

Accessibility of Justice for Intimate Partner Violence Victims in the Customary Court at Rohingya Refugee Camp, Bangladesh

Korima Begum

Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh

This paper explored the norms and mechanisms of access to justice regarding intimate partner violence (IPV), the constraints that affect refugee women when seeking measures against IPV, and the experiences and views of justice providers in giving access to justice to IPV victims in a customary court. This is a qualitative study where purposive sampling was applied. Five, eight, and four in-depth interviews with IPV victims, justice makers from BMC/CMC, and other concerning organizations were conducted, respectively. Moreover, two key-informant interviews were also conducted. Data were analyzed utilizing thematic analysis. The findings revealed that the multi-sectoral approach is the framework in responding to IPV cases followed by each actor, including the BMC and CMC, who are protecting the rights of IPV victims. However, this community-based committee is the first spot to mitigate IPV cases, and the trial procedures are not consistent with national laws and international human rights standards; the committee uses their life experiences, religious norms, and socio-cultural values. IPV victims and the customary court experience obstacles in case reporting, trial processing, and denial of legal justice. Moreover, the committee is more active in keeping the family and societal harmony rather than in protecting the individual (women). United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) should accelerate efforts to protect, respect, and fulfill the needs of IPV victims in all sectors. Training on human rights and gender, the determination of the rules and regulations of the customary court to protect IPV victims, the development of appropriate sanctions for perpetrators, and the remedies for victims are suggestions from the research to get justice for the IPV victims.

Keywords: accessibility of justice, intimate partner violence, customary court, Rohingya, refugee

Introduction

Violence against women is a regular issue across the world, especially intimate partner violence, which violates women's human rights. About one-third of women worldwide have faced physical or sexual violence by their intimate partners in their lifespan (WHO International, 2019). Around 137 women are killed every single day. But less than 40 percent of the victims ask for advice about it from which only 10 percent seek help from law enforcement agencies and health services (UN Women, 2019). Spouses kill about 152 women from January-September, 2019 (Ain o Salish Kendra (ASK), 2019).

This is the situation in general but it's even worse in the underprivileged area like a refugee camp. More than a million Rohingya refugees have been provided shelter in refugee camps by the Bangladesh Government

Korima Begum, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Shahjalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet, Bangladesh.

who does not have freedom to move. As of now, there are two registered Rohingya refugee camps in which 44,922 refugees (as of 28 February 2019) have been living for almost in a camp setting for above 28 years. However, they have no freedom of movement. Since April 2019, more than one million Rohingya refugees have been living in a new makeshift camp in Ukhiya and Nayapara in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh (Data2.unhcr.org, 2019). Limited space to move comes with lack of privacy and poor access to essential services that make them extremely vulnerable. Intimate partner violence (IPV) is very common among them especially against women because they simply are not thoughtful of their rights.

According to BBC Media Action studies, both men and women accept such violence that includes sexual, emotional, and physical abuse. Most women do not even want to seek support. They are at risk of harassment, vulnerability, discrimination at most stages of life. The report also shows that 71 percent of the occurrence of gender-based violence appeared in the survivor's home, and 74 percent of these cases are committed by their intimate partners (Mamun, Baily, Koreshi, & Rahman, 2018).

There are 26 refugee camps in Cox Bazaar. Of these, the Kutupalong Rohingya Refugee Camp accommodates approximately 18,200 refugees (Data2.unhcr.org, 2019). In case of intimate partner violence, victims should report the camp by following the regulation of "step by step" procedure containing first to the camp-level committee (customary court) who are elected by refugee peoples with the support of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and camp authority of Bangladesh Government. In case of unsolved matter within the camp, it is referred to the Camp in Charge and followed to the police station. This structure is understood by everyone within the camp and recognized as an appropriate pathway. Veroff (2010) has described dispute resolution in the Meheba refugee settlement in Zambia as a diffuse environment where refugees select from a range of possible authorities to decide their case. The context of informal justice, social status, political influence, and economic context play an important role in getting at least access to justice, and some judgment in case of intimate partner violence (Krehm & Shahan, 2019).

Conceptual Framework

Access to justice

Six essential elements of access to justice—justifiability, availability, accessibility, good quality, remedies, and accountability—as identified by the CEDAW committee's general recommendation No 33 are adopted in this paper to uncover the accessibility to justice for Rohingya refugee women in the customary court.

Methodology

The researcher's identity and the purpose of the study had been provided to the justice maker (BMC/CMC), IPV victims, Camp in Charge, UNHCR, and respective organizations who were participants in the study before collecting data. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with verbal consent of each participant and in Bengali, which was then translated into English. The interviews took place during the period of March 2020 to May 2020.

Study Context

Kutupalong, located in the coastal district of Cox's Bazar, is currently the world largest refugee camp and like many other refugee camps in the world, is co-run by the UNHCR. UNHCR is mandated to provide international protection to refugees and seek durable solutions to their problems. Thus, UNHCR and states share

the responsibility to ensure that refugees are protected against sexual and gender-based violence. The rules of customary court and the reason for failure to make justice, as well as experiences of women victims in the cases of intimate partner violence, have to be known.

Research Approach

The study adopted a narrative understanding of the qualitative approach, which allows subjects to express their opinion according to their native point of view. Within the narrative perspective, this study has sought out the regulation process, women's experiences, and its impact on the Rohingya refugees in the camp.

Analysis

- All the collected unstructured data have been converted to textual form by going back to research objectives and questions then organizing accordingly.
- Recorded data have been put into sentences word for word and expressed under different themes, followed by the research questions and objectives.
- Data were analyzed thematically based on participants' stories by using the process of restoring, and a rich description of the data was included.

Result

In this study, it was found that living in the refugee camp settings without the rights of freedom of movement, right to work, and inadequate livelihood things were the main reasons for intimate partner violence. With the support of leading organizations, UNHCR, Bangladesh's government, and the other humanitarian national and international organizations were giving protection to the victim. Moreover, the refugee community-based committee in each block and one camp committee formed for each year by the UNHCR and Bangladesh Government, which used to nurture the communal harmony, mitigate the various types of problems in particularly IPV cases. Being a refugee community, both sides of the justice provider and justice seeker were struggling to get access to Justice. Those living in camps may have their basic needs met by agencies; they usually have their freedom of movement restricted and have limited opportunities to engage in economic activities and limited decision making powers (Schmidt, 2003; Szczepanikova, 2005).

Followed Multi-Sectoral Protection/Response Approach

In Kutupalong registered refugee camp, the multi-sectoral approach is the framework followed in responding to IPV cases. The sketch below represents how different actors worked together to respond to the victims.

Health: Respond to IPV involves actions of medical evidence of victim taken by health sectors.

Psychosocial: Respond to after an incident of IPV for mental health support.

Safety and security: Respond to IPV involves actions of safe shelter.

Legal/Justice: Respond to IPV involves access to justice.

Structure of Customary Court

The Block and Camp Committees are at the core of refugee self-management within the refugee camps. The Block and Camp Committees are working in partnership with the Government of Bangladesh (GoB), UNHCR, IOM, and other partners. In the Kutupalong it registered refugee camp where last elections took place in 2019, where seven Block Committees and one Camp Committee had been formed. Each committee has 20 refugee representative in different position, such as; Camp/Block Leader, Deputy Camp/Block Leader, 2 Helping Hand,

SGBV Focal Point, Anti-Trafficking Focal Points, Child Protection Focal Point, Education Focal Point, Life Skills and Vocational Training Focal Point, Health and Medical Focal Point, Wash Focal Point, Care and Maintenance Focal Point, Persons With Specific Needs Focal Point, Women Group Focal Points, Youth Group Focal Points, Men Group Focal Points, Food Focal Point, and NFI Focal Point. Promoting and maintaining harmonious relationships among camp residents and between the camp and the host communities are its responsibility.

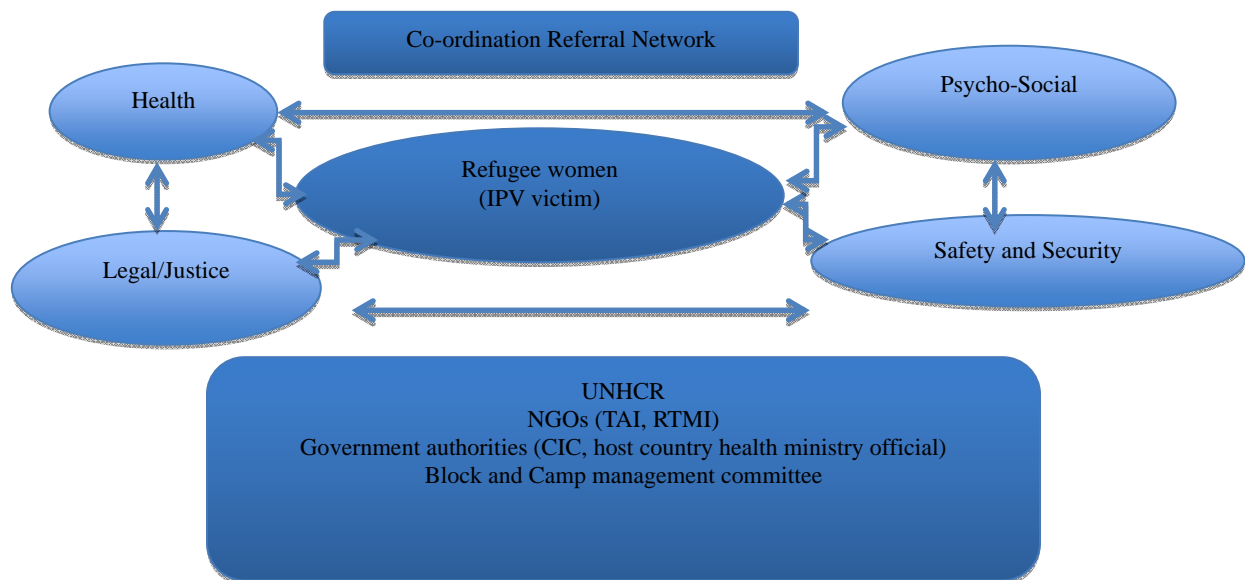


Figure 1. Multi-sectoral framework for protection/response to IPV.

The registration process for case filling in customary court. Reports can be filed anywhere like the Block/Camp Committee, CiC office, NGO's, UNHCR camp office. But the Block/Camp Committee is considered the first spot. Step by step procedure the committee follows while filing an IPV case which contains:

- Entering the subject in register book after the incident being applied,
- Informing the incidence to CiC, UNHCR, and respected NGOs,
- Unsolved matters within the committee are referred to the Camp in Charge and followed to the police station.

Physical structure of customary court. No specific office is available for customary court and it is held in a spot called "Gool Ghar" which is a brick built shed with a bench in an open space and is present in all camps.

Case Documentation

Having risk for the victim to be tortured again, she is kept in a safe home during the intervention where she is provided mental support. With no time to spare the intervention starts as soon as the case is filed unless it takes longer to find the culprit. During this time, the survivor is counseled to improve their mental health. A female member of Block Committee said:

IPV victim reported their incident on time, but it is difficult to solve the victim's problem because of husband's unavailability. The camp is big and overcrowded, how and where we will find him. Sometimes we seek help from CiC to find the husband—Asma, 35.

Response to the medical needs of victims. The medical evidence of the incident determined the type of Justice. To seek legal justice; it is very much essential to document medical evidence. The committees collaborate with medical staff to provide adequate primary support to victims.

Meet the psychosocial needs of victims. After an incident of intimate partner violence, the victim faced so many traumatic events. At that time, the committee offered counseling, such as listening, emotional support for victims. Besides, victims referred to psychosocial workers of respective NGO's advocate with medical, security forces on behalf of victims.

Security and safety response. In some cases, after the incident victim is not safe to return her shed. In that case, the customary court analyzed incident data and ensured a safe house for the victims. If victims took divorce from husband, that time, the customary court also searched relocation to another block or camp for victim's safety. But, it is so difficult to relocate the shed because of the inadequate shed. One female member stated that:

In overcrowded refugee settings, we have no sufficient shelter. If a woman victim gets divorced from her husband, then it is very tough to relocate her. For this reason, sometimes CiC asked us to solve the problem within the committee by counseling—Samirun, 40.

Legal/justice response. From the interviewees, it was found that, in customary court, the just maker tried to redress the victims. There is no written law, norms, and mechanisms, but verbally implemented the justice procedures. These procedures are not consistent with national laws and international human rights standers. For IPV cases, the customary court is responsible for mitigating the case through counseling to both victims and perpetrators. If the victim disagreed with the decisions, then customary court assists the victim in applying for the next level CiC. Also, they accompany the victims to the police station and present during all appearances and regularly update CiC and UNHCR protection staff.

Sanctions for perpetrators. The study has found that there are no written laws against perpetrators of IPV and most of the time they are set free after verbal threat, kneel down or a signature in paper. The customary court focuses on keeping family bonds rather than providing justice to individuals because if a family gets apart after an IPV case, the children of that family will be facing much vulnerability. One member stated that:

Family has four to six children. If we give decisions for divorce, then children faced vulnerable situations. After divorce, again, they engaged with another refuge and made a relationship and got married. After some days of the new relationship, women faced the same violence from the new partner. That is why we tried to solve the problem and keep the family together—Saiyedur, 45.

One key informant interviewees from the refugee volunteer stated that, representing the respective staff in this procedure can reduce corruption. But, most of the time, the representative did not present, and for that reason, customary court member does not feel the accountability.

Monitor and follow up visits by customary court member. The female member of customary court regularly communicated with the victim after the report of an incident in order to monitor her situation. It is continued for two to three months. According to one of the female member:

We follow up the case for a few months, in that time perpetrator behaved well with the victim. But, when we have stopped follow up visits, after few days, victims again came and reported about violence again—Ayesha, 43.

However there are victims who did not follow regular visits to counselling centre. NGO's respondent reported that women victims were not much aware of their services, which was essential for them as they are the

more vulnerable position. An NGO's staff stated:

After reporting the case, women victims rarely come in counseling sessions. They always prefer to go to CiC and UNHCR to get the solution. Again, CiC and UNHCR referred to customary court. So, all just moving in this chain for a long time and get tired and stopped to seek justice—Trishna, 39.

Inadequate time for customary court. It is the responsibility of the customary court to pacify all sexual and gender based violence except for rape cases but since they get incidents reported almost every day, they hardly have time to respond to victims coming with new incidents. However if a severe case comes, they break the queue to focus on that first.

No training or workshop on IPV case for customary court. TAI and UNHCR are respectively responsible for training the committee to explain their work in camp management and monitor the overall situation. It has been learned that the customary court has not been given specific training on IPV cases, neither by the government nor UNHCR. The customary court reported that they did not get specific training and workshop on SGBV cases in particularly IPV cases from UNHCR, Bangladesh Government, or other humanitarian organizations. The entire respondent stated that:

Training is needed; it is important to know how we can handle the case, fixed compensation for each type and level of incident etc.

Seek help from CiC by the customary court. When a committee fails to solve a case they refer it to CiC, the official representative of Bangladesh. CiC does not want couples to be separated as it creates complications with living situations, security etc., so they just try to resolve IPV cases with counselling. One key informant from refugee volunteer stated that:

CiC does not want to separate the family, and that is why he always avoided the divorce matter and tries to keep family together. If victims got the divorce, then needs to relocate her with safety, separate shed, split the ration card, etc. To avoid these types of complicity, it is easy to keep the family together by counseling, threat—Zia, 29.

Although the customary court tries to protect victims' rights, it is impossible without CiC's concern.

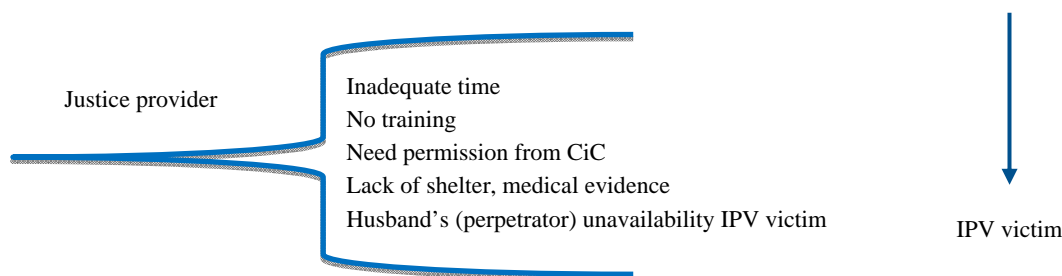


Figure 2. Constraints to giving justice in IPV cases.

Lack of medical evidence and witness. With most women not going to the hospital in the right time or the medical authorities not caring enough to file documents, it becomes difficult to get justice after a physical injury. Also with lack of witness, most victims fail to receive justice. Encountering difficulties for reporting the case and waiting for trial, uneducated victims fail to report cases with being unable to submit written applications. This takes up a while and the physical evidence of abuse heals and the authorities get busy with new cases, resulting with no justice to the victim.

Struggle as women, as a refugee, and a refugee woman (possible harassment for identity when seeking access to justice, stigma, and discrimination). Being a refugee is being helpless in the first place. Besides that, the biological and Rohingya societal difference, between men and women, causes disadvantage to women. So as refugee women are quite vulnerable to abuse and have little freedom of speech. As a result, women have no scope to express their views or express their views. Moreover, as a refugee woman, she suffers from other problems, including domestic violence. In addition to other family members, most women are also victims of violence by their husbands. One female refugee member stated that:

Women are always weak. Weak in the parents' house, weak in the husband's house. Everywhere they are vulnerable position and more victims of violence—Asma, 35.

Experience of visiting a customary court by victims. Kohinur, a 31 year old refugee woman, said that once she had visited the authority offices several times for justice, but they had been busy with other works and had not shown any concern to her. Also, in “Gool Ghar” there is no sitting arrangement for the victims and their accompanies.

Justice experience (fair/unfair). Sometimes the chiefs are partial during the procedure of justice. A 35 year old victim, Asia had stated that the committee members were not listening to her but to her husband only.

Committee members stop us (victim) without listening to what we have to say, our incident in detail. But they listen to my husband—Asia, 35.

Intimate partner violence is considered to be domestic violence and as the court does not want to break marriages they usually send back the survivor to the perpetrator only with words. This puts these women in risk of experiencing the same violence again.

Accessibility of legal justice. The authority does not charge money for providing legal justice to the survivors. Yet sometimes community members try to get something for exchange for accompanies the victims, which makes the women not seek their help and face further injustice.

Seeking justice: The difference between man and women. Rohima, a female member of the committee, confessed that she wishes all women to get justice but the women seem to think they are destined to be oppressed and do not file complaints. Women who do file complaints are often shamed by other refugees as “Nosto” women.

It is always demanded that the victim gets justice. This is what is demanded as a woman. But women are everywhere in a weak position. They always blame their destiny. It is not possible to give justice to them, because they do not file the case very often—Rohima, 40.

Men on the other hand do not seem to care and file any legal complaints as they wish. This has a lot to do with the patriarchal system of the Rohingya community. According to NGO's worker:

After two years of marriage, the husband's behavior began to change, and he began to hurt his wife physically. They have a two-and-a-half-year-old child, and the wife has become pregnant again. In this case, the wife does not want a divorce, but the husband has arranged the divorce by paying money to the committee—Sonia, 29.

Male-dominated customary court. The study found that the Camp/Block Committees are male dominant with only one female member. It does not make any easier for women to seek justice.

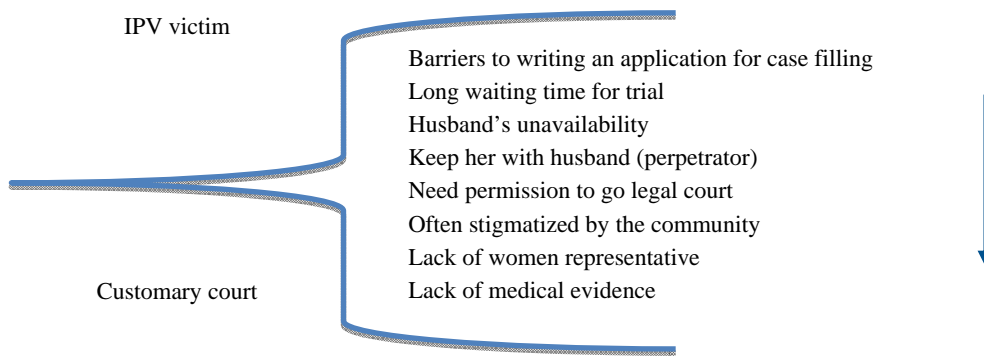


Figure 3. Constraints to seeking justice in IPV cases.

Hierarchical governance. Customary court never does anything without informing the Camp in Charge who cannot undertake law enforcement action without authorization of the government. So the justice system for intimate partner violence is not that powerful and violates justice to the victims. McConnachie (2014) stated that in the Karen refugee camps in Thailand, most disputes are addressed in the camp at the section level, and similar hierarchical governance active.

In the study area, the bottom-up nature of justice systems for intimate partner violence is present with the vulnerability of the customary court, and they do not do anything without informing to Camp in Charge and UNHCR. For, a hierarchical governance system and their lack of power and insecure status caused a violation of justice to IPV victims.

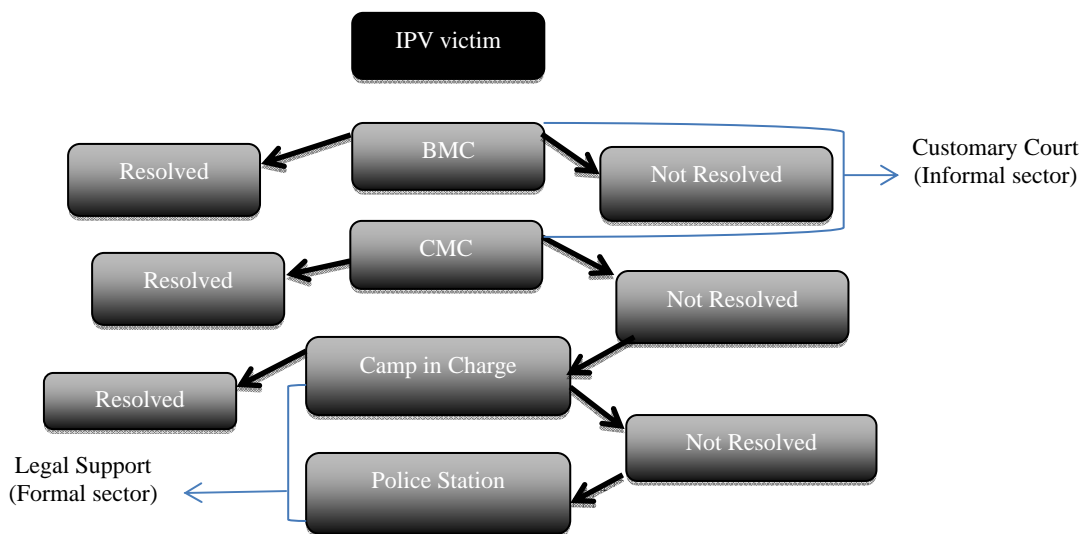


Figure 4. Hierarchical governance system in response to IPV victim.

Discussion

Refugees in Kutupalong registered camp, the customary courts in the camps are primarily responsible for providing justice when someone reports IPV incidents and in case the court is unable to do it, the CiC is referred to do so. Also a victim can complain anywhere like to the NGO workers, camp police, or the camp committee. The multi sectoral approach in IPV cases is to get the survivor out of the vulnerable situation and

four sectors work together in it—psychological, health, legal, & security. However, no written law exists regarding IPV justice. Authorities just follow religious and social norms to deal with the problems. Men make the decisions and women depend on them. Also men have easy access to everything outside the house which gives them more power. With more power to men and women having dependency makes women more vulnerable to violence. The ones who are being socially recognized are again blaming the women, for example—they do not want to share their problems with anyone or think of their destiny. It is a personal matter which is often ignored and should not be consulted in public spaces (Das, Bhattacharyya, Alam, & Pervin, 2016). Women are not allowed to raise their voices in customary court (Begum & Nirmal, 2017). There are no clear regulations against IPV cases and quite often the victims have no idea of the existing justice system either. This makes justice inaccessible for them. According to Guhathakurta (1985), women think that it is their matter, and no one else should know about this. Sexual abuses are really common among refugee women and it comes from different sources. But in fear of victim blaming they do not make a move and whoever does, gets shamed and isolated. They are stigmatized as “Nosto” or degraded which stops them from seeking justice. Akhter and Kusakabe explored that Rohingya refugee women do not want justice for anyone until the situation goes against them completely despite being helpless (Akhter & Kusakabe, 2014).

After two years of marriage, the husband’s behavior began to change, and he began to hurt his wife physically. They have a two-and-a-half-year-old child, and the wife has become pregnant again. In this case, the wife does not want a divorce, but the husband has arranged the divorce by paying money to the committee—Trishna, 39.

It clearly explains how helpless these women feel. This deprives them of accessibility to justice. In Southern Sudan, customary courts are a male-subservient sphere and an adverse space for women. Battered women have to stay a long time in this abusive relationship until the court decides any decision for punishment or divorce (Mennen, 2010). In the case of Rohingya women, too, as part of a patriarchal society, a woman is accepting abuse by her husband as her destiny.

All refugee women in this study have experienced some form of abuse from their partners. Women who stand up to their partners are considered rude and the partners leave them after that which is scary because in their society, women depend on men. Men think it is okay to abuse their wives, so do the neighbors who never try to stop it from happening. In the Rohingya refugee camp, Mamun et al. (2018) found that the husband considers it is authentic to torture his wife. Things only come out when the victim gets badly injured. Most of the time, the parents and community leader’s decision is such that she has to return to her husband’s home. Often, family members of the perpetrator bribe to keep their leader quiet (Mamun et al., 2018).

After fighting the societal fear the victim files a report to the customary court who only tries to settle things from a social and religious perspective. If the victim refuses to accept that, she is then sent to CiC who usually tries to convince her how troublesome the process will be. The victim gets scared and returns to customary court and again the issue gets resolved informally. This structure was appreciated by everyone within the camp and acknowledged as a friendly way to solve any problem right away. This hierarchical, flexible, order-focused system seeks to solve a problem in the initial phase so that there is always a peaceful environment among the camp residents (McConnachie, 2014). Accessibility to justice remains questionable in this case.

The study has found that there are no written laws against perpetrators of IPV and most of the time they are set free after verbal threat, kneel down or a signature in paper. The customary court focuses on keeping family bonds rather than providing justice to individuals because if a family gets apart after an IPV case, the children of

that family will be facing much vulnerability. This practice is the focus of customary law, and it gives importance to the relationship between two families than individual relationships as it is a concern of traditional justice (Kovar & Harrington, 2013).

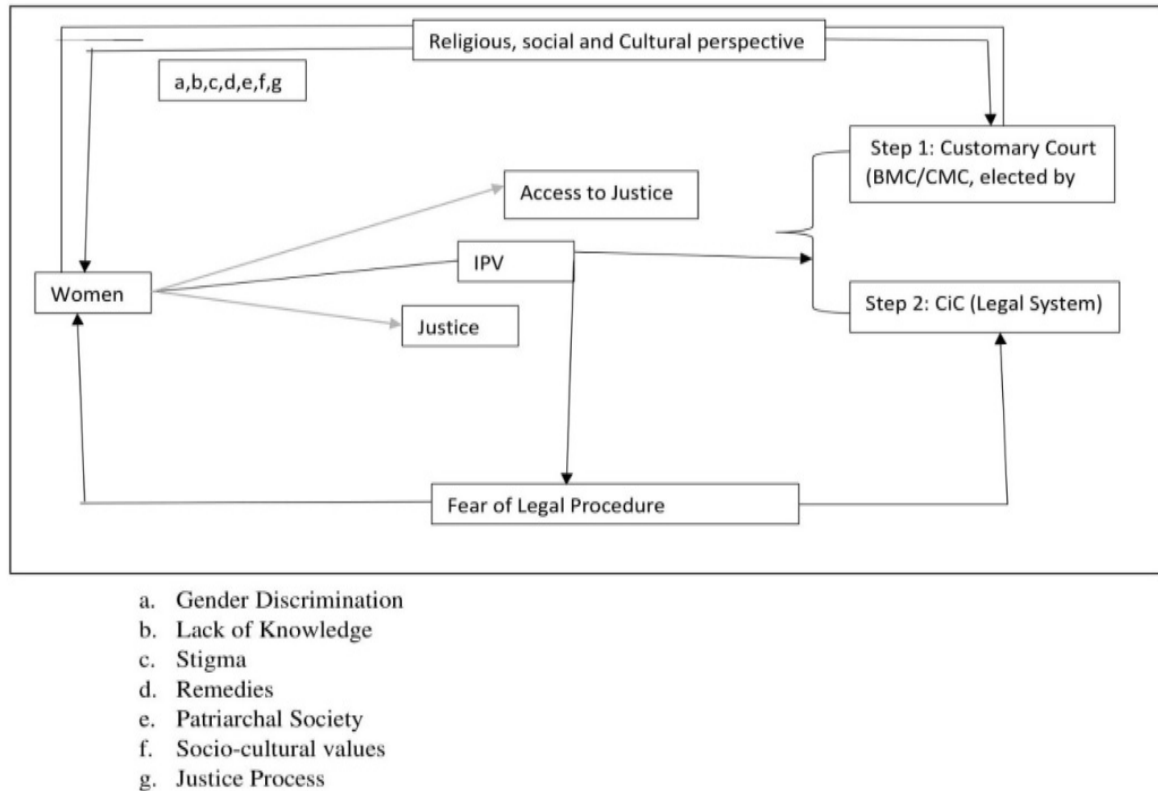


Figure 5. Justice Process.

CEDAW Committee's General Recommendation on Women's Access to Justice

Access to justice refers to the "ability of people to seek and obtain a remedy through formal or informal institutions of justice and in conformity with human rights standards" (UNDP, 2005, p. 1) and concerns itself not only with access to the mechanisms and institutions of the justice but also with the quality of justice accessed. The Rohingya refugee camps show that there are multiple arrangements for justice. In this case, the accessibility of Rohingya refugee women in the customary court has been seen by the six elements of CEDAW's "Accessibility".

In recommendation, No. 33, CEDAW Committee identifies six essential elements of access to justice

- Justifiability: the unhindered ability of women to access justice, and claim their rights.
- Availability of the justice court is one element to ensure access to justice.
- Accessibility requires that all justice systems be secure, affordable, physically accessible, and adaptable to women, and tailored to women's needs.
- Good quality refers to a mixed phenomenon, such as resources, training, the satisfaction of duty bearer, and rights holder.
- Customary court follows mainly on social, cultural, and religious norms and values. Besides, the well-being of the family and children is also considered. As a result, the committee is asked to resolve or try to mitigate the issue. But it is questionable how effective and meaningful the remedy is.

- Accountability is an essential element of the justice system.

The data show that women used to report their incident to the customary court or demand justice. Still, in terms of their educational, economic, time-consuming, and multi-sectoral referral systems, women feel complication, and they stopped to seek justice after reporting. Though physically, the block and camp management committee is existence for IPV victims, the study found that this committee is responding to other activities in the camp which are providing by CiC and UNHCR. That is why, this committee is busier to keep the peace in the overcrowded camp, and they do respond to the victims on a priority basis. With these times, sometimes victims lost their medical evidence. Undue delays in trial proceedings harm to the victims. Moreover, lack of willingness of CiC and UNHCR's interest also represents an obstruction to accessing justice. To file an IPV case, a written application must be submitted to the customary court, which most Rohingya women cannot write themselves. In this case, the volunteers of the camp or any NGO's worker can write. But most of the time they have to pay for it. As a result, it is not always affordable or accessible to women. This study found that the current block and camp management committee did not get any training on IPV cases, and they used their life experiences, religious norms for case proceedings. Besides, the well-being of the family and children is also considered. As a result, the committee is asked to resolve or try to mitigate the issue. But it is questionable how effective and meaningful the remedy is. Though, the presence of one representative from the UNHCR protection team or any other actors who are concerning service providers for the SGBV program in the trial preceding, but the study found that any actors do not follow it. That is why the committee did not feel accountable to the victim and make a decision as they wish.

So, in this research it has argued that these six dimensions are not properly complied in refugee camp settings. Even, the block and camp management committee (customary court) is legally empowered in their process and mechanisms, but this customary court is created for maintaining the social harmony rather than individual interest. Women are more vulnerable groups, especially in refugee settings, and their rights are violating by the male-dominated customary court with the name of social harmony.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Bangladesh neither having a signatory to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees nor to its 1967 Protocol and not enacting any national legislation on asylum and refugee matters, not only recognized the Rohingya as refugee but along with UNHCR, provided them with assistance since their arrival to this day (UNHCR, 2012, p. 5).

The vulnerable refugee women being affected by abusers of different forms lead a miserable life. UNHCR and Bangladesh Government jointly made the Block and Camp Management Committee to mitigate their problem by themselves in particular sexual and gender-based violence except for rape and murder cases. However, there is no written guideline on how they will mitigate the cases and ensure justice, especially for the IPV victims. The issues mentioned by CEDAW in the case of victim access to proper justice are not being met properly. With gender discrimination going on and lack of knowledge, accessibility of justice for these women is highly questioned.

Based on the findings and conclusion of this study, here are some recommendations to be considered:

- Working with the block and camp community is essential in developing effective response strategies, such as laws, rules, sanctions, remedies, time-frame, etc.
- Establishing an effective system with the CiC so that the block and camp management committee redresses for the victims who wish to seek legal assistance for the incident.

- Establishing the monitoring system can play vital roles in trial proceedings in customary court for responding to the needs of victims.
- Developing a system to find the perpetrators on time so that victims can get justice in time, and monitoring the actions of perpetrators to ensure the safety and security of the victims.
- Conducting training sessions for block and camp management committees on intimate partner violence.
- Designing strategies for the protection of victims, such as shelter, security, and offering livelihoods.

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