

**”My name is still Josiane”  
— Experiences of displacement, peace and conflict  
in Nakivale refugee camp**

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## **Abstract**

The world of today is characterized by state sovereignty and international relations are based on borders. This system, a "National Order of Things", associates human beings to nations and territories. Despite this, there are more refugees in the world than ever.

Refugees do not fit in this state of things. They are often given simplified, predefined roles in public discourses, which hardly gives value to their individual histories. This study strives for a comprehensive picture of refugee life by encompassing refugee voices in the core of the study.

This study is an ethnographic interpretation of the everyday life of refugees in Nakivale refugee camp in Uganda. My study investigates how the conflicts of the countries of origin follow refugees to the camp by using the theoretical framework of conflict transportation. Furthermore, I look at the life at the camp through the theory about everyday peace.

The data for the study was gathered in the Nakivale refugee camp in Uganda by doing participant observation, collecting photographic material and conducting nine in-depth interviews.

Methodologically, the study exploits thematic analysis.

The main findings of the study suggest that refugees are troubled by various kinds of conflicts in the camp. Some of them resemble the ones in the past, others shift and take new forms. Refugees navigate their ways through the complex jungle of social and economic structures of the camp, pursue various social roles in the communities and face several obstacles to peace. On the other hand, they also apply social practices of building and fostering peace and togetherness in Nakivale.

Keywords: forced displacement, refugee governance, everyday peace, conflict transportation

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 2015, European continent started to be influenced by something that in everyday language is still referred to as a “refugee crisis”. Many were frightened by the people who had been forced to seek refuge inside the borders of our continent. Content related to refugees and asylum seekers circulated in all various forms. Representations of the displaced portrayed them mostly as poor and miserable. The deeper stories behind these people were left untold.

During my peace and conflict master’s studies at the University of Tampere, it became clear to me that the imagery about wars, conflicts and their consequences we see in public present only a very narrow side of the reality. In fall 2017, I left for Uganda to work for the Finnish Refugee Council. Traveling around the country’s refugee camps I met dozens of people, whose resilience inspired me and this research greatly.

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Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, I want to thank everyone who in their work or generally in life strive for demolishing stereotypes and generalizations that revolve around refugees.

Kiitos, thank you, merci, asante sana, neyanziza, mahadsanid!

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

At present, the geopolitical order on Planet Earth is characterized by borders and territories, sovereign legal authorities and nation-states. These concepts formulate the base of the “National Order of Things” (Malkki 1995b, 2; Nielsen 2013, 1). In this dominant system, state sovereignty is an unquestionable pillar of international relations and human beings are rigidly associated to nations, homelands and geographical areas within confines, bound to territorially based memberships.

This worldview includes a perception of identity as something linked to a territory, homeland, and “posits time-honored links between people, polity and territory” (Malkki 1995b, 1). It sees identities as dogmatic frames of human beings, strongly related to territories that we do or once did consider motherlands. Histories, memories and life cycles are rooted in this dogmatic system of immutability.

The movement of humans and the international refugee regime occur within this system (Malkki 1995a, 516). It is, in fact, rather contradictory to find that within this dogmatic frame, people are currently crossing legal borders more than ever. There are different reasons for this human mobility; some move voluntarily, whereas more and more flee forcibly, having to escape conflict, persecution, violence and war. As a matter of fact, one could say we are living the era of exile; according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR (2018), the world was witnessing the highest levels of forced displacement on record in 2017, with 68.5 million people forced from home. People are displaced for longer and longer periods because, on the one hand, conflicts and wars become more complex and protract, and on the other, refugees’ possibilities for resettlement in third countries are increasingly narrow (UNHCR 2018a). 85 percent of refugees reside in the Global South, especially on the continent of Africa, which hosts the most complex and pressing of the so-called protracted refugee situations (ibid., Loescher & Milner 2005). Along with protracted conflicts, refugee spaces are becoming more complex and variable. Many refugee camps, once built as temporary spaces of displacement, control and humanitarian care, have become city-like settlements over the years. These urban living settlements, in which people are trapped in the space between indefinite and temporary, deserve further exploring.

When people are displaced forcibly in the dominative world order of national categories, they begin to be seen as an exception, which disrupts the national order of things (Malkki 2012, 40; 1995b, 1–17). Consequently, some humans find themselves in a refugee camp, which represents a space of humanitarian care and control. In these spaces, “the sovereign strips subject of civic rights and human value and reduces them to bare life” (Sanyal 2012, 636). They become labeled somewhat simplistically as “refugees”, these universal men, legal characters under an international regime and subjects to humanitarian care, protection and control. Simultaneously, this “refugee character” becomes a number in a file — a historyless man or woman in a forced setting of temporality. Here we might want to ask; where is the space for their individual life, experiences, personal history and memory which they carry in their bodies and minds?

### 1.1. The scope of the study

This study is an ethnographic interpretation of the Nakivale refugee camp inhabitants’ experiences of conflict and the interlinks between their life before and during exile. The study considers refugee camp an urban space with its complex political and economic aspects and internal social dynamics. It examines the inhabitants of this space, created around forced displacement, as individuals with histories, experiences and memories, and how their personal pasts still continue to influence their present, reproducing the conflicts and affecting their surroundings. Hence, this study recognizes the continuity and complexity of one’s life before as well as after stepping into the world of exile.

In this study, I critically examine the way the forcibly displaced are defined in the academic literature and public narratives. I question the idea of a refugee camp as a temporary, clinical humanitarian space of control and abandon the idea of “a refugee” as a homogeneous classification of a certain type of individual falling under a universal category of “refugee”. On the contrary, refugees are seen to have “extraordinarily diverse historical political causes and involve people who, while all displaced, find themselves in qualitatively different situations and predicaments” (Malkki 1995a, 495–496.), and the camp as a nuanced “city-camp”, in which individuals are “socially heterogeneous” and influenced by various social dynamics (Agier 2002, 322).

My study investigates the Nakivale camp inhabitants' experiences of conflicts in their present surroundings, and how these experiences become intertwined with the ones of the past. The research draws from peace and conflict studies, which emphasizes that there are different forms of structural, cultural and direct violence as well as discriminatory behaviors taking place in settings where conflicts and wars are present, hence in the countries of origin of refugees. They can be produced as either reasons or consequences of the conflict itself, and be related to people's ethnicity, religion, race, gender or sexual orientation, for instance. This research looks at whether these dynamics disappear once an individual seeks refuge, physically leaves the conflictual setting and finds shelter in a refugee settlement, or do they, then, follow. Reflecting upon these questions, this study describes the factors that hamper the peaceful everyday of the people living in the Nakivale camp and looks at peace practices present in the camp.

In the study, I argue that forcibly displaced people's experiences of the past and the present are inseparable from one another, and personal histories before, between and during exile overlap. My work challenges the idea of a refugee as historyless (see also e.g. Malkki 1995b, 2) and shows that personal histories from the countries of origin continue to follow refugees in their present days in the refugee camp. Thus, in this study, the common presumption of a refugee is challenged and refugees are not considered a historyless or a homogeneous group — quite the contrary. I argue that experienced conflicts of the past continue to shape lives of the refugees even in the camp in many complex ways.

The topic is approached by studying and giving voice to refugees who reside in an urban refugee camp called Nakivale, located in Uganda, in East Africa. The study is an ethnography, for which the material is collected on a field trip to the Nakivale camp during spring 2018. This research combines ways of collecting ethnographic material, which includes semi-structured in-depth interviews (Brounéus 2011) with nine refugee informants and field notes as well as photographic material.

## 1.2. Previous research

Forced displacement is a majorly interdisciplinary topic of interest and has been researched in several fields of social sciences, starting from development studies, public health, international relations, migration studies, anthropology, peace and conflict studies, sociology as well as in psychology. The phenomenon started becoming a subject of scholarly interest in the latter part of the 20th century, after World War II, when the concept of 'refugee' was established in its modern sense. In the 1980s, "refugee studies" was established as an academic discipline. The approaches researchers have taken in researching refugees as well as the ways to conceptualize refugees vary greatly. In the literature following World War II, for instance, displaced people were often seen in a simplistic way, as untrustworthy individuals who had lost their moral and values because of their "forced disengagement to their territorial roots" (Malkki 2012, 40 & 84–99).

When looking at academic literature and research on refugees in the past few decades, it is rather surprising to notice that much of this image is still present in the refugee research – or at least it lies in between the lines or becomes evident in topic choices. In my study, I intuitively and naturally chose a point of view that leans towards the field of critical feminist research, hence looks at generalizations of a mythical refugee character critically and strives for a more comprehensive image. I draw background for my approach from for instance the research of anthropologist Liisa Malkki, who has done an academic career in ethnographic research with refugees. She was one of the first researchers to conduct ethnographic research in refugee camps, simultaneously leading the way to a new understanding of ethnography. Some of her research with refugees in Tanzania dates back to the 1990s but is still considered topical and valid in the field of refugee studies. This research has influenced the way refugees and refugee camps are conceptualized in the field.

Throughout her work, Malkki (2012, 98–104) critiques the common presumptions she has noticed in refugee research. She notes that the image of a 'refugee' that many scholars within these disciplines carry automatically contains aspects of victimhood. Malkki contests some scholars (e.g. Stein & Keller) for their essentializing way of classifying refugees and claims that the international humanitarian interventions taking place in refugee situations have had 'universalizing' effects in the characterization of a 'refugee', meaning that forcibly displaced peoples are often considered, both

in the media and in the academia, to belong in a generalizing category of a refugee, which does not leave room for diversity between individuals in the group. In addition, it strips these individuals of their personal history. Hence, Malkki deeply problematizes the way refugee studies have conceptualized refugees as a development problem and how forced displacement has been approached within different disciplines, such as development studies and international relations.

Malkki's ideas are backed by more recent studies and critical researchers from various fields as well as have changed views in the peace and conflict and international relations fields. First of all, feminist scholars have done their share in bringing voices from underrepresented groups in the public sphere (Doubiago 2016, 242). Eeva Puumala & Samuli Pehkonen (2010), researchers in the peace and conflict field, highlight the fact that refugees are often approached from the security perspective in the academia. This, in fact, becomes evident by looking at popular topics within the mainstream refugee research: for instance, refugees as security threats for local communities (e.g. Jacobsen 2003) or the economic impact of refugees in the host country (e.g. Taylor, Filipski, Alloush, Gupta, Valdes & Gonzalez-Estrada 2016). Sanyal (2012, 633–634), in her work that looks at refugee camps as spaces in the field of urban geography, highlights the fact that refugees are looked in an oppressive way; as the receivers of aid and subjects of interventions fostered by governments and aid organizations. Michel Agier (see e.g. 2002), a professor in development studies as well as Elisabeth Olivius (2017), a PhD in peace and conflict studies, both criticize mainstream research for problematizing refugees as amoral and governed as the undesirable, who must be excluded from the outer society.

Furthermore, feminist scholars' share on the academic discussion of forced displacement has been increasing in the 21st century. Many feminist scholars (see e.g. Giles & Hyndman 2016; Pettman & Hall 2014) have studied migration and displacement. From the critical feminist point of view, protracted refugee situations raise questions on issues such as security, different forms of violence and human rights; as Loescher (2008) suggests, refugees trapped in protracted situations end up facing significant restrictions on a wide range of rights.

As Milner (2011, 1–4) notes, the role of refugees in building peace has made its way to peace building debates in recent years. Prolonged conflicts lead to protracted presence of refugees in

neighboring countries, both in camps and in rural areas and cities, and the role of these actors in reinforcing or undermining peace building efforts has been examined. (ibid.) Also diasporas generated by conflict and their role as influential stakeholders in conflict resolution have sparked scholarly interest (see e.g. Féron 2016; Baser & Swain 2008).

In the field of psychology and public health, topics of refugee research vary from the health challenges refugees face in the camps and other living settlements to the medical aid they get from the humanitarian organizations (see e.g. Porter & Haslam 2005). Aid and development organizations and their development projects with refugees, as well as the “results” of their work have also been looked at largely around the world – mostly by the organizations themselves in evaluation reports and so forth. Furthermore, livelihoods, job and business opportunities in refugees’ living environments have been common as research topics (see e.g. Werker 2007), as well as conflicts between refugees and host populations (e.g. Martin 2005). Women and girls have come into refugee-related research agenda along with the rise of the international community’s growing attention on the topic. Overall, many of these topics still hold an idea of a refugee as a humanitarian problem and a subject of aid, and has been criticized of lacking the understanding of refugee’s life as a memory-filled, complex phenomenon – like the life of a human being is.

With the increasing amount of protracted conflicts in the world (see Chapter 2.1), academic scholars are showing growing interest in refugee camps and other environments where refugees reside during exile. Some researchers (in addition to before mentioned, see e.g. Agier 2002; Malkki 1995b; Oesch 2017) have broadened their conceptualization of refugee camps and now see them through spatial politics, not only as spaces of humanitarian intervention but as urban living settlements with their complex internal economies and social dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, for example. It is, hence, more common to recognize camps, especially the ones that host people for years or even decades, as complex political spaces and research them as “urban ethnographic cases”, as Agier (2002, 318) describes.

Along with the increased scholarly interest in forced displacement, critical concerns on how to discuss and conduct research with these sensitive themes and underrepresented social groups have arisen. Therefore, researchers of the field have started to look critically at the research done in the

field and to address its ethical challenges. Scholars such as Elisa Pascucci (2017) have written about the challenges in working in environments of the Global South that have experienced, for mostly practical or mechanical issues, over-exposure to academic research especially from Western countries. In addition, Ingunn Bjørkhaug's (2017) work, which addresses methodological challenges especially within refugee research in Uganda has added country-specific aspects to my considerations – although I found the results controversial. All this research, along with the one specifically about the ethical concerns when working with marginalized groups by Lino Owor Ogora (2013), has been fruitful for my research process along the way. It has also kept me extremely critical towards my own premises not only as a researcher but as a Western researcher in the Global South.

Actors who are responsible for assisting issues around forced displacement on a practical level, such as UN and its partnering organizations, have a significant role in producing information and data about refugees, refugee camps and protracted refugee situations. They also collaborate with academic researchers to produce policy-oriented research material. This is the case also in Uganda, which, in addition to several field offices of UNHCR, hosts a big number of non-governmental organizations working with displaced people. Uganda's, alike other countries in the Great Lakes region, role in hosting refugees has also sparked scholarly interest, resulting in a large number of studies conducted in the country. Even the Nakivale refugee camp has been the subject of academic research in different fields over the decades. On the one hand, it has posed ethical issues which require consideration while doing research in the country. On the other hand, respectively, Uganda serves as an example of a country that embodies the current state of global displacement and therefore offers a suitable ground for doing research on refugee life in the present day.

### 1.3. Structure of the research

In this chapter, I have created an outline for my research, introduced the scope and context of the study, as well as the status quo in related research briefly. In Chapter 2, I will place the study in a larger context. I will introduce forced displacement as a global phenomenon and explain the meaning of protracted forced displacement in our times. Thereafter, I will briefly give an introduction to Uganda, the country where the research takes place and link it to the study context –

how many refugees Uganda hosts and why, and what kind of a role does the country play when it comes to the phenomenon of forced displacement in the Great Lakes region. Furthermore, I will provide an overview on the Nakivale refugee camp, where the field research is conducted. Lastly, I will introduce the research questions of my study.

Chapter 3 introduces the research method of my study. Here, I will describe the methodology my study adheres to, how it was conducted and what kinds of aspects, ethical and practical, I have taken into consideration while conducting it. This chapter is also to shed light on decisions made throughout the research process before, during and after the fieldwork in the Nakivale refugee camp. It describes the challenges linked to conducting research in such setting as well as draw a picture of my role as a researcher in a refugee camp and ethical considerations related to this role.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the data analysis of my study, of which I will give a phase-to-phase description, and the theory. By classifying the transcribed research material thematically, as well as drawing upon suitable theory of the field and previous research, I will present a thematic analysis of the research material. With the help of citations of both the informants' interviews and my field notes, I will analyze the material reflecting it through my research questions.

In Chapter 5, I will discuss the study and the results. Furthermore, I will reflect upon possible future research related to the topic.

## 2. RESEARCH CONTEXT

“Forced displacement is no longer a temporary phenomenon; it lasts on average 20 years for refugees and more than 10 years for 90% of IDPs.” — European Commission, 2018

In this chapter, I will discuss the term ‘refugee’ as a concept and introduce forced displacement as a global phenomenon. Furthermore, I will look at protracted refugee situations in Africa and introduce Uganda’s role as a host country for refugees as well as the Nakivale refugee camp, the location of the study.

### 2.1. Refugee as a concept & displacement as a global phenomenon

As mentioned in Chapter 1, we are living an era characterized by increasing human mobility forced by persecution, war and conflict. According to the statistics of the United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the world is currently facing the record high number of refugees of its history, 68.5 million, and the number of displaced peoples is not expected to decrease in the future (Edwards 2018). Of these individuals, 85 percent reside in developing countries and around 40 million are internally displaced people (IDP), meaning that they are displaced within the borders of their own country. Four out of five refugees remain in countries that neighbor their own. In 2017, around 5 million refugees were able to return to their homes, a vast majority of these returning from internal displacement. 58 percent of the refugees live in urban areas, the rest in camps or rural areas. The countries hosting the most refugees in the world are Lebanon, Turkey and Uganda. (Unicef 2018.)

The refugee as a legal and social concept started forming in the aftermath of World War II (Malkki 1995a, 495-497). The universal definition of the term was given to recognize the legal character of a refugee in the 1951 Refugee Convention, which is the centerpiece of international refugee protection nowadays, and its 1967 Protocol. These two define a refugee as follows:

“Owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” (UNHCR 2011)

Clearly, this convention adheres to the idea of the nation state and to the “national order of things” (Malkki 1995b, 2) – outside of one’s country of origin, one becomes a refugee. Generally, the definition strips out the humane nuances and narrows down the phenomenon of “refugeeness” into a few lines, which inevitably simplifies the subjective experience. Within this legal framework, under the international community’s regime, UNHCR holds the responsibility of providing refugees legal security (human rights, asylum), physical safety and material assistance (Shrestha & Cronin 2006). Despite the legal mandate of the UNHCR to provide rights for these people, there are a number of ways that refugee’s rights are compromised in the world of today. According to Mehan (2016, 1), the UNHCR lacks resources to provide refugees with suitable tools in the world of protracted refugee situations, other than those regarding their very basic needs. Mehan (ibid.) suggests that “there is a crisis within the refugee crisis, one of sheer waste of human potential that demand a response beyond basic humanitarian assistance.” Some of these problems will be reflected upon also in this study.

In the continent of Africa, the definition of a refugee was extended in 1969 by the Organization of African Unity OAU (thereafter renamed African Union) as follows:

“Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.” (UNHCR 2011)

This definition is clearly even more simplified than the previous one. It recognizes the right of a human being to seek refuge in the time of physical war and aggression but does not mention for instance that right in the time of encountering human rights violations or political violence.

Referring to public order, it totally leaves out the personal, individual experience. According to this definition, some victims of violence for political motives who I encountered while doing field work in the Nakivale camp, for instance, would not be entitled to protection.

Forced displacement is, in theory, supposed to be of temporary nature, and followed by repatriation to the country of origin or resettlement to a third country. However, exile often tends to last longer, leading to situations where returning home is increasingly delayed and displacement becomes the norm of living (Loescher & Milner 2005, 153–174; Dryder-Peterson & Hovil 2004, 26). As a report by the European Commission's European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (2018) suggests, forced displacement can no longer be considered a temporary phenomenon as the average length of it is now 20 years. The shift is due to various reasons: lack of political solutions to conflicts and their consequential tendency to prolong, as well as obstacles in resettlement processes to third countries in the Global North and in some cases, decrease in the number of resettled refugees (Dryder-Peterson & Hovil 2004, 26–27.) Edwards (2018) and UNHCR (2018a) note that for example in 2017, the number of resettled refugees was down by over 40 percent, around 100,000 people. Refugees are, hence, in an evermore difficult position even in the international politics.

In the academia, these phenomena are called protracted refugee situations. According to Crisp (2003, 1), “refugees can be regarded as being in a protracted situation, when they have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement.” Refugees in protracted situations find themselves trapped in “a state of limbo”: for mostly security reasons, they are unable to both return to their country of origin and settle permanently in the country they have found refuge, because the host state does not want them to remain indefinitely on its territory. They do not, however, have the option of leaving that country either, as they have no prospect in being provided with residence rights in any third country. (Crisp 2003, 1.)

According to Loescher & Milner (2005, 153–174), the continent of Africa hosts the most complex and pressing of protracted refugee situations, the majority of them located in Central and East Africa. In some cases, refugees have been in exile for over two decades. These phenomena are

fueled by complex wars, conflicts and human rights violations currently taking place around the region. (Dryder-Peterson & Hovil 2004, 27–28.) In my research, I approach forced displacement as an enduring phenomenon and, drawing from the prevailing state of the world, abandon the idea of exile as a temporary setting. This approach gives me a tool to abandon the idea of a refugee camp as a temporary, humanitarian space and start looking at it as a space, where “social and cultural complexities emerge with the formation of the novel sociospatial form of city-camps in which new identities crystallize and subjectivation takes root” (Agier 2002, 318).

## 2.2. Forced displacement in Uganda

Uganda, a landlocked country with a population around 40 million, is located in East Africa, in the hotspot of several protracted regional conflicts. It borders Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (see map 1). The country has hosted millions of refugees since it gained independence in 1962, and currently the situation of many refugees living in Uganda is protracted (UNDP 2017; Dryder-Peterson 2004).

In addition to neighboring several conflicted countries, Uganda also has a conflictual past of its own, consisting of ethnic tensions and civil war. According to Carlson & Mazurana (2010), the armed conflict in northern Uganda began when the President Yoweri Museveni took power in 1986 by a military takeover. In 1987, opposition movements formed an armed rebel group called the Lord Resistance Army (LRA), led by Joseph Kony, and started a fight against the Ugandan army. In the northern regions of Uganda, LRA targeted mostly the civilian population living in these parts of the country, such as Acholi people. In the 1990s, the violence escalated and spread into a wider area, including subregions such as Lango and Teso. (Carlson & Mazurana 2010). Still for the time being, some subregions in northern Uganda remain underdeveloped and wounded by the civil war.

Map 1. Uganda in East Africa.



UNHCR (2012) suggests that during the war, the dislocation plan of Ugandan government forced people to ‘protected villages’, hence, caused the internal displacement of more than 1,80 million people in years 1996–2006. UNHCR (2012) suggests that the majority of the internally displaced people (IDPs) in Uganda have returned home after the LRA and Ugandan government agreed a ceasefire and signed The Cessation of Hostilities Agreement and an Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation in 2007. At the end of the year 2017, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2017) estimated that there were still 24 000 IDPs in the country.

In recent years, Uganda’s foreign refugee population has increased strongly. Prolonged conflicts and human rights violations in the surrounding countries of South Sudan, Burundi and DRC have led to an increasing number of people leaving their home countries and seeking refuge in Uganda (UNDP 2017). The biggest growth has happened in the last three years, from 2015 to 2018, when the number of refugees has increased by approximately a million. Currently, Uganda is hosting the largest refugee population in Africa and the third largest in the world, with a registered refugee population of more than 1.5 million people from the DRC, South Sudan, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi. (Edwards 2018; UNHCR 2018a; Unicef 2018.)

Uganda’s refugee policies have been praised for being the most progressive in the world. In 2006, the country enacted The Refugee Act and in 2010 Refugee Regulations. According to this legal framework, refugees who arrive in Uganda are given plots of land, they have right to access public social services including health, water and education and are entitled to start a business and have freedom of movement (BBC 2016; UNDP 2017). In 2016, the United Nations Summit for Refugees declared Uganda’s refugee policy a model.

These refugee policies have an influence on where the forcibly displaced in Uganda settle. According to UNDP (2017), refugees in Uganda do not live in camp-like surroundings. Instead, they live in “settlements” where they are given land for agricultural use. UNHCR’s refugee response plan regarding Uganda (2018e) holds: “Uganda pursues a non-camp settlement policy, by which refugees are allocated relatively large plots of land for shelter and agricultural production, stretching out over vast territories. Whilst providing the basis for refugee self-reliance in the longer term, the settlement approach typically incurs higher up-front costs than that of a camp

environment, when basic life-saving provisions are to be established.” There are a total of 28 settlements in the country, most of them located in the western and northern borders of Uganda, around the border points through which refugees enter the country. All camps are under the supervision and administration of UNHCR. In addition, a big number of refugees live outside the settlements. In 2013, an estimated circa 200 000 urban refugees lived in the Kampala urban area (Urban Refugees 2014). In the following subchapter, I will introduce the case settlement Nakivale, where the study takes place.

Despite the talk about Uganda’s exemplary refugee policies, critical voices have arisen (see e.g. Schiltz & Titeca 2017). The main refugee-hosting areas in the country are among the poorest and least developed, which makes the country’s refugee policies hard to implement in practice (UNDP 2017). UNHCR (2018d) admits that there are serious obstacles in fulfilling the needs and providing the services refugees are legally entitled to, such as school, water and sanitation. Furthermore, refugees are subject to serious personal security issues (UNHCR 2018c, Gardner 2016). These aspects, present in the narratives and experiences of my informants, are discussed later in this study.

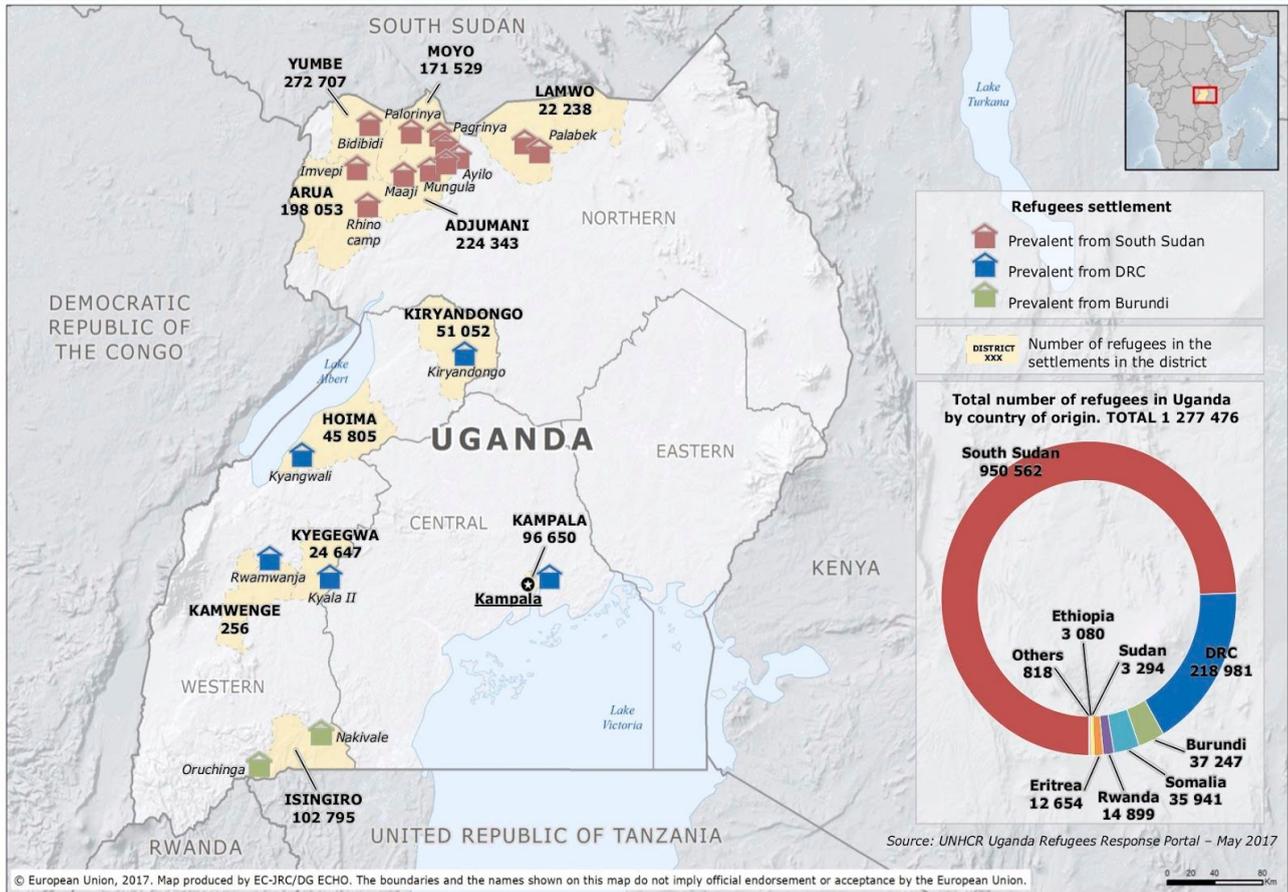
According to Bjorkhaug (2017), some of the land allocated to refugees is still title of Ugandan nationals. This has caused tension between nationals and refugees. In addition, many actors, the UN itself included, recognize the lack of ability to provide sustainable longer-term solutions for forcibly displaced who find themselves in protracted situations in the camps. Gardner (2016) further notes that even though refugees are given plots upon their arrival in the camps, they can never own the land or the houses they build. Furthermore, the law prevents them, their children and grandchildren from obtaining Ugandan citizenships. This leaves refugees worrying about their future in Uganda. (Gardner 2016.)

Uganda’s role in the public arena of global displacement debate and as a host of protracted refugee situations makes the country a particularly interesting place to research refugees’ life. Apart from being an important topic in Uganda, researching forced displacement contributes to a wider understanding of refugees and the consequences, “spill-over effects”, of ever more complex conflicts.

### 2.3. Introducing the research site and research questions

There are 28 refugee settlements in Uganda. One of the oldest ones is called Nakivale settlement, established in 1960. The settlement is located in Bukanga County in the Isingiro District, southwestern Uganda (see the map on the next page) and hosts 101,403 refugees registered by the UNHCR. The number equals 17.5 per cent of the inhabitants of the whole district, distributed in an area as big as 184 square kilometers. (UNHCR 2018b; BBC 2016.) Over the decades, Nakivale has been the scope of a large number of scholarly and journalistic coverage. It has a long, versatile history of hosting refugees mostly from the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. Currently, the biggest groups are Burundians and Congolese. In addition, there are Somali, Eritrean, Ethiopian and Sudanese refugees. The size of the population in the camp has been influenced by various conflict outbreaks in the region that have occurred since its establishment. To mention a few, Nakivale received tens of thousands of refugees for instance during and after the Rwandan genocide in 1994, some of which still reside in the settlement (Ahimbisibwe 2017). Furthermore, during the political crisis in Burundi in 2015, the population of the settlement increased sharply (UNHCR 2018c).

In addition to offering shelter to the forcibly displaced, Nakivale houses tens of thousands of Ugandan nationals, too. They claim ownership of the land they inhabit, creating a social environment where refugees and nationals live side by side, interacting socially and economically. In addition, some of the nationals living in and around Nakivale, benefit directly from the humanitarian aid arranged mainly for refugees, such as water, education, health and nutrition. (Bjørkhaug 2017, 456–457.)



Map 2. Nakivale Settlement in southwestern Uganda.

Nakivale is a good example of a refugee settlement, which surrounding conditions have turned into a city-like, enduring space of displacement. Over the years, the inhabitants of Nakivale have created an urban ecosystem of their own. According to Connaughton (2015), an Oxford University study – as well as my own data – reveal that many refugees engage in different forms of business; they start small enterprises, restaurants, food stalls, hair salons, cafes and so on. Some of them earn money by renting plots, organizing mini bus rides to the closest city Mbarara or doing agriculture and reaching out to a bigger regional or national markets, among other things. Gardner (2016) notes that many refugees work alongside with Ugandans in various businesses.

In the following, I have cited my field notes from the fieldwork period in Nakivale. It includes my observations regarding the complex social, political and economic space that this settlement forms:

“There are restaurants with loud music, football court, hair salons, churches and a mosque, kiosks for airtime and other everyday utensils, bars, street food stands and so on. In the morning, I had breakfast in a Congolese tea house, in the evening dined in an Ethiopian restaurant serving excellent injera. Self-built houses, even though modest ones, with inhabitants digging ground outside and neighbors who seem to know each other. It undoubtedly resembles a whatever urban settlement I have seen before in this country. Only the food distribution lines and NGO offices make it evident that this place is not a city as we are used to know it.” — Field Notes, 28 February, 2018.



Picture 1. Everyday life in Nakivale Camp, in New Congo neighborhood.

A number of academic scholars (e.g. Malkki 1995b; Agier 2002; Sanyal 2012) suggest that in today's world, refugee camps can no longer be defined as sites of humanitarian protection and 'bare life' but should be looked at more as urban sites hosting individuals with various backgrounds, carrying in them histories and memories. In the context of this research, my own as well as journalists' and fellow researchers' observations from Nakivale justify this point of view of a refugee camp. In my study, I look at the everyday life of the people that divide this space of displacement, their histories and memories. I furthermore search for interlinks between the lives before and the current lives of the refugees in Nakivale. Now, before presenting the methodology of my research, I will introduce the research questions that guide the analysis of the data in the research. They are the following:

Q1: How do conflicts follow refugees from the country of origin to the Nakivale refugee camp?

Q2: What hinders everyday peace in the camp?

In addition, I apply the following subquestion:

Q3: What kind of peace practices do refugees utilize in Nakivale?

### **3. METHOD AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STUDY**

In this chapter, I introduce the methodology I have adopted in the research and give a thorough explanation on how the study was conducted. I shed light on the process of data gathering and field work with its complexities and challenges as well as successes. Furthermore, in this chapter I will discuss the ethical issues that emerged during the research process, reflect upon my own position as a researcher in the research setting and highlight my observations using practical examples from the field.

#### **3.1. Starting point**

I lived in Uganda from October 2017 to April 2018 and worked as an information officer for the Finnish Refugee Council (FRC). My work consisted of field trips to several refugee settlements as well as fieldwork with urban refugees in Kampala. FRC offers adult education for refugees in 12 different refugee settlements in Uganda. The organization has had activities in Uganda for over 25 years and works in partnership with the UNHCR. FRC's courses include for instance language and business trainings for adult refugees, leadership trainings for youth and training and mentoring services for organizations funded by refugees. This work period greatly contributed to my understanding and knowledge of forced displacement in Uganda as well as of refugees' life and everyday reality in general. Reflecting on the experience, I find that this time was also crucial in terms of establishing connections with the informants and obtaining background information in the research phases prior to my field trip. In fact, once the time of my fieldwork period came, I had already visited the Nakivale refugee camp once and made some connections with the staff of our organization and refugees residing in the camp. This turned out to be of great help during the period in the field, for instance in finding my way around the camp and looking for informants and interpreters.

Another important aspect that came along my position within FRC was that I could physically stay in the middle of the camp during the fieldwork period and use FRC's field office as a base from where I navigated my way through the camp. This made many practical things, such as meeting informants and agreeing on interviews, a lot easier. In addition, it enabled informal, low-key

appointments, such as having coffee or lunch, with the informants. I feel that establishing a deeper contact and a few more meetings with them greatly contributed to the success of the research interviews as well as gave the informants a feeling that I was truly interested in interacting with them – something that should be given importance but not be taken for granted in this research setting. Moreover, I feel that staying in the camp round-the-clock for 10 days made my observations and field notes more accurate and colorful, as I was able to follow the life in the camp from morning until night. However, my position at FRC also posed some challenges to the research. I will explain this thought further in Subchapter 3.7, where I discuss ethical considerations in the research process.

### 3.2. Qualitative research

This is a qualitative research. According to Finley & Cooper (2014, 1-2), “qualitative research is the study of people and phenomena in their natural setting and reflects an emphasis on the meaning people find in their natural social life”. According to Sarajärvi & Tuomi (2009, 71), qualitative research serves as an umbrella term for a number of methodologies; hence, a researcher can apply multiple approaches and data gathering methods within this term. They can vary from interviews, group discussions and observation to documents, visual images and questionnaires – or be a combination of many of the before-mentioned (ibid).

Some characteristics are common to most qualitative research; a naturalistic context for research, researcher reflexivity, honoring the voice of the participants and issues of evaluation within qualitative research. (Finley & Cooper 2014, 1–3.) In peace and conflict research, researchers often aim to deepen understanding on how people experience conflict and peace, for example. Qualitative research is, due to its ability to value individuals’ experiences, explain social environments and provide imagery and context to events, commonly used when conducting research in this field (Cooper & Rice 2014). The reason why a qualitative approach is adopted also in my study is a sum of the aforementioned; it gives me tools to voice participants' experiences and investigate them in a comprehensive manner as well as draw pictures on the social environment my informants share.

This study aims at understanding conflict and continuity in refugees' lives by shedding light on individuals' experiences and drawing interlinks between conflicts of the present and those of the past. It seeks at contributing to a better understanding on how conflicts are transported from one phase to another and by doing this, gives value to refugee's life as a complex, continuous process. My study hence aims at producing knowledge on a social phenomenon by giving voice directly to some of the ones involved in it, refugees, and presenting their stories as a part of data upon which it builds.

On the contrary, my research does not aspire to create generalizable knowledge on the research phenomenon, any kinds of facts or laws — which is typical of qualitative research in general. Similarly, there are no experimentally examined meanings or created presuppositions about the topic. The study is conducted keeping in mind that the world is inherently subjective and the reality socially constructed, and that the interaction between the researcher and the subject are subjective in nature. (Blommaert & Dong 2010, 18–19.)

By mentioning this, I also want to highlight having acknowledged the limitations of my research approach in explaining refugee life. Hence, not by any means I aim at presenting a generalizable view or the whole truth or even trying to introduce the reader to a thorough image of refugee life or a “refugee experience”. This is particularly because the researcher departs from the idea that, like Malkki (1995a, 495–500) suggests, there is no such thing as a prototype refugee or a one-and-only refugee experience, which would apply to a group of people sharing namely the legal classification of a refugee. Considering this, it would be impossible to give a generalizable description of a “refugee experience”.

### 3.3. Critical ethnography

In this study, I utilize ethnography as a research method. Ethnography is a well-known qualitative research method within social sciences, and has been employed by four fields in particular: anthropology, sociology, education and cultural studies (Skeggs 2011, 427). Thereafter, it has gained popularity for instance among scholars in the fields of sociology, religious studies, psychology as well as peace and conflict research (Welty 2014, 111–114). This method aims at

gaining an insider's depiction of the studied world by researching a group or a setting and recording the everyday life of it. According to Emerson & Shaw (2011, 1), while doing an ethnography, the researcher "enters into a social setting and gets to know the people involved in it, participates in the daily routines of this setting, develops ongoing relations with the people in it, and observes all the while what is going on. (...) Second, the ethnographer writes down in regular, systematic ways what she observes and learns while participating in the daily rounds of life of others. Thus the researcher creates an accumulating written record of these observations and experiences."

According to Brewer (2000), ethnography is a versatile research method defined by three characteristics: "the object of the research, which is to study people in naturally occurring settings; the researcher's role in that setting, which is to understand and explain what people are doing in that setting by means of participating directly in it; and the data to be collected, which must be naturally occurring and captured in such a way that meaning is not imposed on them from outside." (Brewer 2000, 18.)

As lies in the nature of peace and conflict research, my research applies a critical approach in the ethnographic method. In critical ethnography, the position of both the researcher and the subjects of the research are carefully recognized, and the imbalance between them is emphasized (Welty 2014, 115). As in, the researcher pays constant attention to his or her role as an outsider in a research site and through this awareness reflects on the events that occur during the research, keeping in mind their own power and privilege. I aim at challenging universal concepts of a refugee and a refugee camp throughout the research process, striving to give authority to the research subjects by working as a bridge between them and the audience. Thomas (1993, 3–4) suggests that this emancipation of "taken for granted reality", meaning clearly separating oneself from "constraining models of thinking" is a core part of critical ethnography. Critical ethnography can be seen as "simultaneously hermeneutic and emancipatory", with aspirations on making apparent "symbolic constraints that restrict our perception, interpretation and discourse (...)" as well as challenging the existing power relations and status quo of our thinking, which might be misshaped by traditional, conventional research (Thomas 1993, 5).

Welty (2014, 112) suggests that ethnography has become popular among peace researchers and suits the field of peace and conflict studies especially well due to its focus on local and grassroots level, tendency to aim at understanding phenomena rather than just explaining them and its ability to recognize power relations. According to Thomas (1993, 6), it is best suited to research which strives for digging below evident appearances and making visible underlying meanings and power structures. Falzon (2009, 1–2) states that ethnography is a suitable method for researching contextually rich and nuanced topics. It entails a combination of field techniques from surveys to interviews and direct or participant observation and requires thick interaction between the researcher and researched (ibid, 1–2).

In this study, I have collected data on the research phenomenon by using multiple ethnographic techniques. My data consists of daily field notes, in-depth interviews with nine key informants as well as informal discussions and photographs. Reflecting upon my research process, I find that, in fact, combining different sub-techniques worked towards creating a thorough picture of my study phenomenon – one without the other would have created a too narrow image of the studied phenomenon. My research topic requires comprehensive knowledge on a complex phenomenon and information on individual experiences and life stories as well as constant reflection of the researcher's role in the field, and therefore calls for an equally holistic approach.

In this study, I apply an inductive approach, meaning that my reasoning throughout the study is driven by data. From the data, theoretical frameworks arise. Ethnography is per se considered an inductive, data-driven research method; researchers aim at making sense of the world through the data they have collected in the field (Uhan, Malnar & Kurdiya 2013, 642). In brief, ethnographic research hardly tests any hypothesis or lays a binding theoretical framework before collecting data and investigating it (Wilson & Chaddha 2010). The researcher, hence, leaves space for new ideas and theory to emerge from the data. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 96.)

### 3.4. Refugee camp and its inhabitants as an ethnographic case

Ethnographic researchers have traditionally studied peoples in their natural environments. Malkki (2012, 156-157) explains that at the time she was planning her research in a refugee camp in

Tanzania, her academic colleagues questioned her idea of researching refugees in a camp as it was seen to be a temporary space where refugees are out of their natural habitat. At that time, relying on the concept of the "natural order of things", displaced people were considered to be uprooted from their motherlands and therefore to share unnatural, exceptional and extreme conditions in the camp. In the light of the idea of 'refugeeness' as something exceptional, unique, it was hard for Malkki's colleagues to imagine a refugee camp as a suitable space for academic research. This idea, unjustly, narrows certain environments out of the scope of anthropological research. Malkki (2012, 156) further notes that refugee camps have become part of everyday reality in East and Central Africa. After Malkki's research in Tanzania in the mid-1990s, the number of refugees on the continent, especially on Ugandan soil, has increased and displacement has become more protracted, which is why people find themselves living in the camps often for decades. This thought is backed by Loescher & Milner (2005) who state that prolonged refugee situations are ever more common and can be found mostly in the continent of Africa.

Along with the rise of feminist research tradition, also within peace and conflict studies and international relations, increasing attention is paid to reflections such as whose voices are heard over others in the grand narratives of scholars in these fields. For instance, Doubiago (2016, 242) suggests that not only do critical feminist scholars engage with research about gendered experiences but also with intersections of gender and race, ethnicity, class and so on. In addition, feminist scholars have advocated for hearing the stories of the underrepresented in global discourses and turning the attention towards silenced experiences. A good example of such a group are refugees, whose lives are in many ways politicized and affected by global- or local-scale decisions which they cannot influence.

Taking the previous into account, camps are to be considered fruitful spaces in creating a deep understanding of forced displacement as well as war, conflict and global politics more generally. In fact, refugee camps and other settlements inhabited by refugees have turned into common research sites, sparking ever more scholarly interest at least among some critical anthropologists, peace and conflict as well as development researchers. Sanyal (2012, 633) suggests that in the contemporary world order, it is increasingly important to talk about displaced people and the complex, permanent-temporary spaces they occupy.



Picture 2. Paintings on the walls in the Nakivale camp.

When working in the refugee camps in Uganda, I started seeing what the cited researchers meant. Refugee camps were lifelike, urban towns with their everyday challenges and internal politics, economies and social dynamics. The Nakivale camp, for instance, had been there for almost 60 years, and therefore could undoubtedly be called a permanent space. The urbanity and humanity of the space was palpable.

### 3.5. In-depth interviewing and participant observation

According to Rubin & Rubin (2005, 15), qualitative interviews can apply different methods but have a few things in common: their style is close to extended, ordinary conversations between humans and while doing them, the researcher considers interviewees partners rather than subjects to be tested. Rubin & Rubin (ibid.) suggest that "interviewing is a dynamic and interactive process, not

a set of tools to be applied mechanically”. In this study, I utilize an in-depth interviewing method, which is in common use by ethnographers and usually combined with other data collection methods. I will now present this method in peace and conflict research and explain why I find it suitable for my research.

In social science research, in-depth interviews refer to a research technique consisting of “intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation” (Boyce & Neale 2006, 3). According to Brounéus (2011, 130–131), this method is used in peace and conflict research to “deepen and sharpen our understanding of the complexities of conflict-ridden societies” and to investigate the micro-processes of wars. It is considered useful when researching different subgroups of the population in order to gain knowledge on the challenges, possibilities and risks of peace, for instance. Brounéus (ibid.) highlights this method particularly well suits topics that require information from those who are in the core of the researched, conflict-related phenomena; in this case the refugees themselves. Furthermore, again Brounéus (2011, 131) emphasizes the suitability of this data collection method for an inductive study such as this: “in-depth interviewing can be used inductively, to generate new hypotheses or theory by studying a particular issue in a particular conflict or post-conflict setting.”

Rubin & Rubin (2005, 4–5) suggest that in in depth-interviewing, the “researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion” about the topic. Each interviewee is a unique situation that will “follow its own winding path” and take its shape according to the interests and topics the interviewees are willing to bring into discussion, but eventually end up going deep in the issue. Structurally, in-depth interviews follow the lines of semi-structured interviews, where the researcher prepares a set of questions related to the topic that will be addressed. Most of them are open-ended questions, of which nuanced and deeper answers emerge. In addition, the researcher encourages the informant to give comprehensive answers by active listening and follow-up questions – however, simultaneously reflecting upon ethical issues and knowing when to abandon the issue. (Brounéus 2011, 130.) According to Brounéus (2011, 132), there are two things the researcher needs to do before the interviews: master the skill of listening and be well-prepared with questions.

While preparing myself for the research before leaving for the data collection trip in the Nakivale camp, I created a set of questions to help me approach the research phenomenon. The majority of them were open-ended, leaving the informant the possibility for a long or a short answer, however opting for a more comprehensive one. In addition, I prepared an informed consent form regarding the research protocol, which I would then have signed by all the interviewees of the study.

Moreover, I reflected on which parties to interview in order to obtain comprehensive information regarding the research phenomenon. I decided that in order to gain knowledge on the refugee experiences of conflict, the internal social dynamics between the inhabitants of the camp and the possible conflict transportation, I should directly interview those who are influenced by these dynamics, hence, only refugees themselves – instead of, say, NGO workers. This decision was natural, given the inclusive nature of my study and its aim to hear the voices of the marginalized.

When researching the possible interview methods and planning the interviews, I drew inspiration from both the critical approach of peace and conflict research as well as feminist research approaches. In the peace and conflict field, I had learned that loose, open-ended interview questions and flexibility in the interview situation also give a freedom for the interviewees to define the topics they want to talk about – and respectively, leave out those they do not want to share. From the research ethical point of view, giving the interviewees this opportunity is crucial when studying war and conflicts and interviewing people with possible experiences of violence and other traumatizing issues, and protects them from reliving the trauma while being interviewed (Basini 2016).

Feminist researchers emphasize interactivity and flexibility when conducting in-depth interviews. At the core is the idea of a non-hierarchical approach (Legard, Keegan & Ward 2003, 140): striving for an informal interview setting, approaching the participant more like a conversational partner, who steps outside the simple question-answer-approach. Before leaving for the field, this idea reminded me that I should keep my own positionality in the research setting clear in my mind. I would try to apply such way of creating an informal relationship between the participant and myself. Perhaps it would make mine and the interviewee's position less dominated by disparities between us, I thought. In the field I learned that although self-reflection worked towards building a

more balanced relationship between myself and the informants, the power dynamics between us kept existing. This issue will be further discussed in Subchapter 3.7.

In order to gain a 360 perspective on the research phenomenon, in-depth interviews are often complemented by other data collection methods, such as participant observation, in ethnographic research (Brounéus 2011, 131). Writing extensive field notes based on hours of observing the researched setting and/or the subjects tends to form a remarkable part of ethnographic research (Welty 2014, 124). According to Emerson & al. (2011, 1–2) the researcher's immersion in the researched setting “enables the fieldworker to directly and forcibly experience for himself both the ordinary routines and conditions under which people conduct their lives, and the constraints and pressures to which such living is subject”. Blommaert & Dong (2010, 30) highlight that we observe our surroundings every day, but in ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher becomes aware of the observation process. The researcher often starts by observing everything, and gradually moves on to observing patterns or phenomena that he or she finds relevant or topical from the research point of view, and writes them down (*ibid.*).

Participant observation was utilized in this study as a data collection method complementary to the in-depth interviews with nine informants. I left for the field with an empty notebook, which filled up with notes during my time in the Nakivale refugee camp. According to Emerson & al. (2011, 1–2), “field notes are accounts describing experiences and observations the researcher has made while participating in an intense and involved manner”. When utilized as additional data with the interviews, these notes would later on give insight on those sides of the phenomenon that would have been impossible to capture only by listening to the words of the participants. Such data include imagery about life in the camp, social dynamics related to living and moving (issues such as geographical divisions between nationalities in the camp), practices of the aspects of peace or issues that hinder it, for instance. Such comprehensive picture is fundamental for a thorough ethnographic interpretation of a refugee camp and its internal dynamics as well as its inhabitants' experiences. According to Welty (2014, 124), interviews require additional data to capture the nuanced nature of the research community, especially in sensitive research environments, where the power relations between informants and interviewees are complex, like a refugee camp.

### 3.6. In the field

Due to my professional interest in themes related to human mobility and forced displacement, my research topic started taking form already prior to my work with the Finnish Refugee Council in Uganda. However, the first months of the new work with refugees around Uganda encouraged me to continue on this path. As I became more familiar with refugee reality and their experiences through various discussions with forcibly displaced people at work, the questions that I had considered researching revealed to be ever more fascinating than I had thought. I met human beings who left a mark, such as Josiane, a young lawyer, who I encountered on a hot day during my first work trip to Nakivale. She was harvesting vegetables in a little community garden and I had a memorable chat with her. She said to me: “even though I became a refugee, even though my dream fell apart, it doesn’t mean I am not the same person anymore.” All these experiences together encouraged me to develop the research further.

There are many reasons why I chose the Nakivale refugee camp as my research site. First of all, Nakivale is a relatively big, one of the oldest refugee camps in Uganda. Having existed through various conflicts and consequential displacement in the region, it hosts refugees from several countries, with a big variety of people with different backgrounds regarding exile (duration, locations and so on). From the perspective of research, this gave me a chance to engage a variety of informants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, who had been in exile for only a few years or decades. This could result in a rich, diverse sample of informants and therefore a more comprehensive approach to experiences and behaviors in the camp. Secondly, due to the presence of FRC, which provided me shelter and help during my research trip, Nakivale was the most convenient and accessible camp to gather data for my study. Whilst planning the research, I had got permission to conduct it in collaboration with the organization. We agreed that upon completing the study, I would let the organization benefit from my results in their communication and educational materials. The agreement did not, however, mean collaborating in any decisions related to the research, or compromise the objectivity of my research. FRC has an established role in the camp, with a field office, several employees and the biggest variety of activities and courses of all the camps in Uganda the organization operates in. During my field trip, I stayed at the guest room at FRC’s office and could therefore observe the camp life 24/7, unlike some other researchers, who

did not have a similar possibility and stayed in villages outside the camp. This agreement benefited my research greatly and enabled access to the research location.

Both Brounéus (2011, 132) and Welty (2014, 121–122) highlight that making acquaintance with local counterparts and developing key contacts within the researched community is an important part of preparing for research interviews. Prior to my research trip at the end of February 2018, I had visited the camp once in November 2017 and made acquaintance with a few inhabitants of the camp as well as staff members of FRC's field office by discussing and working with them. One refugee and one Ugandan employee of FRC in particular became important gatekeepers, with whom I kept contact throughout the following months, prior to my arrival, over messages on social media and on the phone. According to Brounéus (*ibid.*, 133), gatekeepers tend to have an important role in opening doors in sensitive research settings. In fact, the member of the staff of FRC played a significant role in my research by enabling connections with a number of refugees, who eventually became informants in the study, and linking me to other staff members, who also opened doors to further informants and interpreters.

Prior to my arrival in the camp, I had thus created connections with possible gatekeepers and other inhabitants of the camp and deepened my knowledge of forced displacement in the Ugandan and global context, as well as of the structure of the Nakivale camp. I had researched the structure of the camp, how different nationalities divided the space and what were its different living areas like – where they remote or central, where were the commercial centers of the camp, where did refugees buy food, where did food distribution take place and so on, through informal conversations with members of FRC staff and refugees. Taking advantage of previous and existing professional connections in order to facilitate access to the study location or data is relatively common among ethnographers (Welty 2014, 121–122).

I traveled to the Nakivale camp on the 21st of February 2018 and stayed there for a pre-defined period of 10 days. Upon my arrival, I had a meeting with one of the Ugandan staff members of FRC and explained him my research topic and what my plan for the field trip was. I pointed out that I would like to engage refugees who lived in the camp in in-depth research interviews and possibly create connections and relationships even outside these interviews to blend in the everyday life of

the camp as much as possible, simultaneously acknowledging the possible limitations and challenges of this wish of mine. As I was striving for a comprehensive, unbiased sample of informants, I highlighted that they would ideally have different backgrounds: be of different genders, age groups, ethnic and national backgrounds, residing in different areas of the camp as well as have diverse histories of exile (number of years, sites). I also explained him that – ideally – not all of them would be beneficiaries of the organization, or at least not ones who were familiar with my role within FRC before. An appropriate choice of interviewees increases the credibility of one’s research, and therefore the researcher should “choose interviewees who are knowledgeable, whose combined views present a balanced perspective.” (Rubin & Rubin 2005, 64.) Brounéus (2011, 134) notes that in peace research, random sampling of interviewees is not beneficial – quite the contrary, sampling has to be done “with purpose”.

In addition to this FRC employee, I also immediately met two refugees I knew from my previous trip to the camp and explained them my research agenda. These three people became key gatekeepers in my study. They introduced me to several people, with whom I discussed first informally making first acquaintance. I explained them the research aim and protocol as well as the guidelines and rules of the research, regarding for example anonymity and the purpose of my research. With the ones who expressed interest in participating, I agreed on a meeting or immediately conducted an interview, according to their needs and wishes. With some of the contacts I made, I agreed on a meeting for later. The majority of my key informants (seven out of the total nine) were found in this way. In addition to this, I found the two others by talking to a refugee, who was working as a security guard at the FRC office. Upon hearing my research agenda, he addressed me to his fellow Somali refugee, who had worked as an interpreter in the camp. Through him, I managed to approach and establish connections to a community that without his position, would have been hard or impossible to reach, mainly for language reasons, and found two other informants.

In total, I found nine (9) informants, of which four (4) were women and five (5) men. Four of them were Congolese, three Burundians and two Somali. Their age range varied from 19 to 50 years. In-depth interviews with informants were conducted during the 10 days in the camp. All of them were individual interviews (with five of them having an interpreter present), and held behind closed

doors. Prior to the interview, the participants were asked to reserve plenty of time (from one hour to two hours) for the interview and to define a location they preferred for the interview. FRC provided me a private space in their office for four interviews. Taking into account the institutional position of FRC in the camp, this was only done if the informants had no problem in coming to FRC's office or suggested it themselves. Others were conducted in the homes of the refugees. I also read the informed consent form, which states the purpose of the interview and guarantees that the data will be handled anonymously. With each informant I assured they understood all of it and made them sign it, highlighting the fact that the informants would be free to withdraw from the research at any phase if they wanted. Furthermore, they were all explained the purpose of the study in detail; that this study is an academic research, which will contribute to the academic community's knowledge about displaced people in Uganda. In addition, the fact that my role in the situation was a researcher and not a member of FRC staff was highlighted, as was the fact that the research was not done for FRC but as part of university studies. All interviews were recorded by using an Olympus recording device, and all the informants were informed about this. After every interview, the informants were given a possibility to give additional information about the topics discussed.

Mostly, I met the interviewees only once, or twice, due to both my time restrictions and their inactiveness to meet me again, although I left this option open for them. With two of the nine informants, I was able to spend more time, meeting them several times upon their request in the camp. One of them invited me to their home again after the interview. Another suggested a dinner in a restaurant afterwards and we ended up meeting several times. With these two, we ended up spending some few extra hours together discussing their life in the camp and before, as well as my own life in Europe. In addition to me feeling this would be the least I could do to thank them for the time and courage they used and had in participating in my research, I also felt it was an interesting, informal contribution to my knowledge about the research topic and a chance to observe the surroundings, as well as simply a polite way to show them respect. With these two people, I still have conversations on social media from time to time. According to Brounéus (2011, 136), such interaction, consisting of encouraging and creating a comfortable and safe atmosphere for the informants, is necessary in terms of conducting ethically sound research in peace research.

As I had read in literature regarding qualitative, especially in-depth interviews conducted utilizing a semi-structured interview formula, the interviews varied greatly; all nine interviews were individually structured and their length varied each time (from 25 minutes to 1 hour and 55 minutes). It was structured as Brounéus (2011, 139–141) suggests, first by posing general questions about age, ethnicity, children and occupation, and thereafter continuing towards deeper, more complex questions and topics, and finishing with questions regarding the future and rounding up things that were still unclear. The set questionnaire, consisting mostly of open-ended questions was used as a guideline for the interviews, but none of the interviews was actually structured just as the questionnaire stands. Interviews took different forms according to the experiences of the interviewees as well as their needs and willingness to share them. Often the informants mentioned issues that seemed interesting in terms of the researched phenomenon, and I grasped them making further questions, which again led us to new paths on the interview. Furthermore, most of the questions in the set were open-ended (e.g. Could you describe your life before arriving in Nakivale? Could you tell me something about the time when you arrived in Nakivale? How do you feel about your life now? What is the community where you live here like? What are you afraid of here in the camp?), and therefore the answers of the informants varied greatly. These questions were chosen keeping in mind my research questions, and carefully considering what kind of interview questions could bring into discussion issues related to them. The predefined set of questions therefore worked mostly as a framework, which helped in guiding the interview forward, as Brounéus (2011, 130) suggested.

The interviews were conducted in English, in French, in Swahili, in Kirundi and in Somali language. Out of nine interviews, four were conducted without an interpreter in English and a little bit of French, and five with an interpreter in Swahili, Kirundi and Somali languages. Out of these latter five, two informants spoke Congolese Swahili with the interpreter, of which I could understand the principal words and meanings, making it easier for me to follow the interview and pose more questions to the interpreter if needed. In the remaining three, I was dependent on the interpreter's translations. According to Inhetveen (2012, 30), language interpreters are often used in ethnographic research, mostly when conducting interviews, even though speaking the informants' language is seen as somewhat a standard. In my case, it would have been hard to obtain rich, nuanced data in the camp by using only the languages I spoke: fluent English, intermediate French

and beginner Swahili. I therefore chose to not limit my research participants only to the refugees that spoke English and French, knowing that most inhabitants of the camp did not and fearing that such a choice would have unfairly limited the participants to only those who were more educated.

Aware of the issues of working with interpreters, such as possibly unclear translations of more complex statements, bias and distorting the truth, differences between interpreters in choosing direct translations or aiming more for semantic equivalence (Inheteven 2012, 34–35), I chose to work with interpreters. I assured this choice would have the minimal effect on the reliability and clarity of the data. I tried to make sure the interpreter was not familiar with the interviewees beforehand. This did not succeed in one case out of nine, as one of the informants, a 19-year-old female, only agreed to participate if I could find a woman from the same nationality and neighborhood to work as an interpreter. Two of the interpreters had worked before as interpreters for non-governmental organizations in the camp, which was a positively contributing factor in choosing them. The interpreters translated the questions from English to the informant's native language and the answers from this language to English. All the interpreters were informed that the researcher could use a second interpreter in double-checking the translations to adhere to the good practices of qualitative research. This decreased the possibility of the interpreter to distort the truth or claiming a biased truth — an aspect that needs to be considered especially in sensitive research contexts. All the interpreters were paid the same lump sum of money per interview. Prior to the interviews, I decided on this sum following the advice of my Ugandan colleagues at FRC, based on their opinion on how much was a fair and satisfying pay for such work in Uganda.

Outside the interviews, I engaged myself in the everyday reality of the camp by moving around and observing the surroundings. In addition, I took some pictures at the research site, of the environment in general and of some details, such as in an informant's home when he invited me there — always asking for permission first. Blommaert & Dong (2010, 33–34) note that photographs can form a valuable base for a researcher's own research archive and possibly become data for the research. Even if not published in the research directly, they will help the researcher to recall back to the people, sites and moments encountered and experienced during the field trip (*ibid.*). In fact, I found myself looking at the pictures of the camp and empathizing with the places and people. I did this in order to recall the feelings I went through while doing the research in the field or to find inspiration

for analytical thoughts about my study findings. The pictures support my field notes, which indicate differences between the generalizing concept of these two subjects and the reality seen in the camp. Hence, the photographs show both sides of the camp; on the one hand, everyday struggles of survival and queuing to get food from the distribution sites, but on the other, they also show empowered human beings living their life in the camp. This camp resembles any urban settlement, and could easily be a town or city in Uganda, with Ethiopian restaurants, people building up their houses or other community spaces, spending time with their families, harvesting vegetables from gardens and having dinner, or youth playing games or football at a court.

According to Blommaert & Dong (2010, 39), field notes are also a part of your personal archive of data. They have an important function in reminding the researcher “not only about what I witnessed in the field, but even more importantly about how I witnessed it” (ibid.) This is how they worked in my study as well. During the days spent in the field, I sat down with my notebook, depending on my interview schedules, every night or every morning and wrote down the emotions I had encompassed, things I had seen, behaviors that I had faced and conversations I had had during the last 24 hours. First of all, I find that the field notes I made regarding the surroundings and the descriptive, lifelike remarks regarding the camp and the life within (houses, football grounds, restaurants, gardens, people’s clothes, shops and so on) were of great help afterwards, in forming a critical concept of a refugee and the refugee camp as opposed to the generalizations about them. Secondly, reading the field notes had an ability to bring me back to the refugee camp even months after the trip, after having lived in Finland for months. And finally, I found that reading those notes afterwards reminded me of many feelings, joyful and uncomfortable, and worked especially well in bringing up considerations about the position of the researcher and the interactions between me and the informants or other refugees in the camp. In the field notes, I described challenges and ethical observations in regards of conducting research at a refugee camp; issues that rose in the text, described the behaviors of the informants towards me as a researcher, the researcher’s objectivity, emotional involvement and her position as an outsider/insider in the camp, to mention a few. In the next subchapter, these ethical considerations are presented and reflected upon.

### 3.7. Ethical considerations

When researching war and conflict, ethical issues need to be considered throughout the research. In ethnography, or in qualitative research in general, the researcher is required to reflect his/her position throughout the research process and take ethically-driven choices in the field. (Welty 2014, 130; Brounéus 2011, 141.)

This subchapter presents ethical challenges and observations I faced during the data collection trip in the field. Striving for clear narration, the subchapter is further divided into four parts, each of which concentrates on one challenge or ethical issue in the field, related to researcher's role, the reliability of the research, over-research and so forth. These issues are highlighted by adding descriptive pieces of the researcher's field notes in the text.

#### 3.7.1. Objectivity and researcher's role

Objectivity used to be an ideal which qualitative researchers strived for. By now, it is an admitted fact that while conducting qualitative research, it is fundamental to question the idea of researcher's objectivity and recognize the subjectivity — the influence of the researcher's background and thoughts, for instance. According to Tuomi & Sarajärvi (2009), researcher can never detach oneself from one's value system, experiences and world views, including prejudices — even if some researchers claim to do this way. As in, objectivity is an illusion and striving for it more hinders the research quality than enforces it. According to Eskola & Suoranta (2001), through recognizing subjectivity researcher can try to recognize these thoughts, even though arguably it is impossible to face them totally. Throughout this study, I have recognized the influence of my value world and opinions and reflected upon it while doing the research. For instance, I acknowledge that the world view I hold had an influence on how I saw the informants: not as objects and plain sources of informations, but as individuals with their own, personal histories, thoughts and stories to tell.

Welty (2014, 130), states that a social science researcher is demanded to analyze how s/he has influenced the results of the study. In ethnography, researchers "contemplate how his/her own social location affected how information was observed and interpreted" (ibid.). This reflection is

needed in order to recognize the power dynamics shaping the results of the research. In addition, the researcher needs to reflect upon his privileged position compared to the informants (Welty 2014, 116), which is present especially in environments such as refugee camps or other conflict-affected societies. In addition, debates over the ethical challenges of Western researchers doing research in the global south especially among peace and development researchers has made them more reflexive and aware of their positionality. This was an issue I faced constantly during the data collection trip. In the field and prior to, I reflected upon how my own position as a white, educated European researcher, would affect my research. Often, acknowledging this position and the existing power structures made me feel uncomfortable. Citing my field notes:

”I can’t change my role as a white, Western researcher. I wish I could. I think that people would treat me differently, if I wasn’t who I am. This place makes me become painfully aware of my own privilege.”  
Field notes, 22 February 2018.

Often this was not due to someone pointing it out, but due to my observations about fundamental differences between my life and the lives of the camp inhabitants. I could leave the camp, return to my comfortable home and wash myself under a warm shower, but the inhabitants of the camp did not have this choice. In addition, I suffered from some informants’ requests in helping them with issues I could not, such as resettlement. Over the time in the camp, it caused me ”world agony” and made me encounter feelings of helplessness. These issues that I pondered over and over again per se emphasize the importance of doing such ethnographic work and contribute critically and analytically to the overall knowledge about refugees in the academia, as well as highlight yet another time, how these structural power dynamics exist and need not to be forgotten.

Another issue that is important to discuss in relation to objectivity is the risk of the researcher to be seen to hold a double position as researcher and a member of the organizational staff of the Finnish Refugee Council. Regardless of the fact that my position within FRC mostly worked in favor of my research in many ways and because of this position my access to information in the camp was greatly facilitated, I also feel the need to explore the topic from its ethical point of view. When preparing for the research, I was aware of the fact that some of my informants would possibly link me to FRC and think that I was conducting a research for them – especially, when I was staying at their guest room in the camp – or even that I was working for them. I was afraid this might distort the information they are willing to give me or the relationship between us. To overcome this issue,

I printed terms and ethical codes for the participants of my research and went them through with everyone. This document clearly stated my position as a Master's Thesis researcher and emphasized my independence in relation to the organization. Also, I highlighted the free choice of the informants to choose the location for the interview, keeping in mind that some of them might consider FRC's office somehow institutional and formal which could influence the interviews. Despite this preparation, two informants referred to FRC during the interviews, which verified this worry. Many referred to the organization in favorable tone, thanking me for something that the organization had done, whereas one would comment on how the organization could work differently. A citation of a research interview demonstrates:

I1 (Informant 1): "When I arrived here in Nakivale, I can appreciate it so much, FRC. When I started with this organization, I started to connect to other people and org. I got to know x (FRC employee), and did appointment with FRC."

In these situations, I further highlighted the fact that I was currently acting as an independent researcher, not as an employer of FRC, and they could talk about anything they wanted anonymously. As follows:

I4 (Informant 4): "Mm. I have an example that I won't say. I could even give an example of FRC but you work for them."

R (Researcher): "I am not currently working for FRC. I am doing my research which is independent from the the organization. So even if you give it it's ok."

### 3.7.2. Over-research and research fatigue

Some conflicts and conflictual settings have sparked more scholarly interest than others. The Nakivale refugee camp, too, has been the site of multiple studies over the years, enabled partially by the strong presence of NGOs, who have helped researchers in entering and its relatively accessible location in Uganda (see e.g. Bjørkhaug 2017). Several researchers (see e.g. Pascucci 2017; Bournéus 2011; Bjørkhaug 2017; Owor Ogora 2013) have studied consequences of over-research and research fatigue in the research context, and the worry seems to be generally central to all the research with refugee or other conflict-affected communities. How does the constant presence of researchers influences the narratives of the community? How does it affect the research quality?

Why are other conflicts more researched than others? In my opinion, this is a true concern for peace and conflict researchers. However, some of related research is plainly patronizing and presents the researched communities as passive subjectives, or, as Pascucci (2017, 251) notes— active, but unreliable and unscrupulous. Bjørkhaug, who has wrote an article about her experiences while doing research in the same location, the Nakivale refugee camp, writes: "storytelling among refugees becomes a strategy through which they seek opportunities to connect to a more desirable social terrain." (Bjørkhaug 2017, 453). The researcher (2017, 453–456) further highlights that refugees tend to tell "public stories of victimhood" in order to gain opportunities, such as resettlement in a third country, and this behavior due to refugees getting used to the constant presence of researchers and aid organizations in the camp and acting as gatekeepers to resettlement. Even though Bjørkhaug argues that this is one from of a refugee to show agency, take action to over lift his or her position — as oppose of being a silent victim or universal 'refugee' character. Finally, she argues that refugee's "presentation of a self was arranged to present a victim, rather than someone with resources to cope with life. 'I am a refugee and I need help' was a recurrent theme among refugees". (Bjørkhaug 2017, 462.)

Prior to the field trip, I was aware of this literature and therefore kept myself aware of the possibility of encountering such issues during the data collection process — on the one hand, acknowledged that my position (Western researcher) alone might influence the informants, but on the other, I was critical towards such generalizing representations which described Nakivale inhabitants as a homogeneous group, which was ready to lose its dignity, lie and exaggerate their stories in order to obtain its own interests. In fact, this seemed nothing more than yet another way to portray displaced people as something pre-defined and simplistic, and make them carry this harrowing role throughout their lives. However, I recognized the "victim narrative" in refugees' stories from earlier periods of working with displaced peoples and had encountered situations, where I was asked money or food, and so experience kept me aware. Brounéus (2011, 143) emphasizes that researchers' do not provide for basic needs such as food or water to those in need — this might compromise the position of aid workers at the site and would be unethical.

With most informants of my study, my criticism seemed to be mainly accurate: the victim narrative had little space in most of the discussions. Other issues related to my role emerged, however. For

instance, one informant did not understand my role at the beginning, and asked for help for his children at the end of the interview. I explained my position again; that I was an independent researcher, contributing to a larger scientific knowledge about refugees in general, and not part of any organization. Thereafter, the informant stopped asking for help and told me something completely different. Hence, a trust evoked by him understanding my position led to untold stories arising. I now present a citation of this described interview:

I2: "I want to ask you something. (...) Is there any possibility of you getting the information you get from me that can change my life?"

R: "This information will be part of an academic research, that is a study about refugee's life and conflicts experienced. Of course if you talk about how refugees are experiencing life, it can contribute to bigger knowledge about how refugees live here in Nakivale. I can not, however, take this information out with your name and seek for help. It is not part of my role. This is for an individual study which is investigating refugee's life in a general way. And, I am not responsible for resettlement."

I2: "So the information will help refugees at large. Even though top officials say no refugees are okay, now you will have other information. That we have problems. I talk to the officials and afterwards I fear. There are some visitors, like you, when they come at the settlement here, and want to do interaction here. The top officials in such settlements, they (...) convince them that there is no problem. They fail to reach on the ground level here to get the right information. I am happy that I have managed to tell you what I experience. (...) Thank you."

Another informant contributed:

I4: "Many organizations don't like people (refugees) who are educated and they send them (researchers) to Kisura (remote area), where they won't meet people who studied. So people could not tell the truth when asked questions. That's the reality of most organizations. That's why things don't move, it's (why things don't move) not about money. It's about not understanding people and the needs of them. If you don't really know the needs of them, you can't help them. Otherwise you will bring solution where there is no problem."

I learned that my presence and my position as a Western researcher included suppositions and expectations among some refugees. My imagined position as someone who could act in order to improve the informants' living conditions in the camp or became apparent during some interviews. One informant asked me to promote her business idea abroad and look for funding, whereas another wanted to know whether I was in the position to put pressure to UNHCR in dealing with her complaints regarding her personal life. Once, I was also asked whether I would pay the informant for the interview. This, again, made me think if this question was based on experience that Western researchers would easily pay informants for interviews or on the experience of Westerners coming to refugee camps as NGO workers, to provide with different forms of aid. Upon explaining that

such action would not be ethically correct in research, the informant agreed for the interview regardless. Furthermore, the informants were often aware of many global political phenomena, which showed in their approach towards the researcher for example in the following Somali informant's narrative:

I7: "I want to ask you a question. Are you from America or somewhere else?"

R: "I come from Finland, a country located in northern Europe."

I7: "Finland! Now we feel that the American people they hate us. They don't want to see any muslims, they don't want to see any people like us. They don't want to resettle us anymore. We feel like the other communities are safe and get help but we are like left behind. (...) They don't really consider to help Somalis."

Although almost all the informants (seven out of nine) mentioned challenges with food or talked about shortage of food, only two of them made it a central theme in their narratives. In these two cases, there were also other types of calls for help present in the narratives. However, these cases had particularly vulnerable situations in the camp, due to their role in a corruption scandal involving Ugandan refugee authorities, which had rose into public attention a few weeks before my arrival in the camp, and as a consequence, these informants (number 6 & 7) stated to be "scared for their life" during the interview. I learned that the key to overcome unclarity regarding my role was emphasized transparency about what I was doing: to highlight, sometimes multiple times, the purpose of the interview and study, my own role as an independent master thesis researcher as well as giving informants the possibility to ask questions from me before and after the interview (as in the citation case presented before).

Outside the interviews, while spending time in the camp alone and in company, I received a good deal of attention from the camp's inhabitants. It consist mostly of looks and curious-minded questions, as well as simply being addressed as "mzungu" (White/Western in Swahili). In my experience, this was mostly friendly, innocent and above all, a natural way of treating yet another Westerner, an outsider in the camp. A few times, mostly by children, I was asked for food or money. Many times over dinners or other moments spent in public spaces in the camp, I engaged in conversations with casual passer-bys. When spending time with the two informants who I came to know better, those conversations could be deep and seemed friendly and spontaneous and, most of all, made me forget the agony-causing power structures between me and the informants. One time, I got lost in the camp and was helped by a young refugee, who ended up sitting with me in a

restaurant and asking me to provide him advice on how to build up an enterprise and get resettled. Even though I told him the things I knew, which felt the right thing to do, the whole situation resulted uncomfortable; everything I said seemed to have a great value to him. A citation of my field notes demonstrates:

”As a researcher, as a human being, I feel bad to sense from his actions that there’s such a remarkable power structure between us. It feels odd that my opinion seems to weigh so much to him. Only because I am a Westerner. It feels like some disturbing post-colonial structure. I mean, how could I give advice on resettlement, when I don’t know much about it, and above all, it is about important, personal life choices, which have a great effect on his life. It is unthinkable that one would hold that kind of power only because of his origin.”

Field notes, 24 February 2018

In some cases, the ”research fatigue” among refugees was clear; some of the people I talked to had been interviewed for research for several times. Some found it tiring, for instance this informant contributes:

I4: ”(...) So most of the time you will find, that many refugees are not excited anymore. (...) We already know they want to gain, something that is really sad actually. When there is a sponsor or what, you (Western researchers) got to places and you just come (here in the camp). They (researchers) fear even to say good morning. So when you will have your pictures and everything you’re done, there is like three months of four months of no activity. (...) So the question is... do they (researchers) really get the real information, or are they fooled somehow.”

Pascucci (2017, 251–254) adds favorable notions to the much debated researcher and aid organizations’ presence at refugee camps, for instance in terms of improving refugees’ economic agency. When researchers spend time in post-conflict or post-displacement settings, they, too, contribute to the local economies within these settings by using services, for instance. Furthermore, refugees often engage in activities within local and global organizations in these settings, which contributes to their other livelihoods and generates income. This is the case also in the Nakivale camp. During my stay in the camp, I made purchases in local restaurants, bars and shops. I used services provided by the refugee interpreters, and introduced them to the staff of FRC, in order to enforce further collaborations. Pascucci (2017, 254) also emphasizes the researcher’s good practices and ethic-driven actions as well as careful research design and preparation helps in overcoming the issue of over-research and striving for ethically sound research – aspects, which I acknowledge having been game-changing also in my own research.

### 3.7.3. Not doing harm

When doing research in a setting like refugee camp, where many people encounter or have encountered violence, discrimination and such, questions of security and good practices, in issues such as protecting the informants and data, arise. According to Brounéus (2011, 141–142), peace researcher has to persistently consider ethical issues and strive for not doing harm to the research participants, especially in these settings where, talking about the past events, for instance, might lead to re-traumatization of these individuals. The issues I researched, including transportation of conflict and practices and obstacles of everyday peace, lead to the informants giving me explicit information about their experiences on conflict previously and currently. Some of them told me that they, as of the time of the interview, were scared for their lives for different reasons. Taking into account the extremely sensitive information with some of the informants, and to ensure that the research would be done in an ethically sound way, I made deliberate choices regarding research practices such as storing data, conducting interviews and formatting interview questions.

First of all, the interview questions were formatted in a way which would minimize the risk of re-traumatizing the participants. The questions were open-ended and loose of structure, formatted in such way, that the informants could define how they wanted to answer them. I also highlighted that they were free to withdraw at any moment, or skip a question if they so wanted. I practiced active listening, and although I made follow-up questions, I never demanded for answers in situations where I felt it could be too much — I rather moved on to the following question. Some informants shared their experience in detail out of their own initiative — about violence, rape and intimidations, others did not. Regardless, I did not push the conversation on these topic further. Secondly, I gave the informants the possibility to choose the preferred location for the interview. The location would be a place, where they felt safe and could talk to me in one-to-one interview. FRC had provided a quiet room in their office, some of the refugees were comfortable in using that, others not. It was a private place, but understandably did not feel safe or neutral to all of the informants to talk about all of their experiences, given its institutional role. Most of the refugees in fact preferred to use their own home as a location for the interview. Finally, I protected the anonymity of the informants by storing the recorded data and the informed consent forms in different places, assuring that none of the recorded tapes would be named or contain information

which could reveal the informant's identity. With those informants, who are in particularly vulnerable position for some reason, this is especially important, in order to adhere to the researcher's responsibility of not doing harm (Brounéus 2011, 144). Such as the following case, where I had to consider the safety of the informant and talk to her about the issue before agreeing on an interview. There, I again had to clarify my position as a researcher with the informant, and emphasize the anonymity, the possibility to withdraw and safe way to handle the data. Citing my field notes:

"Yesterday I had to seriously think about the security of my informant. I happen to be here on a particularly touchy time. There is a big corruption scandal going on, related to Ugandan authorities and some members of certain communities. They are accused of lying about the number of refugees in order to get more aid and having sold this extra to make profit. A community of women here in Nakivale, which has been victim to abuse of their food aid, reportedly revealed this to UNHCR. Yesterday, one of those people took part in my research. She told me that no one was listening to her and she was constantly threatened by powerful members of the community. She said she was scared for her life."  
Field notes, 27 February 2018.

Not doing harm – and as oppose, striving for doing good – are ethical values that can be enhanced by the researcher by doing conscious choices in the research design – for example, whose narratives to include and how to explore the community. Every researcher uses power in choosing the topic, the approach and the the ideas one wants to adhere to, who to interview and who not (Brounéus 2011, 142), whose voice to hear and describe, and so on. Critical and/or feminist researchers have brought such considerations to social research (see e.g. England 1994; Ashby 2011; Sharoni 2010 & Sigona 2014). One's positionality here is, again, evident: choices influence the narratives that are shared and the ones which are left out, respectively. In this research, it could mean: how do I define a refugee? Do I believe that there is a universal refugee character, or do I look at these people as individuals with different lives and stories? I chose the latter. Acknowledging the power I hold when deciding over these issues, I chose the topic partly out of my will to investigate a theme which would give space for the experiences of displaced peoples and their voices — instead of, for example, aid workers or authorities in the camp. My intention was to hear and tell voices from the grassroots level, which is often forgotten. During designing my research, finding the gatekeepers and choosing the informants — gender-wise, origin-wise, ethnic-wise and so on, I kept this power in mind.

### 3.7.4. Emotional involvement

”I felt really sad and cried yesterday, for the first time in the camp. It must be the overwhelming feeling of hearing traumatic stories, one after another. I thought I was already used to this, I mean, I’ve heard this stories for many times as journalist and as aid worker. But I could not help it, the feelings of injustice just unraveled. Anger, sadness. It made me shake.”

Field notes, 27 February 2018.

The previous citation of my field notes is a good example of the feelings researcher might encounter in the field. Doing research in sensitive locations is an issue often discussed in peace and conflict research: it can become overwhelming for the researcher, and being aware of the emotional dynamics in conflict- and post-conflict research settings is a requirement for ensuring good health and good research quality (Brounéus 2011, 144). Skinner (2014, 186) suggests that research can become emotionally draining, which may lead to difficulties in separating emotions from ethics. Skinner describes her feelings during her field research as follows: ”at best, I felt helpless; at worst, I felt voyeuristic” (Skinner 2014, 187). Brounéus (2011, 144) suggests that researchers might even face ”secondary trauma”, meaning being traumatized by hearing someone else’s stories on their traumatizing events. During my study, I encountered feelings of helplessness and suffered from feelings of ”world agony” several times. It was due to both brutal acknowledgement of my own privileged position, as well as facing stories of violence. I found help from writing the field notebook, which soon after my arrival in Nakivale, became an instrument for dealing with things that happened. Furthermore, I found consolation from my partner, whom I regularly talked to on the phone during my time in Nakivale and told about my experiences and encounters. My previous experience helped in dealing with stories about violence and above all, made emerging feelings less surprising, as I had already been through them. This did not, however, take away the fact that during and after the field trip, the stories kept haunting me, and still while listening to the tapes, they do — a phenomenon recognized by both Skinner (2014, 187) and Brounéus (2011, 142–143).

When engaged in participant observation, an ethnographer aims at getting deep into the researched community or setting, but simultaneously tries to remain the ”outsider”, keep the distance.

According to Welty (2014, 124) it is common that the researcher ”actively participates in the life of the community or social group while also engaged in research of the same group.” Especially feminist researchers consider the right amount of engaging in the informants’ lives and informal relationships with them an asset for the research, and lead to ethically sound research, too. Although

I doubt that there would be just one correct way to handle this issue; I found that it was sometimes hard to draw the limits between engaging in friendships and doing research. However, establishing deeper relationships with two of the informants led to them inviting me to their homes, restaurants and evening events around the camp. These were fascinating situations and great ways to understand how the life in the camp works – something that I would have not been able to do without these relationships.

I also spent a great deal of time pondering how to thank my informants for their time and effort, which also reflects from my field notes:

“As a researcher, what do I leave for the people that have helped me when I go? The research is suppose to contribute to further knowledge about refugees. But what is in it for them? What does it give to the participant?”

Field notes, 23 February 2018.

Whereas I felt paying them would have been unethical, I found some other ways, which provided some small help for them. For instance, upon a request of one of the informants, I sent her pictures of news headlines related to the corruption accusations in Nakivale in the following days’ newspapers on WhatsApp. I gave the informants my contact details and encouraged them to call me should they have something to ask or an issue they wanted to talk about in terms of the research. Some few called. Above all, many of the refugees I met and talked to during my field trip, simply asked me to communicate their issues to the world truthfully, so that they would not be forgotten. Throughout my study, I have been committed to respond to this request as well as possible.

## 4. ANALYSIS

This chapter describes the data analysis of this research. I present the method of analysis and the analysis process of the data I collected from the Nakivale refugee camp. Furthermore, I introduce the theoretical framework of my study which has emerged from the data and consists of two parts. In addition, I explain the logics of my reasoning, in other words, how the theory interlinks with my data. I introduce the findings that emerged from the data.

### 4.1. Method of analysis

Research data of this study was analyzed by using a thematic analysis method. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, 79), “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”, and can be used to describe and organize one’s data in detail. In the characteristics of thematic analysis is the strive for separating the most significant factors and key topics of the research from the whole data set, looking for patterns, commonalities and recurrent subjects in the data (Clarke & Brown 2006, 82–83; Eskola & Suoranta 2001, 176).

The research data consisted of 18 A5-sized pages of field notes, nine hours and two minutes of recorded interviews, which transformed into 49 transcribed A4 pages, and 15 pictures, a few of which can be seen on these pages as well. The interviews were the primary data. The pictures were useful mostly refreshing my memory of different aspects and nuances while doing the analysis, the field notes reminded me of how I encountered different sensations and experiences in the camp and let me analyze my own position, and the interviews were majorly present when interlinking data and theory. I transcribed the recorded interviews immediately after the field trip. Clarke & Brown (2006, 87–88) argue that thematic analysis does not require as high level of details of transcript as some other types of analysis, such as narrative or discourse analysis. Most importantly, the researcher is there to ensure the transcript brings out the information one needs. In the light of this information, I decided to go with clear transcripts. I found the phase of transcribing extremely time-consuming, but also an excellent way to familiarize myself with the data and start identifying the key themes within. (Clarke & Brown 2006, 88.)

The analysis started by reading through the transcribed interviews and the field diary, with growing attention to recurrent aspects. I kept in mind the predefined research topic but also keeping my mind open to new theoretical viewpoints emerging. Hence, already at this point, I actively drew my attention to the narratives and subjects that resonated with my initial research topic. My aim was to study the life of a refugee camp from the point of view of re-occurring conflicts. I wanted to explore whether the conflict was transported from the country of origin to the refugee camp, and if, what were the means of this phenomenon. Along with this phase, I had familiarized myself with the first theoretical frame, conflict transportation (see Chapter 4.2.) At the same time, I started looking for suitable themes which re-occurred as prevalent patterns in the data and interlinked with my research topic. While doing this, I aimed at estimating the significance of these themes in the whole data and in explaining the patterns of my research phenomenon rather than concentrated on the times that each of my tentative themes would occur in the data.

Clarke & Brown (2006, 82) highlight that there is no right or wrong way to estimate the prevalence of the data, and a “theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question”. During the analysis process, the data was read through several times to make sure the overall view would be comprehensive and the analysis accurate. I moved from looking at the data as individual units towards looking at it altogether as a whole – and shifted my attention from individual observations towards more general ones. It is worthwhile to notice that the analysis was conducted in two parts. First, I analyzed the data searching for commonalities to bring forward themes that would interlink with my first theoretic frame. Since I thereafter noticed that the data was still rich of detail after the first round of analysis, I looked at it again and searched for themes which would link it to a different theoretical framework, simultaneously studying related literature to find a second theory framework. Finally, I found that refugees’ stories and experiences from the camp could be interlinked to the theory about everyday peace – a theoretical framework (Mac Ginty 2014 – see 4.4. & 4.5.), which then worked as a tool for categorizing and understanding the data further.

## 4.2. Theoretical framework – conflict transportation

I will now introduce the theory about conflict transportation (also addressed as conflict importation by some), which formulates the base for the theoretical framework of this study. In the next subchapter, I will present the development of the further theoretical framework for the study.

According to Baser (2016, 22), in today's world, where violent conflicts have forced millions of people to leave their homes, it is worthwhile to turn attention to how this conflict-driven migration influences the individuals, who find themselves in new countries of origin, with a new kind of set of rights, duties and opportunities. "Leaving the homeland behind does not necessarily mean that the grudges and grievances between the two parties are forgotten. Instead, they may be carried to the new country of residence and taken on a different form" (ibid.) In diaspora studies, the scope of research has been the mobilization or formation of the diaspora. The relationship between diaspora and the home country has been studied as well, and until recently these studies have focused on the role of diaspora as a positive or negative peacemaker towards the country of origin, whereas the means of conflict transportation have been understudied. (Baser 2016, 20–21.) Baser herself has concentrated on studying diasporas from this point of view — for instance, the dynamics between different generations to restructure and regenerate the past conflicts in Turkish and Kurdish diasporas in Sweden and Germany. In addition, researchers such as Féron (e.g. 2017) have conducted critical studies on the matter. In her work, Féron problematizes and challenges the way conflict-generated diasporas have been described in the academic literature, discusses the ways of conflict transportation and conflict autonomisation in these communities. She has also looks at for instance the role of diaspora organizations in the international development sector.

According to Féron (2017, 353), "'transportation' of conflict can describe two (possibly interrelated) types of situations: when members of groups fighting in the country of origin carry on the fight in the country of settlement at the discursive, symbolic or material levels (e.g. riots between members of rival ethnic groups); or when a diaspora group, through its (perceived) conflict-related activities in the country of settlement and/or in its home country, creates tension either within the country of settlement, or between the country of settlement and the country of origin." There are three main levels of conflict transportation, but the phenomenon often happens at

only one or two of these levels. The first one is a political, discursive and symbolic level, the second is a social level, and thirdly, the conflict can be transported at a physical level. It is important to emphasize that not always does the conflict transportation occur – sometimes when one would think it would, it does not, and vice versa. This backs the notion of complexity behind the formation of this phenomenon. (Féron 2017, 363–364.)

Baser (2016, 22–23) highlights that both the root causes of the homeland and the potential traumatic experiences related to wartime behaviors continue to exist despite people crossing the borders. She notes that even though conflicts from the homelands “spill over to the transnational space”, they are not identically replicated as such. Although political tensions and confrontations, familiar from the countries of origin, might certainly recur even in the diaspora setting, the changed surroundings may influence the form in which the reproduced conflict embodies in the host country. (ibid.) This is a process that Féron (2017, 362) refers to as autonomization. According to Féron (2017, 363), “the transported conflict often mimics the core conflict, but entails different stakes, values and objectives”.

It is important to acknowledge that conflict transportation is often not a simple process backed by simple reasons, quite the opposite. Various factors related to the country of origin, the country of settlement and the diaspora setting influence the form, the occurrence of conflict transportation and the content of the transported conflict. All in all, even though transported conflicts are often in close connection to the core conflicts, they are simultaneously transformed by the migration process itself. (Féron 2017, 364–368). I argue that such sensitiveness to various factors is valuable even when talking about conflict transportation from countries of origin to refugee camps, such as the Nakivale camp. Naturally, when thinking about the occurrence of conflict transportation in such an environment, the first questions arising are related to the characteristics of refugee communities themselves, the country of origin and the reasons for exile as well as the current site of settlement, its internal social dynamics and economic and educational opportunities, for instance. All of these factors can play a significant role in conflict transportation. (Féron 2017, 366–367.) It was also worthwhile to keep in mind that in addition to being transported, conflicts might be autonomised. A conflict is autonomised when “its actors carry on using the categories and the language of the conflict raging in the country of origin, but are motivated by different underlying and current

causes, such as a lack of social and economic integration in the country of settlement.” (Féron 2017, 368.)

The context in which these scholars have adopted the conflict transportation concepts is different from the one in my study. On the one hand, I acknowledge that one of the main factors affecting the occurrence and form of transported conflicts is the “country of settlement”. In a conflict-generated diaspora, say Congolese living in Brussels, would differ from those of Congolese refugees living in the Nakivale refugee camp in many ways (security, militarization of the environment, employment opportunities, food, water and healthcare and so on). This will possibly affect the figures of conflict transportation, or whether conflict transportation even occurs. On the other hand, I find that this theoretical framework is applicable in my study by keeping in mind these differences, as the country of settlement is only one of the factors affecting the conflict transportation. After all, people’s past experiences of events in the countries of origin – war, conflicts, political violence and so on, might well be present despite of their present day location or surroundings. In principle, dynamics behind the exile, reasons for leaving home, and experiences of past conflicts as well as narratives and emotions of the past, which still influence these people as of the present day, might still be similar.

### 4.3. Conflict transportation in Nakivale

In this phase of analysis, I searched for recurring subjects in the data, aiming at identifying features that could be linked to the theory about conflict transportation. After recognizing the parts of data where these elements were present, I highlighted these sentences and narratives (see phase 1). This was done keeping in mind the first research question. First of all, I formulated initial categories under which subjects would fall (phase 2), and thereafter created broader categories (3), which were in line with my findings in the data. This was done as follows:

Phase 1: Identifying citation: ”Some of them here work, they work with the government of Burundi.”

Phase 2: Recurrent theme/pattern: Past conflicts/violence perpetrators following the informant from the country of origin to the camp.

Phase 3: Broader category: Direct level of conflict transportation.

I drew inspiration from a general outline on how conflicts can be transported from a country of origin to a diaspora presented by Féron (2017, 364) as well as the dynamics behind autonomised conflicts (ibid., 371–373). Drawing from this theoretical framework and still following the guidelines of my own data and taking into account the differences and their possible consequences between these two research settings, I built my own analysis. The analysis sheds light on how the conflicts were transported, and on the recurrent causalities in the process in this research setting, as well as the factors which should be highlighted in this research context particularly. The analysis is based on the informant refugees' experiences and views, as well as my own observations in the camp. This study takes a critical approach towards refugees' dual role in fueling or dispelling the past conflicts to occur in their new living environment, often present in many narratives about refugee lives. In fact, it recognizes refugees as an internally heterogeneous group of people from different backgrounds and therefore holds this group impossible to draw generalizations from. It also works on the notion that refugees do not simply bring their past conflicts with them to the host countries or work towards fading them. These processes are instead affected by various factors, which cannot be simplified in the narrative of negatively or positively influencing peace (see e.g. Féron & Lefort 2018, Whitaker 2003).

In my study, I found out that the refugees' past conflicts in the country of origin re-occurred in the camp mainly in three different ways. Hence, the conflict transportation in refugees' stories and in the camp surroundings occurred on three thematically diverse levels, namely the discursive, social and direct levels. These categories, however, do not correspond with the ones presented by Féron (2017, 364–365) about diasporas. Furthermore, they rarely occurred simultaneously and sometimes tend to overlap. Before going further in the analysis, I find it essential to note that all of the cases where I identified signs of conflict transportation or autonomization in the stories of my informants in Nakivale, were mostly not simple or straightforward cases, quite the opposite. The occurrence – as the non-occurrence, respectively, of conflict transportation and autonomization, thus, was a complex, nuanced process, a sum of many different factors. It was not always simple to identify whether the conflict reported by the informant was transported from the country of origin, still framing the realities of the refugees, or simply a new conflict that had some similarities with the

dynamics of the conflicts in the countries of origin. In this study, I primarily aim at investigating if these phenomena occur in the Nakivale refugee camp and which forms they take. In some cases, I have also reported findings in the data to explain the complex nature of conflict transportation – not necessarily when it occurred, but when it did not occur. My primary aim is not to examine the reasons behind the prevalence or non-prevalence of these phenomena — although when these possible factors occurred in the data, I have discussed them, too.

#### 4.3.1. Discursive violence

The political, discursive level shows in symbolic and verbal violence, which emphasizes the gap between the two parties by putting stress on the differentiating symbols and traditions. This further encourages the cleavage between the opposite groups in the diaspora. (Féron 2017, 364.) In Nakivale, this level of conflict transportation was visible in the following ways.

In a Burundian village, a male informant who belongs to the Tutsi ethnic group and resides in Nakivale since 2015, first reported the situation in his home country from the viewpoint of ethnic division:

I5 (Informant 5): “Since the Arusha agreement. That’s the time our government started to teach people that Tutsis are they who want to rule the country and take (over) the government (...) The problem is that they try to teach citizens about tribal issues. The problem to them is now the Tutsi. (...) But the real problem is not the tribal issue. The problem is the governance, the tight governance. They also teach people, Hutus, that Tutsis want to destroy their life. Because now the government is of Hutus, so Tutsis don’t back the government. Hutus now say; you Tutsis are like this and that, they call us with names. Names they gave us. Sometimes they want to say we are like mice, they tell that to Hutu groups. (...) We left because they started following us. Our house was destroyed by guns. (...) They destroyed it when we had left it. We got away, and when we were at the reception center (in Nakivale), they called us that the house doesn’t exist anymore.”

He further reported to be in a delicate position due to his previous job within the civil society (working for an NGO, in collaboration with embassies and foreign organizations), and could not return to Burundi even for the funeral of his father which took place some months before the interview. During the interview, he commented on the ethnic division in his community in Nakivale, dominated by Burundians belonging to the Hutu ethnic group as follows. This example shows how the current situation reflects the conflict in the informants’ home country:

I5: “It’s a problem now. Our family, we can’t live here. (...) There is one nationality only. (...) This place, we are Burundian. But they (the other inhabitants) came from here, there and there. The countryside. But for us, we came from town, Bujumbura. Only one family here is coming from Bujumbura. Around one year ago, some of them, they said: how this family came, how this family is with us? They started making noise and speaking out loud to all. (...) But these people, they did not come as refugees, they came because of other reasons. We came here because of politics, because we fear. (...) And now they say, how is this Tutsi family here? I told them, if you continue that, don’t think it will be easy for you. I made it very clear. (...)”

Previous case provides an example of conflict transportation by practicing verbal violence and enforcing the division between Hutu and Tutsi refugees in the Burundian village in Nakivale. This clearly resembles the core conflict of the country of origin first described by the informant and reported by the human rights organizations (see e.g. Human Rights Watch 2018). The transported conflict is, however, not to be considered a permanent state of things as such; it evolves within time. In Chapter 4.5.4. I further discuss this informant’s practices in order to navigate his way towards a peaceful life in the conflicted community.

According to Féron (2017, 366), “current events in the home countries can provoke conflict transportation or trigger the escalation of an already transported conflict”, a setting that can be seen to take place in this previous informants’ case. Since 2015, Burundi has faced a conflict that started out as political, leading to human rights violations and continuous violence, which many actors have said to have characteristics of an ethnic cleansing (Graham-Harrison 2016). Unlike many other informants from Somalia or DRC, whose displacement has been forced by various reasons related to violence, but not (primarily) ethnic one, this informant finds himself in exile clearly for dynamics, which have had all the prerequisites to be reproduced in Nakivale due to the social factors in the camp: the ethnic counterparts living together in a community. He and his Tutsi family find themselves in a community dominated by Hutus and faces similar symbolic, divisive language from their fellow nationals in exile as is circulating in the country of origin. In fact, at the end, the informant emphasizes that in his opinion such deep division was found only among Burundians in the camp:

I5: “We are refugees all of us. There is no problem to come from there, one from there, one from there. There is Somali, Congolese, Burundian. Burundians only they start to fight each other. Why?”

This was the only case of direct reproduction of the ethnically discriminatory reasoning from the home country to the camp clearly visible in the data. Another case in the Somali community shows

a case of conflict autonomization: the division between clans, which in the country of origin caused major social segregation and practices of different kinds of violence, had taken a new form once the members of the community found themselves in a new setting, Nakivale camp. Two Somali female informants reported major issues related to the lack of security in the camp. This was caused by a group of people in the community who were at that time accused of having distributed the food aid in an unjust way, which had led to a division in the community. She additionally reported that in Somalia, life was characterized by rigorous divisions between clans, which has also been appearing as a dominant social structure in the camp.

I6 (Informant 6): “In Somalia, we have that kind of clan institution, where you are coming from a very poor background, they discriminate you. (...) I wasn’t supposed to marry my husband because of it, because I come from a clan considered higher than him. So because my children are from the lower clan (...), now when they (members of community) ask me from which clan are my children, I lie, tell them that they are from the higher clan. If I told them the truth, they could abuse and threaten us. For the registration (UNHCR) I told the truth but to the Somali community, I lied.”

The clan issue still existed, she said, but had blended with the new salient security crisis in the current setting, whereby the community was split into two. The events in the camp had, thus, turned around the dynamics related to the division between the clans:

I6: “Now it (the community) is only divided in two (counter-)groups. Those (“company people”) who benefited of the abuse of food, and us, who reported on it. In these group, they have their own tribes and clans.”

Exploring this turn in the internal dynamics of the community, it is worthwhile to explain related food aid abuse accusations – based on two informants’ stories and on related media content. According to two informants, this issue is related to a group of “powerful company people”, reportedly an internal group in the Somali community, acting together to form an unjust hierarchy in the community. In practice, this group had taken in possession all the food ratio cards of the community members, telling the members that their “company” would handle the distribution of food. In the following months, it became evident that the food was distributed in an unjust way and the remaining part was sold to an outside market, of which the profit was taken by these individuals. A group of women in this community, two of which were my informants, reported about going around the camp to obtain information about how food was distributed among other communities, and thereafter complained to the authorities and international organizations in the camp, in a nearby

town Mbarara and in the capital city Kampala. Thereafter, they reported having been threatened and intimidated in various ways in the camp, by “the company people”, who according to the informants, are responsible for abuse and fraud. In addition to the two informants, the phenomenon and the corruption crisis around it, was reported by the Ugandan media during and after the period of the interviews in Nakivale, and thereafter, few Ugandan refugee commissioners were suspended (The Observer 2018). The second informant concluded:

I7: “We became like a target because they saw that we are thriving up a big power in getting our food and our things. Now we have become like a target among these people (...). It has become like fear, we even fear to go and receive our food. Sometimes when we go around we fear, taking a boda boda we fear. These people can attack us. They say: ‘you are going to get problems on the government side. Your children are going to be raped. You are going to be threatened. Who are you going to take your complaint to?’”

This complex chain of events backs the idea about the complex nature of conflicts being autonomised in a new site of settlement, and how the new setting can influence the process. The community was using the same divisive vocabulary as in the country of origin and still openly fighting, but for different causes. As an internal crisis was surfacing in the community, the previous clan division faded out — simultaneously re-producing newly shaped conflictual behaviors, a new form of grouping that had characterized everyday life of the community in the country of origin. Féron (2017, 369–372) emphasizes that the site of settlement and, in particular, socioeconomic status and the economic opportunities that the conflict-driven diaspora faces in the new surrounding can play a role in the conflict transportation process – and in influencing the occurrence or non-occurrence – of conflict transportation. All except one of my informants reported scarcity of economic and employment opportunities in the camp and described the negative effects this had on their ability to put their skills into use and realize their hopes and dreams. This example supports the idea that the lack of economic opportunities in the new site of settlement influence the re-occurrence of the conflict and have an ability to re-shape them.

### 4.3.2. Social practices

According to Féron (ibid.), the social level of conflict transportation shows in practices of avoidance between the rival groups, such as in residential segregation and endogamy among the diaspora. In the Nakivale refugee camp, residential segregation, which reflects the dynamics of the conflicts in the home country, is found to some extent. The Burundian village, which was already discussed in the previous subchapter, showed examples of residential segregation between fellow nationals – the Tutsi informant and his family were living in the community with Hutus and encountering discrimination. In fact, they were isolated from the other members of the community, in an area inhabited by solely Burundian families with members who had albinism. It became clear that the Tutsi family had established strong relations with these neighbor families and helped them in many everyday issues. This could be interpreted in such way: this part of the community was formed based on the fact that they were all "unwanted" members in the larger Burundian community. Therefore, they stuck together to cope with the situation.

Picture 3. House in Nakivale.



Additionally, I interviewed a member of the community, whose husband and child were albinos. According to OHCHR (2016), persons with albinism in Africa face some of the most extreme forms of human rights violations: physical attacks, stigma and discrimination. A 22-year-old female informant, residing in the Burundian village with other albino families, had fled Burundi with his husband. They were chased out of the country by dangers they faced because of the husband's albinism, and up to that day, were still afraid of possible threats. She said:

I8: "I had to leave my country because of the life of albino. I chose an albino husband, but at home they refused me to be with this man. (...) So cause of the sickness, people say that albinos are demons and can not be citizens. He was always threatened. They hated us and discriminated us because of my choice. They chased me out of the country. So we decided to leave the country and come here."

Upon arriving to Nakivale, however, the same incident re-occurred. The informant reports:

I8: "When we reached here, UNHCR said, they want to protect our safety, so we could not live in the reception center. They took us outside the reception center, in another building. They told us that before Tanzanias come and follow us there, we have to move around. They (Tanzanians) follow albinos, think that albino's skin is expensive. So we moved around the camp in different offices. One month later, the UNHCR settled us here. Now the problem is the son, who also has the skin. (...) Since that, sometimes I fear and think that there are people that want to hurt us. (...) My husband can't leave home at all."

The case shows how conflicts, violence of fear of them of the refugees past follow them from their home country to the Nakivale camp. Additionally, residential segregation and endogamic practices between nationalities emerged in some respondents' answers. A 27-year-old Burundian male from the capital city Bujumbura, for instance, reported about tensions between the Congolese and the Burundian:

I1 (Informant 1): "For example, here there are various people, and you find, Congolese fighting with Burundians. Their parents are fighting each other over relationships. They say: you are Congolese, you are not supposed to marry Burundians. You are Burundian, you are not supposed to be married by Congolese. Those kind of conflict."

The same segregation shows also in the camp structure. Communities and villages are named according to nationalities — in central Nakivale area, there are villages named Sudan, New Congo, Old Congo, Somali village and Ethiopian village as well as an area for Burundians. In some remote areas closer to the local Ugandan villages, both refugees and nationals inhabit the same area and live side by side. Some areas demonstrably consist not only of residential inhabitation, but have

visible cultural hints of the nationalities inhabiting the area. For instance, New Congo had multiple Congolese restaurants, food stalls and bars with Congolese music. In the Ethiopians' neighborhood, on the other hand, an Ethiopian restaurant, which would offer Ethiopian injera bread (see picture 4) and had a television with only Ethiopian channels.



Picture 4. Eating an injera bread in Nakivale. Picture taken by a 4-year-old camp inhabitant.

There are signs of conflict transportation found along these divisional lines. A 28-year old Congolese informant reported how "educated" Congolese live in New Congo and the ones with Rwandese background in Old Congo and more remote villages:

I4: "Old Congo or Nyarugugu is a zone where live Banyamulenge who are Congolese but from Rwandese origin so they speak Kinyarwanda. New Congo is where live Congolese or what I can call real Congolese from many tribes but not speaking Kinyarwanda."

This example shows a clear sign that the conflict is transported from the country of origin to the camp in the form of residential segregation practices. The division between "the real Congolese" and "Congolese from Rwandan origin" is evident. However, these residential divisions did not hold their segregative nature throughout the camp. I found Congolese living in Sudan, and some of these

restaurants were visited by people from different nationalities instead of only the one it represented the cuisine of. Thus, the segregation was not restrictive and the phenomenon can not be seen to totally dominate the everyday life of the Nakivale camp. The other side of the story was told by a few informants, who said to have good relations with their neighbors from other nationalities. A Congolese male, 44, for instance said:

I3: “All nationalities live together. Even in the Somali village you can find Congolese, Burundians, Rwandans. Even they are not many but they live together without problems. When you go to the Congolese zone, you can find Rwandans and Sudans. In Sudan, by the name you can only think that there are Sudanese but they are many people, many Congolese. Many are in New Sudan. (...) It was before for Sudanese, but now Congolese are many. (...) They have peace here. Security everyday is better here than in Congo. I can walk, I can do everything I want.”

A Congolese, 19-year-old female informant added:

I9: “My neighbors are Congolese and some Ethiopians. (...) It is not somehow bad, I can even talk with those Ethiopians, we talk about me and our past and their stories, too. We also exchange ideas together.”

Even though some divisive practices emerged in the interviews, it could be surprising to some that direct ethnic or tribe-based cleavages were not more central in the refugees stories. After all, the informants come from the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region, which have faced decades of tensions, violence and wars, some of which over ethnic question – or at least this is the public Western narrative about those tensions and wars. Along with the analysis, I started thinking whether some of the recurrent subjects in the narratives, related to grouping of the communities according to people’s education or their background (rural area or city) and such issues could be hidden references of ethnic cleavages among refugees – or whether they were simply socially divisional practices. Many informants made it clear that differences in refugees background influenced the belonging and grouping in the camp – like it influenced it in the country of origin, too. Five of the study informants, Congolese and Burundian, who were born and raised in a city and educated (finished secondary school or a university degree), raised this issue in their narratives and emphasized the differences between people who came from a city and those “others,” who came from rural areas. Narratives of “the educated and the uneducated” could be simply signs of status- or class-related divisions, or ways to narrate ethnic divisions. It could be seen as a way to talk about this sensitive topic in a “safe” way to an outsider. For example a Burundian informant, 26, was born

in a village in the countryside and thereafter moved to the capital Bujumbura, talked about differences between these two places:

I1: “Really, there is a big difference. I came from Bujumbura town, but that is not where I was born. But where I was born, is another area which is called Bururi. In our village, it’s upcountry. And you find those people in upcountry, they are not innovative. They just think, what can they eat and drink, and then it’s over. They can’t educate their children or buy a cow or beautiful house. (...) Soon in the war we fled to Bujumbura. (...) And we find that Bujumbura is a town where people can expand their mind. And you find people struggling how to become rich, to develop themselves, you can see there are many changes. People in Bujumbura, they think how to build a beautiful house. They think how to feed their children, educate, become minister or president, teacher. I mean they do not have time to think about drinking. (...) All people, they are involved, in what, working. The people upcountry they do not develop themselves. Only digging, drinking, only that.”

And a Congolese informant, 28, reported having to live in fear in the camp because he was discriminated against for his relatively high educational background. He reported about a similar phenomenon in the country of origin:

I4: “Other relatives like my aunts, my uncle (father’s sisters and brother) were jealous for my mum. Cause my father is someone who studied much. And my aunts did not study like him. There were always those kind of clashes. So I did not feel secure. I used to feel some danger, because they did not like my mum because she was smart. Also me as a son of my mum, it affected my life. (...) Many things happened... Issues of land, heritage. (...) I was poisoned at times... by people that were jealous.”

Furthermore, social divisions were evident in community activities as well. For instance the same Congolese informant, an artist, who was born and studied in Goma city in eastern DRC as well as in the capital Kinshasa, had founded and now led his own organization, which accepted only a limited number of members through an application and interview process. Those few accepted were then able to join organization’s activities, for instance group sessions which consisted of inspirational speeches, lessons of non-violent communication, yoga and other sports, help with business ideas, and other leisure time activities, such as a weekly talent show, which was held in Congolese Swahili every Saturday for the members. It was a vibrant community and seemed amazingly encouraging for its members, however it only provided this to a restricted community, which was based on the “membership” and acceptance of a certain group.

I found questions of belonging and identity central in most of the refugees’ narratives. According to Agier (2002, 322), refugee camps host socially heterogeneous groups of individuals and “create

opportunities for encounters, exchanges and reworking of identity among all who live there”. When we look at the salient issues in informants responses, we find, in fact, that many of the camp’s social dynamics – grouping, residential divisions, discursive differences – are linked to questions of identity. Many of the refugees reported belonging to some “communities”, even though they could be formed only on a protectional basis, as means to avoid conflict with the ”other” communities, or on other factors, such as shared values or interests. These communities and groups would have recurrent practices, which can be seen to intensify their internal bonds and shared “identity” – for example, the organization’s members, which would organize a talent show every Saturday, hold it in Congolese Swahili language and let only some people enter, or a group of Burundians, who would dress in traditional clothing and celebrate Women’s Day only with their fellow citizens. Mostly, these practices and groups were, on the one hand, integrative — enforcing a bond within the community and/or working towards some common goal, but on the other hand, divisive — leaving out others. Interestingly, these social patterns, creating both bonds and divisions, continue to occur in a refugee camp, which in itself can be seen as the ultimate embodiment of global social segregation (Agier 2002, 323).

#### 4.3.3. Direct transportation

Several informants were worried over conflicts following them directly, meaning the perpetrators or people allegedly working for the home countries’ governments/militia from the country of origin to the Nakivale camp. Two informants from DRC, who had both escaped atrocities and violent clashes perpetrated by armed groups, and one from Burundi, who had fled political violence, all had experience or worries over violent actors following them (intentionally or less) from the countries of origin to the camp. Hence, they were scared the perpetrators of violence or the ones working for those actors would also be found in the camp. This is a way how the conflict of the country of origin is transported directly to the new site of settlement. A 19-year-old Congolese female informant reports:

I9: “One day I remember of seeing one person of those people who came after me back in Congo. I saw him here in Nakivale. And that person was looking for me. In Congo, even though I was very young, I remember this person just looked at me. And up to now I don’t know whether this person can come back to do bad things for us (me and my family). I don’t know where this man lives and his nationality. (...)

In Congo, he was dressed like a soldier. (...) But here, here he was dressed like a civilian.” (...) Then my mother told me that I don’t have to move around at night because that person can create another problem for me.

R: Did you report to anybody, police or UNHCR?

I9: “Yes we did, police. Then the police told us they can’t do anything because they don’t know that person. The police said that we have to wait and if we see him again, we will have to report to them and they will take him.”

This phenomenon could be facilitated by various factors which characterize the setting of refugees in Nakivale. It is located on relatively short distance from the home towns of the refugees and is a popular settlement of exile, hosting more than 100,000 people from neighboring countries. It is by all means possible that the people, who previously participated violent clashes as perpetrators would have to flee the country later on and become refugees. Furthermore, this phenomenon could be fueled by the willingness of the conflicting countries’ governments to track down the members of their community, for instance in the cases of Rwandan government trying to force repatriation of Rwandan refugees from Uganda and working together with Ugandan government to enforce it (see e.g. Rever 2013, Ahimbisibwe 2017). Another informant, a Burundian, 42-year-old male, from Tutsi background, after having reported about intra-ethnic tensions in his home village in Nakivale, states:

I5: “I tried to become friends with these people (mostly Hutus in the village, who did not accept the informant and his family first). One time, they started fighting and I heard from the others that some of them work, they work with the government. (...) But I have no proof.” (...) Sometimes we fear because there is freedom of movement in this area. There is uncontrolled movement. Anyone who wants to enter can enter free. Can come, can take your picture, in some events, or what. (...) That is not good. It is a big problem we have here. There is a group here that work with Interahamwe (Hutu militia from Rwanda) here. They work hand in hand with our (Burundi) government. And there are members of Interahamwe who are here sometimes.”

R: “You mean what, that they are members of the militia here?”

I5: “Yes, Rwandan, who did the genocide. Here, they are many, they are many! And when they leave this place, they go into our country. (...) I don’t know how Burundians feel safe. I am telling you. We are trying to organize people here, we are trying to organize Burundians. Not to go fight the government but to organize ourselves, to resolve these problems.”

Also in diaspora politics, there have been cases of sending countries trying to track and limit the freedom of expression in political issues, for example (Féron 2017, 366-367). In a refugee camp, this issue poses a serious security threat for the refugees, who have fled violence in their home countries and, ironically enough, find it in front of them even in the camp. Registered refugees officially receive protection from the UNHCR, which together with Ugandan authorities are

responsible for the security in the camps. The poor security was a salient issue in many refugees' experiences. As the following example highlights, and due to my own experience (entering the camp three times with no border controls), borders of the camp are basically open and no security personnel is guarding entrance. Refugees highlight the same issue – controversially, due to the praised policy of freedom of movement of the refugees in Uganda, the security politics are loose, which makes people – but not only refugees – free to come and go.

In addition to the described fears of direct threats, refugees narratives showed – in very complex ways – how the memories of the past conflicts still haunt refugees in their new life in the camp. Hence, it was palpable in all informants' narratives that they had not found peace in the new environment, either. Several informants, for instance, reported how the past experiences continued to hunt them and their family members, taking forms of fear, dreams and reproduction of traumatic memories, and continuously referred to the past conflicts even in the camp. It was palpable how the years passed had not erased these memories. The following examples highlight these phenomena:

I1 (Burundian male, 26): “Some people have trauma. Do I have trauma? I try to control myself. Cope with my anger. Not supposed to be angry. I am happy and I am kind of active. It's better to be honest in everything.”

I4 (Congolese male, 28): “I was born in 1990 in Goma, in the east part of Congo. My childhood was peaceful until I reach 5 years. So it was when our dictator was removed from his power. So, there was war, it was my first time to experience horrible things. So since that time, 1996, 1997, my life has been upside down. I grew up with this kind of situation. Anytime something can happen. (...) It made me think about what the future will be. I was just in primary, I still remember when there was war and people were shot and I saw many people dying. And when we were running from them. I was about to be killed. (...) One day I was beaten by some soldiers. But I survived, but it was horrible. (...) Compared to Congo, there is peace in Nakivale. But it's not positive peace, there are still things that are missing. Like this place, sometimes people fear not to follow rules. I think you can also be traumatized from here, in Nakivale.”

I7 (Somali female, 49): “That time (upon coming to Uganda) I was feeling weak, I was extremely sick. I was having some kind of trauma, I did not sleep at night. I was having some memory, some reflection of the past, it was really affecting me. (...) And up to now, we have seen a lot of challenges and problems. (...)”

I9 (Congolese female, 19): “I always remember the things that I faced in Congo. I don't know where to start but I will try to explain it. (...) It was the 7th of June, at night, and I listened to my neighbors started crying for help. Those stealers had come back, they were putting on fire the neighbor house. We started to run, see soldiers around. They took all the cows and chickens of my grandparents. And then they took me. They killed my grandfather and grandmother I was just looking. (...) They took many girls and violated them. (...) With my mother and father and younger brothers, we would run and did not know where to go. We lost our father and up to now I don't have news from him. We found ourselves in Nakivale. (...) My mother is still remembering the things she faced in Congo. And from that she got problems of high (blood) pressure.”

Accordingly, it is important to highlight that even though many situations that refugees encounter do not show direct signs of conflict transportation or autonomization, the conflicts have multiple ways of re-appearing in my informants' lives and memories. It is clear that the environment and the conditions of the Nakivale refugee camp create complex social dynamics and living settings for its inhabitants. The camp's predicate "temporary nature" and the current refugee situation in Uganda, resulting in lack of long-term solution in terms of integration and social adaptation in the new site of settlement, seems to lead to harsh situations, whereby many refugees re-live and re-encounter the past tensions also in their new life in the Nakivale camp. Many of them, thus, continue to encounter cleavages, dynamics and behaviors which were familiar from the countries of origin – even though they did not always show in identical practices, but are reshaped. All in all, the camp as a setting fails to provide a "peaceful" setting for its inhabitants and conflicts – in their nuanced and various forms – are still present in the lives of the refugees who took part in my study. It is clear that most of the informants, therefore, find it impossible to start over in the camp after leaving behind the conflict-torn country of origin. However, present were also practices of everyday peace, self-protection and conflict avoidance, which tend to occur in conflictual societies. These will be discussed in the next subchapter.

#### 4.4. Theoretical framework – everyday peace

Along with the analysis of the research data through the frames of conflict transportation, I noticed that in addition to this framework the data was rich of narratives about issues related to everyday survival and issues that hampered it – discrimination, ethnic cleavages, security issues and issues related to basic needs but also stories about people's ways of showing agency and finding out ways to cope with these issues, often in relation to patterns of avoidance, cohesion and community, in their everyday life in the Nakivale camp. This is how familiarizing myself with the data and reviewing it again started developing new theoretical framework – emerging categories of obstacles, practices and indicators of everyday peace.

When I aimed at finding concepts in the peace and conflict studies, which would indicate peace and security issues in people's everyday on a local level, I found that these issues were often simplistically described, investigated mostly by international NGOs in terms of evaluating their

own peace projects. In my data, these many practices of survival, issues around peace and security, social cohesion and grouping, were, however, not binding or immobile, quite the opposite, they were malleable and nuanced, and required a theoretical approach which would take their complex nature into account. Scholars such as Mac Ginty (see e.g. 2014; Mac Ginty & Firchow, 2017) have written critically about the concept of everyday peace – a frame, he argues, often being used in a technocratic, top-down approach to measure peace in a community or evaluate peace building projects by international organizations in different conflict-thorn settings, which does not provide a complex enough explanation of the phenomenon.

According to Mac Ginty (2014, 549), “everyday peace refers to the routinized practices used by individuals and collectives as they navigate their way through life in a deeply divided society that may suffer from ethnic or religious cleavages and be prone to episodic direct violence in addition to chronic or structural violence”. These practices are applied in order to avoid and minimize conflicts both on inter- and intra-group levels. This set of practices occur especially in societies which are deeply divided, segregated, where even individual incidents can consequently lead into direct violence and individuals exercise only limited control. (ibid., 550–553.)

Mac Ginty (2014, 550) highlights that using the concept of ‘everyday’ can work in order to pass by the institutional level, typical of international politics, and allows us to look at the key international relations ideas, such as of power, legitimacy and responsibility, differently. He (ibid.) argues that everyday peace is, above all, a form of agency – “not something, that people always and necessarily engage in”. It relies on opportunities and context and contains a presumption of the agency of individuals and communities; resilience and capacity of forming ways to cope with stressful situations, and hence, needs to be looked through a power lens (ibid.) In the Nakivale camp, my data indicates that there are cleavages, social tensions and segregation present in the everyday, but the overall picture is not this simple – people are showing agency in order to navigate amidst the unpredictable everyday of this surreal space, whereby people from different backgrounds find themselves sharing a common space merely due to their recognized status of victims as a consequence of war and conflict. Mac Ginty (2014, 551) additionally argues that more than a tool to measure peace building efforts, everyday peace is a “social institution that can predate and operate independently of such efforts.”

Mac Ginty and Firchow (2017, 8–11) have researched (The Everyday Peace Indicators Pilot Project) post-conflict/civil war communities in four African countries including South Africa, South Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe, in order to identify and suggest a more comprehensive set of indicators of everyday peace from a “bottom-up”, local approach. The emerging categories that the researchers propose are based on community sourcing, hence, gives the chance for the communities themselves to share what characterizes their everyday life from peace and security points of view. This approach underlines one’s agency and the bottom-up, localized and community sourced approach and emphasizes that the top-down approach risks at failing to meet the needs of the people who are influenced by these practices. These scholars argue that often peace indexes, policy papers and such documents lack many of the recurrent themes in their research data about peace and highlight that “the majority of indicators chosen across the different research sites could be associated with basic needs and aspirations, such as safety from violence or access to public services” (Mac Ginty & Firchow 2017, 8–11.) – a notion I also made in my own data. I decided to utilize this approach of peace indicators in my research because it corresponds greatly with what emerged from my own, community sourced data collected in a refugee camp and shares the same criticism over institution-centric approaches to peace and practices related to building it.

#### 4.5. Everyday peace in Nakivale

In this section, I interpret my data through my second research question: what hinders everyday peace in the camp? In addition, I will look at the peace practices that are present in the informants narratives.

In their study, Mac Ginty & Firchow (2017, 13) analyzed an extensive data, collected in ethnographic method among communities, and found the following 16 recurrent categories of everyday peace in their narratives: cohesion/interdependence, conflict resolution, security (crime), security (daily), discrimination, economic, education, food/agriculture, security (forces), freedom, human rights/transitional justice, health, information, infrastructure, leadership and social. The scholars highlight that the categories and their occurrence was not coherent; the differences between the communities reflected their ways to understand peace and were highly context-related (ibid.)

While analyzing my research data, I found that many of the salient issues on refugees' description of life in the camp and peace, corresponded with the ones indicated by these scholars, and therefore drew inspiration from those.

I further narrowed down these subcategories into broader ones, adding or removing emerging subjects according to the most salient issues in my data. Thus, these categories describe the issues and topics which continuously occurred when my informants talked about their everyday from the point of view of security and peace. In the following, I will discuss the themes and present my findings on, what kind of practices of everyday peace are visible, and on the other, what kind of obstacles related to different indicator categories of everyday peace arise in the data. Often, different categories occurred together in the interviews — such as questions of lack of security, but the possibility to improve it by different practices of social cohesion. The complex nature of everyday peace will also be highlighted through these observations.

The following categories are used as tools to categorize the informants' narratives about everyday peace:

- 1) Security – daily security, crime, authorities, freedom of movement
- 2) Basic needs – infrastructure, health, education, economic, food/agriculture and water
- 3) Social issues – cohesion/interdependence, discrimination, residential divisions, leadership

In addition to these categories, I will look at the everyday peace practices – mostly in the form of conflict avoidance – present in the narratives of the informants.

#### 4.5.1. Security

Security was mentioned by all of my nine informants' while estimating the stability and peacefulness of their everyday. In this subchapter, I will present interviewees' references to daily security, crime, authorities and forces, as well as issues around free movement in the camp, which emerged in refugees' experiences. Informants mostly referred to security issues in an explicitly negative tone; discussing lack of safety as a factor, which hinders everyday peace in the camp. All informants referred – in various ways – to security as a negative factor for their peaceful everyday.

Most informants felt that obstacles to safety were posed by fellow refugees (I1 + I6 + I7 + I8), camp/government authorities (I3) or both of these two (I5 + I9). Furthermore, one informant (I2) said the actors behind fears over deteriorating security were Ugandan nationals residing in the camp, and in one case, respectively, the informant was scared of both clashes with Ugandans and among fellow refugees (I4). In the following, I present and discuss these narratives.

Most of the informants referred to fellow refugees as factors behind deteriorated security in the camp. A 27-year-old Burundian male also reported doubts over clashes between refugees from different nationalities:

I1: “I can’t say there is totally peaceful. (...) Erm... depending on different nationalities, nationalities want to fight against each other. For example, here in this community, we are many people, and you find, Congolese fighting with Burundians. (...) You know somebody is breaking into your house and you find somebody stealing your things. Also that indicates there is not security sometimes.”

He told having left Burundi over land issues which lead to violence towards his family after the country’s political crisis escalated in 2015. Comparing life in Nakivale to the one in Burundi, he added:

I1: “For here, it’s more security. There is peace 60%, I would say. Burundi it is 10%. Because there in Burundi people are killed and slaughtered, things are stolen there. When you know that you are in the ruling party, you know you have power. Any person who is not part of you (on your side), and have power, you have to obey... (...) That’s why in Burundi there’s no peace. But here, it is more peaceful than Burundi.”

The 22-year old Burundian female informant, who has two albino members in her family reported security threats posed by fellow refugees not directly to her, but to her family members, in terms of traditional beliefs and practices. She was afraid they would re-occur in the camp, as they had in the country of origin, and evidently widely in East Africa as well as other parts of the continent.

Three out of four informants also were in the opinion that security threats were being posed especially towards women in the camp. A 19-year-old Congolese female informant was afraid of violent acts and sexual violence. She had faced several situations where her security was compromised in everyday situations in the camp, on the way to get water from the dwell. She said:

I9: “You may often find that there is no water in the tap which is near. So we have to go far out of our village and pick water. Wake up early in the morning. At that time there might be still dark, and you may find that some girls are violated on those trips. (...) One time I was chased when I went, they wanted to take me. I ran

and asked for help but nobody in that village spoke my language. They spoke a language I didn't understand. So I spent there days, telling them I need to go back, but they did not understand me.”

She concluded:

I9: “Most of the time I am not afraid here, but in 2014 or 2015, there was a difficulty we faced, some boys (other refugees) who would take girls and sleep with them by force.”

Also a Somali female informant, 49, referred to gender in her narratives:

I7: “Women are mostly people that are in risk. They fear a lot, I mean, they can't defend themselves. Anything can happen to me, someone can threaten a woman, abuse a woman, rape a woman. It is very easy to happen where woman is very weak.”

Obstacles to security took complex, various forms in the narratives of the informants. Informants 6 and 7, both Somali female, reported about serious security threats and obstacles for peaceful living that they and their children faced in their own community by the fellow Somali refugees. The security was compromised by the events related to an autonomised conflict in the Somali community introduced in Subchapter 4.3.1. In brief, both of the informants felt that due to the food aid abuses, which they had unveiled to the public and authorities, the safety situation in their community had become unbearable. This was the case for the whole group of women, who decided to object to the alleged wrongdoers, and these women's children. The informants said:

I6: “We decided to fight this thing (the abuse). (...) But now I have to be afraid. Even at night when we sleep now, we are fearing and have bad dreams. We don't feel like we are safe, we can not even feel like we are sleeping. (...) I even feel like maybe I should go back to Kenya (to the previous refugee camp, Kakuma). They raped my daughter there but it was even much more better than now. (...) These company people (accused) have paid money for other nationalities to threaten us. At night, I can't move. I fear. Congolese... Burundian. They can come and beat us. (...) Sometimes they call me on the phone and I am told that I shouldn't move around, they will come.”

I7: “It is, we have peace but the security in the community (Somali) is very poor. (...) Here, there is peace but not safety, some few individuals who are corrupting it and doing what they feel. That is the main challenge we are facing here in the camp. The children used to move freely but now it is dangerous to them. (...) Now we have become a target among these people (the accused). (...) We don't know what is going to be, are they going to burn our houses, are they going to take us away? People are even throwing stones inside our houses at night time.”

This case further contributes to my argument on how convoluted is the concept of peace – as well as conflict – among refugees in the Nakivale camp. These examples show how feelings of security and peace are both constructed and violated in complex ways, which often relate to the individual

refugees background and past experiences. Obstacles or threats to security can not, therefore, by any means be interpreted as dynamics which would pass through the whole camp or all refugees inhabiting it. Instead, they are personal and dominant to some settings which are formed in the camp, which is why they can also occur somewhat coincidentally in refugees' life. All in all, it would be naive to assume that despite the responsibility of overall apparent security in a refugee camp is "guaranteed" on a policy-level by some actors, the security would not be compromised on individual level by factors and behaviors consequential of the inhabitants' backgrounds (social, ethnic, nationality- or gender-related, and so on) and, also, the conditions of living of the new site of settlement.

Two refugees I interviewed were worried over clashes between them and Ugandan nationals. A 28-year-old Congolese male informant talked about the factors that deteriorate his sense of security. He reported about a general, discriminative and unequal social dynamics and lack of feeling of community, atmosphere of helping and social contact, which constrained him to isolate, and said:

I4: "Peace to me is... where you are free. To speak and to move. Where you feel secure, where there is no fear to do something. (...) Sometimes I don't feel safe at all. Instead of collaborating with Ugandans we are like in a clash or competition. So I am like an island here in Nakivale. I don't like it. Because I am someone who likes to share."

Clashes between refugees and nationals were salient also in a Congolese 50-year-old male informant's narratives. He reported having fled violence of armed groups from DRC in 2008 and staying in Nakivale since. I interviewed him in front of his house, located kilometers away from the center of the camp. In this particular area, refugees and Ugandan nationals lived side by side. Sitting in front of his house, he pointed at nearby Ugandans' houses and said:

I2: "This is the problem which makes me fear. When I grow my crops, the nationals sometimes have their animals coming to our garden and destroy my plants. And when I follow it, they tell me that I can go and report about it wherever I want. (...) And when I complain, the national comes and intimidates me. (...) And then they will pay the police and nothing is done. This leaves me with fear."

Such case indicates how refugees and nationals settling together in an area scarce of resources could lead to tensions between them. In Uganda, due to its refugee policy applauded progressive by many, refugees are based in living settlements, which at times are located on lands occupied and owned by

Ugandan nationals. In this system, the idea is to make both refugees and locals benefit from the refugee response by the Ugandan government and by aid organizations. (Idris & Herbert 2018.)

Such tensions between refugees and nationals, related mostly to land issues and their effect on pursuing livelihood, have been reported in Uganda over the years (see e.g. Idris & Herbert 2018; Kalyango 2006; Svedberg 2014). According to Kalyango (2006, 1–5), questions such as of ownership of the land, access to and control over natural resources can be seen to have arisen as a cause Ugandan government's policies enforcing the settlement of nationals and refugees on non-bordered land. Idris & Herbert (2018, 16) furthermore argue that “Uganda's settlement approach was designed with the view that the refugees would eventually return to their home countries, however prolonged conflict in the region has led more refugees to arrive, and few to return.” Therefore, prolonged refugee situations have therefore increased competition “for agricultural and grazing land, water and forests, resources that host communities depend on for their livelihoods”, states instead Kalyango (2006, 1).

The occurrence of these kind of clashes needs clarifying. When researching conflict-generated displacement, many researchers agree that refugees are often portrayed as mere causes of violent clashes and tensions between the host population and them (see e.g. Salehyan & Skrede Gleditsch 2006). Debate about refugees' role in the host country is often securitized, meaning that it is debated in the context of security, which also has caused critical scholarly reactions. Whitaker (2003, 226), for instance, argues that “conflicts do not simply spill over from one country to another through the movement of refugees. Instead, refugees enter into an existing political context, creating new alignments and tensions and transforming old ones. In some cases, conflicts may result, each with its own dynamics, but in others they do not.” Féron & Lefort (2018, 2) observe similar approaches in conflict-created diaspora research, criticizing the debate about diasporas for being dominated by a twofold “peace-makers/peace-wreckers” discourse. Interestingly, the case of the Congolese informant, creates a critical counterpart to the discourse, suggesting that refugees experience hostile behavior from nationals living close to them. In any case, such clashes do not happen automatically or easily, and still less, can be simplified to have one form of occurrence or reproduction.

Furthermore, three refugees were worried over authorities or government members posing threats to their safety. One of them reported having seen people from his country of origin, some of which she said worked for the armed groups responsible for violent attacks in DRC and reporting it to the local police. Another, 44-year-old Congolese male informant said:

I3: “It was a problem, when I started working in an NGO development (development non-governmental organization). They send me to the department of human rights and I got problem with some authorities. Because of their behavior towards the population. I made reports to the UN to make pressure to the government to arrest those authorities. And they started following me everywhere. The man that was going to make report for us. When they come to look for me, many times, and they said they are going to kill me, you need to leave Congo. (...) I can’t get hold of my wife. She is not safe. She fears that even those authorities, these people they are everywhere. They considered me as a threat. They looked for me but I am not in Congo. Now I am a refugee. I am here. Because those people are still alive, they have power and they are strong. They make me bad (things) every time they want. (...) Sometime, I hear, that even here you can get some intelligence from Congo. They have also run away from Congo to here. And when you see that people, eh, maybe can see, he can tell other people there in Congo that I am here. I start to be afraid.”

R: “Have you seen some of those people here in the camp that you knew in Congo?”

I3: “Yes I have. But maybe they also came as refugees. But you can’t know what is in their heart. Maybe they still work with those people there in Congo. We have telephones, we can talk to someone directly, they have all the information they want about someone. That is a problem.”

In the third case, a Burundian informant expressed worries over freedom of movement in the camp. He said people’s ability to come and go as they wanted could create security problems for the refugees, and added that there were accusations on his fellow community members of working with the government, and he had evidence there was former Rwandan militia members in the camp. This issue is discussed in the previous chapter under the theme of conflict transportation, but all things considered, these cases indicate that refugees directly face or are afraid of facing the violence – and as much as the same violent perpetrators – which haunted them in the countries of origin and possibly forced them to exile. It clearly shows how the past conflicts do, unquestionably, prevent the refugees from finding peaceful everyday in their new country and site of settlement.

It is worth emphasizing that despite the many obstacles for safety refugees reported, some informants also reported about relatively peaceful everyday encouraged by, for instance, good relations with neighbors and creating social networks within the camp. Many reported feeling less unsafe than before coming to the camp. Clearly, in many cases the feelings of security were reflected upon through two very different positions – for instance, many said they no longer had to live life afraid of armed groups looting, raging and killing, but had to worry for other issues such as

sexual violence or clashes over resources, which also compromised their safety. Hence, even though the risks for the refugees' security are different from the country of origin, refugees inhabiting the Nakivale camp still continue to face conditions that expose them to fears over their security and life for multiple reasons and under which justified security threats continue to exist. Another observation worth highlighting is that despite the challenges refugees face, multiple respondents also take action in order to overcome them and create ways, which helps them navigate the shattered everyday of a refugee camp – hence, utilize practices of peace (Mac Ginty 2014, 550–554). For example, the Burundian informant, who expressed worries for his family's security, reported that in order to stabilize his family's position in the community, he had worked in the community for years and finally joined the local leadership and the village's board as a secretary. This is how he aimed at making the everyday safer for his family. These practices are further discussed in Subchapter 4.5.4.

Altogether, I argue that security and peace in the camp are not a coherent phenomenon, measurable in simple manner. Reported factors hindering security in the camp are multiple and vary greatly from one another. Sometimes they overlap with previous conflicts in refugees countries of origin, other times they are fueled by various events or the social setting in the camp. Every respondent reported factors which hindered their security and peaceful everyday. They depended on hardly generalizable factors, such as experiences of the past, family dynamics, ethnicity, nationality, age, gender and the conditions and internal dynamics of the home community in Nakivale. All this, additionally, continues to contribute to my take on displaced peoples' lives, experiences and behaviors as complex, nuanced phenomena – impossible to narrow down to simple generalized truths.

#### 4.5.2. Basic Needs

Issues related to basic needs, pursuing livelihood and creating economic opportunities, such as health, education, work, food/agriculture and water – and lack of them – were discussed by almost all the study informants. Many refugees referred to these issues as part of their narratives about “everyday struggle” in Nakivale, identifying the issues which complicated their life in Nakivale or made it less satisfactory, peaceful and stable. Often, these factors also overlapped – for instance,

refugees linked the shortage of proper health solutions or food to their lack of economic opportunities and work, which together hindered their everyday peace. Furthermore, scarce clean water distribution and the lack of economic opportunities exposed refugees to security threats, for instance.

Issues related to health were central in several informants' narratives. Four respondents reported a lack of hospitals and doctors in the area. They added that despite some more had been built in previous years, the hospitals failed to meet the needs of all the more than 100 000 refugees in Nakivale. Refugees additionally reported that due to the sharp increase of the camp population in the last three years, caused mostly by political crisis in Burundi forcing people to seek refuge in nearby countries, the healthcare resources had become ever more scarce. A 50-year old Congolese male informant said:

I2: "Like one of the family members, my child, is sick. He had a heart problem. I have tried to push him to hospitals. We went to the doctor and found that he (child) needs some help which requires some money. They said that UNHCR would find ways of helping the child to get treatment and gave me a letter to verify this. UNHCR said they would get back later. This was in October 2017, but since that I have heard nothing. Also, my wife, 37 years old, has a problem of ulcers which prevents her from involving herself in profitable work. We don't have any assistance to this either."

Another informant, a 19-year old Congolese female reported a lack of everyday sanitary products, such as menstrual pads, among women in the camp:

I9: "When in Congo, I always had money to buy pads. And now here in Nakivale, my family does not have money for pads. (...) Some organizations of UN are distributing, but they only distribute one or two times a year. They give 5 packages per person, which is enough only for 2 months."

Many refugees described water- and food-related issues as obstacles to everyday peace – these issues were referred to by eight out of nine informants. Many referred to the limited distribution of food and water and said it dominated their agenda, leaving them only little time to concentrate on other things such as work and finding a living. They added that often conflicts and tensions tended to start from issues related to these two factors, and thereafter turn into bigger clashes or enduring cleavages in the communities. These issues became evident for instance with two Somali informants, whose community found itself in raging internal conflict because of food abuse issues –

a group of members of the community accused of abuse of food aid and unfair distribution of it in the community. This conflict had led to deterioration of security in the community, according to the two female informants (see Subchapter 4.3.1.). Furthermore, Congolese 19-year-old girl's narratives about the shortage of water exposing her to security threats on the way to the water pumps, which were located far away (see the previous subchapter). In addition, a Congolese informant's experience about clashes between Ugandan nationals and refugees, also introduced in the previous subchapter, where scarcity of resources heightened tensions between the neighbors growing crops on the same land. He commented:

I2: "We are 11 people in the family. We are not financially stable. I am not managing my family, even though I am the head of it. We have no food: we get few kilos each person which is not enough. (...) Then we try to add in, and grow crops. But then, when we grow cassava or mays, the nationals lead their animals to our garden and they destroy my plants."

Another Congolese informant reported about food and water being the biggest challenges in the camp and narrated how it was related to the lack of work opportunities:

I3: "In the camp, the biggest problem is living. I can't get water easily. You go there in the morning, you might get water, in the evening, no water. You have to carry it around in jerry cans. All that time you are there, in the sun, in the rain. I don't know the process of water, but as I am educated, I understand that the system doesn't work. (...) People are many and water is little. You have to add water as soon as the population is increasing. People are coming day by day, but the water is still the same. (...) Also, the food we get is not enough. You have to get money to add on it, but you can't get money without working somewhere. And here, there is no work, I do not have many chance to get a job. For one month you have food but not other things like soap. The other month, you have food but no charcoal."

He thereafter highlighted, how lack of these factors contributed to feelings of overall instability in life:

I3: "Being a refugee has changed my life. Just be a good manager of small things you have. Because you don't know exactly what tomorrow will bring. If you have small food, you have to keep it very well not to eat so much of it. You have to keep for next day. Even you have got some little money, you do the same. Because the future is not clear."

Finally, professional and educational opportunities were mentioned by many in terms of everyday peace. Four informants were or secondary school graduates or holders of university degree, and would have wanted to continue their studies, but they reported no chance for that in the Nakivale camp. In the camp, there are schools for comprehensive school education, mainly primary, some for

secondary. In many of these schools, Ugandan nationals and refugees study together. According to Dryden-Peterson & Giles (2010, 3–5), there is a severe lack of especially post-primary education in refugee camps in Uganda. Very few refugees get to attend university. Taking into account the prolonged nature of displacement and the consequential instability of the future, it would, however, be very crucial to provide educational opportunities. Often refugees see education as the only way to improve their life, which is why they try their best in sending their children to school, even if they could not get education themselves. The right to education lies also in the 1951 Refugee Convention (fundamental rights of refugees to access education, earn a livelihood). Most refugees still miss out on education. (ibid.; Dryden-Peterson 2003, 1).

Three of my study informants, who had children in Nakivale primary schools, reported poor quality and enormous class sizes. Due to economic issues, many families failed to provide their children with access to even primary education. One informant's children did not have access to school, because according to the informant, the quality of teaching was very poor, and they could not afford paying for "such education". The following example highlights worries over professional and educational opportunities:

I3 (University degree of project management): "I don't know if I will ever be studying again. I don't have many chances to get a job here in the camp. No one knows me and my capacities here. (...) I have been working for some organizations, like Norwegian Refugee Council. I have also been the assistant manager in our own community here in the camp. But I am looking for a job, now I have none."

Burundian male informant said the most important thing he wants to provide for his children is education and added:

I1 (completed secondary education): "I have my own livelihood project, refugee organization for orphans here in Nakivale. (...) I want to develop it and lead it. I don't want to be here in Nakivale, there are no jobs here and we are creating all these things to understand how we can live and survive in Nakivale. There are no jobs. (...) As an active person, I am supposed to live where I can be active and get a job. I have learned many things in this area. I have skills but I don't have where to use them. I need to have where we can use our skills. Developed people. But few of us are developed... Majority is, erm, not. Like in upcountry, you don't know things that are going on."

I5 (University degree of civil engineering and management): "Life is not easy here, because I like to work. I had to leave my enterprises behind in Burundi, I had a school for orphans and I was working for a Burundian humanitarian organization. When I got here, income became a big problem. How can I get money? How can I survive? We ate two beans, two beans a day."

Some furthermore considered language barrier a problem:

I7: “My 3 children go to school, I pay school fees. But I struggle, sometimes the schools remain closed for no reason, my children are threatened there because they come from a different community. (...) In Somalia, if they are not targeting you, you can live safely, you can do your business. It was a very good place to work. But here, you feel you are out of your country, you don’t speak the language. Communication and expressing yourself is a problem.”

As discussed before, UNHCR has a mandate to safeguard legal rights and wellbeing of refugees (Mehan 2016, 1). The mandate includes providing legal security (asylum process, a range of human rights), physical safety and material assistance. As said, human rights such as the right to water and education, are defined in the framework of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Still, UNHCR lacks resources in providing for means for these rights to adequately be fulfilled in refugee camps. This problem is worsening due to increasingly protracted conflicts and the current refugee situation in the world. (e.g. Shrestha & Cronin 2006; Mehan 2016.) This argument is backed by my research data and my informants’ responses regarding their everyday life in the Nakivale camp. In addition, my findings show how even people’s basic needs – such as water, food and health services – as well as education – remain largely unmet in the Nakivale refugee camp.

This said, it is correct to state that all the help that is given in the camp is there for a good reason, and more would be needed. However, instead of this, I want to problematize the context in which the aid is given, which is a context of givers and receivers, the doers and the non-doers. It is, in fact, worthwhile to ask: why is it so, that all this aid is needed? What are the underlying causes of the conflicts that fuel the ever growing phenomenon of forced displacement? Why are we living “the era of forced displacement”? So, as we question the ability of international community to fulfill its mandate, we must deeply acknowledge the social and political issues and underlying structures which have fueled conflicts and facilitated the current refugee situation globally. If we do not do it, the circle of aid will keep on circulating without anyone asking: why is it actually there?

Once more, this is not to say that the system is useless or point a finger on any organization, but to question the structures which have led to the arena of global aid.

Furthermore, I find it crucial to highlight that outside the official institutional framework, refugees show empowerment of their own. In my informants there are a number of examples of people in Nakivale showing agency, taking action and manifesting ways of resilience.

### 4.5.3. Social issues

According to the research data, social cleavages in the Nakivale camp are built and reproduced in numerous ways. It is evident that these ways hamper the peace among inhabitants in the camp. All nine informants mentioned or discussed social issues that they had experienced in the camp. In this study, the category of social issues consists of cohesion, interdependence, discrimination, routine social practices and leadership. In this subchapter, I will highlight social issues that represent obstacles to everyday peace in the camp.

Residential segregation is prevalent in the Nakivale camp (see also Chapter 4.3.2.). Names of different areas draw cleavages between different nationalities or different for instance ethnic groups within nationalities. This segregation can be seen to further advance existing cleavages and also count as discrimination within the camp. On the other hand, these neighborhoods are dominated by flavors, scents and feelings of culture-related traditions, which are clear signs of its inhabitants holding on to the habits familiar from the countries of origin. The inhabitants, for instance the Congolese, have built a neighborhood which largely resemble the ones these people have left behind in their countries of origin.

For example, in New Congo neighborhood, there are restaurants cooking typical Congolese food and bars with Congolese music. Loud music until late at night and dance are especially typical of the central Congolese neighborhood – as one of my informants said in an informal discussion: “Congolese are the ones who always love to party.” Here and there, I saw dressmakers making clothes of Congolese fabrics. In the Ethiopian village instead, people ate injera, typical Ethiopian bread and watched Ethiopian TV channels in a restaurant, and so on. This phenomenon can be seen as one of the elements that enforces the feeling of belonging to something, identity and therefore it can be considered also a way of maintaining social practices and strengthens cohesion in the camp. However, residential segregation is partly a result of in- and out-grouping, as it enforces cohesion

between some, but leaves out others. Interesting notion here is also the way the two minorities in the Burundian community have decided to stick together in terms of residential area – the Tutsi family and the family consisting of a Tutsi mother living with her albino husband and son live side by side, further away from the other village. The Tutsi informant of mine commented on the issue in an informal conversation saying: “This area is just us and albino families. We help each other.”

Many of the study informants talked about the importance of the feeling of belonging and not feeling alone in their community. For example:

I1 (Burundian): “The feeling of belonging to a community is very important. Because when you are in a misery alone, there are many things you can not know. But when you have people that you are connected to, even if they don’t give you money, they can give you technical support and you get skills. For us here we also have good relationship with this community. If I didn’t have good relationship with them, this office would not be here. Because we don’t have guards, who are taking care of it. We have to trust. (...) I need to be in good relationship with different people. Many people here they really love me. I have problems but I can also live well and be healthy. Some people have trauma. Do I have trauma? I try to control myself. Cope with my anger. Not supposed to be angry, because then I will have pain in my stomach. I am happy and kind of active.”

For him, the activities of building and reproducing his feeling of cohesion in the community were especially two: football and church.

I1: “The little free time I have is on Sunday. Sunday morning to pray to church. At night, I usually go to watch football, there are two teams that I like the most. I like Real Madrid and Barcelona, when they play I have to go there and watch.”

Also another informant referred to football as a cohesion-building activity or social practice when talking about the importance of community and feeling of belonging.

I3: (Congolese) “Important thing is to be cooperative with others, not to have a broken heart with others. Because if I am alone I can’t do anything, it’s important to have cooperation with others. And to work in a group. It’s not good to do something alone. (...) I have friends. I can’t live alone. Starting from my neighbors, we are some kind of friends. (...) Back in Congo, we played so much football. That is a men’s sport in Congo. Even now I still play. Now I am a veteran, we have a team for us veterans. For the mature people.”



Picture 5. Youth playing football in central Nakivale.

Another salient theme related to social practices and cohesion in the informants narratives was leadership in the community. The informants told me that the camp was divided in different communities, which all had a community leader of their own. Leadership in the community was a salient issue that, on one hand, enforced everyday peace and on the other, could also work towards hampering it. For instance two Somali female, who reported having faced security problems after making a complaint about a food abuse case to the NGOs, talked about the lack of security and leadership. The other said:

I6 (Somali): “Up to now we don’t have a chairman who would protect our rights. We have no one to represent us Somali. For almost one year we didn’t have it. No one is a chairman, no one is a leader in the community.”

It is clear that these two informants link the lack of leadership in the community to the deteriorated security in the community.

#### 4.5.4. Peace practices

According to Mac Ginty (2014, 555), it is common that individuals use everyday peace social practices in order to navigate their way through life in conflicted surroundings and seeking a safe space within. These practices can be seen as "tactics that individuals and groups use in their everyday interactions in deeply divided societies in order to minimize risk". Utilizing these practices is a form of agency, which involves innovation and creativity. Mac Ginty (ibid.) identifies five types of everyday peacemaking: avoidance, ambiguity, ritualized politeness, telling and blame deferring. These practices are not often linear but rather complex and nuanced, and can be deployed individually or simultaneously depending on the context. As Mac Ginty (ibid.) puts it: "they combine to produce a complex system of interaction aimed at survival and risk minimization."

In my research data, some of these peace practices can be found. As said, they overlap and therefore are not always easy to recognize in the narratives – but certain peace building techniques are still recognizable in some informants answers. Many times these practices seemed to be deeply integrated in the refugees' thinking of their everyday. Conflict avoidance is the most evident one. The behaviors within this practice include for instance avoiding some peoples and places as well as controversial topics in discussions in order to avoid conflict. People utilizing this practice might also sidestep situations where some of their personal beliefs or ideologies might be revealed or avoid contact with the "other side", using isolation and escapism to subcultures and living in the present as a technique of conflict avoidance. In addition, this includes behaviors whereby the subject deliberately avoids drawing attention to himself.

Of all the informants, the clearest example of conflict avoidance is the case of a 28-year old Congolese male. In his behavior, there were several signs of conflict avoidance. He reported feelings of externality and having escaped into something which was not common among the other refugees in the camp:

I4: "Before, I used to go to church all the time like everyone here and I could even pay the prophets to tell me my future and how it's going to be. Then I started just staying home. So first I met with a group of resilient artists, who came here, they were doing international business or something. We started to share, me I found it interesting for the first time, they might be right. They said that I was responsible for what I can create. I can create my future. I am not here to wait for a bag of dollars, something from heaven. Then I

started to change my life. I started meditating with these people. That was actually the beginning of something, I started to believe in myself and gain some confidence. I started to read books. It was magical, so I said, maybe this is the direction to go.”

This behavior, however, had caused the informant to face discrimination and isolation in the community. He felt the others looking at him like he was an outsider:

I4: “The way I live with my neighbors most of the time I am someone mysterious for them. Many neighbors don’t know who I am exactly, the way I live my life is completely something they fail to understand. I don’t do the same things as they do. They are going to church, I am not going. They like to talk about resettlement... food... For me if someone talks about those things I just leave. I like deep conversations, topics about life, happiness, living with people, having experiences. You can’t find me going to the office to check who is going to be resettled this year. I don’t care. (...) For others, they are priorities. For me, it’s not priority. So they find me very strange. I am living my life like a monk. And many people are talking about me, because they don’t know me. Some people say I am a satanist. That I am a witch doctor. They say, you’re supposed to have a girlfriend, how come is it that you don’t have. Maybe I am gay, they say.”

Problematically, the informant reported that he felt not being able to be himself in his community without being judged and discriminated by others. This led to behaviors whereby he isolated himself from the other community. In addition, in informal discussions he told me about his habit to leave situations where tensions started to rise. For example, he underlined how he would often go to a bar close to his home in the settlement and how “it was better to leave those places if tensions or aggression or fights started bubbling under.” This is a technique that aims at evading conflict. Furthermore, I saw his everyday activities in his community practices in order to empower others and enforce peaceful relations in the community by enforcement of feelings of inner strength and capability to cope. He, for instance, kept inspirational talks and moments of sharing experiences every morning to the youth members of his community.

Another informant, a 42-year old male, also narrated practices of peace. He reported having found himself in a sensitive position as he and his family are Tutsi living in a community dominated by Hutus and having suffered from discrimination since the beginning. The informant said:

I5: “They changed it (their behavior) slowly. For many years, they remained with bad behavior against us. We don’t have that force, that power. Even now, I have changed the system. I tried to see how I can grow my power to make this a civilian village. That is one of the systems I took. So now I am secretary here of the village. The meaning of that is that now they must be okay. That is one of my strategies here in this place.”

This is an example of a peace practice which resembles conflict avoidance but is not necessarily straight from Mac Ginty's (2014) theory of everyday peace practices – but can be seen as a conciliatory way of strategically enforcing peaceful relations in the community in order to avoid risks related to one's position in it. Hence, obtaining a powerful position in the community leadership was seen as a way to avoid trouble and improve security. Partly, this can also be seen as behavior of ritualized politeness, whereby a person creates a system of manners and behavior to follow in the community, in order to avoid risks.

Furthermore, the use of language of some informants during the research interviews could be seen as a peace practice. Some informants used divisive language when talking about the refugees coming from the countryside and the city and drawing clear differences between them and their behaviors – such as the people from countryside were to be considered totally different from those coming from the city. This could be interpreted between the lines as a way of talking about the sensitive issue of ethnic cleavages without directly addressing differences in ethnic background. Therefore, it could be a pattern of enforcing peace and avoiding conflict.

Picture 6. Afternoon coffee in Nakivale.



## 5. DISCUSSION

In this final chapter of my study, I will summarize the key findings of the research and present a conclusion to the analysis. I will also briefly evaluate the success of the study from different point of views and present some thoughts about possible future research ideas related to the topic.

In my study, I have investigated the life of refugees in the Nakivale refugee camp in Uganda. In the research, I have looked at how conflicts of the past follow refugees in the current day and what are the obstacles to everyday peace and peace practices utilized by refugees in Nakivale. In this research, I have utilized ethnographic method and conducted in-depth interviews with nine informants as well as participant observation in Nakivale refugee camp in February 2018. I have analyzed these questions in the light of the theory about conflict transportation and autonomization (e.g. Baser 2016; Féron 2017) as well as about everyday peace (Mac Ginty 2014; Mac Ginty & Firchow, 2017). To break down the data, I have utilized thematic analysis.

### 5.1. Findings

In the world of today, characterized by sovereign states and borders, people are bound to national identities, territories and legal borders. When one digs deeper, one can find underlying, politically organized structures and assumptions which favor and reproduce this world view. This viewpoint also tends to define and stigmatize the people, who do not fit into it, for instance those who are obliged to leave their home countries and seek refuge elsewhere. In this "national order of things" (Malkki 1995b, 2), people leave places they once called home forcibly, become refugees and are simultaneously stripped of their personal stories, experiences and agency, and reduced to historyless, mythical characters which forms an expectedly homogeneous, victimized mass. In this dominative order, these individuals become the embodiment of the undesirable – "who simultaneously threaten the nation state system and, by being its constitutive other, reaffirm the norm of territorial belonging and citizenship" (Olivius 2013, 291). This view contains an image of a refugee camp as governed spaces of control, misery and social breakdown. (ibid., 290.)

The latest and ongoing trends of human mobility do not go hand in hand with the “national order of things.” In fact, within this system, human beings are on the move and crossing borders more than ever. Forced, conflict-driven displacement is a growing phenomenon – currently, there are more refugees in the world than ever, and their number is expected to further increase in the future (Edwards 2018). As conflicts tend to spill over, protract and become more complex, protracted refugee situations, where people spend big parts if not all of their lives in refugee camps, have become the new norm within the global phenomenon of displacement. As Olivius (2017, 289) puts it, refugee camps have “evolved into a technology for the indefinite containment of larger numbers of people” and become “city-camps” (Agier 2002, 322). Several scholars (e.g. Malkki 1992 & 1995; Agier 2002; Sanyal 2012; Olivius 2017) have criticized and abandoned simplified representations, in which refugees tend to have only few roles of agency, and if they do, they are portrayed mostly through a negative position. For instance, according to Malkki (1992, 32), refugees have often been presented as amoral, dangerous and prone to terrorism and crime. When looking at the literature done around refugees, it becomes clear that the studies are often stuck in the simplified harm/benefit or economic burden/bounty -narrative. My study aims at building a more comprehensive picture of the conflicts, experiences and causalities that characterize the lives of the inhabitants of Nakivale refugee camp. My study is based on critical examination of how refugees often have been defined in the academic literature and aim at challenging this simplified narrative. My data shows that refugees, like all us human beings, are way beyond a two-way narrative and their lives are rich of issues which interlink them to their past. They experience conflict and obstacles to peace, but also utilize practices of peace and take agency.

As said, the findings of my study are based on analysis of the research data utilizing two prevalent theoretical frameworks, through which I aimed at responding to my research questions. The first research question (How do conflicts follow refugees from the country of origin to the Nakivale refugee camp?) is looked at through the theories of conflict transportation and autonomization (e.g. Baser 2016; Féron 2017). Based on my data, I argue that there are a number of ways in which conflicts of the past can still present themselves in the every day of the refugees residing in the Nakivale camp. Often these ways are not straightforward, quite the contrary. We can not, therefore, indicate one or few logic ways or a linear process of conflict transportation or autonomization. Instead, these processes are nuanced and always depend on external issues as well as factors related

to individual refugee's past and present. Thus, the heterogeneity of the population, its experiences and external issues – such as, issues related to the new site of settlement or the process of becoming a refugee – leads to a heterogeneous outcome of conflict transportation and autonomization.

My data indicates that the conflicts refugees have experienced in the country of origin re-occur in the camp mainly in three different ways: discursive, social and direct level. This division derives from Féron's (2017, 364) research about conflict-generated diasporas, which in my study is applied in the context of a refugee camp. One can certainly claim that there are similarities in these two environments – most importantly, both are communities formed by people that have faced conflict, persecution and/or war. However, the differences between these contexts are also worth noticing. Whereas conflict-generated diasporas are complex and have multiple types of environments where the community is organized or mobilized, refugee camp is a humanitarian space, controlled by international institutions and the state of the country where it happens to be situated. This leads to various issues for instance in terms of integration in the country of settlement, work and educational opportunities, basic needs, privacy and security, freedom and the possibility of movement as well as questions of identity, belonging and so on. Féron (2017) notes that the country of settlement and the new environment can influence the occurrence or the non-occurrence of the past conflicts or issues related might foster their autonomisation. In my study context, the internal dynamics and conditions of the Nakivale camp have undoubtedly had an influence on how and if the is transported and what kind of forms does it take.

In my study, I have also looked at how conflicts are further autonomised when the surroundings change, meaning that conflicts reoccur in the new setting but tend to take different forms depending on external issues such as the site of settlement (Féron 2017, 365–367). Generally speaking, I found signs of some kind of conflict transportation and autonomization in the narratives of almost all the informants of the study. Discursive conflict transportation surfaced within the Burundian community, where a Burundian male who belongs to Tutsi ethnic group reported having faced the same ethnically-driven discrimination in his community in Nakivale that he faced in his country of origin Burundi before escaping it. In Burundi, the ongoing conflict contains aspects of ethnically divisive reasoning between the two ethnic groups, Hutu and Tutsi. In this case, the Tutsi family found themselves living in a community full of Hutu, who had been in the camp for longer.

However, another Burundian informant who belongs to the same ethnic group but lives in another neighborhood reported no ethnic discrimination in the camp. In the Somali community, on the other hand, the prevalent pattern of clan-related segregation typical for the country of origin had taken new forms in the camp. The Somali informants reported that the community kept using the same divisive vocabulary as in the country of origin, but for different causes related to the internal dynamics of the community. Hence, when a conflict related to the conditions in the camp surfaced, the old divisive reasoning faded out. This is a case of conflict autonomization.

When looking at social practices of conflict transportation, the data shows residential segregation in the camp, which is present on different levels in the camp. Division lines start from the names (Old Congo, New Congo, Ethiopian Village, Sudan, etc.) and characteristics of the neighborhoods. First of all, there was visible inter-community segregation in a Burundian neighborhood. For instance, there was an area for families with albino members, who all lived close to each other. In this area lived also a Tutsi family, of which a member reported having faced ethnic discrimination. In this way, one community was divided in two by residential factors. Second of all, divisions based on ethnic or social groups within one nationality were present also in New and Old Congo. One of the informants clarified the difference between these two: according to him, in New Congo live the “real Congolese”, Congolese from different tribes who do not speak Kinyarwanda, whereas Old Congo hosts only Banyamulenge – Congolese from Rwandan origin. This is a clear example of how the conflict from the country of origin reoccurs in the camp in the form of residential segregation practices. These segregational lines did not, however, totally defining through the camp – there were many Congolese living in the neighborhood named Sudan and so on. Finally, endogamic clashes – “Burundians cannot marry Congolese” – were mentioned by one informant.

The data indicates some narratives related to ethnic or tribe-based cleavages, looking at the data now, I find that ethnically colored divisions could additionally be hidden between the lines in the answers of the refugees. For instance, when talking about cleavages within and between different communities, many – mostly the educated – clearly drew differentiated between the educated and the uneducated, and referred to differences between the refugees who originally came “from cities” and “from rural area”. Hence, the disagreements might really be the same, yet narrated differently for reasons related to safety, since these tend to be touchy and even dangerous topics. All in all, my

data indicates that the social level of conflict transportation occurs in the Nakivale camp. It is embodied for instance in patterns related to physical co-existence and residential structures. In addition to this, cleavages and othering discourses, which tend to cause conflicting behaviors, are present in many refugees lives in the Nakivale camp – even if they do not always mimic the ones in the past.

When it comes to direct level of conflict transportation, the data indicates that some of the refugees continue to face the security threats in the camp which they thought to have left behind when seeking refuge in Nakivale. Three informants, all victims of political or direct violence in DRC or Burundi, reported encounters with the perpetrators of violence from the countries of origin or doubts over whether some of the fellow refugees actually worked as government allies of the home country. These examples indicate conflict transportation occurring on a direct level. This phenomenon is facilitated by the proximity of the camp to the countries of origin of the refugees – it is possible that perpetrators also have to leave their countries at some point and end up in the same camp. For example for Burundians, Rwandans and Congolese from the east Nakivale is the closest, or at least on the Ugandan side of the border. Uganda's refugee policies, which have been praised for their progressive nature, can also be contributing to this phenomenon. According to these policies, refugees residing in Uganda have a freedom of movement in and out of the camps. This means that the borders of the camps are loosely, if at all, controlled. Also, the fact that Uganda has been working together with for instance Rwandan government regarding forced repatriation of refugees can be a further factor behind the phenomenon. Altogether, some refugees still feel encounter the same people and fears in the camp that they used to in the country of origin.

As a conclusion, I argue that refugees continue to encounter many types of unequal social dynamics and conflicts in the Nakivale camp. Some conflicts tend to have similarities to the past ones and mimic the conflicts in the country of origin, whereas others take new forms. My study indicates that conflict transportation is not a straightforward process, and the occurrence and non-occurrence of the conflicts in the new environment depends on several factors. It is important to note that the past of the individual refugee as well as the camp and its complex internal dynamics have an effect on whether conflict transportation or autonomization occurs, and what kind of forms do the conflicts take in the Nakivale camp. Besides directly in the form of transportation, conflicts tend to haunt

refugees residing in Nakivale also in other ways – such as in traumatic memories and nightmares. My data hence shows that refugees struggle to find peace in the Nakivale refugee camp, after escaping war, conflict or violence taking place in their countries of origin. Furthermore, my findings indicate that refugees have multiple roles navigating their way through the social, political and economic spheres of the camp. On the one hand, this is to say that the positions the refugees take and the agency they show are complex. On the other hand, this is to object the simplified, either-or representation of a refugee – for instance a refugee as a peace wrecker or a peace builder. Based on my data, a refugee can be either one of these, both of them – but is not necessarily either one of them. My study contributes to Whitaker's (2003, 226) idea, according to which the spill-over-effect of conflicts in the form of refugees' movement should be seen as complex chains of events. In these situations, refugees do not only create new alignments, but transform the old.

The second theoretical framework adopted in my study is the one of everyday peace. I divided the concept into three three categories, which I used as tools to categorize the narratives of the informants and make sense of how they talked about everyday peace. The categories are the following: security – containing issues related to daily security, crime, authorities and freedom of movement, basic needs including issues such as infrastructure, health, education, economic, food/agriculture and water and finally, social issues related to cohesion, interdependence, discrimination, residential divisions and leadership. Often, these categories overlapped in the informants' narratives – for instance, the lack of security could be caused by the long distance to the nearest water well. In addition to these categories, I looked at what kind of peace practices the informants utilized in Nakivale.

My study suggests that there are several obstacles to comprehensive everyday peace in the Nakivale refugee camp. Issues related to the lack of security in the camp are salient in the narratives of the informants as security-issues were mentioned by all nine informants. Some feared and/or had experienced violence or violent threats from fellow refugees from the same or different country or Ugandans living in the camp, others were worried over sexual violence in the camp. In addition, some informants showed worries over threats posed by the authorities or government members of their countries of origin or the current country of settlement. All in all, security was an issue that made many informants constantly worry and therefore can be seen to seriously hinder everyday

peace in the Nakivale camp. Several respondents felt alone and left without support in these issues from the part of the authorities governing the camp.

Also when it comes to basic needs, such as water, food, health and education, my study shows that refugees face problems in the camp. Many of these are guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The scarcity of food and water was referred to by almost all informants. Many also reported about health issues and difficulties in getting treatment for themselves or their family members in cases of more difficult or long-term health problems. A negatively contributing factor was the remoteness of hospitals and health centers. Refugees also reported spending a lot of time in providing their families food and water – the wells are few and can be far away, which left little time for else – such as pursuing livelihood or even thinking about ways of doing it. In addition, opportunities for further, for instance university-level education for the refugees themselves was practically inexistent. For the informants' children, there were possibilities to attend school. However, even though in practice UNHCR-governed primary and secondary education is provided in the camp for free, children are too many schools are too few. Three refugee parents reported poor quality of the education and big class sizes in the primary and secondary schools of their children. This had lead to the child dropping out in at least two cases. The poor quality of education in the refugee camps in Uganda is no secret: the legally mandated UNHCR (see e.g. Onyuolo 2018) admits the problems in providing for quality education. All in all, my data indicates that refugees' basic needs remain – to a large part – unmet in the Nakivale camp.

My study further indicates that refugees continuously encounter issues that hinder their peaceful everyday in their social interactions with others. According to some informants, residential segregation is a central, yet controversial theme here. On the other hand, it further advances the social cleavages in the camp by dividing people into groups, enforcing intra-group interaction and simultaneously limits the interaction with other communities. In some cases, residential segregation is a sign of underlying discriminatory behaviors and social structures in the camp. On the other hand, residential segregation also led to the refugees that belonged to different minorities in the camp to being more unite with each other. Hence, their position of minority created unity in them. Furthermore, neighborhoods that have strong cultural hints build togetherness among the camp's inhabitants who belong to the same ethnic or national group. My data also indicates that community

leadership is an important aspect in the overall picture in terms of security and peace in the communities. I found that the lack of proper leadership in the community, as was the case with two of my informants, may contribute to a lack of safety and deteriorated sense of security in the camp.

My study finds that in addition to facing obstacles to peace in the camp, refugees also work towards building a more peaceful everyday in the Nakivale camp. Refugees apply peace practices to navigate their way towards a more peaceful everyday in many ways. For instance, in the refugee narratives habits or patterns of behavior in order to avoid conflicts in the camp were present. These patterns could be related to avoiding certain people's company or topics of discussion. In addition, these behaviors could include enforcing the balance between the members of the community by gaining power in the local leadership. Striving for a position among the community leadership would enforce personal safety in the community. It was interesting to find that these practices which can be seen as a personal defense call in the fearful or tense situation, seem to pursue ways for a more balanced and peaceful setting for individual refugees that apply them. Many study informants value greatly the feelings of community and togetherness and tend to work towards having good relation, which also shows in the findings of the study.

Altogether, refugees residing in the Nakivale camp navigate their way through an extremely complex reality of social norms, patterns and aspirations. My study indicates that there are several issues that hinder everyday peace in the Nakivale camp. Often, refugees simultaneously encounter several of these peace obstacles together, not just one singular. These obstacles to peace and the reasons behind them are not straightforward or enduring – quite the contrary, they are fluid and variable. According to my findings, they depend on for instance prevailing conditions and background (class, ethnic, nationality or gender and so on). My study contributes to Mac Ginty's (2014, 553) suggestion about the malleability of everyday peace, which is "possible at some periods and impossible at others, strong on some issues but weak on others." My study also highlights that when encountering these issues in the camp setting, refugees take action and show agency in order to overcome them in numerous ways. Social peace practices are examples of this resilience.

One of my informants, a 19-year old Congolese female, offers a good additional example of resilience and self-empowerment, which occurs in the camp – outside the institutional aid system.

In the research interview, the informant brought up the problem which I discussed in Subchapter 4.5.2. about women's menstrual health and the lack of menstrual pads in the camp. She reported to having noticed this problem in her own life and analyzed how it can be also linked to bigger social issues and create chains of dependence:

I9: "Some of my friends, some girls can even go and sleep with boys so that they can get money to buy pads. And I've asked them: 'why do you like to be a prostitute?' And they say it's not a need in us, we do this because we need to buy basic things of girls like pads. Even many mothers are just being prostitutes, because of that problem. In Opportunigee (refugee youth organization founded by a Congolese refugee) I did research in the villages (around the camp) and found that they don't even know what the pads do. Some of them, when they have period, they just sit outside in the sun."

Thus, the example shows how the informant had noticed a common health-related problem in her community. In the following, she tells how she has been actively seeking for a solution to it:

I9: "Now I have started a project on my own through Opportunigee (refugee organization). With that project, we make cloth pads. And teach other girls who don't know how to handle that... so that when they have period, they know what to do. And with my project, we buy materials and then make pads, which a person can wash and they are comfortable. Up to now, I am still doing research in villages around and looking for funding for the project."

This is only one of the many examples that show how everyday issues, which deteriorate the wellbeing and health of the people in the camp, are turned around by members of the community, striving to find solutions, help their fellow refugees and contribute to the wellbeing of the community. The informant concluded:

I9: "I am comfortable because I feel I can help the community. Before I was just home crying because I was just alone with my mother. But along with Opportunigee, where they always told me: it's not only through studying at school where you can study, you can also study here and have knowledge. They taught me about projects. To show me many persons already win in life they have here."

My findings strongly challenge the common representation of a refugee, which tends to be present in many public narratives and in the academic literature (see e.g. Malkki 1995b). In these narratives, refugees tend to have only few, limited and predefined roles: they are either an economic burden or a security threat to the host community, subjects of aid or historyless, mythical characters. My research indicates that the reality is much more complex. Refugees take various roles while they navigate their way through the social dynamics of the camp. Each life story is different and the past

strongly continues to influence the everyday of the refugees. History and past experiences, therefore, certainly have a big role in the life of refugees even after they leave for exile.

## 5.2. Lessons learned and future study topics

In addition to the findings of the study, I feel the need to discuss some lessons that I learned, some important issues in the research process as well as some point out some ethical observations which I have encountered during the research process (see also Chapter 3.7).

Forced displacement is an increasingly researched topic in the academia. Taking into account the increasing number of refugees in the world and the changing nature of conflicts, it should certainly remain a popular topic even in the future and develop more nuances. Whereas refugee camps were long seen temporary, they have now become lifelong spaces for some. They are governed by actors who are subject to global political decisions and discussion about refugee lives. As this situation will continue to exist, research in the living habitats of refugees is needed to develop a comprehensive picture on how these governed spaces are formed and used by the forcibly displaced, and what kinds of limitations do these spaces have.

As I predicted, Uganda turned out to be an interesting place for studying forced displacement. Its praised refugee policies and its significantly high refugee population has put it in the front line of global refugee-related discussion. In my study, I learned that Uganda truly has a different approach to refugee policies than many other countries for instance regarding the freedom of movement and the structure of the refugee camps, or as the country calls them, settlements. However, it is absurd to assume that the country provides somewhat a perfect place to be a refugee, as media (see e.g. BBC 2016) has portrayed it. My study contributes to the academic research which suggests that even in Uganda, refugees continuously face obstacles that hamper their everyday peace. These obstacles are related to for instance their personal security, discrimination, education, health as well as water and food.

Before the field trip I studied a lot and was given advice about how to conduct successful research interviews and how to obtain the most comprehensive view of the researched topic. To some extent,

this advice was helpful: for instance, I cannot emphasize enough the importance of the preparation for the research interviews beforehand. Having done it, I felt at ease while conducting the interviews, which gave me confidence and helped me to establish a relationship with the informant. However, I only discovered the beauty of the fieldwork once I let go of the limiting thoughts about how it should go and simply went with the flow and trusted the process. After all, the idea of ethnographic research is to go to a place, observe, gathering information of the environment and the people of it. While doing this, one can not predict how things will go. To succeed in capturing a comprehensive image, it is important that one carries along as few expectations as possible. All in all, preparedness is valuable and helps in adapting to different situations. In my research, I found that at least essential was the ability to cope with uncertainty and adapt to different situations during the research. These situations were something I could have not predicted to encounter beforehand. Acknowledging and accepting this will help me in the future research.

During the fieldwork in the Nakivale camp, it became clear to me how significant influence my own position as a Western researcher had in the study. Even though I was aware of the fact that it would be impossible to become invisible and observe the life of the camp without drawing attention to myself, I was still surprised about the amount of attention my existence gathered among the inhabitants of Nakivale. Sometimes I felt I was both the researcher and the researched. I learned that instead of trying to fade out my personality, I had to accept the influence my own position had in the informants and the life of the camp, and critically reflect upon it. Many times, I encountered situations where I was asked for help or where I was put in a role I was not comfortable in – solely because of my external characteristics and background. Observing my own position and reflecting critically left me wondering. If I was a refugee myself, would the informants have brought up different issues in the interviews than they now did? What about if I was not a researcher but worked for UNHCR? I am fairly certain that the answer is yes, at least in some cases.

Acknowledging and recognizing these structures of power and dependence was agonizing. Yet, I could not do much about it, just accept the status quo of the things. Afterwards, I understood that this observation was also beneficial in terms of reflecting the whole research process as well as the social dynamics and the underlying political structures between the Western aid workers or researchers and the refugees residing in the camp. This theme started to fascinate me and could be an interesting topic to study in the future.

Another aspect of the research which I found difficult to prepare for was the fact that I often encountered feelings of helplessness and frustration during the months that I spent with the research topic. I often pondered the political structures and causes that lie behind the system of displacement as well as the current political trends which encourages the dominant world order, the “national order of things”. I argue that a refugee, as the world now defines this mythical character, does not suit this world order and is therefore left out of it. Within this world order, refugees are often seen in a simplistic way: victims, subjects to aid, peace-wreckers or peace-builders, for instance. This is problematic because it forces millions of people in one category, silences the voices of them and does not consider their individual characteristics and stories – even in the issues that regard them and would therefore require their voice to be heard and differences to be recognized.

In addition, acknowledging that the modern aid system and its prevalent structures – the Western as aid givers and refugees or other people residing in the Global South as aid receivers – actually contributes to this view, was rather painful, yet again, beneficial in order to further develop my thinking. This viewpoint has already sparked scholarly interest and generated research driven by post-colonial theories. Often, it works as a good base for a researcher to reflect upon his or her role. However, as such this research does not change the system. In fact, I hope to see more solution-oriented research on this matter. This research would not only question the system of dependence and the market of global aid but also searches for ways to change this system in order to build a more just place for us all to live. In the future, I would also like to see research looking at public representations of a refugee – for instance, what kind of imagery refugee organizations use and what kind of representations about the forcibly displaced does the media offer. This kind of research would show what kind of visual imagery about refugees is offered to us, help us critically examine this common image of a refugee and question it.

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## **Maps**

Map 1:

Wikimedia Commons, Peter Fitzgerald, Own Work based on the blank world map. Published on 18 August 2008. Retrieved from:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:East\\_Africa\\_regions\\_map.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:East_Africa_regions_map.png)

Map 2:

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