the willingness or lack thereof of the GoS to provide and order same to the people and the region of Darfur. The accounts of the respondents’ incorporated above, emphatically show the GoS is culpable and that lack of and the need for safety, health and security are relational and are within the power of the current government administration to alleviate the need of the Darfuri people.

Safety, as a superordinate category is viewed as a dyad, similar to power. Understanding the connection between safety and its sub-ordinate categories; the natural evolution of the dynamics of the problems in Darfur relating to the perception of justice is that of security. The interesting fact about security as a superordinate and sub-ordinate category is similar to that of power wherein it is viewed internally and externally. Security as a sub-ordinate category (to acknowledgement and safety) is reflective of the
perception of ‘the problem’ internally (within the borders of Sudan). That is, the cause or source of the problem rather than the ‘cure’ of the problem. In those instances (subordinate categories), the GoS has been notoriously linked to these ‘causes/problem’. The allegations of respondents cited above, support this theoretical hypothesis. Security, for the participants contains an internal and external component and either is adjoined with ‘solution base’ which is external or ‘problem base which is internal’.

**Security.** Security is represented by the overlapped section of the Venn diagram (see Figure 9). Security was perceived as a neglected responsibility of the GoS; conversely, security was most often believed to be an international community’s source of justice to the people of Darfur. Equality and safety was inextricably tied to security. The lack of security threatened both equality and safety. The analysis identified that security was related to both internal and external agents.

*Figure 9. Security.*
The variable security as a superordinate category was linked in perception to an external source of a “cure” or “relief” to the identified problems associated with the perception of justice. Continuing with the use of the definitions previously utilized as a conceptual framework for this superordinate category, security remains the office, department, or authority of protection for those in need or the ability to guard against harm/danger. Security as a superordinate category embodies this concept of guarding, protecting against harm or undue risk and or establishing the conditions for freedom from danger and ensuring fairness equilaterally. This concept of security is also attached to international community. It is sub-ordinate category to the superordinate security, and demonstrates the core ideals of and needs for each individually, as embedded within security.

Safety as a basic human need is not overstated. It “refers to a motivational force instigated by a state of disequilibrium or tension set up in an organism because of a particular lack” (Thompson, 1987, p. 13). Safety is a part of Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy scale, from which Sites (1990) and Burton’s (1990) human needs theories were developed. Safety on the hierarchy of needs contents with the imposition of instability and threat that serves to undermine the wellness of people. Safety in this sense, is explicitly and implicitly used to refer to a goal that is universal. The universality of safety as a need was supported by Rawls’ (1972, 1999) position of the justice theory, in that conditions that support self-respect and moral worth are important components of justice. When safety deliberated is eliminated from one’s environment, dehumanization of the self and self-worth is affected in the eyes of the victims, by-standers, and victimizers.
The superordinate category of security is expressed by participants’ outlook of a solution-based or the potential for solution-based operations. A solution based operation, is usually perceived as an outside entity, not associated with, or subjected to the direct influence of the GoS. Security as a solution based entity is usually expressed in hope and or expectation even if it is somewhat unrealistic or exaggerated oversimplification. For instance, participants’ reflections of security as an external agent linked to the solution were expressed in the following ways:

**Haga:** “…they have the power to help us from Darfur to catch Al-Bashir, like the catch everybody else…like Sadam Hussein…you see Libya? They help catch him and they kill him…why Bashir still around? Ten years?”

**Fazia:** “…justice should come from outsider…the international community…I don’t trust anybody in Sudan…don’t trust anybody from inside to bring real justice”

**Fathiya:** “…UN should directly interact with the people who were affected, not to put the government of Sudan in-between…whenever they (UN/Int’l community) consider the sovereignty and they give chance to the GoS to be involved, that’s when the justice gets lost…for justice to happen is when the UN and the international community acts directly with the victims and make plans to help them without thinking about the government of Sudan. The UN to change this current government and remove the weapons that are around.”

The emphasis placed on *security* by external agents often times does not take into account the bureaucracy of politics of sovereignty, international laws and policies. It does
regard, however naively, an unencumbered and unrestrained authority that can intervene without any consideration to the sovereignty of Sudan as a nation state. Failure to understand or impatience at mandates, policies and or time consuming negotiation and mediations were sometimes reflected in the discourses and the weight of a sluggard intervention is usually associated with the external agent, not the internal culprit. Again, this is due to the perception of the power, authority, and capability of the external agent. However these perceptions are contrived, it is clear that the respondents have a more positive view of security associated with external sources otherwise recognized as the international community. This point leads to a natural transition into the sub-category of International Community.

**International community.** The definition of the concept of International Community (IC) in this research was borrowed from authors and or experts of international law, sociology, policy, and other relevant fields of study rather than dictionary sources (as seen earlier). The purpose for utilizing academic and professional definition of international community was based on the fact that it was a socio-political term that was developed over time, most often attributed to the post-cold-war era (Samuels, 2006). International Community refers to the collective state actors and organizations recognized internationally such as the United Nations (e.g., other functionaries under the UN), the ICC, and other “organizations created by states and to those established by private persons or bodies…’intergovernmental’ and ‘non-governmental organizations’ (Green, 1982, p. 44).
Employing the above referenced definitions to conceptualize the sub-ordinate category, international community serves to assist in explaining the function of this sub-category’s association with the superordinate, security. The international community was generally cited as a conduit through which security can and should be procured. The international community, as stated in the definition, the envisioning of a ‘higher authority’ not subjected to the single unit of the political and geographical borders of Sudan and its leader. It is this ‘higher authority’ on which the victims hope for a permanent solution and ultimately justice hinge. This sub-category, is the representation of an unbiased entity that will administer justice, unmetered and without prejudice to race, creed, or gender. The perception that the international community exemplifies the source of long awaited resolution. The statements below are the cogitations of the participants:

**Fathia:** “…the people who are wanted by the ICC to be abducted and sent to justice. The UN to mediate between the GoS and the rebel groups if they gonna sit together to negotiate and to come out with the peace…”

**Sayed:u201a** “…UNAMID can come out with a peace plan and that’s when it will be applied…that will be more powerful. When the attacks come the women are the ones who are defending themselves…they’re the ones who take the lead…talk…they should be involved in peace talks…they’re organized…they’re good in that term…they only need power and someone to connect then with the international community so they can take do their work.”
Sara: “The international community to remove the government…like the UN…they take peacekeepers to Darfur…”

Fazia: “Justice should come from outside…the international community…”

Fatima: “…I would believe that the people among themselves would be willing to have peace…they have to deeply negotiate and come out with…ahh…plans to have peace…that peace have to be monitored and served by the international community…because the government by itself…always say something but they do the opposite…the people need to be…willing to have peace among them, then give it to the international community to apply and monitor until it is really peaceful”

Farha: “…the international community…if they study this, they could just…put…put…ah…good solution with help from the international community.”

The references used to support the emphasis placed on the involvement of the international community in the perception of justice per the respondents’ statements, is evinced by the repeated calls for stronger actions of this external agency. The international community is a tactical and integral agent, in the perception of the victims, to justice being attained. It is evidenced by the multiple statements that without the active intervention of this community, even if it suggests overriding the sovereignty of the nation state, justice is just a word that is not attainable. The international community is viewed, as a component of justice.

The perception of justice as incorporating the international community further suggests that, the ‘higher authority for the universal good’ would or should promote
equality. It is this pretext that equality is presented as a sub-category, in the parameter of security. Security, as related to the perception of justice holds within its limits of the international community that is envisioned as representing a community that is a ‘higher authority’ outside of the single political units to which people are divided, and pursues the common good of humanity as a collective. It is this security that is often sought in the confines of the international community that equality, as a sub-ordinate to security, finds its basis.

Equality. Equality is perceived as a basic constituent of justice was reiterated by several participants. The call for equality stressed the need for fairness and unbiased interactions and treatment in the social, political, economic, education and health arenas. Solicitude for equality was regarded as a greater possibility coming from outside agents such as the international community as the protectorate and provider of security. As a sub-ordinate category of security, equality was encapsulated within that framework and was expressed not independently of but as dependent on this superordinate category. Several expressions from participants present show for equality:

Sara: “The president…he doesn’t want the people of Darfur to have peace…to learn and understand anything about the government…and don’t want the kids to study, he wants them to be nothing…when you have good education, you can take job…and you can…ah…work…but, he don’t want that…he just want his family, his people…he don’t want Darfur people to be anybody….to be good, be strong and can stand up for their rights…”
Faiza: “…justice…human rights respected, there is equality, resources are being distributed equally to everybody…people consider human being the same…no war…people don’t try to kill each other for no reason…people should not give themselves the right to humiliate and torture others… Is not justice because the Arabs…when…they travel in certain areas they have their animals…they’re not supposed to go over the areas where there are farms and people have gardens…the government give the Arabs chance to go…and take other people’s land…DISRESPECT their farms. They just put their animals to eat and destroy all their grains…this is what people have to live on…their farms, they make crops…they sell them…that’s who they are, that’s how they live. No equality for us to live and have our livelihood.”

Farha: “…you know, when there is equality between people…then there will be no war.”

The participants clearly stated that equality is associated with fairness, respect for others way of living, economic stability tied to ones’ independence in pursing your own life and the freedom and rights to education. All these mentioned factors are usurped when there is a lack of security for the disadvantaged. Equality, in this research, is represented by the participants, as an element of security that is obtainable through an external agency, the international community. The relationship between security (dominant category) and the sub-ordinate categories of the international community and equality also is aligned with safety. Safety as present above relates to the state, condition, and well-being of a person and or property. Safety has a dual designation. Its absence is
associated with the internal agency (GoS) and its attainability is associated with an external agency (international community). As a sub-category of security, safety is a projection of an external agency, the international community, creating the process of establishing the conditions in which it can become a reality.

Security, similar to safety holds true to its function of basic human needs and the theory of justice. Justice, as posited by Galtung (1969) and Rawls (1972), consists of the concept of fairness. The feminist theory also applied to this superordinate category and its sub-ordinates. Security and its accompaniment showed, “The key actors in world politics are sovereign states (or territorially defined groups) that act rationally to advance their security, power, and wealth” (Sjoberg, 2013, p. 18).

Although security is dyadic, it falls within the confines of a gendered system where security is linked to the sovereign states usually ruled with a patriarchal mindset. Security, associated with the external agent is problematic from the feminist theory because, “the international system is so hostile and unforgiving that uncertainty about the future intentions of the adversary combined with extreme worst-case analysis lead even status quo-oriented states to adopt offensive strategies.” (p. 19). The dyadic concept of security has the dilemma of being cosigned with a gendered structure.

Voice. The aforementioned category and its subs lead directly to the next superordinate and its sub-ordinate categories that is voice. The leading or direct relationship voice, that surfaces from the previous category and its sub-categories is in essence related to and relays the message that voice exists or can only exist where
security and the agency safeguarding it, equality, and safety are a reality. These elemental components create an environment in which voice is possible and can thrive.

The use of this definition from the dictionary sources, in this research as supported by the participants’ words shows that voice, the expressions, rights, channel of opinions without fear and in favor of representing the self and others is highly regarded by the respondents. Voice, for these women is more than simply expressing an opinion but is the idea of sharing valuable knowledge that is relevant to ensuring the value of their experiences. Voice as a superordinate category is linked with communication, gender rights, and safety.

Voice is represented by the overlapped portion of the Venn diagram (see Figure 10). Voice is an extremely inclusive category. It expresses conditions that affect gender rights, communication, security, and safety. Voice as a superordinate, highlights the impact of biases embedded in the conflict and serves to alienate a particular group. Voice is important because it is far reaching in its impact and presents the range of connection in the social and political structure.
Voice is more than words spoken, it is more than testimonies of atrocities to be heard and recorded for future references. Voice is an idea that is rooted in a fundamental principle of, ‘experience teaches wisdom’. Voice in this research, is that of women making decisions, creating concepts that are relevant and realistic to them and for them. It is an approach tied to equality of power for self-determination; to speak on the things that are of the most importance, based on needs derived through lived experiences. Voice is not abstract concepts founded on theories but practical knowledge and skills honed from psychological, emotional, mental processes gained in the most desperate and devastating circumstances. Participants’ declaration of their wants and needs, ideas, and focus are specified through this channel:

**Fatima**: “Women understand a lot about what happened in Darfur…they can speak…they have been through a lot…to comfort each other…when the men were either jailed or displaced or ran way for their lives…it’s the women who
took care of their families...the women are the ones who are teaching...protecting their children...so they should have a say and their voices should come up and they will be able to negotiate and bring justice...they should be brought to...to the forefront just like the men...they should be given a chance to speak...they lived all these atrocities, they know what’s going on...they will tell the truth...they will also make suggestions that are useful for peace...The majority of people who are affected right now are women and children...men either were killed or they left the country...of they are missing...so women should have a role to play...they do understand what’s going on. One of the things also that women will bring is clarity to the table of negotiation, is that women were affected in a different way than men...only then [women] understand their issues...they will be able to explain them and bring suggestions of that type...they were raped...their children were killed in front of them...they had to watch their children die from their poverty...and...and...starvation or lack of medication and health services...so they were the ones who suffered and witnessed all they hardships.”

Sayedah: “...and they are the ones who are abusing the people, so of course they don’t wanna leave evidence...they will not allow you to take your issues to somebody that can help you... When the attacks dome the women are the ones who are defending themselves...they’re the ones who take the lead...talk...they’re involved very in peace...they’re organized, they’re doing good in that term...they only need power and someone to connect then with the international community so they can take their word...”
Sara: “…women do play a big role and they can contribute, women have taken the lead [in communities where men are absent]…they know what they want…they can speak”

Neimat: “…yes, for women in Darfur…women should have the right to get what she needs…to have a voice…to be democratic…to talk…to negotiate with the government…women, she should have a voice in Sudan to talk about her feelings.”

Farha: “The women has (sic) to work…she has the right to work so she should…uh…take care of her kids…and raise her voice if…if…the government is not…uh…fulfilling her needs…especially if the government like…uhm…killed her husband and their kids and so on. Women too could have a big…job…role in obtaining peace. They could raise their voices…they have to speak out to tell about their stories and not to be afraid.”

Haga: “I just want our voice to be heard…but people, our family are dying…our brothers…our cousins…people don’t have anything…they don’t have anything left…if you have…for example, if you have a cow…or eh…whatever you have…they will take it away…usually we don’t need…we don’t get any help…we farm, and we have a…we have our…our own stuff…we don’t need help…if we have kids…you take your kids to go to farm, get your own water with your donkey or you have a camel…you help yourself…people must know, we are proud people with history and culture. We don’t depend on other…people. Darfur people are good and strong…but they (GoS) take that away from us.”
The participants’ statements embrace the sentiment of the need to be heard and understood. This need for voice is not merely a cathartic mechanism but a platform for self-determination and solution-base participation in a process, perhaps being a part of the Judiya that directly affects and impacts their lives and well-being. Voice holds within its confines, more than the exposure of a duplicitous government but a sense of control and strength. The importance of ‘voice’ is relatable to a paradigm in which the development of understanding and executing justice that is relevant and useful in practice rather than abstract and institutional. Voice expresses a concrete concept of needs as appurtenant to the victims. It actually suggest ownership of outcome.

Voice as a superordinate category having its sub-ordinates in communication, gender rights, safety, and security could be construed as intrinsic because these convey concepts having dual perceptions. For example, communication refers to information (promises) given but not fulfilled by the conveyer(s), understanding the way victims perceive justice and peace and work toward satisfying both differently, the desire of the victims to state their needs without subjection to censorship, and outside agencies interaction with both the GoS and the victims. Gender rights suggests an attention to details to the needs and concerns of the female victims of this crisis; the troublesome condition in which they are subjected to living and maneuvering on a daily basis and the systematic and institutional barriers existing that are challenging to their well-being. Safety and security as sub-categories to voice continue to hold the same meaning as formerly presented in that both are related to internal (problems) and external (solution-base) perceptions:
Fathia: The government and the authorities were promising that they would rebuild villages and they would provide peace and safety, so they can go back and live better but nothing has happened. People just linger in the camps…(Broken promises)

Sayed: The people who mediate, they should follow-up…don’t just let the government go…they have to follow-up. Apply what was said…they have to follow up.” (Communication between the GoS and the international community/UN) “On the tribal level, it (justice) will not have good outcome because the government doesn’t accept and doesn’t acknowledge or respect” (Communication is not respected on the basis of equality). “To me, peace and justice are not the same thing…justice should be first, and then it would be followed by peace. If there’s justice, they will be peace…people to get that right and things to be put in the right place.” (Understanding the language and perception being conveyed by the victims is essential to administering justice).

Layla: “We feel like we’re not human…if we’re human…the UN should to do something for us (Expressions of feeling being conveyed). “Justice is if someone is wronged…then they’re able to get back what they lost…what happened to them, that there is someone defending them…and giving them their rights…so they can feel that they got justice” (Communicating concepts of perception of justice).
**Rasha:** “Women need to participate in talks to explain their needs and wants because women and children are most affected...priority of the needs are of the children and women” (Women are the best option at communicating their needs).

The four participants’ statements give credence to the idea that communication is a major aspect of voice. This is extremely important in understanding perceptions of justice based on the lived experiences of the victims. Communication as linked with voice relates to the power of the participants sharing not only the physical experience of their trauma but the ability to convey the meaning of their experience. To communicate the meaning beyond sharing the ‘stories’ of the experiences process used (psychological and cognitively) in formulating perceptions of justice is important and powerful. Communication as associated with voice is essentially to give insight to something intangible. It is the ability to paint a picture that can only be seen with the mind’s eye.

The reason that communication is associated with voice is that it allows the experiencer to choose how to convey her message. It is the experiencer’s power to determine what needs to be conveyed and the manner in which to convey what is shared. Communication is the transportation through which understanding the needs is delivered for a more tangible and realistic solution to meet the needs of the women of Darfur. Communication not only articulates problems but the indelible needs associated with the perception of justice. It is the sharing of experiences but also the interpretation and explanation of the intangible elements that impact the conditions of a safe and secure life and environment.
Voice as conveyed through communication also exposes a deeper relationship to safety and security. Where ever communication is inconsistencies or misconstrued in conflict zones, whether in broken promises, mishandled dialogues, translation of ideas (language), unidentified or ignored needs, or imbalance of power and respect, safety and security are compromised. Protection of and the safeguarding of individuals, properties and rights are affected when the lines of communication are broken be it direct contact or misunderstanding. It is imperative that communication in the pursuit of justice is handled with the utmost care and to the minutest of details. Miscommunication can have the same impact as a broken bridge over a raging river in time of disaster.

Voice and communication also have an impact, in this study, on gender rights. Where voice is suppressed and communication is lacking, especially in conditions that enable and support the targeting of women and girls for victimization; gender rights become an important factor in need of addressing. Discovery in this study, highlighted by the various participants’ statements, showed that gender rights was a major concern in the perception of justice. Utilizing the definition provided by the United Nations (2014), the conceptualization of gender rights in this context was explored.

Gender rights as defined in this research is taken from UN (2014) and is appropriated for use because the UN is generally the most accepted and recognized organization for the promotion of peace and equality. Furthermore the utilization of this definition is considered important as the UN is the most visible organ of representing and promoting gender rights. As defined by the UN (2014) and used in this research, gender rights refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and
girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women’s and men’s rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs, and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women’s issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centered development (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, NB).

Statements from participants place emphasis on the issue of gender rights in the Darfur crisis. Concerns about gender rights stress the value to which the rights and equality of women relate to justice. Without gender rights, specifically the rights of women, justice is not attainable. The perception of justice, according to participants’ lived experiences, is adjoined to the rights and equality of women:

**Fatima:** “Justice…is…it, I mean, includes giving people equal rights…respecting peoples’ rights…being fair to people all over at the same level, same level of respect regarding their station in life…it is not discriminate people depending on racial background, color of skin…gender…if you are a women you are still a person and equal to men…justice is when you provide people with all their rights…and give them what they deserve, what they need…avoid discrimination…favoritism…treat people equal”
Amina: “...the women who are educated can and should be a part of the process...like teach everyone how to solve the issues and come together...the way we (women) think about peace and justice is different [from men] but ultimately they both want peace...women can offer a lot if get the chance”

Farha: “Women could have a big job...I mean role in obtaining peace...could raise our voices and speak out to tell own stories and not be afraid”

Sara: “...women to play a big role and they can contribute, women take lead...they know what they want...they can speak...”

Sayed: “...sometimes when the attacks come the women are the ones who are defending themselves...they’re the ones who take the lead...talk...they’re involved...they’re organized...they only need power and someone to connect them with the international community. When I brought attorneys to educate women and the women became empowered, they became educated in terms of law...of their rights but the men didn’t like that because the women now are wiser, so they [men] started treating them aggressively...the attorneys came to educate the women...they women liked it.”

The insistence of the respondents regarding women’s participation in the peace process through talks, negotiation, educating leaders on their unique needs and perceptions based on their lived experiences is a testament to the importance of gender rights. It is imperative that gender rights include equal representation at every level of the
resolution of the conflict and the reduction and eventual elimination of violence against women.

Gender rights, especially those targeting women and girls, is a major violation in many conflicts, however it is usually relegated to an adjunctive position in approaches to solution and resolution of conflicts. The women’s decrying of the lack of gender rights and representation in the resolution process emphasizes the often overlooked importance of women’s voice, rights as an immediate need and more visible decision-making representation.

This impact on gender rights is further connected to safety and security, as without the rights of people based solely on their gender, their personal and collective safety and security is at risk. Gender rights is a provision of safety and security and to an extent it is an inherent right to live, function and be represented without fear or fear of reprisal from political, social and other forms of institutional power structures. All the components of voice, as a category, that present the respondents’ perception of justice are unique in themselves but are interconnected. Voice suggests the ability to advocate for ones rights, point of view, welfare, etc. These features of voice are interlinked to communication be it to or with others of the same or differing ideology. The ability to advocate for oneself or at the behest of others through open communication brings to the table issues of gender rights, safety, and security. The suppression of gender rights, safety, security, and free communication is the silencing of voice.

Voice reaffirms that the perception of justice is wide ranging and governs more than physiological needs and stresses the importance of psychological needs. The
perception of justice incorporates ideas of BHN and theoretical concepts of fairness. The satisfaction of basic human needs as that of the physical requirements for a sustainable life is intersected with the intangible albeit universal desires of humanity. The participants’ voices articulated the collective perception that justice does not hinge on revenge or even reconciliation but on conditional factors that create stability, harmony, and sustainability. Voice as a basic human, is the fulfillment of self-actualization – the realization of ones’ potential to freely express the self. It is where communication, gender rights, safety, and security converge into a synchronized structure that balances the satisfaction of all needs. Rawls (1972) and Burton’s (1990) theories attest to this cohesiveness – as all other needs can be summed up in the ability and opportunity to have a sense of control over the advantages and disadvantages that affect the wellness of life.

Voice and its sub-ordinate categories also reflect a feminist outlook. The feminist concern is of the dominance of the gendering of the system(s) that control the social and political environment structures in which voice, gender rights, communication, safety, and security must function. This ecofeminist view brings an awareness that the gendered structure poses a problem in achieving justice. Similarly, the perception of justice is guided by the same gendered system. Voice and its sub-ordinate categories are subjected to the unwritten rules of the gendered structure. Such a gendered system denotes a certain dictated behavior for those interacting with it. The structurally gendered system “is not merely derived difference, but derived inequality” (Sjoberg, 2013, p. 5). Voice and its sub-categories are basic needs linked with justice. They are also reflections of a deeper problem wherein both the needs and perception of justice is submerged in a gendered
system that appears to be unaware of the exclusion or limitation such a system poses for the victims.

**Summary**

The perception of justice was tied to numerous variables, each of which pervasively exposed the culpability of a system that prohibited unrestricted access to justice. The liberties that allowed for a fair and just society were almost non-existing in Darfur for a particular group. The participants in this study showed, “The basic liberties and their priority are to guarantee equally for all citizens the social conditions essential for the adequate development.” (Rawls, 1999, pp. 112-3).

This chapter provided the step-by-step process for the data analysis and the theoretical application to the data that led to the discovery of six dominant categories and 15 sub-ordinate categories – these were supported by three theories. The three theories that were applied to the data analysis included Burton’s (1990) basic human needs theory (BHN), Rawls’ (1972) theory of justice, and feminist theory (i.e., ecofeminist theory and the feminist theory of war). These theories convincingly proved that the perception of justice based on lived experiences are linked to human needs and the concept of fairness. The satisfaction of needs is interlinked with the concept of the ‘good’ relative to fairness; this is in line with Galtung’s (1969) theory of positive versus negative. Justice is evasive in a system that thrives on negative peace while suppressing the conditions of positive peace. Justice or fairness is a pre-condition to peace.

The feminist theory of war and the ecofeminist theory further present a more subtle problem of justice and the impact a gendered system has on the perception of
justice. The feminist theories used in this research unearthed more deeply rooted problems of justice and accessing justice. The normative concept of justice and access to justice from a gendered, patriarchal system, automatically impairs ones’ vision of how concepts are readily accepted as inherent without even bothering to question its validity and or effectiveness. The feminist theories were useful instruments in excavating the subtle nuances of dynamics associated with the gendering of the perception of justice, needs and justice as an ideological concept.

The categories (superordinate and sub-ordinate) that emerged further showed that these conditions occurred and reoccurred in different capacities, swirling similar to a cyclone. The existing conditions determined the arm (variable) of the cyclonic swirl and its spin-offs. However, although the variables (categories) appeared independent of each other (from a topical vantage point), these were interconnected because these emerged from a central point: the perception of justice.
Chapter 5: Interpretation of Data & Findings

Overview

The goal of explaining the data through the systematic analysis is but one step in providing correct, verifiable, and reliable information with a clear empirical process in this research. The analysis of the data leads to the interpretation and findings that are discovered throughout the process of handling the content and context in which the data was presented and used.

This research focused on the perception of justice based on the lived experiences of female victims of the Darfur conflict. The analysis of the data revealed several themes that emerged from the coding and analysis of the data. Themes are basically combination overlapping expressions found in the categories (Saldana, 2009). Essentially “themeing may allow you to draw out a code’s truncated essence by elaborating on its meaning” (Saldana, 2009, p. 188). The participants expressed concerns that were significant for further consideration. These expressed concerns brought forward new understanding of justice, how it is perceived, and preferences for attaining justice.

Findings and Interpretation

The study of the perception of justice based on the lived experience of Darfur women allowed for a unique opportunity to understand the process of the application of meaning to experiences in conflict. The analysis of the data identified several major points which were themes that were evident in the coding, categorization and analysis and of the data.
Theme 1

The first theme is the perception of justice is dyadic wherein it is balanced between a negative and positive cognitive conception. The perception of justice based on lived experiences of the female victims of the Darfur conflict is frequently referenced as equity based and externally driven; connoting the possibility and feasibility of occurrence. This perception of justice (as positive) often implied that achieving justice required a source with direct involvement of the process, but not viewed as a part of the initial cause or source of the conflict, through which this achievement would materialize.

Negative perception of justice largely rested on the causes or perpetrator(s) for the conditions in which injustice occurred. This non-favorable perception of justice was, in part, attributed to the participants focusing on the elements identified as problems or obstacles that needed to be overcome in order for the realization of need satisfaction. Concentrating on ‘needs as a prohibiting factor created this negative outlook of justice. The existence of needs and the means through which satisfying these needs were envisioned as impossibilities, therefore the negative perception.

This dyadic concept created the opportunity to understand that the perception of justice wrestles between the existing realities of conditions and the aspirations of an alternate albeit favorable reality. The perception of justice is based partly in reality and expectation.

Theme 2

The second theme is the dyad on which justice is perceived: internal (local) and external (international). The study uncovered the concept of justice being connected with
direct and indirect entities in proximity to the conflict; that is the national political system and the international agents (UN, HROs, and NGOs, outside governments – western countries). The respondents indicated that justice is linked to internal and external systems of authority (or perceived authorities). The belief that the conditions and or sources contributing to the needs (or variables) and the access to fulfilling the needs operate on a spectrum. On one end of the spectrum, is the cause, internal authority - the GoS; on the other end, the international agents – external. The perception of justice is that both of these agents are important in the process of accessing justice. The proper identification of each source (internal and external) and the role in which they operate is imperative to achieving this goal. Without properly identifying the parties and the role they play and the impact of each, it is impossible to move through the process of achieving justice.

Distinguishing the cause of injustice (needs) is equally important as the source of justice; or the way justice is perceived. Recognition of either source is imperative as this offers an opportunity for a systematic analysis of approaching a solution. Determination of the sources and roles provides a comprehensive view of gap(s) between reality and expectation, and the position of gap(s) and potential strategies to address the needs. The perceived internal and external sources appear to be polar opposites wherein the perception of justice occurs on the spectrum between the two poles.

Theme 3

The third theme is the dyadic perception of justice intertwines at various levels in that a superordinate becomes sub-ordinate and a sub-ordinate becomes superordinate; the
negative and positive cohabiting the same space. A category that was designated as a superordinate and sub-ordinate revealed that the perceptions assigned the issue as internally based therefore negative or externally bases hence positive.

The categories that were developed through the analysis of the data revealed that the participants’ perceptions oscillated in accordance with present needs, i.e., were situation specific and future oriented. The oscillation of the perception of justice required flexibility in maneuvering the complexities of the reality and aspirational cognitions. The oscillations operated on a consistent and seemingly infinite spiral in which the needs (variables) would surface than disappear only to resurface again.

This oscillation evokes an imagery of a cyclone where the outer bands create the turmoil that oscillates around the center (eye, which is calm). In this case the center around which the turmoil is present would be ‘the perception of justice’ while the outer bands (spinning arms) are the occurring needs and conditions present in the conflict region. This research showed six superordinate categories (variables) and 15 sub-ordinate categories, there are potentially many other unidentified variables that could be added to this analysis, as Saldana (2009) posited analysis was determined through the lens the research employed.

**Theme 4**

The fourth theme is the perception of justice is gendered. The participants’ interviews reflected a gendered reality. The needs, expectations, and reality of their lived experiences are based in a gendered construct. This gendered construct is patriarchal and demonstrates the dominance and power of its influence on the respondents’ perception of
justice. The various entities that affect the lives of the victims are all biased based on patriarchy. The source of the conflict, as well as the perceived source of justice, are patriarchal. The participants’ identifications of the existing problems were directed to a structure of gendered dominance. The expected source(s) for accessing justice also reflect a similar bias.

The gendered system poses a unique insight in the perception of justice. The women’s perception of justice and access to same leaned heavily to the external agent. It is interesting to note that the traditional justice, Judiya, was overlooked as the solution to their needs. The Judiya, is an internal agent and it is a historical part of the Darfur culture. The Judiya is also male dominated. The administrators of that system are male elders or males who are considered respectable members of society. This system is in effect a part of the nature of the genderedness of social and political structures. In regards to the women’s need for justice (or access to justice) it is noteworthy to recall that this traditional system of justice was infiltrated and controlled the GoS. It is therefore a part of the corrupted system which was rejected as a source of justice by the participants.

The findings and interpretation, essentially the themes, that emerged from this study were supported by the initial posit presented in the rationale; there can be no peace without justice. Rawls (1972) stated justice included the following:

All social primary goods, liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to be the advantage of the least favored. (p. 20)
This research contributed to understanding of the making of meaning, and perception of justice, as influenced by lived experience. The study showed that the infringement of basic human needs contributes to the lack of justice and in that, the place of peace is threatened. The perception of justice based on the lived experiences of the victims of the Darfur conflict, revealed a complex view of justice and the interconnectedness of internal and external sources as means of justice.

**Implications for the Field of Conflict Resolution**

In the field of conflict resolution, there are a number of schools of thought regarding processes of resolving conflicts. Most notable in these approaches of resolution are restorative and retributive justice practices. Traditionally, the application of either of these approaches have been generally accepted among practitioners and academicians. However, this research revealed that neither of these approaches were applicable to the Darfur conflict based on the participants’ perception of justice.

Justice is defined on the experiencers’ own terms, not necessarily in context of restorative or retributive justice. Lived experiences are influential in defining the concept of justice and the mode through which justice is acceptable and applicable. This study has highlighted the importance of re-evaluating the current schools of thought regarding the approach and application to justice.

Female victims of the Darfur conflict conveyed that justice is related to conditions associated with unfulfilled needs. The satisfaction of the expressed needs are essential to the resolution of the conflict which in turn fulfills the requirements of their perception of justice. Restorative justice, having a component of reconciliation between victim(s) and
perpetrator(s), direct involvement by both parties (victim-perpetrator), perpetrator encouraged to make reparation for the restoration of harmony, and accountability that is connected with the perpetrator assuming responsibility or repairing harm – fails to take into account that the victims needs can be met by others deemed trustworthy rather than from the violator(s). Additionally, restorative justice does not take into account that victims may choose to discontinue any interaction with the offender (empowering the victim and disempowering the offender) as a means of justice.

Retributive justice also does not fit the perception of justice as relayed by the participants. In this school of thought, retributive justice posits that crime is an act against the state. It does not take into account, the state acting as the offender as in the case of Darfur. Retributive justice views crime as an individual act with individual responsibility. This does not hold true, when a government administration instigates the crime(s). In the case of Darfur, individual members of the government have been indicted and have managed to evade prosecution from the ICC while maintaining positions of leadership. The failure with this concept of retributive justice is that it does not account for systemic corruption within the body of government, often expressed as a single entity. Therefore the individualization of crime and responsibility is not applicable to Darfur and the perception of justice as related to this study. Restorative justice emphasizes that punishment is effective and serves as a deterrence. This study as reported the high rate of impunity in other conflicts, and punishment pertaining to the nature of conflict (wars) is often presented in the form of sanctions. Studies have shown that sanctions negatively impact the most vulnerable and increases state-sponsored repression of the populous
(Afesorgbor & Mahadevan, 2016). Retributive justice in as related to this study cannot satisfy the requirement for justice based on the participants’ perception of justice. The above explanation provides proof that there is need for alternative dialogue concerning the modes and methods of approaching the concept of justice in the field of conflict resolution. Implication for the field of conflict resolution is that contemporary schools of thought are not sufficient in the resolution and management of conflict.

**Recommendation for Future Study**

This research has presented information that makes it possible for future study of this specific topic. The opportunity for the expansion of this particular study is possible in its application to other regions, men or even mixed-gender study, cultures and even religions. Moreover, the regional boundary of this study solely reflects the perceptions of the Darfur respondents. The parameter therefore makes it specific to Darfur and cannot be generalized to other regions and or conflicts. It does, however, provide the opportunity for other similar studies to be conducted elsewhere, thus contributing to the vastness of knowledge possible in studying this topic.

During the course of data collection, this researcher was approached by a number of men inquiring of (and to some extent requesting) participation in the study. They expressed an interest in having their voices included in a study regarding their perception of justice as dictated by their lived experiences. It is the belief of this researcher that such a study would provide a balanced perspective of the impact and influence of lived experience on the perception of justice.
Cultural diversity must not be ignored when seeking to understand the formation of perception of justice. To reiterate, the boundaries of the study specified the Darfur region that has its own unique culture. It is imperative to acknowledge that this specification provides a narrow scope on which the perception of justice is influenced by lived experience in conflict. Other cultures have the potential to provide information that would contribute to the body of knowledge thus enhancing our understanding of how justice is perceived making it possible to implement strategies in counteracting and managing conflicts.

All participants in this study adhered to the Islamic faith, this fact was not lost on this researcher. It is possible that a study on the perception of justice based on lived experiences could be extended to religious beliefs. As Khadduri (1984) stated, there are two types of justice: the Revelational/Divine and the positive justice. Hence, a study on the perception of justice-based lived experiences tied to religious ideologies was another opportunity to expand the field of knowledge. There were numerous possibilities for the expansion of this study, and this researcher hoped that other researchers would avail themselves of the information in this study to develop their own studies and add to the body of knowledge in the field of conflict resolution.

**Contribution to the Field**

**Overview**

A theory, especially one developed through a scientific process, is the following:

Is a formal and logically sound argument explaining some empirical phenomenon in general or abstract terms. Such theories are formal in the sense that they are
written down and all the “hidden baggage” (like assumptions) explored and made explicit. Logic… pertains to making an argument. (Allan, 2005, p. 9)

The logic of an argument in research is merely presenting the course of reasoning is specifically formulated to construct thinking of that course in a particular manner.

One of the goals proposed in the rationale of this study was the development of a new theory to help understand conflict and add to the field of conflict resolution. Burton (1990) expressed that inadequate theoretical framework was a major obstacle in “dealing with basic problems such as deep-rooted conflict” (p. 20). It was with this in mind that the researcher concentrated on an experiencer-solution study. Comprehending the experiencers’ formulation of meaning and application of meaning-making to lived experiences provided the opportunity to examine the data from various angles to gain deeper understanding of the conflict.

Using this insight, the researcher was able to develop a new theory to add to the body of knowledge in the field of conflict resolution. Burton (1990) challenged the following:

The responsibility for failed policies is frequently not with policy makers, but with those who have emerged out of ‘social sciences’ as ‘specialists’ and ‘experts’ advisers. They are specialists or experts in a particular field through experience or academic training that focuses on empirical data but usually with little theoretical background. (p. 25)

This challenge reinforced the goal of designing a ‘new’ theoretical framework for conflict resolution.
Cyclone Conflict Theory

The cyclone conflict theory proposes that the genesis of conflict arises out of an intense convergence of needs, *negatively impacting variables (NIV)*, which affect normal or stable conditions of a fair/just society creating *abnormal conditions (ACs)*. When there is a change in normal conditions, due to these convergences, a low pressure center develops. These converging NIV spirals inward toward the central point in which is the satisfaction of need, ‘eye of the storm’ or the source of the neutralization (such as justice – or the variables that compounds justice) exists, the calm. The reason for the inward spiral is that the NIV is attracted to the *normal conditions (NC)* or the reasonable center that should occur in a fair and just society that serves to benefit all members.

The *low pressure center (LPC)* implies that the concentration of needs is drastically pushed upon and is felt by the most vulnerable members (or group[s]) in the society. This LPC denotes an intense level of intolerability – tolerance for the created needs is basically so low that an overt reactive condition develops. The greater the pressure, the lower the tolerance level and the genesis of the cyclone conflict. The inability of the force of the LPC to penetrate the center, *the eye*, which acts as the axis and causes the needs (variables) to oscillate on this axis.

As the needs are unfulfilled or increase and escalate, they spiral upwards to the surface and spin out into the general society into conflict (causing civil wars, genocide, mass killing, etc.). Each need (variable) is usually accompanied by sub-ordinate variables (similar to arms of a wind band in the cyclone) that adds to the impact of the effect – this
study demonstrated the connection of the dominant and sub-ordinate categories. These are essentially, the cyclone’s arm bands and their spin-offs.

Each NIV rises to the surface as the conflict pursues, they may emerge sequentially or concurrently. Factors, such as economic crisis (unemployment/low wages), social injustices (racial/ethnic profiling), religious intolerance, and so on, are some of the variables that may trigger this cyclonic conflict (see Appendix N).

The condition(s) that initiate the cyclone conflict are determinants to the category in which the cyclone is identified. For instance, a combination of ethnic/racial profiling and economic crises would be placed in a higher, more devastating category than a single centered conflict, such as religious intolerance. The category is determined by the number of factors influencing the conditions and the associated NIVs not the type of condition in particular (see Table 3).
### Table 4

**Cyclone Theory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal Conditions (NC)</th>
<th>Abnormal Conditions (ACs)</th>
<th>Negatively Impacting Variables (NIVs)</th>
<th>Low Pressure Center (LPC)</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reasonable Unemployment rate</td>
<td>High Unemployment rate</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Afro-Americans/Mexicans/Immigrants</td>
<td>1 (a single NIV &amp; AC identified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom of Religion</td>
<td>Religious Intolerance</td>
<td>Dehumanization</td>
<td>Muslim, Jews, Christians</td>
<td>1 (Single NIV with small amount of ACs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclusiveness and acceptability</td>
<td>Ethnic/racial profiling, unemployement, religious intolerance</td>
<td>Dehumanization (scapegoating), economic alienation, Security, safety</td>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>3 (Multiple ACs &amp; NIVs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Chart indicates the independent and dependent variables and the conditions that activates the conflict cyclone and determines the intensity of the conflict.

The cyclone conflict theory offers a multi-dimensional perspective of analyzing conflict. It provides several views of conflict in terms of condition, variables, and the intensity. This view of conflict offers opportunity for the management and resolution of conflict. The cyclone conflict theory presents the possibility to impact policy decisions as it provides sub-level and topical vantage points in determining the intensity of impact on vulnerable groups and the ‘normalized’ collective. It is hoped that introduction of the nascent theory will encourage academics, practitioners and policy-makers to begin to include an expericner-based approach to the field of conflict resolution.
Conclusion

Following the hermeneutic phenomenology tradition, this research examined Darfur women’s perception of justice based on their lived experiences. The goal of the study was to gain insight into the process of meaning-making on the perceptions developed from first-hand intimate experiences. There were several unexpected discoveries that were made, especially based on preconceived notions of the researcher. First, justice is not clear cut – justice goes through several processes that emerge in the most unpredictable way. Second, justice incorporates victims, perpetrators, and bystanders active involvement. Third, justice is dyadic, in that it is perceived in terms of the reality of the experience and the expectation of change in that reality. Fourth, justice is embedded in a patriarchal system.

Justice for the female participants of the study, is related to conditions that are conducive to an environment in which their safety is guaranteed and the permanency of security is established and maintained. Justice requires the elimination or reduction of unnatural obstacles that affect the well-being of their bodies, domicile, and families (the extension of themselves). This research exposed the fact that justice is a collective effort of internal and external agents – acknowledgement of people, conditions and impact are necessary components in attaining this goal.

There also needs to be further development in the examination of justice from a feminist perception. The normalcy of gendering a need for and source of justice, lends to the failure of a structure that fully satisfies the needs of the victims. This is poignant because should the needs, as expressed, be satisfied, the gendering of justice still exists.
The gendering of the concept of justice, through institutions and by extension laws, leaves room for biases that limits and or excludes the sub-ordinates to the existing patriarchal structure. This is noticeable in the respondents’ expressions; there was not a singular idea of justice. The perceptions of justice were primarily localized to the experiences but there were no projections of maintenance of an ideal system.

The unforeseen responses and findings, was rather interesting because the researcher had assumed that there would have been overwhelming demand for either retributive justice or restorative (dialogue of unification of all parties) but this was not the case. There were no expectations of punishment or reconciliation which are based in these two schools of thought. The action-reaction constructs of restorative and retributive, was posited as backward because they address events that have occurred and not necessarily preventative measures.

This is a revelation in the study that there is a gap that exists in research on approaches to the application of adjudicating justice. The research suggests that feminists theoretical insights are needed in to provide alternative constructs that are better suited for conflict resolution approaches that combats the patriarchal system.

As a process, justice incorporates the intangible factors that nurture the possibility of self-actualization that requires the satisfaction of basic needs. The primary perception of justice is concerned with the fulfillment of needs but also that these needs however their existence are gendered, therefore the potential solution are also gendered. These needs are often the cause of conditions inflicted on the experiencers by other actors. In all the participants’ responses, agents contributing to either the cause of their plight or the
resolution to meeting their needs were stated. This unpredicted finding suggests that justice is a universal and collective effort. Furthermore, justice is perceived as neutral or there is an existential awareness of the presence of gendering that has been deliberately ignored.

In conclusion, the expectation of justice was embedded in relieve from the daily experiences that affected the personal, social and communal wellness. The perception of justice was primarily centered on conditions that were conducive to stability. Furthermore, although this study’s focus was not particularly directed toward a comparison of justice versus peace; the participants often reminded the researcher that justice was not peace and in order to have peace justice was the first priority.

The generosity of the participants to have the researcher intrude on their lives proved invaluable to this study. Without such generosity, this research would not have been completed and the knowledge gained would most definitely not be possible. Darfur has a right and colorful culture and this research barely tapped into the intensely beautiful history of its people. It is without a doubt that the women in this study contributed to the field of conflict resolution and our understanding of the dyadic nature of justice.
References


Appendix A: Invitation of Participation Letter

Dear Madam,

My name is Careen Hutchinson, I am a doctoral candidate in the Department of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nova Southeastern University. I am in the final stages of completing my Ph.D. degree and this fall, I will be conducting my research for my dissertation. The emphasis of my research is grounded in perception of justice it is influenced by the victims’ lived experiences in the Darfur conflict. I would like to extend an invitation to you to participate in my research.

I will be employing the hermeneutics phenomenological methodology to solicit information from participants. Basically, I will be conducting one-on-one audio recorded interviews with each participant. The interviews will be conducted privately in a closed door session at the Darfur Women Action Group organization, located in your city. The interview session will be no more than one hour in length. You will be asked a series of open-ended questions relating to your perception of justice based on your lived experience in the Darfur conflict.

Although this research appears to be simply, it does offer a wealth of benefits for you and the field of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. The fact that you will lend your voice in aiding the understanding of victims’ perception of justice, processes utilized by the experiencers in meaning-making of both expectations and experiences and the possible contributions that victims can make in developing strategies for conflict intervention, peacebuilding and sustainable programs in addressing justice.

There will be no intrusive questions asked of you. Record of your participation will be kept in the strictest confidence, in my personal research notes and files. This project has been submitted to the Nova Southeastern University Institutional Review Board for review and critique for the approved required standard of ethics.

If you decide to participate in this research project, I will contact you directly to discuss the project further. You will, at that time, have the opportunity to voluntarily sign a consent form that explains in detail your right to discontinue participation at any time with no repercussions.

I sincerely hope that you will consider being a participant in this study. If you will be participating in this research, please contact me via the information below. Your attention and consideration to this request is most appreciated. I look forward to your response.

Careen Hutchinson, MA
2661 NW 43rd Ave
Lauderhill, Fl. 33313
Phone (954)709-0245  
Email hcareen@nova.edu or careen_hutchinson@yahoo.com  
Regards,  
Careen Hutchinson, M.A

College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences  
3301 College Avenue · Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33314-7796  
(954) 262-3000 · 800-262-7978 · Fax: (954) 262-3968  
Email: cahss@nsu.nova.edu · http://cahss.nova.edu
Appendix B: Adult Consent Form

Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study Entitled
Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims Perception of Justice

Funding Source: None.  
Principal investigator: Careen Hutchinson  
Co-investigator: Evan Hoffman, Ph.D.  

2661 NW 43rd Ave  
Lauderhill, FL  33313  
(954) 709-0245

IRB protocol #  

3301 College Avenue  
Fort Lauderdale, FL  33314  
(954) 262-3022

For questions/concerns about your research rights, contact:  
Site Information:  
(Institutional Review Board or IRB)  
Darfur Women Action Group  
Nova Southeastern University  
1050 17th St. NW, Suite 1000  
Washington DC, 20036  
(954) 262-5369/Toll Free: 866-499-0790  
www.IRB@nsu.nova.edu  
Ph#: 202-386-6006

What is the study about?  
You are invited to participate in a research study. The goal of this study is to examine female victims of the Darfur conflict perspective of justice based on lived experience.

Why are you asking me?  
We are inviting you to participate because you are either one of 15 adult female from the Darfur, Sudan who have experienced this particular life event that meets the criteria for inclusion in this research. Your age, gender, residency outside of the conflict area, linguistic ability and having experienced the Darfur conflict between the years 2003 to 2012 qualify you for inclusion in this study. There will be approximately 15 participants in this study.

What will I be doing if I agree to be in the study?  
You will participate in a one hour one-on-one interview conducted by this researcher, Careen Hutchinson. You will not be asked questions related to any intimate details of your experience. You will however be asked how you make meaning of your experience and how you perceive justice based on your lived experience. As stated before the interview should take you no more than one hour. If during the interview you express discomfort or an inability to continue with your participation, you have a right to end the interview with no repercussion or retaliation to you.

Initials:____________   Date: ____________

Is there any audio or video recording?
This research project will include audio recording of the interview. This audio recording will be available to be heard by the researcher, Ms. Careen Hutchinson, personnel from the IRB, and the dissertation chair, Dr. Evan Hoffman. The recording will be transcribed by Ms. Careen Hutchinson. Ms. Hutchinson will use earphones while transcribing the interviews to guard your privacy. The recording will be kept securely in Ms. Hutchinson’s home office in a locked file cabinet. The recording will be kept for 36 months from the end of the study. The recording will be destroyed after that time by shredding the tape. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the tape as described in this paragraph.

What are the dangers to me?
Risks to you are minimal, meaning they are not thought to be greater than other risks you experience every day. Being recorded means that confidentiality cannot be promised. Sharing your opinions about your experience and perception may make you anxious or bring back unhappy memories. If this happens Ms. Hutchinson will try to help you. If you need further help, she will suggest someone you can see but you will have to pay for that yourself. If you have questions about the research, your research rights, or if you experience an injury because of the research please contact Ms. Hutchinson at (954) 709-0245. You may also contact the IRB at the numbers indicated above with questions about your research rights.

Are there any benefits to me for taking part in this research study?
Participation in this study may potentially assist you in gaining new insights into how experiences influence meaning-making and the processes implemented in framing perceptions. Your participation may also add to the body of knowledge in the field of conflict analysis and resolution, communication in conflict management and strategies that could create a more successful approach to peacebuilding.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information private?
The interviewer will not ask you for any information that could be linked to you. The transcripts of the tapes will not have any information that could be linked to you. As mentioned, the tapes will be destroyed 36 months after the study ends. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law. The IRB, regulatory agencies, or Dr. Hoffman may review research records.

Additionally for confidentiality
The researcher will not be using the actual names of participants for purposes of data analysis or for any aspect of the final published research report or future publication that may be linked to participant’s identity.

- All electronic data will be saved in a password protected private computer that is accessible only to the researcher.
- All hardcopy information will be saved in a locked file cabinet in the PI’s private home office.
- Pseudonyms will be employed throughout the study and the final text, with exception of the consent forms.
- Participants’ consent will be sought and secured by researcher prior to sharing any information.
- The researcher will inform the participants that all information will be kept for three years after the completion of the study.

**What if I do not want to participate or I want to leave the study?**
You have the right to leave this study at any time or refuse to participate. If you do decide to leave or you decide not to participate, you will not experience any penalty or loss of services you have a right to receive. If you choose to withdraw, any information collected about you before the date you leave the study will be kept in the research records for 36 months from the conclusion of the study and may be used as a part of the research.

Initials: ___________  Date: ___________

**Other Considerations:**
If the researchers learn anything which might change your mind about being involved, you will be told of this information.

**Voluntary Consent by Participant:**
By signing below, you indicate that
- this study has been explained to you
- you have read this document or it has been read to you
- your questions about this research study have been answered
- you have been told that you may ask the researchers any study related questions in the future or contact them in the event of a research-related injury
- you have been told that you may ask Institutional Review Board (IRB) personnel questions about your study rights
- you are entitled to a copy of this form after you have read and signed it
- you voluntarily agree to participate in the study entitled Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims’ Perception of Justice.

Participant’s Signature: ___________________________ Date: ________________
Appendix C: DWAG Research Site Approval Letter

June 22, 2015

Darfur Women Action Group
President, Niemat Ahmadi
1050 17th St. N.W. Suite 1000
Washington, DC. 20036
www.darfurwomenaction.org
Ph#: 202-386-6006

Ismael Muvingi, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Center Representative
Nova Southeastern University
Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences
3301 College Avenue
Fort Lauderdale-Davie, Florida 33314-7796

RE: Approval for Careen Hutchinson Dissertation Research Project

Dear Dr. Muvingi,

Please accept our approval for Ms. Careen Hutchinson regarding access to participants and use of your organization' site at Darfur Women Action Group (DWAG) for her proposed dissertation research project entitled, “Darfur Conflict: Female Victims’ Perception of Justice”.

We understand that Ms. Hutchinson will be conducting a phenomenological study, and that this requires her to incorporate face-to-face audio recorded interviews with at least 15 (15) adult females originally from the Darfur region in Sudan. We have been informed of this research method and our organization will be assisting Ms. Hutchinson by providing her with a list of those who meet her research criteria, from our database. We also extend the courtesy of our facility for use of private space in which to conduct interviews. This letter may be considered as Darfur Women Action Group’s approval research site.

Ms. Hutchinson’s work on issues of conflict and genocide is known Ms. Neimat Ahmadi, president of DWAG. Ms. Ahmadi has had the pleasure of working with Ms. Hutchinson on her Genocide in the 21st Century Colloquium series, particularly the Darfur Crisis conference in 2007, at Nova Southeastern University. We have respect for and confidence in Ms. Hutchinson’s work and the integrity of this research project. As an organization, we are hopeful that the study’s findings will be useful to the organization and the conflict resolution community at large.

Sincerely,
Ms. Neimat Ahmadi, President
Appendix D: Demographic Data Sheet for Research

Demographic Data Sheet
For research entitled

Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims’ Perception of Justice

Section 1
This demographic sheet is designed to ascertain the diversity of the participants in this study
Name: ______________________________________________________

*In each category, please check the box that best describes you*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range:</th>
<th>Marital Status:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>Divorce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>Separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
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<tr>
<td>41-45</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>46-50</td>
<td></td>
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<td>51-55</td>
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<tr>
<td>56-60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate your answer with an “X”

Education: ___Basic (PreK-2nd grade)
___Elementary (grade 3 – grade 6)
___Junior High (grade 7-grade 9)
___ High School (grade 10-grade 12)
___ Junior College (Associate’s degree)
___College/university (Bachelor degree)
___University/Graduate School (Master degree)
___Professional degree/Graduate School (Doctorate degree)
___Post Graduate

Occupation: ____________________________________________________________________

Section 2
*Due to the nature of this research, the following questions have been included as it is important to recognize potential influences on participants’ perception*

Have you been living in the U.S. between the years 2003 to 2013? Yes_____ No_____

How long have you been living in the United States? ________

Other than the United States and Sudan (Darfur), have you lived in any other country between the years 2003 to 2013?
Yes __No__

If yes, what other country? ________________________________
Appendix E: Semi-Structured Open-ended Questions for Research

Semi-structured Open-ended Questions
For Research Study Entitled

**Darfur Conflict: A Phenomenological Study of Female Victims’ Perception of Justice**

1. How would you define justice based on your experience in the Darfur conflict?

2. How would you say your experience influence your understanding of justice?

3. How has your understanding of justice change over time?

4. What was your idea/understanding of justice prior to your experience in the conflict?

5. What are some of the influences regarding your perception of justice prior to your experience in the Darfur conflict?

6. How has your culture shaped your understanding of justice?

7. How has your cultural understanding of justice changed with your experience in the conflict?

8. What, if any, are the differences of perception of justice between your experience and your expectation?

9. Describe way in which you believe gender play a role in your perception of justice?

10. What are some of the ways your perception of justice changed with regards to you living in the United States?
Appendix F: Chronology of conflict events in Darfur/Sudan

Chronology of Events

Chronology 1

c. 1630  Foundation of Darfur Sultanate
1898  Sudan controlled by a colonial Anglo-Egyptian regime
1916  Overthrow of Sultan Ali Dinar, the last of the Fur Sultans
1917  Incorporation of Darfur into Sudan
1923  Incorporation of Dar Masalit into Sudan
1920’s  Creation of “Native Administration” system in rural Sudan
1956  Sudan gains independence
1969  Jaafar Nimeiri takes power in Sudan
1971  Native Administration abolished throughout Sudan
1984-85  Severe drought and famine in Darfur
1985  Overthrow of Nimeiri regime, restoration of parliamentary rule; opening of Sudanese-Libyan border
1985-1989  Deterioration of security situation on Darfur
1987-1989  First Arab-Fur war, first organization of Janjaweed
1989  al-Bashir takes power in Sudan
1990  Idriss Deby takes power in Chad
1991  Darfur becomes a state within a federal system
1991, Dec.  Sudanese Liberation Army/Movement, SPLA/M (a southern-based rebel group founded in 1983) incursion into Darfur headed by Dauod Bolad
1994  Darfur divided into three states; native administration reintroduced
1995-1999  Arab-Masalit conflict
1999  Split in ruling National Congress Party (NCP), several members from Darfur leave the NCP or sided with the opposition
1999  2000  Publication of Black Book detaining marginalization of Darfur
2001  Organization of army opposition in Darfur
2002  Conferences at Nyertete and Kass to try to mediate the conflict; SPLA makes contact with the emergent Darfur rebel group Sudan Liberation Army, SLA, and provides assistance

2003
February  SLA announces its existence and publishes manifesto
March  Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) announces its existence
April  Rebels attack al-Fashir airport
May  Rebels attack Kutum, Mellit and Tina in Northern Darfur
July  Government-Janjaweed counteroffensive begins in earnest
September  Government-SLA ceasefire talks in Abeche, Chad

2004

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1 Contents compiled from the BBC, De Waal, 2007c, Rueters and Sudan Tribune
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Major government offenses to quell rebel uprising in Darfur; hundreds of thousands of refugees flees to neighboring Chad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>UN official, Mukesh Kapila says pro-government Arab Janjaweed militias are carrying out systematic killings of African villagers in Darfur, and calls Darfur the “world’s worst humanitarian crisis”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Government-SLA/JEM talks in N’djamena agrees on ceasefire and disarmament of Janjaweed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>First African Union, AMIS, forces arrives in Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>UN Security council gives Sudanese Government 30 days to disarm janjaweed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Government and rebels meet in Abuja, Nigeria, under AU auspices to discuss a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>UN says Sudan has not met targets for disarming pro-government Darfur militias and must accept outside help to protect civilians; UN Security council sets up and Independent Commission into Darfur (ICID)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell describes Darfur killings as genocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. – Dec.</td>
<td>Abuja peace talks continues between government and rebel groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Government and Southern rebel movement, SPLA/M sign a peace deal. The agreement includes a permanent ceasefire and accords on wealth and power sharing. ICID delivers its report; the report accuses the government and militias of systematic abuses in Darfur, but stops short of calling the violence genocide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>UN Security council authorized sanctions against those who violate cease fire in Darfur. Council also votes to refer those accused of war crimes in Darfur to International Criminal Court (ICC).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Government – SLA/JEM agree on a Declaration of Principles for resolving the Darfur conflict at the fifth round of Abuja talks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. – Nov.</td>
<td>Peace talks continue in Abuja – sixth and seventh rounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Chad rebels attack the town of Adre and Chadian government accuses Sudan of backing rebels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>The UN reported that the Sudanese army and Darfur rebels clashed in a renewal of violence in Darfur region that forced evacuation of more than 100 aid workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>AU representative to Sudan expresses concern that the deteriorating security situation in Darfur; he blamed the SLA-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>AU Peace and Security council votes to hand over AMIS to a UN force in six months’ time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>UN Security council votes to hand over AMIS to a UN force and gives a deadline for the Abuja talks to complete by the end of the month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Khartoum government and SLA faction led by Mini Minawi, sign a peace accord, the Darfur Peace Agreement. Two other rebel groups, SLA faction led by Abdel Wahid al-Nur and JEM reject the deal; fighting continues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>UN refugee agency (UNHCR) express concern at cross-border attacks on Chadian villagers in Eastern Chad by Janjaweed militia from Sudan’s Darfur region have become more systematic and deadly. The UNHCR urges both countries to step up security along Chadian-Sudan border.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>UN mission in Sudan, UNMIS reports continuing clashes between Sudanese Government forces, allied militias and rebel groups; a UN humanitarian convoy has also been ambushed. UNMIS reported that the security situation in North and West Darfur’s north and west is particularly volatile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Minni Minawi become Senior Assistant to the President of the Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Sudan reject UN SC resolution 1706 calling for a UN peacekeeping force in Darfur, saying it would compromise sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Sudanese military have reportedly used Antonov planes to bomb seven villages in Darfur northern Darfur; action generates condemnation from EU, Canada and the UN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Jan Pronk, the UN’s top official in Sudan, is expelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Chad’s government says ethnic violence in Sudan’s Darfur is spilling across the border, sparking an upsurge of deadly Arab-African fighting among Chadians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>A UN human rights official in Sudan declared than an assault by the Sudanese Army on the Darfur town of Sirba on November 23rd, was apparently, “a deliberate and unprovoked” against innocent civilians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>AU extends mandate of its peacekeeping force in Darfur for six months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, proposes a “hybrid” AU-UN force, and the Sudanese Government agrees to the proposal in principle, but not in detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Fresh violence erupts in Darfur: Sudanese army clashes with rebel groups in northern Darfur, Janjaweed militia mounted several</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
attacks on al-Fashir city, capital of North Darfur state; AU expressed concern at the return of Janjaweed and Khartoum’s resolve to pursue a military solution

2007
January
Sudan’s airforce resumed bombing of areas in northern Darfur bringing an end to a fragile cease fire brokered earlier by U.S. Governor Bill Richardson

February
ICC chief prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo names first two war crimes suspects in Darfur: a government minister Ahmad M. Haroun, and Janjaweed commander Ali Kushayb. Sudan says the ICC has no jurisdiction and rejects arrest warrants.

March
Inter-tribal violence erupts in various parts of Darfur raising concerns about deteriorating security situation in the region

April
Sudan says it will accept a partial UN troop deployment to reinforce African Union peacekeepers in Darfur

May
U.S. President George W. Bush imposes new U.S. sanctions on Sudan and ask for support for an international arms embargo to end what he calls genocide in Darfur

June
AU peacekeepers attacked by unknown armed men near the Sudan-Chadian border; at least 20 AU servicemen were killed since the start of their mission in Darfur in 2004

July
At least thirty-four people killed in clashes between rival Arab tribes in southern Darfur

August
The UN Security Council authorizes 26,000 troops and police for Darfur’s hybrid mission and approves the use of force to protect civilians

October
Darfur peace talks open in Libya and the government declares an immediate unilateral ceasefire, but key rebel groups are absent

December
Darfur rebel group, JEM announced they attacked a Chinese-run oil field in Sudan and vowed to launch more assaults on other insulations.

December
UN human rights experts reported that Sudanese forces and allied militia have killed several hundred civilians in ground attacks and aerial bombardments on villages in Darfur in the past six months

2008
January
UN takes over Darfur peace force which becomes known as UNAMID (the UN-African Union mission in Darfur) Government planes bomb rebel positions in West Darfur, turning some areas into no-go zones for aid workers

January
Chadian air force planes attack a Chadian rebel base across the border in West Darfur

February
Sudanese army attacked rebel – JEM – positions in three towns in West Darfur; 200 people are reported killed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Commander of the UN-African Union peacekeepers in Darfur, Balla Keita, says more troops needed urgently in west Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Russia says it’s prepared to provide some of the helicopters urgently needed by UN-African Union peacekeepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>The New York-based NGO Human Rights First issued a report which claimed China has provided Sudan with 90 percent of its small arms during 2004-2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>UN humanitarian chief John Holmes says 300,000 people may have died in the five-year Darfur conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Around 12,000 civilians fled their homes following an outbreak of fighting in South Darfur between forces loyal to Sudan’s senior presidential assistant Minni Arcua Minnawi and Janjaweed militias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Darfur rebel group, JEM mounted a raid on Omdurman, Khartoum’s twin city across the Nile; government forces managed to foil the attack. Sudan accuses Chad of involvement and breaks off diplomatic relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Up to sixty heavily armed men ambush and take weapons from Nigerian troops of UNAMID close to the capital of West Darfur, El Geneina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>A Ugandan officer working for UNAMID is found dead in the North Darfur capital of El Fashir. The Ugandan officer was the first peacekeeper killed since UNAMID troops arrived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and the AU, chairperson appoint Djibril Yipene Bassole, Burkina Faso’s foreign minister, as Darfur mediator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Darfur militiamen ambush and kill seven members of UNAMID and wound twenty-two others in North Darfur. Darfur’s main rebel groups deny any involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>The ICC chief prosecutor, Ocampo calls for the arrest of President al-Bashir for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur; the appeal is the first ever request to the ICC for the arrest of a sitting head of state. Sudan rejects the indictment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Reports of attacks by government forces in Northern Darfur; unknown assailants suspected to be Janjaweed militia ambushed a civilian convoy travelling between South and North Darfur states killing six people and killing twenty-eight others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>The rebel group JEM shot at a UNAMID plane in the area of Jabel Moon, West Darfur; the plane was forced to return to its base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Tribal clashes kill around sixty-seven people in South Darfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Sudanese courts sentenced to death fifty Darfur rebels, members of JEM, over the rebel movement’s attack on the capital in May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Darfur rebels accuse government forces backed by militias of launching air and ground attacks on two towns in the region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The European Union called on the Sudanese government to stop the military operations in Darfur and condemned the use of White aircrafts which creates confusion with those of the Union Nations

Clashes between government forces, government-backed-militia, and Darfur rebels in West and South Darfur

President al-Bashir announces immediate cease fire in Darfur, but the region’s two main rebel groups reject the move, saying they will fight until the government agrees to share power and wealth in the region

Fighting erupts in northern Darfur between government forces and Darfur rebels amid claims that the government violated its own unilateral cease fire

Sudanese army says it has sent more troops to the sensitive oil-rich South Kordofan state, claiming that Darfur rebel group plans to attack the area

Outgoing UNICEF representative to Sudan told reporters in Khartoum, that there are around 6,000 child soldiers in Darfur and that all Darfur factions as well as the Sudanese government have used children in their forces

Two aid workers killed and five Sudanese civilian wounded in south Darfur when a bus they were boarding by a camel-mounted armed group

Clashes between JEM rebels and government forces in various parts of Darfur

The Sudanese government and the rebel group JEM signed an agreement of good intentions pledging to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the Darfur conflict following a week long meeting in the Qatari capital, Doha

The International Criminal Court in The Hague issues an arrest warrant for President Omar al-Bashir on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Darfur

The government of Sudan expels thirteenth relief NGO’s involved in aid operations in Darfur with about 6,500 national and international staff; move generates criticism and concern from the UN and western governments; UN/UNAMID mission, however, continues their presence and operations in Darfur and Sudan at large

Bahr Idriss Abu Garda, leader of a breakaway faction of the JEM surrendered to the ICC

A rebel group, suspected to be JEM, captured a Sudanese army base at UMM Baru, near the border with Chad
Appendix G: Interview Summaries

Participant #1

Fathia (8/26/2015)

Summary of Participant

Fathia is a wife and mother of three young children, two boys and a girl. She is a homemaker and expertly displayed her skills as she welcomed us in her home and kept her attention on the behavior of her children. She provided us with a beautiful display of tea and sweet desserts. I arrived at her home at the time for last prayer. So I waited until she fulfilled her religious and parental obligations. As she ensured that the children were bathed and in bed I took the time to engage with the baby girl, who was at first resistant to my efforts to play with her. Prior to the children being sent to bed, the boys who were curious of my being in their home engaged me in a conversation of inquiry. I answered their questions and also asked them about their school, and expectations for the new school year. They showed me their tablets and we took a few selfies. When Fathia tried to get the boys settled in bed, I was left alone with her baby daughter. The baby was suspicious of me and did not respond to my efforts of getting close to her. Slowly, she, the baby, allowed me to get physically close to her to the point of picking her up and play a little air tossing with her. She was delighted and laughed out loudly which drew her mother into the living room where we were. Fathia appeared relaxed at the sight of my playfulness with her baby. We talked and laughed before moving forward with the interview. I do believe that my interaction with her children set her at ease to open up to me in the interview. Fathia worked in a local NGO in the Darfur region prior to relocating in the US.

Overview of participant’s thoughts

(Individual Textural and Structural Description)

“UN should have direct interaction w/people Government of Sudan” (International community like the UN should not be subjected to the sovereignty of the country of Sudan when it comes to assisting those in need of justice). “Weapons (Janjaweed) should be collected & destroyed” (International organizations/agencies should be able to confiscate and the weapons used by the GoS and the Janjaweed against the people of Darfur in order to establish stability and justice). “Perpetrators indicted should be taken to The Hague and held responsible for their crimes” (Again, the belief that justice over sovereignty is necessary in order to obtain justice for the people of Darfur). “UN should mediate between Government of Sudan & rebels, sit & negotiate a plan for peace” (UN’s intervention takes precedence in the mediation and negotiation process as a way of ensuring justice). “Return to their homes” (Homestead and the reentrance to the region to resume their lifestyle is viewed as acts of justice). “Int’l community need more power to act angst sovereign state. Recognition & implementation of agreements.”

Participant #2

Sayeda (8/26/2015)

Summary of Participant
Sayeda is an older lady, was staying with a young couple and their three children (two boys; a 5 year old and 3 year old and a baby girl about to celebrate her first birthday). She relocated to Philadelphia from Texas where she lived previously. She was a victim of the government of Sudan and its rebel allies. Sayeda worked as a social worker with a local NGO in the Darfur region, she was also a gender-based activist. She shared documents of her refugee and immigration application with a full disclosure of her testimony of abuses she endured as a victim of abuses and harassment. Sayeda was soft spoken with a keen gaze that seem to pierce through the object of her stare. She appeared to assess me as I was being introduced, however she was warm and welcoming as she was informed about the research. She expressed her gratitude in my interest in the Darfur conflict and the plight of the people.

**Overview of participant’s thoughts**

(Individual Textural and Structural Description)

“Justice is Government of Sudan acknowledging all abuses.” *(It is important that the abuses occurring in Darfur be acknowledged by the GoS).* “Government of Sudan denies facts of tortures in the IDPs. For justice there needs to be compensation for the victims, return to our homes, victims to recuperate their losses, negotiators need to follow-up of agreements, control (manage) situation.” *(Justice is tied to several actions that shows good faith on the part of the GoS toward those suffering).* HRO-Justice Africa: educating locals about justice, rights (esp. women). Tortured with hot tea (kidnapped for a day). Int’l Day for Justice she held up a sign “stop violence against women” she was targeted by gov., agents. (“UNFPA”)-reported the crime against her. Activism, compensation. Government of Sudan should acknowledge abuses, recuperation of loss, return to their homes, prefers int’l orgs intervention for justice, justice & peace differ – need justice first, peace will follow. *(GoS acknowledgement of abuses, compensation to victims for their losses, victims being allowed to return to their homes and live in peace are part and parcel of justice).*

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**Participant # 3**

Sara (8/29/2015)

**Summary of Participant**

When we arrived at this participant’s home, she had not yet arrived from the mosque where we had met her at a gathering of women at the Muslim school. It was at this school I was introduced to her and she was informed of the study. She graciously agreed to participate and invited us to meet her at her home. Sara is an adult female of small physical frame. She is a wife and mother of one pre-teen daughter. She invited us to her immaculate home where she proudly and confidently displayed her talents and a seamstress. She helps supplement her household income by creating an alteration business with specialization in drapery and upholstery. Sara provided refreshments and a full meal post-interview.

**Overview of participant’s thoughts**

(Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description)
“President doesn’t want people to talk.” (Lack of communication between the people affected by the conflict and the GoS viewed as a part of the problem in pursuing justice).

“Peaceful town, remove president.” (Removal of the current president is seen as a move toward justice for the victims in the Darfur conflict). Lack of education – tied to the political system/health/peaceful. Government of Sudan bribes police and others to kill people. (Chemical weapons are being used and the government steals aid provided by humanitarian agencies for the victims and sells them in the stores/malls.) Corrupt. (Corruption is rampant and leave the victims in further distress). “World to listen to Darfur. International Criminal Court (ICC) to try president and his politicians, country would be better. Mandate to forcefully take responsible people to the ICC.” (Sovereignty is a hindrance to resolving the problem and providing justice for the people, in some ways). International Criminal Court doesn’t get the truth from the people. GBV victims and activists are prohibited to organize safety measures. (Restrictions on movement to highlight atrocities). Family members act as spies for government. Government of Sudan have security forces in every village. Dividing tribes for divide & conquer tactics (Fear of various forms of surveillance). Elections are corrupt. Traditional Black magic and or Islamic spirituality used to deter people from openly resisting the GoS. (Psychology warfare used in the form of spiritual manipulation). Education is important for justice. TV censorship. Abuse Islam, Islamic governments should be proactive in Bashir’s arrest. No democracy, Darfur needs to be included in the political system. Darfur Politian have no say in government. Muslim countries don’t want foreign forces in the region.

Participant # 4

Faiza (8/30/2015)

Summary of Participant
Faiza is an adult female living in an apartment which she shares with another adult female, a teenager and a child. The family was eating their evening supper which consisted of some form of soup and meat, when we arrived. We were invited to join them but we declined. After dinner Faiza graciously opened up to me in the interview. She was welcoming and openly discussed some of the most painfully intimate details of her experiences.

Overview of participant’s thoughts

(Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description)
Government to allow outsiders into the camps (unlimited and unrestricted access to speak with HROs without the interference of the GoS is important for the victims to share their ordeals without fear of prosecution). Women went thru a lot. Living in Darfur supporting herself by farming. Janjaweed tied children to trees, leave them to die of hunger. Witnessed attacked on village (raped) – removed her uterus due to an infection from being raped. Refugee Nationality Svc. No report made (lived in village/need to be in a big city to be able to report crimes). Justice - government changed (government is the cause, government denies, makes false reports to Int’l community). Justice defined as: democracy in Sudan – unrestricted term. Elections, no racism, no favoritism, equal rights. Impeachment of president. Int’l community should monitor elections. Human rights
respected, equality, equal distribution of resources. Humans considered the same, no war. Understand the legal system: Sudan. No freedom of expression. Justice from outside (doesn’t trust Government of Sudan). Salaam (peace) vs. Adala (justice) is the same, if one is applied the other will come. Consistency in steps of getting peace to the people of Darfur. Tribal/territories should be respected. Values of tribal homes-social lifestyles (unique economic resourcefulness). (Justice is a compilation of values being respected and practiced freely. Territories should be protected and honored as they are the identity of the people, a place to practice their cultural heritage freely and proudly).

Participant # 5
Nimet (8/31/2015)

Summary of Participant
Nimet is an adult female with an average physical size, educated with a master’s degree in psychology. She is married and is currently taking classes at a local university for her certification in trauma counselling. She revealed that one of her goals is to work with children who have experienced the trauma of war. Niemat came to the home of my host for her interview. She was modestly dressed in a complete Black ibaya.

Overview of participant’s thoughts
Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description)
Before women had no voice (Nimet sees justice in terms of gender limitation). Abshuk refugee camp (2005). No investigation/ no treatment/ women feel shame. (Encourage openness of experiences is part of justice). Lack of cultural understanding. Don’t trust outsiders. Unity, stand together and ‘raise their voices’. “Fairness” for women (her rights/ her voice/ to talk to gov). Women wish for sincerity. Women need to have a voice. Psychological control – spiritual misuse of religion. (Justice is having a voice and being able to share your voice with other freely. It is important that women be allowed to participate in the process of resolution and solution to the conflict).

Participant 6
Farha (9/1/2015)

Summary of Participant
Farha (happiness) is a stay at home mom with three young boys who age ranges from 5 years old to 10 months old. She is married. Researcher and host was invited to dinner, where an elaborate meal was prepared. This is the first home where I sat at a dining table instead of the traditional setting on the floor.

Farha was dressed in the tradition Darfur attire, which enhanced her height and complexion. She was pleasant and soft spoken, which would seem to be in contrast to her comfortable confidence; however with an interpersonal interaction the contrast was quickly dismissed and revelation of compatibility of tenderness and confidence was made evidence in her relaxed mannerism with her family and guests.

At dinner, prior to the interview, we talked about Sudan, the cultures and the climate as well as some of the challenges in the country; especially the infrastructure. I shared my experience as related to my only visit to the country. They were entertained by my
naiveté and over-expectations that were thawed by the realities of everyday life. The conversation was light and filled with laughter.

**Overview of Participant’s thoughts**

**Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description**

**Justice** – lack of rights/things taken from them/lack of pay. GoS not responsible for people’s food (daily sustenance). GoS only has their personal concerns in mind, there is no law to protect the people.

**Hindrances** – women affected by war, left homes/live in unfamiliar territories/women lose their children and homes which is a big problem. They (the women) lose their husbands to war (major problem is unemployed women find themselves at a disadvantage). The women have to work, have a right to care for their children. Women have to raise their voices to the GoS due to husbands dying in the war. Women need to be a part of the peace process. Women should have a substantial role in the peace process. They should be allowed to raise their voices, tell their story without fear of retribution or retaliation from the GoS or even family members. International community needs to understand justice from our perspective – equality between people (men and women), no war, should be allowed to live in peace. *(Farha believes that women faces a lot of challenges that are associated with loss of their partners. There is a limit on women voicing their opinions or even being able to substantially contribute the peace process in Darfur)*.

**Participant 7**

**Haga (9/5/2015)**

**Summary of Participant**

Haga is married with two children, a girl age 11 and a boy age 13. The children were both born in the United States of America. Haga is average height approximately 5 feet 4 inches with slim physique. She lives in Virginia, and works outside of the home as a server at chain eatery. She loves to cook and entertain. She and her husband are avid planters and their backyard exhibits various fruit and vegetables. In Darfur, farming is a part of their culture and they carry this practice with them to the US.

**Overview of Participant’s thoughts**

**Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description**

Understand Justice: was in Egypt 2003 got news that village was destroyed. Power to help catch Bashir and others people being kidnapped. Stop dying/killing & destruction of villages. Never forgive him, Allah will catch him, judgment day will come. Peace & justice same – people are poor/no oil or minerals. Extortions occurring. Never report crimes – scared. Voice to ‘be' heard. Sense of independence taken away women don’t have power. Women should be included more in the negotiation process. Wants to feel proud of country not scared.
**Define Justice** – lack of rights/things taken from them/ lack of pay. Government of Sudan not responsible for people’s food (daily sustenance). Personal concerns only, no laws.

**Hindrances**: women affected by war, lefts homes/ liv in unfamiliar territories/ women lose kids/homes big problem/ loses husband due to war (big problem, unemployed women find themselves at disadvantage). Has to work, has right to work to care for kids. Raise voices to Government of Sudan due to husband dying in war. Women need to be a part of the peace process. Big role in obtaining peace. Raise voices/speak out to tell stories/ not afraid. Int’l community understand peace form your perspective – equality between people, no war. Live in peace. Lack of international community understanding of peace? Point of view (POV) difference between problems that are occurring. Investigate real issues, find solution. Justice from Int’l community over local options. Trust-hindrances. Justice first. (*Haga believes that there justice is tied to economic wellness. She expresses that justice is not attainable because there is no incentive such as natural resource to be gained by parties).*

**Participant 8**

**Layla (9/5/2015)**

**Summary of Participant**

Layla is married and a mother of two young children; a boy age 11 and daughter age 7. Both children were born in the US. They live in Virginia in a modest single family home. Layla and her husband works outside of the home. They maintain their cultural beliefs and practices such as eating meals in the traditional manner, which is setting the meals on the floor and eating with their hands. Layla, is tall and slender and quite graceful. She speaks English, Arabic and the Fur language in the home.

**Overview of Participant’s thoughts**

**Individual Textural Description and Individual Structural Description**

**Justice**- justice first/ look for perpetrators/ compensation for losses. Perpetrators – God punishes the wicked. UN responsible for everyone. UN fails to meet victim’s understanding perception/need for justice – punish perps (same pain to the perpetrator as victims)

Tried to report crimes to family, (3 uncles, 1 brother, 40 cousins – died when village burned. Police did, nothing was done. Police (Darfur, mixed tribes) didn’t respond because they didn’t get greenlight form the Government of Sudan to investigate the crime. Doesn’t “feel human” in ‘capcario’ [check spelling]. Hospitals have Government of Sudan administration, scared to report to hospitals. Bashir – uses ‘spiritual magic’. UN to catch Sadaam why not Bashir. Int’l doesn’t want to catch Bashir. Poverty is the reason for int’l failure to act positively. Prefer Int’l (UN) considered unbiased to everyone. No different understanding of justice before and after experience. (*Layla believes that justice is tied to the removal of the current GoS and compensation for the victims. She believes that poverty is one of the reasons for the lack of justice to the people of Darfur).*)

**Participant 9**
Khadija ((9/6/2015)
Summary of Participant
Khadija is an adult female, mother of a young adult son. Khadija came to the interview immaculately dressed in an exquisite tanned gown with matching head covering. She is medium built, approximately 5 feet 8 inches with smooth mahogany complexion. She is well spoken and her command of the English language demonstrated with proficiency.
Overview of Participant’s thoughts
Individual Textural Description and Individual Structural Description
Justice – perpetrators be punished to degree of the crime committed. (ex. Leaders still committing crimes, no justice can occur. Justice is taking right of the perpetrators & give to victims. Personal experience – family lost, personal property when village was attacked. No help when reported to police. Write report but no investigation.
Hindrances: no gender rights for women.
Resolution: women in leadership roles in peace process. Cultural practices for aid or hinder the resolution hinder (leadership structure opposition division – rebel movement. NGO/HRO – first it was good (talking about Darfur) – decline in the public discussions. More int’l exposure. Lack of understanding of the culture, culture vs. belief possibility to fix the problem.
Peace vs. Justice: Peace is safety. Justice – justice can harm others, first person do criminal behavior, the collective is affected.
(Respondent believes that the act of justice is the restoration of the rights of the victims and the removal or the rights of the perpetrator. This can be a form of restorative and penal combination of justice. Justice is also viewed in terms of hindrances of the rights of women. Restoration of justice may be in the form of women actively participating in the peace process)

Participant 10

Amina (9/6/2015)
Summary of Participant
Amina is a mature female, she taught in Saudi Arabia for a number of years. She is very expressive and vocalized her disdain of the current Sudanese regime. Amina’s physical appearance is that of northern Sudanese, she was married to a Darfuri and has family living in Darfur. Amina was dressed in a beautiful blue traditional Sudanese garment with matching headdress.
Overview of participant’s thoughts
Individual Textural Description and Individual Structural Description
Justice: interaction/ equality/ best practice. Justice is equality
Example of report to police: none.
Outsiders understanding of Darfur culture can aid in the process of resolution? – suffering/justice equates to cultural lifestyle is important in the resolution process.
Wants/needs equates murders/removal from land/ return to homeland is a part of justice
Int’l vs local as agents of justice? 1. Int’l community/ NGO to establish peace. 2. The people of Sudan. Monetary-UN to help (finance is important in the peace process)
Women in lead roles- educating women become a part of the process
Women vs men (plan attacks w/outside) – think about justice differently than women
Testify ICC words: kill him because unjust and unfair.
Restoration and compensation.
(Justice as expressed by the respondent is women’s rights or the lack thereof. Women should be an instrumental part of the peace process, especially in education because they see justice differently than men. There is the need for the understanding of culture as a part of the process to obtaining justice for the victims).

Participant 11

Rasha (09/08/2015)
Summary of Participant
Rasha is an adult female who has one daughter (a pre-schooler just started pre-school the week of the interview). She is married and lives with her husband in a single family unit. (I was able to speak with her husband about some of his thoughts on the subject of the justice in Darfur. He requested that I do a research that would include men as participants, allowing their expression of justice pertaining to Darfur). Her physical frame is small, she is soft-spoken. Although we met in her home, she wore the traditional Ibaya. Rasha, is a trained doctor from Sudan and is currently taking courses in the US, where she can obtain her license to practice medicine in the USA. She is articulate and communicates well in English with minute difficulty with some words and or phrases.

Overview of Participant’s thoughts
Individual Textual Description and Individual Structural Description
Justice – equality in all areas of life (education/health/ economics, etc.), equality
Family in Darfur: village destroy/live in camps. Return to their land, resume lifestyle/peace
Women: participate to explain wants/needs. Women & children most affected (priority of women and children needs)
Culture – preserve culture and pass on to next generation.
Int’l vs local: local first, then int’l.
Hindrances: government/mistrust of government/ replace original population.
(government gives land away to Arabs)
Address: live in difficulty (security wise)/ need education/ health, etc. Security is priority
(Justice is the ability to return to their homes/ homeland. Preserve their culture to the next generation and obtain equality for women and the Darfur people on a whole with the rest of the Sudanese population)

Participant # 12

Fatima Mai (9/8/2015)
Summary of Participant
Fatima is a divorced adult female in her 40’s, she is the mother of teenagers and young adult children. Physically she is of average height and is medium built. Fatima is originally from Darfur and still has family living in the region. She works as a social
worker and has a master’s degree in social work. She has worked as an activist on the Darfur conflict. Fatima is outspoken and articulate.

**Overview of participant’s thoughts**

**Individual Textural Description and Individual Structural Description**

Describe justice: equal rights/ respect of the rights of others/ being fair/ no discrimination/ no gender, age bias/ fairness. Define justice: Hindrances: Government of Sudan used division to divide/ mistrust of Government of Sudan/ fraction/ disunity/ no real intentions for peace. Resources: money/forces. International vs local: local first but the international community monitors what is established by the locals. Peace (security/ no war/ no bad feeling/love) vs justice (provide rights/ gives what is deserved). Address ICC: get punishment they deserve (Government of Sudan). Make them ex…. Return wealth to the people/ give up information to help people/ life sentence. Women understand w/happen in Darfur. Experiences of women. Majority affected were women. Sexual abuse – community respected/ community support/ community empower. Women-individualized impact. Men-communal impact (*Justice is viewed in terms of equality of rights for women. It is interesting to note that justice is often seen through the lens of hindrances and or obstacles that prevent access to the needs of the victims*)
Appendix H: Single Codes & Categories

Data Coding Analysis: First Cycle Coding

_Fathia – Participant 1_

Content
A. ‘… didn’t feel it and there wasn’t a tangible thing done to this issue’

**Code** - *NO RECONSTRUCTION OF RESTORING HOME*  
[HABITAT]/INACTIVITY TOWARD  
Category – *HINDRANCE/COMMUNICATION/INACTIVITY*

B. ‘authorities were promising that they would rebuild their villages and they would provide peace and safety’…..’can go back and live even better but nothing has happened’

**Code** – *BROKEN PROMISES BY GoS/ NO SAFETY*  
Category – *HINDRANCE/DISTRUST/COMMUNICATION*

C. ‘….they were helping, the international….agencies thru….aid…but there was no justice…even the international community, they didn’t do that much…just like feeding them’

**Code** – *AID IS NOT JUSTICE/ HUMANITARIAN AID DOESN’T EQUATE JUSTICE*  
Category – *COMMUNICATION/UNDERSTANDING*

D. ‘Sudan sovereignty obscure interference of outsiders in aid’

**Code** – *SOVEREIGNTY OVERRIDES JUSTICE*  
Category – *HINDRANCE/Sovereignty/Power*

E. ‘….the government will ask them (UN/INT’ agencies) to do things through the government….the government will claim…that they will do this and the UN or the organizations will give them (GoS) won’t do what they promise. So the government sabotage the work of the UN. So she said the government gets in-between…..and the government gets cash to do something and they take money or whatever it is….in the end they don’t benefit the people

**Code** – *SABOTAGE OF THE WORK OF THE OUTSIDE AGENCIES*  
Category – *HINDRANCE/POWER/CORRUPTION*
F. ‘…UN directly interacts with the people who were affected, not to put the government of Sudan in-between’

**Code – REMOVE THE GO BETWEEN aka GoS**
**Category – HINDRANCE/POWER**

G. ‘…because the government is the cause of all the suffering for the people and they cannot be the judge and jury or the judge and the criminal because they are the criminals

**Code – THE CAUSE OF THE SUFFERING CANNOT BE THE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEMS**
**Category – HINDRANCE/CORRUPTION/POWER**

H. ‘…whenever they (UN/INT’L community) consider the sovereignty and they give chance to the GoS, to be involved that’s when the justice gets lost…’

**Code - INTERFERENCE OF THE GoS w/OUTSIDE AGENCIES; NO JUSTICE/ GoS IS A PROBLEM TO THE SOLUTION**
**Category – HINDRANCE/SOVEREIGNITY**

I. ‘UN to change this current GoS…’

**Code – SOVEREIGNTY CAUSES HINDRANCE TO JUSTICE**
**Category – HINDRANCE/POWER**

J. ‘…weapons that are around in everybody’s hand, especially the Janjaweed, all this weapon to be collected and taken away…’

**Code – REMOVAL OF ARMS**
**Category- HINDRANCE/SAFETY**

K. ‘…the people who are wanted by the ICC to be abducted and sent to justice…..held accountable….id those people were already picked they were qualified to be taken to court’

**Code – USE OF FORCE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**
**Category - HINDRANCE**
L. ‘…UN to mediate between the GoS and the rebel groups if they gonna sit together to negotiate and to come out with peace…’

**Code – FAITH IN THE ABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**
**Category – SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

*Sayed – Participant 2*

A. ‘….the GoS to acknowledge because the government is denying….all the facts….government is denying that the people who were tortured, the government that there are a lot of IDPs…”

**Code – NEEDS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE CRIMES BY THE GoS**
**Category – HINDRANCE/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

B. ‘…..and denying to compensate the people…like give them something back, for what they have lost….the people have to be returned, they have to get compensation, they have to get something back from what they have lost…”

**Code – NEED FOR COMPENSATION/RETURN TO HOME AND LAND**
**Category – HINDRANCE/REPARTATION/COMPENSATION**

C. “….when I hold that sign and they saw me on a protest…they….detained me.”

**Code - ABUSE OF POWER**
**Category – HINDRANCE/POWER/ABUSES**

D. “…when the abducted me…the security person ask me, what do you want?” ….I said, make me tea and she told him…”but don’t put any sugar because I have diabetes….so the guy make tea and put three full spoons of sugar……and forced me to drink it.

**Code – ABUSE OF POWER/MISUSE OF MEDICAL INFORMATION/PHYSICAL ABUSES IN ATTEMPTS TO REPORT CRIME**
**Category – SAFETY/HEALTH**

E. “…I wanna sue the security guy….’you have no proof’….how can you prove that they did this to you?…Didn’t allow me to file a claim”
Code – **INTIMIDATION WHEN TRYING TO PURSUE LEGAL RECOURSE**  
Category – **HINDRANCE/INTIMIDATION/ABUSES**

F. “….events regarding the…..international day of Justice…..I told them (humanitarian agency)…..they couldn’t do nothing” “….they don’t have power…..they just take generalizations….in a large sense”

Code – **INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES HOLD NO POWER TO GIVE DIRECT ASSISTANCE FOR JUSTICE/ INT’L AGENCIES COLLECT LARGE SCALE ABUSES**  
Category – **POWER/ABUSES**

G. “….international community doesn’t do a lot…only minimum…..they don’t have that much authority…..mandate, they don’t have enough mandate…..”

Code – **WEAK LEGAL POWERS/AUTHORITY BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. LACK OF EFFECTIVE AUTHORITY.**  
Category – **SOVEREIGNTY/POWER**

H. “…..everything you wanna do, even just to go to the IDP cam you have to take authorization from a higher entity (GoS)……to go to the camps to help people, have to get a license…an authorization….so nobody has power to do anything…..all these authorizations are linked to the government of Sudan….they’re the ones who have the whole power”

Code – **AGENCIES SUBJECTED TO GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN’S POWERS/ GoS HAS TOTAL POWER. GoS CONTROLS AID MOVEMENT**  
Category – **HINDRANCE/POWER**

I. “….is that’s (GoS) your enemy, you are a loser…..you cannot fight the authority that is powerful in the country”

Code – **PERCEPTION OF POWER vs. NON-POWER**  
Category – **POWER/VOICE/SAFETY**

J. “….and they’re the ones who are abusing the people, so of course they don’t wanna leave evidence……..they will not allow you…to take your issues to somebody that can help you”

Code – **ABUSES ARE COVERED UP. TESTIMONIALS ARE DISCOURAGED**
Category – **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/VOICE**

K. “….the government to acknowledge all the abuses and mistakes they made”

**Code – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ATROCITIES BY GOVERNMENT of SUDAN/NO DENIAL**
**Category- HINDRANCE/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

L. “….the government has had a lot of meetings and peace talks….outside Sudan….they were mediators, but they never applied the recommendations. ……They were in Qatar….they went somewhere else and when they come back they and bring the recommendations, they never applied this….they have to acknowledge the peace talks….and completely apply the recommendations”.

**Code – FAILURE TO COMPLETE APPLICATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS NEGOTIATED IN PEACE TALKS**
**Category – HINDRANCE/NON-RESPONSIVENESS TO NEGOTIATED RECOMMENDATIONS**

M. “….and the people who mediate, they should follow-up….don’t just let the government go….they have to follow-up….they have to control”.

**Code - ACCOUNTABILITY FROM AGENCIES MEDIATING PEACE TALKS. MONITORING AND TRACKING OF APPLICATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS/ APPLICATION, ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION**
**Category - ACCOUNTABILITY**

N. “…peace and justice are not the same….justice should be first, and then it would be followed by peace. If there’s justice, there will be peace…..people to get that right and things to be put in the right place…”

**Code – MISUNDERSTANDING THE NEEDS OF THE VICTIMS CONCERNING JUSTICE/HEALING/MEANING/PROCESS – Justice before peace.**
**Category – NEEDS/MEANING**

O. “When people went from inside the country you cannot say what you wanna say because the government parties they’re watching you…and if you say any word when you come back you will find a report about you, written. ….they will not allow you to have a job, they will punish you….so people who go to peace talks
from Sudan, they just watch, they cannot talk. Actually those peace talks are controlled by the government because other people from Sudan who witness the war, when they come and know what’s going on, they cannot talk the truth. Want justice first, then peace will follow….whenever there is justice, peace will follow (Justice includes freedom of expression)

Code – RETRIBUTION FOR SPEAKING OUT INTERNATIONALLY. NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH OUTSIDE OF SUDAN
Category – HINDRANCE/FREEDOM OF SPEECH/VOICE

P. “…on the tribal level, it will not have a good outcome because the government doesn’t accept and doesn’t acknowledge or respect”

Code – LOCAL LEVEL SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE NOT ACCEPTED OR RESPECTED BY GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/COMMUNICATION

Q. “…active local humanitarian organization, they always have meetings with UNAMID and they give recommendations….and the UNAMID take these recommendations….through these (local) recommendations, UNAMID can come out with peace plan and that’s when it will be applied….that will be more powerful…”

Code – LOCAL SOLUTIONS PRESENTED AND APPLIED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGENTS (UNAMID) ARE RESPECTED AND POSSIBLY ACCEPTED
Category – VOICE/CULTURE/COMMUNICATION

R. “…when the attacks come they women are the ones who are defending themselves….they’re the ones’ who take the lead…..talk….they’re involved very much in peace talk….they’re organized….they’re doing good in that term….they only need power and someone to connect them with the international community so they can take their work.…”

Code – WOMEN NEED SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A VOICE IN THE PEACE PROCESS
Category – VOICE/GENDER

S. “…brought attorneys to educate women and women became empowered, they became educated in terms of law….of their rights but the men didn’t like that because the women now are wiser, so they (the men) started treating them
aggressively. ....brought a group of attorneys to educate the women...the women liked it”

**Code** – *EMPOWERED WOMEN FACE CHALLENGES FROM MALE RELATIVES. CULTURAL NUANCES ARE OBSTACLES*
*Category* – *HINDRANCE/GENDER BIAS/CULTURE/VOICE*

**Sara – Participant 3**

A. “....make Darfur a nice peaceful town....like not always wars...”

**Code** – *SECURITY OF HOMELAND/HOMESTEAD EQUATES JUSTICE AND STABILITY. JUSTICE/EQUALITY*
*Category* – *SECURITY/SAFETY*

B. “....need to take the president out....get the president to quit his job....he can’t be the president no more...he’s making everybody have the wars and killing people....”

**Code** – *CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP.*
*Category* – *POWER/ABUSES*

C. “....he don’t want...Darfur people to learn.”

**Code** – *DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION/EDUCATION/EQUALITY.*
*Category* – *HINDRANCE/ABUSES*

D. “....he don’t want...Darfur people to....be healthy.”

**Code** – *DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO HEALTH CARE/SERVICES.*
*Category* – *HINDRANCE/EQUALITY/HEALTHCARE*

E. “......he doesn’t want people to be peaceful....when the people has peace in Darfur, you can learn....understand anything about the government....he don’t want that....”

**Code** – *INTERRUPTION OF PEACEFUL EXISTENCE DENIES ACCESS TO EDUCATION. DELIBERATE DISRUPTION OF ACCESS TO*
EDUCATION THROUGH WAR. STABILITY ENCOURAGES TO ACCESS OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN. OBSTRUCTION TO GAINING POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE OF THE GoS
Category – HINDRANCE/SAFETY/EDUCATION

F. “…don’t want to learn…study the kids…he wants (sic) to be nothing…he want to kill every Black….”

Code – EDUCATION/ EXTERMINATION OF ETHNIC GROUP [blacks]/ CULTURE/ EDUCATION
Category – SAFETY/IDENTITY

G. “…all of…my country is African….some people is light skin….some people dark skin….but the president, he don’t want that….he want every country light [skin]….”

Code – IDENTITY/ COMPLEXION CRISIS.
Category – HINDRANCE/IDENTITY

H. “…he don’t want it…like Darfur….he doesn’t want them to learn and get good education and get jobs….when you have a good education, you can take job….you can work….”

Code – DENIAL OF EDUCATION AND FUTURE PROFESSION/ OBSTACLES TO FUTURE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL/ PROFESSION/JOB AND EMPLOYMENT VIA EDUCATION/ ECONOMIC. Category – HINDRANCE/ABUSES

I. “…he bribes the people and he tells them to go kill others….he even bribes the police……, not only the police but people from him [his group]”

Code – CORRUPTION, BRIBES. CORRUPTION/ ECONOMIC.
Category – HINDRANCE/CORRUPTION

J. “…he’s giving…guns….taking him [them] by planes and sometimes chemical….chemical weapons….’cause sometimes he go to the village in the night, when the people sleeping….by plane…..he spray it…the village….in the morning when another village come and see it….everybody is dead….every animal, everything…”
Code - CHEMICAL WARFARE IS BEING USED. AIRRAIDS WITH THE USE OF CHEMICALS. TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF ALL LIVES. TOTAL ANNIHILATION.
Category – SAFETY/ SECURITY

K. “…and nobody to talk….when you talk like this…. (she motions a cut at the throat)”

Code – CODE OF SILENCE THROUGH THREAT OF DEATH. PENALTY AND FEAR OF SPEAKING OUT. SAFETY/SECURITY/REALIATION.
Category – HINDRANCE/VOICE/SAFETY

L. “…when you don’t want someone to talk, you come in and give you money…”

Code – BRIBARY FOR SILENCE. CORRUPTION/ INTIMIDATION/ ECOMOMIC
Category – HINDRANCE/VOICE

M. “…..or come on I want to give you….put you in the prison and kill you….don’t somebody see you....”

Code – THREAT OF IMPRISONMENT. FALSE IMPRISOMENT. MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCES. RETALIATION.
Category – HINDRANCE/ABUSES/SAFETY

N. “….some people like American or any country take ….the medicines and food to help Darfur….many organize (organizations) in Darfur…to help people…medicine and food…”

Code – AID AGENCIES PROVIDES NEEDED HUMANITARIAN AID LIKE FOOD AND MEDICINE. POWER/ CORRUPTION.
Category – POWER/

O. “…the president…making trouble…..steal….and sometimes take this medicine and like a blanket and food….and put in the store…to buy for you know”

Code – HUMANITARIAN AID SUPPLIES ARE BEING CONFISCATED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND ARE BEING SOLD IN STORES/VICTIMS ARE NOT GEIVEN AID. CORRUPTION.
Category – POWER/CORRUPTION
P. “…nobody talk…”

**Code – CODE OF SILENCE ON THE STOLEN AID DUE TO FEAR OF RETRIBUTION. FEAR/DISTRUST.**  
Category – HINDRANCE

Q. “…my president…the ICC wanted Al-Bashir but nobody to….arrest him….he’s a killer man”

**Code - WANTS THE ARREST OF THE PRESIDENT AL-BASHIR/ ICC AS A MEANS TO OBTAINING JUSTICE/ PUNISHMENT/ POWER.**  
Category - POWER

R. “…but Muslim kill Muslim is not good…..the God say, what Muslim kill Muslim should go to hell….”

**Code –VIOLATIONS OF RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES AND TEACHING AND VALUES/ SPIRITUAL PUNISHMENT. POWER. BELIEFS/RELIGION**  
Category - JUSTICE

S. “…when people attack….when the Janjaweed…they will come with machetes and they chop them…sometimes they arrange with the government troops…they come with airplanes and just…sometimes instead of killing them with guns, they just burn them with fire…..”

**Code - COORDINATED ATTACKS BETWEEN JANJAWEEDS [MILITIAS] AND MILITARY/ VARIOUS EXTERMINATION TACTICS EMPLOYED/ CHEMICAL WEAPONS FROM THE AIR.**  
Category - SECURITY/SAFETY/ACCOUNTABILITY

T. “….some people…like thief….when you have something…they loot the harvest…..gun you and your brother and your sister…chop, chop, chop….take what you have…..cut her feet….and take anything…everything in your home…..they use big trucks and remove them from your house….kill you mom, your dad in front of your eyes…..”

**Code - THE REBELS STEAL HARVEST AND PROPERTIES FROM VICTIMS HOME/ INJURE, MAME AND KILL VICTIMS. TRAUMA AND TERROR IS USED AS A DETERENT TO RESISTANCE/ SECURITY**  
Category – HINDRANCE/SECURITY
U. “…justice is that Omar Bashir who is wanted…be given to the ICC….him and his officials….the fifty people wanted should be …..removed…..that’s the first step to justice”

Code - **REMOVAL OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT**  
Category - **HINDRANCE/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

V. “The international community [should remove the government]….like the UN…they take peacekeepers to Darfur but still they are not able to do anything….”

Code – **FAILURE OF INT’L COMMUNITY**  
Category - **POWER**

W. “…If they are the ones who...send this, Darfur issue to the ICC…they should have a mandate…..”

Code – **STRONGER MANDATES TO CAPTURE & REMOVE GOVERNMENT LEADERS**  
Category - **POWER**

X. “…government is using the name of Islam but what they are doing is not at all Islam….even Muslim countries should think about it and do something about it…..”

Code – **ABUSE OF RELIGION/ ISLAMIC COUNTRIES SHOULD ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE TO END THE CRISIS**  
Category –**HINDRANCE/ABUSES**

Y. “…Bashir is their [Islamic countries] friend…and the Islamic they cover each other…giving him [Bashir] money….Islamic countries don’t want foreigners to come to any Muslim country….”

Code – **COVER-UP AMONG ISLAMIC LEADERS/COUNTRIES**  
Category – **HINDRANCE/ACCOUNTABILITY**

Z. “…he’s saying …this is Jewish….the big enemy of Muslim is Jewish….he says those are Jewish who are trying to bring forces to Sudan….Muslim countries are standing by his side because of that…”
Code – *JEWISH CONSPIRACY TALK BY GoS/ MUSLIM AGAINST NON-MUSLIM*
Category – *HINDRANCE/COMMUNICATION*

AA. “…only one group of people ruling the country….Darfurian…they have their own kingdom, they’re people with decency and a way of ruling but they are never given a chance…..and they divide them and make them fight…..so they won’t be able to have stability….”

Code – *POLITICAL HISTORY OF DARFUR IGNORED/CULTURE*
Category – *HINDRANCE/CULTURE/HISTORY*

BB. “…elections in Sudan….are corrupt…they change the results…elections are not clear…they’re not honest….they’re not transparent…..even when one time they monitor…the government was able to bring teenagers who were not even eighteen…the government gave them money…”

Code – *CORRUPT ELECTIONS/FALSIFICATION OF VOTES*
Category – *HINDRANCE/CORRUPTION*

CC. “…Black magic…Al-Bashir has a lot of people living in his house….do Black magic to keep him in power and to make his enemies shut up….He brought a lot of people from Darfur…..they know a lot of it [Black magic]…he brought them and gave them money and put them in his house…they are scared of him…”

Code – *MISUSE AND ABUSE OF TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL BELIEFS*
Category – *HINDRANCE/ABUSES*

DD. “…give him a lot of money…you have a son or daughter…can go to America…to learn….a good education or any country to [get] good education….you are poor man…you want your kids to eat….to learn…”

Code – *EXPLOITATION OF POVERTY*
Category – *HINDRANCE/BRIBERY*

EE. “…they bring people from the middle of Sudan….from west….every part of Sudan….they’re given money but the others are watching….”

Code – *DIVIDE AND CONQUER/ EMPLOY SPIES TO IDENTIFY OPPOSITION*
Category – *SAFETY/INTIMIDATION*
FF. “…because he has power, he has money….he has killed people in front of others….so the others can have fear…”

Code – MAKE EXAMPLE OF OTHER TO INSTILL FEAR
Category – SAFETY/ABUSES

GG. “….the government…the TV stations…the government owns it….he make control for everything…noting he don’t want it to put on TV”

Code – INJUSTICE TIED TO CENSORSHIP OF INFORMATION THROUGH MEDIA
Category – VOICE/CENSORSHIP

HH. “….women do play a big role and they can contribute, women have taken the lead [in communities where men are absent]….they know what they want….they can speak.”

Code - WOMEN NEED TO BE INCLUDED IN LEADERSHIP AS NEGOTIATORS
Category – VOICE/POWER

Faiza – Participant 4

A. “…wish the government is allowing people to go to the camps….because it’s totally different from just hearing from the victims who actually were there….they [women] suffer….especially the women….they go through a lot…..’

Code – IMPORTANT TO HEAR VICTIMS’ VOICE/ LIVED EXPERIENCE
Category – VOICE/LIVED EXPERIENCES

B. “…living in Darfur…supporting myself…farming….was living without suffering….because….was able to work….live happily…”

Code – HAPPY/INDEPENDENT/ECONOMIC STABILITY [PRE-WAR]
Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE/HISTORY

C. “…war came….turned ….lives upside down….you will be in your house….people will come to your house and point gun to you and ask you to leave….they loot your house or if you don’t leave they set your house on fire.
You are obligated to run even if you are not trying to leave your house, you gonna leave because they put fire on it…..”

**Code – DELIBERATE DESTRUCTION OF HOMESTEAD CAUSE FORCED ABANDONMENT**  
Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE/SAFETY

D. “….some [people] who cannot hear, some who cannot see…they [Janjaweed] put their [the disabled] houses on fire….they [disabled] burn inside the house and died…”

**Code – DISABLED ARE KILLED**  
Category – SECURITY/SAFETY

E. “….saw them [Janjaweed] tying young children just like animals together and tie them on…a tree…and leave them to die from hunger and thirsty….all the people run because the village is set on fire….some people get raped…”

**Code - TORTURE OF CHILDREN**  
Category – SECURITY/SAFETY

F. “….was personally attacked and raped….was beaten and have a lot of scars on ….body….they [Janjaweed] raped [me] so badly to the point it caused infections and …had to take…uterus out. Now, cannot have children anymore…..”

**Code – PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF ATTACK AND RAPE/ LASTING MEDICAL ISSUES**  
Category – SAFETY/HEALTH

G. “…No, did not [report rape]….was in the village….to go and report to police you have to go to a bigger …city or township….even if ….report(ed), nobody cares, nobody will help….”

**Code – PERCEPTION OF ABANDONMENT BY AUTHORITIES**  
Category – HINDRANCE/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

H. “…the first thing for justice to be implemented…the government cause all of ….atrocities….government does the harm but they are in denial…..they don’t report…correctly to the international community to ask help to sincerely resolve this issue…and eradicate the problem…..”

**Code – JUSTICE IS REMOVAL OF THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT**  
Category – HINDRANCE/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/DENIAL
I. “…the government of Sudan is a hindrance to justice and is the cause of all the trouble…”

**Code – GOVERNMENT IS THE CULPRIT**  
**Category – HINDRANCE/DISTRUST/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

J. “….first thing is democracy in Sudan because even in America, the president has to be elected and he has a certain amount…but in Sudan, this guy has been there thirty-something years…”

**Code – LIMIT ON PRESIDENTIAL TERM IN OFFICE**  
**Category – HINDRANCE/DISTRUST/CORRUPTION**

K. “…they fraud the election, the elections are not correct…so they continue to come back in power…”

**Code – ELECTION FRAUD**  
**Category – HINDRANCE/CORRUPTION**

L. “…after they have democracy…and the president comes and is making the same mistakes, she should be taken off to bring and elect a new president who can make justice….no favoritism….no racism….people of Sudan should be treated equally…and if the president is making the mistakes…there should be punishment or impeachment…and they should elect somebody else who is more qualified…”

**Code – ELECTION REFORMS**  
**Category – SECURITY/CORRUPTION**

M. “….internationally from all the countries in Europe….should be representatives…that can be monitoring the elections and assure that this elections are correct…”

**Code – INTERNATIONAL MONITORING OF ELECTIONS**  
**Category – SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

N. “…justice…human rights respected, there is equality, resources are being distributed equally to everybody…..people consider human being the same….there is no war…people don’t try to kill each other for no
reason…..people should not give themselves a right to humiliate and torture others…..”

**Code – DESCIBING JUSTICE**
**Category – SECURITY/EQUALITY/VOICE/SAFETY**

O. “…in Sudan is that people are not able to express themselves clearly or you cannot speak your mind….cannot criticize the government….you cannot even say the truth that you are suffering….if you do you gonna be punished or they can take you to a place where your family will not know…”

**Code – DESCRIBE INJUSTICE/SILENCING OF THE VICTIMS**
**Category – VOICE/SAFETY**

P. “…justice should come from outsider…the international community….doesn’t trust anybody in Sudan because they ….rule over thirty something years by the same system and they got corrupt….do[es]n’t trust that people from inside [Sudan] would bring real justice…”

**Code – ABUSE OF THE SYSTEM/OUTSIDE HELP NECESSARY**
**Category – HINDRANCE/DISTRUST/CORRUPTION**

Q. “…justice and peace are not the same thing…..if….one is applied the other one will be…justice comes first….then eventually there will be peace…”

**Code – JUSTICE IS IMPORTANT FOR PEACE**
**Category – VOICE/SAFETY/MEANING**

R. “…more consistency….the steps of getting peace and justice to the people of Darfur…a lot of people came…they tried to get information, they got involved….nobody is consistent…..when people start doing something, they should continue….”

**Code – CONSISTENCY IN RESOLUTION FOR JUSTICE**
**Category – HINDRANCE/INCONSISTENCIES/CORRUPTION/VOICE**

S. “…Darfur have a different culture, different tradition….even rules and morals….our people are more discipline than people in the ‘north’….we have some beliefs that are totally different…the way our families function…the way people keep their relationships and all that….that could be a fact the hinders the
peace….we have to consider the people, who they are and need to understand them, their culture, their beliefs, their norms….”

**Code - CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AS PART OF THE PROCESS**
**Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE**

T. “…we in Darfur live as tribes…in small ones…and it’s a lot of tribes there…..we also have territories….like the Furs have their areas, the Zagalas, the Masalites….territories have to be respected…divided in a way that doesn’t bring clashes”

**Code – TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES FUNCTIONED AS PEACE**
**Category – CULTURE/HISTORY/GEOGRAPHY**

U. “…..the Arabs when….they travel in certain areas they have their animals…they’re not supposed to go over the areas where there are farms and people have gardens….the government gave the Arabs a chance to go…and take other people’s lands….disrespect their farms…..”

**Code – DISRESPECT OF TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES**
**Category – IDENTITY/ECONOMICS**

V. “…they just put their animals to eat and destroy all their grains….this is what people live on…they farm, they make crops…they sell them…that’s who they …and that’s how they live…..”

**Code – TERRITORIAL ENCROACHMENT DESTROYS A WAY OF LIFE**
**Category – ECONOMICS/CULTURE/IDENTITY**

W. “….when they destroy with their animals then they people become poor…the values of having your own land…making your own, income…not…depending on the government to give you a job….they create their own jobs….we have local markets they’re very active….they make business with their trucks…they have money, just by making these local businesses…”

**Code – DESTRUCTING OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE**
**Category – CULTURE/IDENTITY/ECONOMICS**

X. “…the Janjaweed…destroyed all this…that destroy our economy…so the way we live and we develop ourselves in Darfur is totally different from other areas in
Sudan…we are resourceful, ….active…don’t depend on the government to give us anything…we do our own, we have our own….”

**Code – CULTURAL AND SELF SUFFICIENCY**  
**Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE**

*Neimat – Participant 5*

A. “…I have some family, they came from villafe because they destroy their village….rape womens….I went the refugees, to the camp…it’s called Abshuk…”

**Code – DESTRUCTION OF VILLAGE/ RAPE**  
**Category – SAFETY/SECURITY**

B. “…they still rape womens over there…even the soldiers….yes, the government soldiers…they come into the house…and in front of the mean in the house they….call his daughter and they take her outside…and they rape her in front of his eye….”

**Code – RAPE OCCURS INFRONT OF FAMILY MEMBERS**  
**Category – ABUSES/HINDRANCE/SECURITY/HUMILIATION**

C. “…and they can’t say anything….because they kill them if they say anything…..”

**Code – OBJECTION OR RESISTANCE TO RAPE CAN MEAN DEATH**  
**Category – SAFETY/SECURITY/RIGHTS**

D. “No they don’t give them….they just do it…”

**Code – ACTS OF VIOLENCE WITH NO STATED REASON**  
**Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/VIOLENCE**

E. “…the call them bad names or they come in the house….make problems in the house….if anyone opens mouths, they kill them…..they rape women…they just rape….they just abuse womens and kill them….like two or three of them….males…they rape one woman…”

**Code – RAPE/ GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE GANG**  
**Category – SAFETY/VIOLENCE/HUMILIATION**
F. “After…rape…sometimes to the hospital and no investigation…no
treatment….even sometimes they (hospital workers) don’t treat them (victims)…”

**Code – NO TREATMENT FOR RAPE VICTIMS**  
**Category – SAFETY/HEALTHCARE**

G. “Some of them, it’s shame….to talk about it…they [hospital staff] come in and
they ask them [victims], they feel shame…not just for rape…for nobody, in
Sudan…it’s our culture…it’s shame to go…example…if I was in my house and
some man come and rape me….it’s shame for me to talk even to my family…if I
don’t {get} injured I just go and hide it…..”

**Code - CULTURAL STIGMA/ ISOLATION & FEAR**  
**Category – SAFETY/VOICE**

H. “They can become pregnant then you can tell….they punish you…they don’t
believe you…they think you went and…..you did it….even if your family believe
you…the community don’t believe you….the woman…they can kill the
woman…her family…will kill her….because of the shame to the whole family by
being pregnant out of marriage”

**Code – FAMILY’S & COMMUNITY’S DISBELIEF OF RAPE CAN LEAD
TO PUNISHMENT/ MULTIPLE LAYERS OF DISBELIEF**  
**Category – SAFETY/ CULTURE/VALUES**

I. “…if some of them get pregnant or make love with men outside and get pregnant,
they try to use medication to abort the baby….that medication could kill
them….they use illegal medication”

**Code – UNSAFE ABORTIONS DUE TO FEAR**  
**Category – SAFETY/HEALTHCARE**

J. “No [responding to the opportunity of going to a clinic to have abortion], because
they don’t do operation…it’s religion…and the shame…they don’t do that in the
hospital”

**Code – RELIGIOUS OBJECTION TO TERMINATE PREGNANCY**  
**Category – SAFETY/CULTURE/RELIGION**

K. “Nobody care [on understanding that the conflict caused many rapes]…they
don’t….not even the police….the hospital….even they don’t care…”
**Code – **MULTIPLE SOCIAL SYSTEMS LACK OF OBJECTIVITY TO THE NEED FOR ABORTION Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/SAFETY/VOICE

L. “Yea, they [international organizations] help….”

**Code – **MORE UNDERSTANDING AND OBJECTIVITY FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS Category – SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/TRUST

M. “…they [victims] have traumatic disorder….they get raped…they get sick….they don’t have right to say anything….they are struggling….they don’t have people speaking their language….don’t understand their culture…..we understand them….they can trust us….and tell us exactly what they are feeling….we can help them….to encourage them to bring out what they feel inside.”

**Code – **JUSTICE IS SERVICE FROM INSIDERS Category – SAFETY/CULTURE/COMMUNICATION

N. “…lack of cultural understanding…that’s why women they don’t get justice over there….they don’t feel comfortable to say anything…even they have some organizations working…there…but from different culture, …. Different country…”

**Code – **CULTURAL NUANCES INHIBIT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSIONS Category – SAFETY/VOICE

O. “…all the organizations try to help them…but it’s just lack of the culture…cultural understanding…”

**Code – **CULTURE DIFFERENCE IS A HINDERANCE TO JUSTICE Category – HINDRANCE/COMMUNICATION/CULTURE

P. “….like women in Sudan, they culture make them don’t …trust nobody….each other, they don’t trust each other…don’t trust people from outside…”

**Code - **DISTRUST IS PART OF THE CULTURE ESPECIALLY PEOPLE FROM THE OUTSIDE COMMUNITY. LACK OF UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL NORMS AND COMMUNICATION STYLES. Category – HINDRANCE/DISTRUST
Q. “They have to stand together…to voice…to talk…raise their voice…”

**Code – STANDING TOGETHER WILL CREATE OPPORTUNITY FOR A STRONGER VOICE**
**Category – UNITY/VOICE**

R. “…defiant of the government…”

**Code – UNITY IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT**
**Category – UNITY/VOICE**

S. “Because the government…they have money, they can buy people….”

**Code – GOVERNMENT EXPLOIT THE PEOPLE’S SITUATION OF POVERTY**
**Category – HINDRANCE/BRIBERY/CORRUPTION/EXPLOITATION**

T. “Yes…for women in Darfur…women should have the right, to get what she needs….to have a voice…..to be democratic…to talk…to negotiate with the government….”

**Code – NEED FOR HER OWN VOICE/POWER**
**Category – VOICE/GENDER RIGHTS**

U. “…Women, she should have justice, she should have a voice in Sudan to talk about her feeling….”

**Code – NO VOICE/ SPEAK FOR ONES SELF**
**Category – VOICE**

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Participant 6 – Farha

A. “…some people they are not given their rights…other things have been taken from them….some people work, they don’t give….pay them…..”

**Code – NO RIGHTS, NO PAY FOR LABOR**
**Category – HINDRANCE/HUMAN RIGHTS/EQUALITY**

B. “…everyone is working for survive themselves or himself, there is no laws…..”
Code – **LACK OF LAWS/NO ORDER**  
Category – **SECURITY/EQUALITY**

C. “…for most women who were affected by war…the lost (or left) their houses….living in places which doesn’t belong to them…and they have kids…and for women when they lost their houses and their children also…that’s difficult for them…if she lost her husband due to war, that would be a big problem…especially is she are not a working woman.”

Code – **LOSS OF DOMICILE/ LOSS OF HOMES (SECURITY)/ ECONOMIC SECURITY**  
Category – **SECURITY/IDENTITY/SAFETY**

D. “…the woman has to work, she has a right to work so she could ….take care of her kids….”

Code – **ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE**  
Category – **SECURITY/GENDER RIGHTS**

E. “…and raise her voice…if the government is not fulfilling her needs….especially if the government killed the husband and their kids…..”

Code – **NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH**  
Category – **VOICE/SECURITY**

F. “…Women to could have a big…job…role in obtaining peace…”

Code - **OPPORTUNITY FOR POSITION OF POWER/AUTHORITY IN THE PEACE PROCESS**  
Category – **VOICE/GENDER EQUALITY**

G. “…they [women] could raise their voices…they have to speak out to tell their stories and not be afraid…”

Code - **FEAR TO SPEAK OUT/ NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH**  
Category – **VOICE/SAFETY/FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

H. “…when there is equality between people…then there will be no war”
Code – FAIRNESS AMONG PEOPLE/PEACE
Category – EQUALITY/SECURITY

I. “…people don’t have trust….”

Code – DISTRUST
Category – HINDRANCE/DISTRUST

J. “…people could just find solutions to the problem….”

Code – PARTICIPATE IN PROBLEM SOLVING
Category – VOICE/ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

K. “…the international community…if they study this, they could just…put…good solution…with help from the international community…”

Code - PREFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TOWARD PEACE/JUSTICE
Category – SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

L. “Justice is needed first…”

Code – PRIORITY IS JUSTICE
Category – SECURITY/VOICE

Participant 7 - Haga

A. “…I need whoever have the power to help us……”

Code – RELIANT ON ‘THOSE PRESUMED’ TO HAVE POWER TO HELP
Category – POWER/SECURITY

B. “…last August I went to Sudan….I just went to Khartoum….I couldn’t go to Darfur to see my father, my sister…they couldn’t come because they so poor……”

Code – ECONOMIC DISPARITY CONTRIBUTE TO SEPARATION.
Category – IDENTITY/ECONOMICS

C. “…I need whoever has the power to help us to catch Al-Bashir and whoever is killing our families…we need justice from Darfur….we really need help.”
Code – HELP IN ATTAINING JUSTICE IS PERCEIVED TO BE OUTSIDE OF THE REGION.
Category – SECURITY/POWER

D. “I just need for anybody has the power to help us from Darfur…to catch Al-Bashir, like they catch everybody else (other perpetrators of atrocities)

Code – JUSTICE IS CATCHING AL-BASHIR/ END IMPUNITY
Category – POWER/PUNISHMENT/SAFETY

E. “…..right now, they killing people and they catching them….they’ll call your family and tell them that if you don’t give me money….won’t free them

Code – KIDNAPPING AND MURDER OFTEN OCCURS. RAMSOM/EXTORTION DEMANDS FOR THOSE WHO ARE PERCEIVED TO BEING ABLE TO PAY.
Category – CORRUPTION/ABUSES/EXTORTION

F. “…people are dying every day…nobody is doing nothing….ten years, people are still dying…they’re kidnapping….they burn villages….nobody’s doing nothing…..”

Code – NO END IN SIGHT. DESTRUCTION AND MURDERS ARE CURRENTLY OCCURRING. INACTIVITY IN RESOLVING THE CONFLICT
Category – CORRUPTION/ABUSES/MURDER

G. “….you see Libya? They help catch him and they kill him….why Bashir still around? Ten years?

Code - IMPUNITY FOR SUDAN ATROCITIES. COMPARED TO COUNTRIES LIKE LIBYA, SUDAN IS NOT PRIORITY.
Category – POWER/IDENTITY

H. “…I will never forgive him and Allah will catch him one day…and judgement day will come…”

Code – UNFORGIVENESS AS A WEAPON OF COMFORT. RELIGIOUS BELIEF IN THE ULTIMATE PUNISHMENT.
Category – BELIEFS/RELIGION
I. “…maybe because we are poor…we don’t have anything like a gas…oil or something…if we have something special, maybe people will help us because ten years is a lot….”

*Code – RESOURCES/ECONOMIC WEALTH DETERMINES ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING JUSTICE.*  
*Category – IDENTITY/ECONOMICS*

J. “…if you go to farm…they, Janjaweed will say…if you finish, you gonna get half and we gonna get half…but the women can’t say nothing…because you don’t have power…if you say that, they gonna get everything…”

*Code – EXTORTION OVER VICTIMS’ POSSESSION/GOODS. WOMEN HAVE NOT VOICE TO NEGOTIATE. WILL BE PENALIZED FOR SPEAKING OUT. GENDER BIAS IN THE AREA OF POWER*  
*Category - HINDRANCE/POWER/SECURITY*

K. “…cause we don’t have power, we are scared…” [to report crimes to police]

*Code – LACK OF PERCEIVED POWER HINDERS REPORTING TO POLICE*  
*Category - POWER/PERCEPTION*

L. “…if we go (report to police) he might kill us or send somebody to hurt my family…we’re afraid…."

*Code - FEAR OF RETALIATION FOR MAKING REPORT*  
*Category – HINDRANCE/SECURITY/FEAR*

M. ” - we just need the European Union to help us and whoever has the power”

*Code – PERCEIVED POWER OF ATTAINING JUSTICE IS RELIANT ON OUTSIDERS.*  
*Category - POWER/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY*

N. “…I just want our voice to be (sic) heard”

*Code – NEED TO BE HEARD AND ACKNOWLEDGED*  
*Category - VOICE/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT*
O. “…’cause we don’t need, we don’t need….we don’t get any help…we farm, and we have our own stuff…we don’t need help… if we have kids…you take our kids to go to farm, get our own water with our donkeys…our own camel…help yourself…”

**Code – SENSE OF INDEPENDENCE/ HISTORICAL INDEPENDENCE/ CULTURE AND HISTORICAL PRIDE LOST**
Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE

P. “Who’s gonna listen to you? Nobody will listen to you….we don’t have power….”

**Code – NO VOICE. POWER A PRECURSOR TO JUSTICE [ON WOMEN’S ROLE IN THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE]**
Category – VOICE/GENDER RIGHTS/EQUALITY

Q. “…if you say anything…if you have children…they might kill your children too…for example, if it’s a boy….because he’s going to lead the Darfur”

**Code – MALES [BOYS] ARE TARGETED BECAUSE THEY ARE PRESUMED TO BE THE FUTURE LEADERS OF DARFUR AND THUS A THREAT TO THE CURRENT REGIME**
Category – VOICE/SAFETY/FEAR/ABUSES

R. “I wish…next time I go ….Sudan…. find everything’s peaceful….when I go to my country, I can feel proud not scared”

**Code – RETURN OF CULTURAL PRIDE**
Category – SECURITY/SAFETY

Participant 8 – Layla

A. “…justice is if someone is wronged…then they’re able to get back what they lost…”

**Code – RESTORATION OF LOSS/PROPERTY/LIFESTYLE/LAND/HERITAGE**
Category – REPARATION/RESTORATION

B. “…then the person who did them wrong then God can take care of [him?] in the hereafter…and so that person can feel that what they did….”
Code - ULTIMATE JUSTICE IS ETERNAL AND EQUAL AS TO THE PAIN CAUSED TO OTHERS/ RETRIBUTION FROM GOD FOR THE PERPETRATORS
Category – PUNISHMENT/ETERNAL/RELIGION

C. “….what happened to them [the victim], that there’s someone who is defending them, and giving them their rights….so they can feel that they got justice”

Code – ASSIST VICTIMS IN SECURING THEIR RIGHTS
Category – SAFETY/SUPPORT/ADVOCATE

D. “….the person who’s …suffered the injustice…what was taken from them that…s/he gets it back….in this life”

Code – REPARATION AND COMPENSATION ARE NECESSARY TO HAVE JUSTICE
Category – REPARATION/COMPENSATION

E. “….and then if there’s anything left then you leave it up to God to compensa….to deal with in the hereafter”

Code - JUSTICE FOLLOWS IN THE AFTERLIFE/ ETERNAL PUNISHMENT COMPLETES WHAT WAS INADEQUATE OR INSUFFICIENTLY ADDRESSED IN THIS LIFE
Category – PUNISHMENT/ETERNAL

F. “UN should give us our justice because he is responsible…the UN is responsible for everybody. They should give us justice or for everybody who is from Darfur, from Iraq….because the UN was responsible for justice…that why they make UN….because he should protect…any person in the world”

Code - UN BELIEVED TO BE RESPONSIBLE AGENCY FOR DISTRIBUTION OF JUSTICE
Category – SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/UNITED NATIONS

G. “…feel that justice is for the UN…or whatever governing body to make just for the person who committed the crime…when that happens that means justice is done….won’t feel like any justice happened if that doesn’t happen and it’s just like nothing if that didn’t happen”
Code - JUSTICE INCORPORATES THE PERPETRATOR’S FACING PUNISHMENT
Category – JUSTICE/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/UN

H. “…give us back what he did….but I need to catch the people who is did that for our tribe…”

Code – COMPENSATION BY THE PERPETRATORS
Category – REPARATION/COMPENSATION/JUSTICE

I. “…need to catch Al-Bashir first…and the Janjaweed first….and the any person…he is did that in Darfur….”

Code – CAPTURE AND ARREST OF PERPETRATOR IS PRIORITY TO JUSTICE
Category – JUSTICE/SAFETY/POWER

J. “…If you want to kill them….put him in jail….we need to see what’s happened bad stuff for our tribe….should happened to them too…that we know that justice is still live to any person….”

Code – EQUALITY IN THE PUNISHMENT AS TO THE PAIN INFlicted ON THE VICTIMS. VICTIMS NEED TO WITNESS PUNISHMENT
Category – SAFETY/JUSTICE/PUNISHMENT

K. “…..burned my village….killed my three uncle(s)(sic)…my mom, my mom’s brother….three on one day…..the police station on my village….it’s like 45 mile…it’s not away from the village and my town which went I live….we tell police….didn’t nothing…nobody…go to see my….village which when it was burn….nobody gonna take the people injury…”

Code – REPORT TO THE POLICE WERE IGNORED.
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/SAFETY

L. “…nobody gonna even…ask who is kill this person…..”

Code – NO INVESTIGATION OR QUESTIONING OF DEATHS
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/SAFETY
M. “…and we see that is the Janjaweed…we see in our eyes…that is the
Janjaweed…and nobody follows…..follows them [Janjaweed] that why we not
feeling like people from Darfur…and we not feeling we have government…”

Code – EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT ARE IGNORED. FEELINGS OF
ABANDONMENT
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/SECURITY

N. “…Police? He say we don’t go because the government they don’t give us
greenlight to go nothing,…and we don’t gonna protect any person…before he
[government] tell us….if that Bashir or if the….if we got green light in the
government we go…if we don’t got greenlight we don’t go…..”

Code – INVESTIGATION OF REPORTS OF CRIME BY LOCAL
AUTHORITIES ARE RESTRICTED BY THE GoS
Category – SECURITY/CORRUPTION

O. “…the policeman…it is Fur…it is not Janjaweed…it is a lot of tribe because
Darfur it is have a lot of tribe….it is not one….specific one tribe…but even if
some people from my tribe (FUR), the government they don’t tell them to go…”

Code – POLICE WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE FUR TRIBE DO NOT
RESPOND WITHOUT ORDER FROM THE GoS. SUBJECTED TO GoS
APPROVAL TO RESPOND TO REPORTED CRIMES
Category – SAFETY/SECURITY/CORRUPTION

P. “…maybe they gonna fire them in her position….or in his position….that’s why
they don’t going….the government or the Bashir specifically, he need to kill
Darfur people an’ nobody gonna ask him and he still kill then, people from
Darfur….”

Code – FEAR OF RETALIATION FOR DOING JOB AS POLICE
Category – SECURITY/CORRUPTION

Q. “…and we feeling like we are not human…if we are human….the UN, should to
do something for us…”

Code – FEELING DEHUMANIZED
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/IDENTITY/EMOTION
R. “….I have three uncles and one brother and like forty in my cousin…all of my family, part of family…they are done….they’re all dead…”

**Code – LOSS OF FAMILY MEMBERS**
**Category – SAFETY/LOSS/MURDER**

S. “…we don’t have nothing, we don’t have medicine….if they take them [the injured family members] to the hospital, they say…’we’re don’t have any medicine to give them and the doctor is not here, we should schedule tomorrow’….the people they are bleeding…some people they are bleeding and they don’t have blood and they’re gonna die….”

**Code – POOR HEALTHCARE SERVICES\ NO URGENCY TOWARD CARE FOR THE INJURED**
**Category – SECURITY/SAFETY/HEALTH**

T. “….that is happen to me really…and that is very hard for me…and I feeling for that, every minute I feeling for that…and every day….sometime I not understand what I can do when I remember that…I’m not understand what I can do….I ask myself why I was live…because my families are all gone…”

**Code – SURVIVORS GUILT AND SUFFERING**
**Category – SAFETY/TRAUMA/GUILT**

U. “…why are we not gonna scare him…because he’s gonna rape the women, he’s gonna kill the child, he’s gonna burn our village, why don’t we scare for them?

**Code – PEOPLE LIVE IN FEAR/NO SAFETY/FEAR**
**Category – SAFETY/RETAI LIATION/FEAR/ABUSES**

V. “….and now we have the UN in Darfur and they don’t gonna do nothing….and we are not free…”

**Code – NO SENSE OF SAFETY OR FREEDOM EVEN WITH THE UN’S PRESENCE**
**Category – SECURITY/POWER/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

W. “….you see which in is happen for last two months ago in South Africa?…..if he don’t use magic…he is catch him….and he leave home for nothing to go…and he
is free, right now….and he is clear and he is make party….he like the hero…he sees himself, …like the hero…”

**Code – CULTURAL BELIEF IN SPIRITUAL POWERS/ PROTECTION**
**Category – CULTURE/BELIEFS/RELIGION/POWER**

X. “…if we have strong people and they take the situation in Darfur seriously…they gonna catch him, like Saddam….what happened in Iraq…why is not gonna happen that in Sudan? Why the UN is not going to Darfur and carry that people? They catch Saddam, what’s the difference between Iraq and what is the difference between Darfur? The people from Iraq, they are human…I can see any difference…”

**Code – PERCEPTION OF DARFUR AND IRAQ/ QUESTIONS OF HUMANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE**
**Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE/DEHUMANIZATION**

Y. “…Al-Bashir they don’t have anything more than Saddam….they don’t have money….they don’t have nothing to be strong then Saddam….and they don’t want to catch Al-Bashir. And I don’t see bad person more than Bashir in the world…”

**Code – THERE IS NO URGENCY OR PRIORITY TO CAPTURE AL- BASHIR/ ECONOMIC INCENTIVE TO REMOVE CORRUPT LEADERS**
**Category – JUSTICE/PRIORITY**

Z. “Because we in Darfur are poor say why?…..we are poor, we are also human…the UN should protect us….”

**Code – ECONOMIC PERCEPTION AND HUMAN(NESS)/ ECONOMIC PERCEPTON HINDERS RESOLUTION**
**Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/IDENTITY/POVERTY**

AA. “There’s nobody in this world…feeling about the Darfur war, it’s our pain…it if there’s nobody feeling they should say something…”

**Code – FEELING OF NEGLECT AND ABONDONMENT BY OUTSIDE WORLD/ LACK OF EMPATHY**
**Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/NEGLECT/ABONDONMENT**
BB. “…if it wasn’t that we were poor then they would have caught him because just like they caught Saddam…..”

**Code – POVERTY LOWERS PRIORITY FOR RESOLUTION**  
Category – JUSTICE/ECONOMICS/SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS/IDENTITY/POVERTY

CC. “…I prefer the international (community) because the UN, it is not specific for Darfur…it is for any person in the world…”

**Code - BELIEF IN THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE UN TO PROVIDE JUSTICE**  
Category – JUSTICE/SECURITY/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/UN/IMPARTIAL

**Participant 9 – Khadija**

A. “…..justice is like whoever commits….a crime…that they get their punishment in accordance to the degree of their crime….if you make crime, your punish(ment) is just like the crime you committed.”

**Code – PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME TO BE EQUAL IN WEIGHT FOR CRIME COMMITTED. THE DEGREE OF PAIN INFLECTED ON VICTIMS SHOULD BE RETURNED TO THE PERPETRATOR’S PUNISHMENT**  
Category – PUNISHMENT/EQUALITY/ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

B. “….right now the leaders….the people didn’t get their justice because the leaders they still do their crimes and the people didn’t get any justice…..”

**Code – CONTINUATION OF THE PERPETRATION OF CRIMINAL ATROCITIES NEGATE ANY REAL PROGRESS TOWARD JUSTICE. A PART OF JUSTICE IS PUTTING A STOP TO THE CURRENT SITUATION**  
Category – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/ACCOUNTABILITY/POWER

C. “…but they did (report incident to the police) but there is no help….for the report, they write the report, they keep it for….they don’t…take care of it”

**Code – REPORT WAS WRITING BUT NO OTHER ACTIONS WERE TAKEN. REPORTING PERSONAL ASSAULT TO THE AUTHORITIES**
WAS IGNORED. THE POLICE FAILED TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATION ON CRIMES REPORTED.  
Category- ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/ACCOUNTABILITY/CORRUPTION

D. “…For women, because they is not rights for women…there’s no gender rights for women”

**Code – LACK OF GENDER RIGHTS FOR WOMEN ACT AS A HINDRANCE TO JUSTICE.**
Category – HINDRANCE/GENDER RIGHTS

E. “…if they stand together…..because they are not stand together…that’s one of them…..yes, division.”

**Code – TRIBAL UNITY COULD AID IN THE PROCESS OF JUSTICE.**
Category – HINDRANCE/DISUNITY/FEAR

F. “….The people of Darfur they need the unity…but their leaders….separate them….whatever way they do it….they still divide….the leaders of Darfur….like now the harakat….the different movements…[various rebel groups act as a deterrent to peace and the masses are pulled apart…”

**Code – DISUNITY BY THE LEADERS SEPARATE THE MASSES.**
**VARIOUS REBEL GROUPS THAT OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT ADDS EXTREANOUSLY TO THE CONFLICT.**
Category – HINDRANCE/DISUNITY/_DIVISION/POWER

G. “…when they start, they start very good…I think the Darfur problem…is not continuing to move…. [the concerns of the international agencies as dis/advantageous to aiding the process of justice and peace]….because nationally now, there’s no name of Darfur….like since they start talking about Darfur everybody needs to solve the problem ….but now I don’t think so……”

**Code – DECREASED ATTENTION TO DARFUR CONFLICT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. CONTINUED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND PRESSURE IS NEEDED TO ASSIST IN ATTAINING JUSTICE.**
Category – HINDRANCE/ACCOUNTABILITY/POWER

H. “…if they send more people over there….like at the camps or they see more problems over there….they can help….”
**Code** – *INCREASED DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE VICTIMS INSIDE THE COUNTRY MAY HELP THE SITUATION*
*Category* – *INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/POWER*

I. “...I think if you study the conflict and .... Compare between the culture and your beliefs....maybe it helps fix the problem...”

**Code** – *UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL NUANCES*
*Category* – *CULTURE/UNDERSTANDING/TRADITION*

J. “...peace...when you stay safely...and justice....it harms other people...weh you do justice for others maybe it makes more problem....for some....and now effect the peace over there...”

**Code** – *DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PEACE AND JUSTICE. JUSTICE HAS PROBLEMS AS SOME PEOPLE MAY BE HURT IN THE PROCESS.*
*Category* – *NEEDS/SAFETY/SECURITY*

K. “....like if for example one person effect crime...and they all stay together on same place....and eat together and now if you do justice for that person...now effect the peace they have before...”

**Code** – *EXAMPLE OF HOW JUSTICE COULD HARM PEACE/ CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR AFFECTS THE COLLECTIVE*
*Category* – *NEEDS/EQUALITY/SAFETY*

L. “...Justice is taking the right of the victim from the one who committed the crime. “

**Code** – *JUSTICE DEFINED*
*Category* – *NEEDS/EQUALITY/COMPENSATION*

M. “...some of them even they make justice....it not help.....like everything is gone....but still I have my pain, forever.....It still the same word...but ....for this one I suffer....”

**Code** – *SOMETIMES JUSTICE IS NOT ENOUGH*
*Category* – *NEEDS/SAFETY/RESTORATION*
Amina – Participant 10

A. “….justice is like the way a person interacts with people…how they deal with people….that they are just in how they treat people….there’s equality between people….deal with things the best way possible…”

**Code – JUSTICE EQUATES HOW ONE INTERACTS WITH ANOTHER. EQUALITY, RESPECT, FAIR TREATMENT, TOLERANCE.**
**Category – JUSTICE/EQUALITY/FAIRNESS**

B. “…there to be equality…”

**Code - JUSTICE IS EQUALITY**
**Category – JUSTICE/EQUALITY**

C. “…understood their suffering and their facing injustices…and how they are struggling…..the way they were living….that they would be….with help them….”

**Code - INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY’S UNDERSTANDING OF SUFFERING/INJUSTICES/ STRUGGLES/ LIVING CONDITIONS WOULD HELP TO BRING JUSTICE.**
**Category – EQUALITY/JUSTICE/LIVED EXPERIENCES**

D. “….because they didn’t understand what they’re suffering and what exactly they want and need…that’s why they weren’t not able to get them justice”

**Code – LACK OF UNDERSTANDING HOW THEIR CULTURE WAS DISRUPTED. CULTURAL INTERSPECTION IS NEEDED TO BEST SERVE JUSTICE.**
**Category – NEEDS/CULTURE/UNDERSTANDING**

E. “…people don’t understand what they’re suffering….how they killed them….”

**Code – IMPACT OF PERSON LOSS.**
**Category – NEEDS/UNDERSTANDING/LIVED EXPERIENCES**

F. “..”they took a lot of their land…..”

**Code – LOSS OF HOMELAND. IDENTITY TIED TO HOMELAND.**
Category – **IDENTITY/CULTURE/HOMELAND/ECONOMICS**

G. “…want justice and ….peace…..want to be left alone….that’s what people need to understand…that’s what needs to happen”

**Code – RETURN TO INDEPENDENCE BY BEING LEFT ALONE TO LIVE ACCORDING TO THEIR CULTURE.**
Category – **IDENTITY/CULTURE/ECONOMICS/INDEPENDENCE**

H. “…the international community and the NGOs…should come in and restore the peace…..”

**Code – RESTORATION OF PEACE BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY & NGOs**
Category – **POWER/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

I. “…make sure the people are able to return to their land…..”

**Code – RETURN TO HOMELAND/ RESTORE THEIR ECONOMY.**
Category – **IDENTITY/REPATRIATION/INDEPENDENCE/CULTURE**

J. “…and get their justice…..like….courts….prosecute the people who commit the crimes…”

**Code – RESTORATION OF IMPLEMENTATION OF LEGAL SYSTEM/ PUNISHMENT OF PERPETRATORS.**
Category – **SECURITY/LAWS/PUNISHMENT**

K. “…protect the people (victims) from those people (perpetrators) and from the Sudanese government” – **PROTECTION FOR AND FROM THE PERPETRATORS.**

L. “…after that the people in Sudan could come in after that has happened to help mover the process forward”

**Code – PROTECTION IS HAVING A BUFFER/SHIELD FOR THE VICTIMS VIA INTERNATIONAL AGENTS [NON-SUDANESE]/ JUSTICE INCLUDES INCORPORATING THE DARFUR PEOPLE IN MOVING THE PROCESS FORWARD AFTER STABILITY HAS BEEN SECURED/ SECONDARY SYSTEM TO BE PUT IN PLACE.**
Category – **SAFETY/SECURITY/POWER/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**
M. “…from a monetary standpoint the UN has the capabilities to give help…to give food…shelter…clothes….”

**Code – U.N. IS FINANCIALLY ABLE TO LEND SUPPORT.**
**Category – POWER/ECONOMICS/INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY**

N. “…..the Sudanese people….can’t help the situation….they are not in a situation financially to support the process from a financial standpoint”

**Code – LACK OF FINANCIAL CAPABILITY HINDERS SUDANESE/DARFURIS POWER TO IMPLEMENT A PROCESS OF SECURING STABILITY, PEACE, JUSTICE.**
**Category – POWER/ECONOMICS/IDENTITY**

O. “….the women who are educated….can be a part of the process….to help….like teach everyone how to solve the issues and come together…..”

**Code – EDUCATION AND GENDER ARE IMPORTANT IN THE PEACE PROCESS.**
**Category – VOICE/GENDER/POWER**

P. “…the way that they [women] think about peace and justice is different [from men] but ultimately they both want peace….the men, they can play a more active role….like plan things and to be in contact with the outside forces an people….to move the process forward”

**Code – GENDER DIFFERENCE PERSPECTIVES OF PEACE [AGE PLAYS A ROLE IN GENDER ROLE ABILITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES]**
**Category – VOICE/GENDER/SECURITY/SAFETY**

Q. “…[on the punishment of the president] …kill him because he’s unjust and he’s unfair…..”

**Code – PUNISHMENT BY DEATH.**
**Category – EQUALITY/PUNISHMENT**

R. “…always targeting people in the west of Darfur….because he sees that they have land…riches [what riches?]….he wants to take that away from them”
277

**Code – LAND/HOMESTEAD/ WEALTH AND ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES.**
Category – IDENTITY/ABUSES

S. “….wishes that peace could return…to the land….the people get back what the lost….get back even more than what they lost….to live in peace….return the land to what it used to be”

**Code – NOSTALGIA FOR THE PAST- CULTURE AND IDENTITY TIED TO THE LAND/ RESTORATION AND ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION OF LOSS**
Category – IDENTITY/CULTURE/REPATRIATION

**Participant 11 – Rasha**

A. “….women to participate to explain wants/needs.”
**Code – LIVED EXPERIENCE/ SELF-EXPRESSION**
Category – VOICE/GENDER/NEEDS

B. “…women and children are most affected…priority of the needs of the children and women”

**Code – VOICES OF WOMEN ARE NEEDED TO STATE THEIR FEELINGS AND OPINIONS/ SELF EXPRESSION.**
Category – VOICE/GENDER/NEEDS

C. “….culture needs to be preserved to pass on to the next generation”

**Code - CULTURAL IDENTITY & ITS PRESERVATION IS IMPORTANT.**
Category – CULTURE/IDENTITY

D. “….the direction of justice is best determined by the locals for themselves”

**Code – SELF-DETERMINATION AND DIRECTION.**
Category – VOICE/NEEDS

E. “….there is not faith or trust in the government….there is mistrust of the government…..the original population are being replaced because the government gives away the land to the Arabs”
F. “…lack of security causes people to live in difficulty……there’s need for proper education, health……security is priority”

**Code – ISSUES OF JUSTICE TO BE ADDRESSED**
**Category - SECURITY**

*Participant 12 – Fatima*

A. “Justice…includes giving people equal rights…respecting people’s rights…being fair to people all over at the same level (same level of respect regarding their station in life)….not discriminate people depending on racial background, color of skin….gender or age….equality”

**Code – EQUALITY AND FAIRNESS**
**Category – EQUALITY/JUSTICE/FAIRNESS**

B. “….respect other’s rights…..even culture…”

**Code – CULTURAL HERITAGE TO BE RESPECTED AS A PART OF FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY…JUSTICE INCLUDES HISTORICAL HERITAGE [RESPECT THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS, THESE ARE ASSOCIATED WITH ONE’S CULTURE**
**Category – CULTURE/IDENTITY/HERITAGE**

C. “…..the people of Darfur themselves are divided…..they don’t have trust among them….because the GoS gives money to some to spy on others….make some people close and give them jobs and occupations to spy against others

**Code – MONETARY INCENTIVES (BRIBES) FOR SPYING. ECONOMIC REWARDS. DECISIVE DIVISION ARE USEFUL BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC STRAIN/HARDSHIP**
**Category – HINDRANCE/CORRUPTION/BRIBERY/DISTRUST**

D. “……others who are not willing to work for the government, they are punished….so it’s a lot of fraction…. (in)unity”
Code – RESISTANCE IS PUNISHED BY THE GoS. PUNISHMENT DETERS RESISTANCE AND PROMOTES COPERATION WITH THE GoS. PROMOTES MISTRUST AMONG VICTIMS/ RETALIATION
Category – CORRUPTION/INTIMIDATION/RETAIATION

E. “….the government is not sincere and is not willing to bring peace….they don’t have real intention to bring peace to Darfur….they have all the ways and means to bring….peace and justice but they don’t want to…”

Code - FALSE INTENTIONS OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. MISREPRESENTATION OF PEACEFUL RESOLUTION. PLAYS ON THE EMOTIONS OF THE VICTIMS’ NEED FOR JUSTICE/ DISTRUST/UNGENUINE
Category – HINDRANCE/SAFETY/LIES/DISTRUST/CORRUPTION

F. “The government has resources….money…..forces that they can use instead of killing people…they use forces (military) to help Janjaweed to kill…the village people….they can use those forces to keep security in the area and also they know how to negotiate and bring peace”

Code – RESOURCES ARE MISUSED. TOOLS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE ARE USED TO CREATE AND PERPETUATE INJUSTICES. GoS TOOLS FOR PEACE. MILITARY FORCES TO BRING SECURITY, PEACE, MONEY. TRAINED NEGOTIATORS/ MISAPPROPRIATION OF RESOURCES.
Category - HINDRANCE/ECONOMICS/CORRUPTION/BRIBERY

G. “….I would believe that the people among themselves would be willing to have peace….they have to deeply negotiate and come out with…plans to have peace…..that peace have to be monitored and served by the international community…because the government by itself….always say something but they do the opposite…..the people need to be….willing to have peace among them, then give it to the international community to apply and monitor until it is really peaceful…”

Code - INTERNATIONAL vs. LOCAL PREFERENCE FOR JUSTICE. COPERATTION OF BOTH ENTITIES. IMPLEMENTATION OF PROCESS BY LOCALS BUT MONITORED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/ LOCALIZED IMPLEMENTATION/INTERNATIONAL MONITORING OF PEACE PROCESS AND AGREEMENT(S)
Category – INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY/SAFETY
H. “….peace is where the people feel secure,…there is no war…no killings….no bad feelings among the people, that’s peace……but justice is when you provide people with all their rights…and give them what they deserve, what they need….avoid…discrimination….favoritism…..treat people equal…..”

**Code – JUSTICE EQUATES EQUALITY. A PRECURSER TO PEACE**
**Category – SECURITY/SAFETY/JUSTICE**

I. “….they have to get all the punishment that they deserve….and make example for other not to do the same again”

**Code – PUNISHMENT FOR PERPETRATORS IS A FORM OF JUSTICE/MAKE EXAMPLE OF THE PERPETRATORS**
**Category – EQUALITY/PUNISHMENT**

J. “First of all they made a lot of wealth that doesn’t belong to them (the perpetrators)….all the wealth should be taken away and given back to the country….they sold our land to different foreign countries…they should not have the power and authorization to sell people’s land (tribal land)….they displaced people…..”

**Code – RETURN OF ILL-GOTTEN GAINS. RETURN OF LAND AND MONEY DERIVED FROM SELLING THE LANDS/ RETURN PROPERTIES TO THE PEOPLE/ RESTORATION OF PROPERTY.** Category – REPARATION/JUSTICE

K. “…let them give all information they have so that information can be used to bring justice to the people who were affected...”

**Code – ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ATROCITIES AND SECRET DEALINGS/ ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/OwNERSHIP OF WRONGDOINGS. Category-ACKNOWLEDGEMENT/SAFETY/SECURITY/JUSTICE**

L. “….they should be jailed….and gave hard things to do….they should not be living in luxury….they should be in very restricted jail….spend the rest of their lives there...”

**Code – PUNISHMENT FOR LIFE. SENTENCE SHOULD BE DONE THROUGH THE ICC.**
**Category – PUNISHMENT/EQUALITY**
M. “Women understand a lot about what happen to the people in Darfur…..they can speak…..”

**Code – LIVED EXPERIENCE.**  
**Category – VOICE/GENDER**

N. “…..they have been through a lot…..to comfort each other……when the men were either jailed or displaced or ran away for their lives…..the women who took care of their families…..”

**Code – STOOD IN PLACE OF THE MEN WHO DIED OR LEFT. ASSUMED COMPLETE RESPONSIBILITY**  
**Category – VOICE/SAFETY**

O. “…..the women are the ones who are teaching…..protecting their children…..so they should have a say and their voices should come up and they will be able to negotiate and bring justice….they should be brought to…the forefront just like the men……they should be given a chance to speak”

**Code – MORE VISUAL AND PROMINENT ROLES IN THE PEACE/NEGOTIATING PROCESS**  
**Category – VOICE/GENDER**

P. “…they lived all these atrocities…they know what’s going on…..they will tell you the truth…”

**Code – LIVED EXPERIENCES. PERSONAL INSIGHTS.**  
**Category – VOICE/LIVED EXPERIENCE**

Q. “….they will also make suggestions that are useful for peace…”

**Theme – PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS BASED ON LIVED EXPERIENCE AND DIRECT NEEDS.** Category – VOICE/GENDER/LIVED EXPERIENCE

R. “…. The majority of people who are affected right now are women and children…. [men either were killed or they left the country….they are missing]….so women should have a role to play….they do understand what’s going on.”
Code – PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE THROUGH LIVED EXPERIENCE. DIRECT INSIGHTS BASED ON LIVED EXPERIENCE. UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS.
Category – VOICE/GENDER/LIVED EXPERIENCE

S. “…..first of all they need the community to give them respect and understand that this has happened to them without their will…….”

Code – SOCIETAL AND COMMUNITY UNDERSTANDING OF SEXUAL VIOLATIONS. REMOVAL OF STIGMA THROUGH REMOVAL OF VICTIM BLAMING/ SOCIAL SUPPORT.
Category – SAFETY/SECURITY/SOCIAL SUPPORT

T. “…the community also have to support them, empower them….and let them feel that it’s not ok that somebody did that to them……it’s not their fault…..let them not feel guilty…..”

Code – COMMUNITY AND PERSONAL EDUCATION OF VIOLENT ABUSE. REMOVAL OF VICTIM BLAMING. EMPOWERMENT OF VICTIM THROUGH REMOVAL OF GUILT AND CORRECT PLACEMENT OF ASSAULT RESPONSIBILITY. RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING/ SOCIAL EDUCATION/ ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.
Category – VOICE/SAFETY/SOCIAL SUPPORT

U. “…one of the things also that women will bring clarity to the table of negotiation, is that women were affected in a different way than men….only them [women] understand their issues….they will be able to explain them and bring suggestions of that type”

Code – UNDERSTAND THAT WOMEN ARE AFFECTED DIFFERENTLY THAN MEN. GENDER PERSPECTIVES OF ISSUES AND SOLUTIONS. EDUCATION/ SOCIAL
Category – VOICE/EDUCATION/GENDER/SOCIAL SUPPORT

V. “…..they were raped…their children were killed in front of them….they had to watch and the children died from either poverty,….starvation or lack of medication and health services….so they were the ones who suffered and witnessed all the hardships…..”

Code – LIVED EXPERIENCES. WITNESS TO THE REALITIES OF HARDSHIP. FIRSTHAND KNOWLEDGE OF THE REALITIES OF THE
"...one of these things is rape...they were either raped or their relatives were raped...they suffer from loses...they lost a lot of different family members...some lost their teenage boys [what is the significance of boys in the culture?]. They lost their husbands...they woman was just left by themselves to take care of the family...they had to be creative...in a way to be able to have income and they their children...take care of the family, that’s why it was really personal to them.....what happened to them is more than what happened to the men....maybe the men were injured or were killed...they women’s was not only physical...was also emotional and psychological and also social...because after they got raped....if they had children from the rape it was a big problem in the community...people look at them as if they were criminals...or look down on them....that’s why the effect was strong...."

**Code** – FOUND THEMSELVS IN A NEW ROLE AS HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD/SOLE PROVIDERS/PROTECTORS/NEGATIVE SOCIAL STATUS/VILIFIED/EDUCATION

**Category** – VOICE/GENDER/LIVED EXPERIENCES/SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION
Appendix I: Commonality of Superordinate & Sub-ordinate Categories

Fathia – Participant 1

1. HINDRANCE –
   a. Security/communication/Inaction
   b. Distrust/ Communication
   c. Safety/Weapons
   d. Sovereignty/Power/Corruption
   e. Communication/Process/Power/Structure
   f. Process/Communication/Action/Power

COMMUNICATION –
   g. Understanding

2. SECURITY –
   a. International Community/Unbiased

Sayeda – Participant 2

1. HINDRANCE –
   a. Compensation/Reparation
   b. Abuses
   c. Safety/Health
   d. Intimidation/Abuses
   e. Power/Abuses
   f. Power/Safety
   g. Sovereignty/Power
   h. Acknowledgement
   i. Non-responsiveness to negotiated recommendations
   j. Freedom of speech/Voice
   k. Voice/Gender Bias/Culture/Education

2. SAFETY –
   a. Health

3. POWER -
   a. Sovereignty/
   b. Voice/Safety

4. VOICE –
   a. Culture/Communication/Culture
   Gender Rights/Int’l support

5. ACCOUNTABILITY –
   a. Needs/meaning
b. Acknowledgement/communication

*Sara – Participant 3*

1. HINDRANCE –
   a. Bribery/Abuses
   b. Corruption
   c. Culture/History
   d. Communication
   e. Safety/Abuses/Intimidation
   f. Accountability/Voice
   g. Equality/Healthcare/Identity

2. SECURITY –
   a. Safety/Identity

3. POWER –
   a. Corruption
   b. Accountability/Security
   c. Accountability

4. VOICE –
   a. Gender Rights
   b. Censorship
   c. Power

*Faiza – Participant 4*

1. VOICE –
   a. Lived Experience
   b. Safety
   c. Meaning

2. IDENTITY –
   a. Culture/History
   b. Safety
   c. Economy

3. SAFETY –
   a. Voice/Security
   b. Voice/Power
   c. Health

4. HINDRANCE –
   a. Acknowledgement
   b. Corruption/Distrust
c. Inconsistencies  
d. Distrust  
e. Voice/Equality

Neimat - Participant 5

1. SAFETY –  
   a. Security/Intimidation  
   b. Security/Rights  
   c. Violence/Humiliation  
   d. Healthcare  
   e. Voice  
   f. Culture/Values  
   g. Culture/Religion  
   h. Culture/Communication

2. HINDRANCE –  
   a. Healthcare/acknowledgement of violations/GBV  
   b. Communication  
   c. Distrust  
   d. Bribery/Corruption/Exploitation

3. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT –  
   a. Violence  
   b. Safety  
   c. Voice  
   d. International Community

4. SECURITY –  
   a. International Community/Trust

5. VOICE –  
   a. Freedom of expression/Gender Rights  
   b. Gender representation

Farha - Participant 6

1. HINDRANCE –  
   a. Human Rights/Equality  
   b. Distrust

2. SECURITY –
a. Equality
b. Identity/Safety
c. Gender Rights
d. International Community/Voice

3. VOICE –
   a. Security/Gender Equality
   b. Freedom of speech
   c. Safety
   d. Active Participation

4. EQUALITY –
   a. Security

Haga - Participant 7

1. POWER –
   a. Security/Safety/Identity
   b. Fear
   c. Punishment
   d. Corruption
   e. Abuses/Extortion

2. IDENTITY –
   a. Economics/Culture

3. SECURITY –
   a. Power/Safety

4. VOICE -
   a. Safety/Fear/Abuses/
   b. Equality
   c. Gender rights

Layla - Participant 8

1. JUSTICE –
   a. Economy/Socio-economic status
   b. Identity
   c. Poverty/Safety
   d. Power
   e. International Community/UN
   f. Impartiality
2. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT –
   a. Neglect/Abandonment
   b. Identity/Poverty
   c. Emotion
   d. Security
   e. Safety

3. REPARATION –
   a. Compensation/Accountability
   b. Justice
   c. Restoration

4. PUNISHMENT –
   a. Eternal/Religion

5. SAFETY –
   a. Support/Advocacy
   b. Retaliation/Fear/Abuses
   c. Trauma Guilt

6. SECURITY –
   a. Power
   b. International Community/UN
   c. Safety/Health

Khadija - Participant 9

1. PUNISHMENT –
   a. Equality
   b. Acknowledgement

2. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT -
   a. Accountability
   b. Power
   c. Corruption

3. HINDRANCE –
   a. Gender Rights
b. Division/Disunity  
c. Fear  
d. Power  
e. Accountability  

4. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -  
a. Power  

5. CULTURE –  
a. Understanding  
b. Tradition  

6. NEEDS –  
a. Safety  
b. Security  
c. Compensation  
d. Restoration  

\textit{Amina - Participant 10}  

1. JUSTICE –  
a. Equality/Fairness/Lived Experience  

2. EQUALITY –  
a. Justice/Lived Experiences/Punishment  

3. NEEDS –  
a. Culture/Understanding/Lived Experiences  

4. IDENTITY –  
a. Culture/Homeland/Economics  
b. Independence  
c. Restoration/Repatriation  
d. Abuses  

5. POWER –  
a. Identity  
b. Economics  
c. International Community  

6. SECURITY –
a. Laws/Punishment/Equality

7. SAFETY –
   a. Security
   b. Power
   c. International Community

8. VOICE –
   a. Gender/Power/Safety/Security

Rasha – Participant 11

1. VOICE –
   a. Gender/Needs

2. CULTURE –
   a. Identity
   b. History

3. HINDRANCES –
   a. Distrust/Corruption

4. NEEDS –
   a. Security/Education/Health

Fatima - Participant 12

1. EQUALITY –
   a. Justice
   b. Fairness
   c. Punishment

2. CULTURE –
   a. Identity/heritage

3. HINDRANCE –
   a. Distrust/Bribery/Lies/Economics
   b. Corruption/Safety

4. PUNISHMENT –
   a. Retaliation
   b. Punitive justice
5. CORRUPTION –
   a. Intimidation/Retaliation

6. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY –
   a. Security/Safety/Justice

7. REPARATION –
   a. Justice

8. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT –
   a. Safety/Security

9. VOICE –
   a. Gender/Lived experiences
   b. Safety
   c. Social Support/Social Reconstruction
   d. Education

10. SAFETY –
    a. Social Support/Security/Voice

11. SECURITY -
    a. Safety
    b. Justice
Appendix J: Frequency of Occurrences of Superordinate & Sub-ordinate Categories

Part 1

1. Accountability (1)

2. Acknowledgement (Frequency of occurrence 4)
   a. Accountability (1)
   b. Corruption (1)
   c. Emotion (1)
   d. Identity (1)
   e. Neglect/Abandonment (1)
   f. Power (1)
   g. Safety (3)
   h. Security (2)
   i. Violence (1)
   j. Voice (1)

3. Communication (1)

4. Corruption (1)

5. Culture (3)

6. Equality (3)

7. Hindrance (Frequency of occurrence 9)
   a. Abuses (5)
   b. Accountability (2)
   c. Acknowledgement (3)
   d. Action (1)
   e. Bribery (3)
   f. Communication (3)
   g. Compensation (1)
   h. Corruption (7)
   i. Culture (2)
   j. Distrust (8)
   k. Disunity/Division (1)
   l. Economics (1)
   m. Education (1)
   n. Equality (3)
   o. Exploitation (1)
   p. Freedom of Speech (2)
   q. Gender (3)
   r. Health (3)
s. History (1)
t. Identity (1)  
u. Inaction (1)  
v. Inconsistencies (1)  
w. Intimidation (3)  
x. Power (7)  
y. Reparation (1)  
z. Safety (4)  
  aa. Security (1)  
  bb. Sovereignty (2)  
  cc. Voice (4)  
  dd. Weapons (1) 

8. Identity (3)  
9. International Community (2)  
10. Justice (2)  
11. Needs (3) 

12. Power (4) 
   a. Accountability (2)  
   b. Corruption (4)  
   c. Economics (1)  
   d. Fear (1)  
   e. Identity (1)  
   f. International Community (1)  
   g. Punishment (1)  
   h. Safety (3)  
   i. Security (1)  
   j. Sovereignty (1)  
   k. Voice (1) 

13. Punishment (3)  
14. Reparation (1) 

15. Safety (6) 
   a. Abuses (3)  
   b. Culture (3)  
   c. Health (5)  
   d. International Community (1)  
   e. Power (2)  
   f. Security (5)  
   g. Support/Advocacy (1)
h. Voice (2)
i. Voice (3)

16. Security (8)
a. Equality (3)
b. Health (1)
c. Identity (2)
d. International Community (4)
e. Justice (2)
f. Law (1)
g. Power (2)
h. Punishment (1)
i. Safety (5)
j. Trust (1)
k. Voice (1)

17. Voice (9)
a. Active Participation (1)
b. Censorship (1)
c. Communication (4)
d. Culture (2)
e. Education (2)
f. Equality (2)
g. Gender Rights (9)
h. International Support (1)
i. Lived Experiences (2)
j. Meaning (1)
k. Needs (1)
l. Power (2)
m. Safety (5)
n. Security (5)

Part 2
Final Superordinate (Dominant) & Sub-ordinate Categories

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: Safety & Security
HINDRANCES: Corruption/Distrust/Power
POWER: Corruption/Safety
SAFETY: Health/Security
SECURITY: International Community/Equality/Safety
VOICE: Communication/Gender Rights /Safety/Security
Appendix L: Hierarchy of Needs (BHN Theory and Analysis)

Maslow’s Need theory emphasis the five tiered structure for the well-being of humans and society at large. In this research, the two lower tiers were prominent in the perception of justice. Respondents’ statements were stagnated on the conditions that governed these layers. The perception of justice has its foundation at the most basic levels of human needs as presented by Maslow’s theory.

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Appendix N: Contribution to the Field

Cyclone Conflict Theory

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Topographic view of a cyclone with arm bands and spin-offs representing a cyclone conflict.