Tampere University

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REFUGEE CAMPS AS SPACES FOR GENOCIDE

Narratives from Rwandan refugees

Faculty of Social Sciences

Master's Thesis

January 2022

ABSTRACT

Eveliina Ruuska: REFUGEE CAMPS AS SPACES FOR GENOCIDE: Narratives from Rwandan refugees
Master's thesis
Tampere University
Master's Degree Programme in Peace, Mediation and Conflict Research
January 2022

Refugee camps are supposed to be safe havens for refugees, but they are best described as a limbo. This study suggests that genocide continues in the refugee camps. The aim of this study is to broaden understanding of genocide from mass murder and direct physical violence to understanding genocide as a process and to include multiple forms of violence such as structural and psychological violence. The theory basis of this study supports this broader understanding, albeit also the banalisation of the term and alternative views are discussed. A term genocidal continuum is important in understanding the continuation of genocide as a process and the constructed reality in which everyone of us live. The theory basis of this study gave inspiration for the development of definition of genocide in this study. Genocide is defined in this study as follows: as a series of acts or not acting, which causes group that has been regarded as "other" to be subject to violence, (physical, psychological, or structural).

The focus of this study are the refugee camps where Rwandan refugees escaped after the Rwandan genocide. The research was limited to years 1994–1996, because the data used in this study are from these years. The data includes three autobiographies and five official testimonials by the survivors. The research question in this study is, *how genocide continues in the refugee camps?*. Narrative analysis method is used as a research method and three narratives are built on the basis of supporting questions. The narratives highlight the experiences of the refugees. The narratives are, "life in the refugee camp", "forms of violence in the refugee camp" and "thoughts of the survivors in the refugee camp".

Through analysis of the narratives the research question can be answered. In these refugee camps genocide can be seen to continue in three ways, as a process, as a practice and as an experience. The continuation as a process is connected to term genocidal continuum and understanding that attitudes and norms in a society enforce genocidal capacity against groups which are deemed less worthy than one's own group of identity. To identify genocidal practices elements such as agents, intent, scale, goals, strategies, and targets need to be analysed. All these elements can be found in analysis of these refugee camps implicating that genocide continues as a practice. Furthermore, discussing the scale, goals and strategies the study takes into consideration that structural and psychological violence cause harm and suffering and are practices of genocide. The experiences showcase multiple forms of violence, suffering and human rights violations in the refugee camp. Additionally, genocide continues as an experience in the survivors' minds. Together with the earlier events also refugee camp conditions can cause traumas. Earlier studies show that many get depressed and are later diagnosed with PTSD. As another example, Tutsi women who were raped during their stay in the refugee camps, and were infected with HIV, suffer from the consequences of that for the rest of their lives. Genocide as a human experience can continue for decades.

Even though the refugees were rescued to the refugee camps to save them from the genocide, the results of this study showcase that those camps were not a place of security. International humanitarian organisations are responsible for the refugees and their well-being but fail miserably in the quality of life they provide in the camp. Refugee camps are places where insecurity and suffering continue, and they are a breeding ground for instability. Unfortunately, they do not even manage to keep all the refugees alive.

Keywords: Genocide, Genocidal continuum, Violence, Structural Violence, Narrative Analysis, Rwanda.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I want to thank my supervisor Anitta Kynsilehto for her always insightful advice and support during this thesis project which took way longer than expected.

Secondly, I want to thank Robert Imre for inspiring me to find my thesis topic with his passionate attitude towards world's darkest events.

Likewise, I wish to thank all my peers in the Peace Mediation and Conflict Research Programme for the support and mind-blowing discussions over the years.

Finally, I want to thank my husband Eino who has supported me during thesis project financially and mentally. Without you I would never have finished this! Thank you also for the rest of my family for their support during my academic path.

Eveliina Ruuska

November 2021

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Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APROSOMA	The Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse
CDR	Coalition pour la Defence de la Republique
CSC	Centre de Services aux Coopératives
FAR	Forces Armeés Rwandaises
FRONASA	Front for National Salvation
GBV	gender-based violence
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus infection
ICTR	The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
MDR	Mouvement Démocratique Rwandais
MDR-PARMEHUTU (old MSM)	Mouvement Démocratique Rwandais/Parti du Mouvement et de l'Emancipation Hutu
MRND	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
MRND(D) (Old MRND)	Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement et la démocratie
MSM	Mouvement Social Muhutu
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NRA	National Resistance Army
PDC	Parti Démocrare-Chrétien
PL	Parti Liberal
PSD	Parti Social Démocrate
PTSD	post-traumatic stress disorder
RADER	Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais
RANU	Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RTLMC or RTLM	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SURF	Survivor's Fund
UN	United Nations
UNAMIR	United Nations assistance mission for Rwanda
UNAR	Union Nationale Rwandaise

UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the UN Refugee Agency
VAWG	violence against women and girls

"That's life in a refugee camp: You're not moving toward anything. You're just in a horrible groove. You learn skills that you wish you did not know: how to make a fire, how to cook maize, how to do laundry in the river and burn the lice on the rocks. You wait, hoping the trucks will bring something other than corn and beans. But nothing gets better. There is no path for improvement—no effort you can make, nothing you can do, and nothing anybody else can do for you either, short of the killers in your country laying down their arms and stopping their war so that you can move home."

Clemantine Wamariya, *The Girl Who Smiled Beads: A Story of War and what comes After* (2018, 72)

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1. Introduction

Refugee camps are generally seen as safe destinations for refugees after which few continue to think of the circumstances in which the refugees then live. However, the prevailing circumstances in the camps can harm or continue to harm the individuals living there. Harrell-Bond (1994, 15) has claimed that it is outright debatable whether refugee camps save lives. Violence in the refugee camps has been researched extensively. In Shimelba refugee camp in northern Ethiopia there was 25.5 % prevalence of intimate partner violence within previous twelve months which the women had lived in the camp (Feseha, Abeba & Gerbaba 2012, 1).

This study is about genocide and its assumed continuation in the refugee camp. The legal definition of genocide is contested and fluid. Nevertheless, usually it is framed with violence and mass murder as Adam Jones (2017,18–27) presents when comparing different scholarly definitions in his book *Genocide: A comprehensive introduction*. This study defines genocide as its broadest understanding including more than physical violence but also psychological and structural violence. It counts practices such as denying access to health care, denying access to sanitation, denying access to education, denying work permits, denying freedom of movement and denying of culture as practices of genocide.

Framing something as 'genocide' would make more incentives to work against it than when the action is described as oppression or structural violence which are often disregarded and accepted forms of violence in societies (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 32). People are inflicting harm on each other everywhere and all the time. Practices of genocide, such as practices used against refugees, can be found in various places in all societies. However, in this study the refugee camps are under the scope. Not nearly all refugees are based on camplike situations, nevertheless amongst this study it is not possible to research their situation, which, presumably, is even worse. Refugee camps are not a common case for study in multidisciplinary genocide studies, however the presence of genocidal action in many societies has been studied by some scholars.

1.1 Research aim

The interests of this study are the practices that precede genocide and happen during genocide. By broadening the scope of definition of genocide, to include all forced human suffering and not yield to narratives of dominant physical violence, a more coherent view can be gained about life in the refugee camps and of the term genocide. The legal definition of genocide does not give enough attention to

human suffering outside of physical violence. These practices can be found from many places all over the world not only from contexts that have been identified as genocide. This so-called genocidal continuum is one of the key terms of this study. The genocidal continuum understands genocide as part of societies and attitudes (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 32). Therefore, the aim in this study is to widen the definition of genocide and showcase the refugee experiences in the refugee camp.

Refugee camps in the scope of study are the refugee camps where Rwandese people fled during the years 1994–1996. The time limit is set to this because after this time most of the Rwandan refugees either returned to Rwanda or left the official camps due to hostilities in Zaire[1]. Rwanda has been chosen as a case study for three reasons. Firstly, due to attention and action after the Rwandan genocide there is material available online about this horrific episode of genocide. Secondly, Rwandan genocide is a significant case in genocide studies. Many genocide scholars, however, are researching the happenings before and after the genocide. There is a need for more research about aftermath of the recognised genocide. Thirdly, Rwandan genocide is a special interest to the writer since their bachelor's thesis and because the controversy when discussing about Rwandan society. Rwanda in general is seen as a miracle for having survived a horrible event in its history, being one of the prominent African countries in economic development (Nkusi, 2019) and having the largest the number of women in the parliament (UN Women 2021). However, when taking a closer look, this might not be the whole truth.

1.2 Research question

The hypothesis for this study is "genocide is continued in the refugee camps".

The research question is *how genocide continues in the refugee camps?* The support questions are:

1. *What is regular life in a refugee camp like?*

2. *What kind of violence can a person encounter in the refugee camp?*

3. *What kind of thoughts are the survivors thinking during their time in the camp?*

[1] Currently Democratic Republic of the Congo.

1.3 Outline

Chapter 2 illustrates the overview of the genocidal continuum in Rwanda. Even though it is brief and does not immerse oneself in political developments it tries to offer enough breeding ground for analysis of the Rwandan society and the process that led to genocide. These are important for understanding the situations after the genocide.

Chapter 3 showcases studies done in the refugee camps around the world. This chapter presents history from founding of first refugee camps and presents critical attitudes towards this choice of refugee controlling. The chapter also presents studies made in refugee camps about living conditions and physical violence.

Chapter 4 introduces genocide as analysed in the scholarly debates and links it with violence. In Galtung's footsteps, the violence is divided into direct physical violence and psychological violence. In addition, cultural and structural violence are discussed. Genocide is seen as mechanism for violence. This chapter also showcases components for defining genocide and discusses them in relation to Rwandan case and further builds definition for genocide according to scholarly debates.

Chapter 5 introduces narrative analysis as the research method and the data used in this study. Narrative analysis is discussed in relation to constructivism and knowledge formation. The data used for this study is a mixture of three autobiographical books written by survivors and five official testimonies given by survivors. This chapter also introduces the form of data analysis.

Chapter 6 showcases the narratives built from the material and the results of this analysis are discussed and combined with the theory part of the study. In chapter 7 conclusions of the study are presented.

1.4 Key terms

Genocidal continuum

Term genocidal continuum is developed by writer and researcher Nancy Scheper-Hughes. Genocidal continuum is understood as violence which is accepted as part of normal life in societies. Examples of such are the "small wars and invisible genocides" which are performed in normal spaces of social environment such as schools, city halls and prisons. The main idea behind this term is that people recognise in themselves the capacity for genocide directed against classes of human which people

consider lower. Genocide here refers to physical but also structural violence. (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 32)

Genocidal ideology

Genocidal ideology is not a common term within genocide studies but defined by the writer. It can be understood as an ideology where the existence of certain groups is deemed unwanted, and they are to be destroyed. Genocidal ideology is a process and describes to the moment where hatred turns into killing and violence. Hutu and Tutsi relations in Rwanda can be used as an example for genocidal ideology. The Hutu build up an ideology of hate towards Tutsi at the same time improving their own image. This so-called Hutu ideology showcased Tutsi foreign in their own context and enforced the rightful ownership of Hutu of the land and resources. As time passed this ideology developed into ideology of genocide, where Tutsi needed to be killed because earlier measures (killing only sporadically and chasing them away) had failed to end Tutsi control and they posed a risk to the Hutu society. (Des Forges 1995, 45–46)

Definition of *genocide* in this study

In this study genocide is understood as a series of acts or not acting, which causes group that has been regarded as "other" to be subject to violence, (physical, psychological, or structural).

2. The genocidal continuum in Rwanda

In this chapter the genocidal process of Rwanda will be briefly introduced. In order to understand the genocidal process, it is important to look back at the events forming the genocide. Without research on the process of events it is impossible to understand the genocidal continuum embedded in Rwandan society.

2.1 Colonising years

The genocide was not "historical product, biological fatality or spontaneous bestial outburst" (Prunier 1998, xi–xii), how it often is described. The artificial divide of between Tutsi and Hutu was created during the colonial period due to Europeans' understanding of race. A "superior race" was created and institutionalised by Belgian conquistadors, because they regarded Tutsi as superior due to their higher societal standing and physical appearance. Before this there had been difference between Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa groups but there was no hierarchical system enforcing it nor was the divide ethnic. However, these groups were not similar or equal, even though they shared same lands, language, and historical heroes (Des Forges 1999, 26). The groups are often described as ethnic groups and they did have some physical characteristics, but the Tutsi and Hutu were mostly understood as kind of social classes. Hutus and Tutsis intermarried, and people could move from a group to another depending on their profession. (Prunier 1998, 5–7) Intermarrying was quite unusual though, and therefore gene pool was shaped within the groups. Twa were avoided by both Hutu and Tutsi, before and after colonisation years. They were killed and killers during the genocide. (Des Forges 1999, 26–27) Due to the small numbers of Twa people and low amount of data about their endeavours, they are often discarded in studies about Rwanda.

Attitudes of Europeans caused the social groups to divide, and it was enforced by different way of governing them. In 1930's the Belgian colonisers decided to register the Rwandese people as Tutsi, Hutu or Twa, because it was sometimes hard to tell "who was what". People got identity cards where they were registered certain category at the time of birth, as the grouping was understood as inherited. After this moving from one group to another became harder. In the 1920's and 1930's a first written history of Rwanda was published but, unfortunately, it was inaccurate. It described Twas as indigenous people of Rwanda, where more advanced Hutu had arrived and who then got conquered by more superior Tutsi. They came from the north and were descendants of superior "Caucasoid" race, which was responsible of all the civilisation in African continent. (Des Forges 1999, 29–30) This caused

Tutsi to build an ego and Hutu to suffer from inferiority complex (Prunier 1998, 9). From the late 19th century, myths of Tutsis' origins and cooperation with the foreign forces started to showcase Tutsi as foreign enemy in their own context. (Ibid., 141–142.)

2.2 Hutu Power

Tutsis were preferred by the colonising forces until the 50's. The Belgian colonial order started to see Tutsi's raising contest against the order and it got demands for ending the colonialism also from the UN. (Des Forges 1999, 30) Hutu had woken up to the fact that Tutsi held a political monopoly and through that they had also an economic and a social monopoly in the country. In 1957 first political parties emerged: Mouvement Social Muhutu (MSM), and The Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse (APROSOMA), which attracted mostly Hutu. In 1959 first Tutsi parties arose: Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR) and Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais (RADER). Meanwhile MSM developed into Mouvement Démocratique Rwandais/Parti du Mouvement et de l'Emancipation Hutu (MDR-PARMEHUTU). (Prunier 1998, 45–47)

The situation in the country was tense and in November 1959 after alleged UNAR beating of a PARMEHUTU activist, the Hutu activists started to attack Tutsi with machetes and by burning their houses. This started the social revolution and an "ethnic" transfer of power. Belgians were on Hutus' side and brought the idea of self-government in the midst of the chaos, (they had already replaced approximately half of the local administrators by Hutu (Des Forges 1999, 30)). Communal elections were held in June/July 1960, where PARMEHUTU won a clear majority. PARMEHUTU declared the revolution to be over, but massacres and unlawful persecutions of Tutsi were happening all over Rwanda. This started the first refugee flows from Rwanda to Belgian Congo, Burundi, Tanganyika, and Uganda. In January 1961 a "legal coup" was orchestrated and the Republic of Rwanda was declared, and the monarchy was ended. Grégoire Kayibanda started as president. Sporadic violence continued; an oppressive system had been replaced with another one. Since late 1960 first Tutsi refugee terrorists started attacking from Uganda and later from Burundi. They were called *Inyenzi*, (cockroaches, because they survive everything). (Prunier 1998, 48–54) The new regime used this to increase Hutu solidary and to eradicate respect for previous Tutsi leaders (Des Forges 1999, 31). Rwanda became formally independent in July 1962. In December 1963 the *Inyenzi* launched an operation in which they invaded Bugesera and came close to capital Kigali. This led to more refugees because the attack was poorly planned, and government was able to counterattack. After this the government forces started a repression against Tutsi: The surviving Tutsi politicians who had not yet

taken refugee outside Rwanda were executed and estimate of 10 000 Tutsi were killed. The Rwandan government framed this as a counter terrorism act. After this the Tutsi exiles became increasingly detached from Rwanda and they integrated well in Burundi and Uganda. (Prunier 1998, 56–57)

President Kayibanda's Rwanda was authoritarian and poor country with obedient peasants (Prunier 1998, 59). The myths that once formed picture of Tutsi as superior race, now justified discriminatory politics against them. Government continued the use of identity cards and Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa labels. (Des Forges 1999, 31) In 1972-1973, in desperate need of atmosphere of unanimity within Hutu, president exploited Burundi's situation where Tutsi had massacred Hutu, and which had created emotional reactions in Rwanda. To shift the focus from the missing unity between Hutu, common enemy was once again established. Vigilante committees were built to enforce ethnic quota in universities and workplaces. This triggered another wave of violence against Tutsi and another wave of emigration. However, the unanimity was not reached and Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana seized power in a coup in July 1973. (Prunier 1998, 60–62)

First seven years of Habyarimana regime were somewhat stabile but Tutsi were politically marginalised and victims of institutional discrimination. However, Tutsi could take advantage of Hutu in private employment, higher standards of education, and connections with foreigners (due to refugee diaspora and Tutsi women who were married with expatriate men). (Prunier 1998, 75–76) Habyarimana had outlawed political parties, established a single party system and created Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND), of which everyone was a member. The regime, although improved, was totalitarian and corrupted, it relied in intensive administrative control. (Des Forges 1999, 32–33) Regime established parliament Conseil National du Développement in 1981 and President Habyarimana was elected president in 1983 and 1988 while being the only candidate (Prunier 1998, 77). Income of Rwanda was increasing steadily but it was heavily relied on foreign aid and the wealth was centralised in hands of the few (Des Forges 1999, 35). During these years until the early 1980's Rwanda seemed haven compared to its neighbours: there was almost no crime, obedient Christian society were hard-working and righteous, and everything was well controlled by the regime. However, the myths and hatred from 1959–1964 against Tutsi were still alive and well. From 1982 to 1986 first coffee and tea, and later tin prices collapsed which was beginning of the end for the regime, which had enriched the elite through corruption. In 1989 there was a 40% decrease in budget which was mostly cut from social services. This hit the peasants, who were already

battling with increased taxes, outright forced labour (*umuganda,* unpaid community work) and overpopulation. Also, political violence had surfaced with murder of Colonel Stanislas Mayuya in 1988. (Prunier 1998, 81–90)

By 1990 there were estimate of 600 000 Rwandan refugees. The refugees in Uganda had been valuable for Yoweri Museveni to win control of the Ugandan state and to reach the presidency. (Des Forges 1999, 37). Few of the second-generation Tutsi refugees, Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame, had risen in high ranks first in Museveni's Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) guerrilla group and then joined his new militia National Resistance Army (NRA). After gaining power, NRA recruited many second-generation Tutsi refugees. In 1987 previous Tutsi refugee army Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) reorganised as Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) which was organisation dedicated to return of exiles. (Prunier 1998, 67–73)

2.3 Civil war and democratisation

In 1st of October 1990 RPF orchestrated a surprise attack and crossed the border from Uganda to Rwanda. President Habyarimana and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni were in New York City in the United Nations World Summit for Children which provided a possibility for a surprise attack. RPF had taken artillery with them from NRA, but they were not in possession of heavy artillery such as tanks. They started fighting against regime's well-equipped Forces Armeés Rwandaises (FAR). (Prunier 1998, 93–94) RPF called its soldiers *Inkotanyi*, after an old royal regiment and it meant "the tough fighters" (Des Forges 1999, 54). Major-General Rwigyema died in the early days of the war and Major Paul Kagame, who had been in US, returned to lead the forces. He changed the strategy to "protracted popular war". (Prunier 1998, 94–96) FAR got help from Zaire and France and Belgium, though French and Belgian soldiers entered the country with non-combatant status. Zairean forces went straight in combat, but they were quite quickly asked to leave, because of indiscipline. (Des Forges 1999, 39).

Regime started to arrest "RPF sympathisers"; namely educated Tutsi and opposition Hutu. They were regarded as *Ibyitso,* accomplice. Rwandan national radio was calling the civilians to "track down and arrest infiltrators". Already after few days from the attack, in the middle of October, there were civilian mass killings in Kibilira. FAR forces were stronger and RPF forces had to reorganise in the Northern mountains. They started receiving finances and fighters from the refugee diaspora around the

world for "the cause". In January 1991, RPF forces attacked Ruhengeri where their goal was to liberate prisoners, especially political prisoners such as Colonel Lizinde who was recruited by RPF. After this attack RPF was forced to use hit-and-run, guerrilla type of tactics. (Prunier 1998, 108–120, 135)

In summer 1991, during limited scale civil war, after enormous amount of pressure president Habyarimana started to back a multiparty system and opposition parties started to form: Mouvement Démocratique Rwandais (MDR), Parti Social Démocrate (PSD), Parti Liberal (PL), and Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC). (Des Forges 1999, 40). These were the most prominent opposition parties, but there were minor parties as well. MRND(D) the ruling party, added a D in their name for democracy. Later in 1992, Coalition pour la Defence de la Republique (CDR) was formed between the opposition hardliners who accused MRND(D) of softness towards RPF and the *ibyitso*. (Prunier 1998, 126–128) It is important to understand that Habyarimana did not only go to civil war with RPF but was also continuously under pressure of the opposition forces and the violent protests they advocated (Des Forges 1999, 40). All these parties started their own press and, in the beginning of 1990,'s there were multiple political newspapers which all served their own audience. However, it is important to notice that the majority of Rwandan population (60%) was at the time illiterate, and the newspapers were circulated in the cities. Therefore, power of radio and television was enormous especially in the rural area. MRND(D) was able to stall actual change because they were in rule despite the democratisation talks and they had influence on the national tv and radio broadcasts. Also, violent outbursts were used as barrier for democratisation process. There were massacres happening regularly; the biggest in 1990 in Mutara, and 1991 in Ruhengeri. This caused regular waves of internally displaced persons. (Prunier 1998, 129–133, 135–136)

In December 1991 new cabinet was sworn in which was selected by liberal MRND(D) member and newly chosen Justice Minister Sylvestre Nsanzimana. The new cabinet was demonstrated against by MRND(D) hardliners and opposition. Nsanzimana was finally discredited in early March 1992, when after Bugesera massacre and 300 victims, the culpable Hutu civil servants (who had forged a Tutsi leaflet "attack the Hutu", which caused the Hutu to "self-defence") only received administrative reprimand. Finally, after substantial amount of tension between the opposition parties and the regime and sporadic violence against civilians, in March 1992 the parties agreed upon compromise agreement, a genuine coalition cabinet. The new cabinet was sworn in April 7th. (Prunier 1998, 134–137, 145)

In May 1992 began the Arusha peace negotiations with RPF. This led again to demonstrations for and against. Especially the extremists in opposition Hutu, the hardliners, were against negotiating with RPF, who they saw as “foreigners”. (Prunier 1998, 159–161) In July, however, a ceasefire agreement was reached. The peace talks continued, and the power-sharing agreements and creation of a new army were discussed. In August a first set of agreements “Arusha Accords” were signed. (Des Forges 1999, 45). The opposition called for broad-based cabinet and representatives in Arusha. A significant amount of these opposition extremists came from the First Lady Habyarimana’s family, so-called Clan de Madame. It is debated that already then Hutu Power started to prepare for genocide. By late 1992, there were network of extremists in the outskirts of regime’s institutions. Regime and the French trained MRND(D) and CDR militia, which became the infamous killing squad *Interahamwe.* (Prunier 1998, 162–166) In November Habyarimana, again pressured, made clear that the regime had no intention going forwards with the Arusha Accords and called it “a scrap of paper” (Des Forges 1999, 46). However, in January 1993 a Broadened Base Transitional Government (BBTG) agreement was signed. This caused the radicals in MRND(D) and CDR to organise violent demonstrations. After this FAR started a murder rampage which lasted for few days. RPF broke the ceasefire in February and revenged the rampage in Buymba where they attacked civil servants and family members of alleged attackers. RPF was advancing and was accused of massacres of civilians. French started helping FAR to get upper hand on RPF. (Prunier 1998, 173–178)

Alongside Radio Rwanda in 1993 a new radio station Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC or RTLM) started with founders from Habyarimana’s inner circle, MRND(D) and CDR. It was broadcasting the ideology of the hardliners. It targeted especially the young with its lively music and informal style. (Des Forges 1999, 51) Arusha peace agreement was signed on 4th of August in 1993. Agreement ensured multiparty system and power sharing between parties, new army division and repatriation of refugees. Additionally, United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces were part of the agreement. Regime and especially FAR stalled the transition and for example hampered repatriation of civilians. In October Burundi’s first Hutu president was murdered by Tutsi radicals and started a genocide which Rwandans followed with horror. Then at the latest, the radicals started planning on similar event in Rwanda. Import of guns and machetes and rounding up of Tutsis names started. United Nations assistance mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) entered Rwanda in November 1993 and got enforcements in January 1994 to ensure the transfer of power. However, there were many violent events in the early 1994 and the regime stalled transfer of power on the excuse of violence. RPF

uncovered weapons distribution and UN security council was informed but there was nothing to be done. (Prunier 1998, 191–206) The preparing for genocidal killings had started.

2.4 Leading to genocide

The attitudes leading to genocide can be pictured as both natural and artificial. This section presents the reasons for genocide in Rwanda. One of the leading reasons for genocide were the declining resources. The population density in the agricultural area in the end of 1980's was 668p/sq. km (Prunier 1998, 4). In 1994 Rwanda was most densely populated country in Africa (Des Forges 1999, 25). Compared to Finnish population density in 2020 18p/sq. km (cities 3000 p/sq. km) (EC 2021), it can be seen that the country was very overpopulated. It is important to pay attention to the societal structure and scarce resources of the time: most of the Rwandans were farmers and needed land to practise their profession. Therefore, it might have seemed necessary to decrease number of people to make the resources last for everyone. This need for resources and space can be seen as a natural cause for conflict.

Artificial was the hate built against Tutsi. Attitudes towards Tutsi had hardened for years (Des Forges 1999, 4). Hate speech (although it was not called hate speech at the time), and radio broadcasting became one of the most successful strategies to build an army against the Tutsi. The Tutsi were described as cockroaches, weeds, snakes and foreign as an "evil race" with red eyes which shine in the dark. This was one of the most important factors in the genocide, by dehumanising the Evil Other the hatred towards Tutsi was built. (Prunier 1998, 142) During previous civil wars a lot of Tutsi had already been killed and pushed out of Rwanda. Tutsi were described as cockroaches, as surviving everything. Old myths were enforced for example on how the Tutsi had come down from Egypt by Nile. This was a common myth because they had some physical resemblance with Egyptian which had been one of the reasons the colonisers had regarded Tutsi as the higher race decades earlier. (Prunier 1998, 5–8) Anyhow, Tutsi did not belong in Rwanda and were to be exiled or killed.

In addition to this so-called ethnic divide, societal envy and revenge played a part. Hutu majority was in lower societal positions despite the fact that Hutu power had held the power positions of the nation for the previous 30 years in 1990. The Tutsi were regarded as elite because they were often more educated and owned land. The social envy towards this "foreign elite" was high and presumably acted as an instigator on the hate towards Tutsi ethnic group. By the time of the genocide the Hutu were ready to revenge on the powerful people. In addition, it is important to notice that the ethnicity was

not something that could always be seen from the looks, therefore also the rich and fortunate were envied. For example, in Kigali it was not much safer to be Hutu than Tutsi, but the societal symbols were reason to be killed. This demonstrates the social aspect of killings which is often overlooked in Rwanda's case when the "ethnic" divide is stressed. (Prunier 1998, 232)

One of the most successful strategies to build the Hutu ideology and the anti-Tutsi ideology was the mediazation of the conflict and violence. The anti-Tutsi ideology was broadcasted in the media. First in the national channel, Radio Rwanda and from 1993 on RTLMC. RTLMC journalists were part of CDR. (Prunier 1998, 188) RTLMC has had many nick names, "Vampire Radio" being one of them. This name it got because of its "thirst of blood". The violence got mediatised due to the political environment where radio and newspapers continuously encouraged violence.

This broadcasting of the violence made it banal. In Rwanda war and violence had been accepted as part of political process for decades. The political process would require victims. Violence was almost sacred, an incarnation of democracy. Over the turbulent years violence had become banal, and its sporadic nature had made the Rwandese people to accept violence as part of life. (Prunier 1998, 140–142) As previous sections stated, massacres against civilians were a regular occurrence in Rwandan history in the 60's, 80's and 90's.

Lastly, the obedience of the Rwandan society and the illiteracy rates helped the elites and Hutu power to control the masses. The rural Hutu people were mostly illiterate (approximately 60% were illiterate) and so they relied on the information which was passed on to them by their superiors. The Rwandese had been for years and were at the time of genocide very obedient and trusted their leaders, especially the burgomasters, which were closest to the peasant populations. During years leading to genocide, it was often the burgomasters, who encouraged the masses to inflict violence on certain people or groups. In Rwanda at the time there was a collective grounding of identity where a person is strongly tied to their community. The community then defines the ideology a person is supposed to be acting on. In Rwanda this was Hutu ideology which enforced the image of Evil Other. (Prunier 1998, 245–246) These aforementioned special features are seen as the most significant factors leading to Rwandan genocide. Next section presents the brief overview on how the affairs took place in 1994.

2.5 The Genocide

The Rwandan genocide has been seen as one of the world's most horrible events. The genocide started 6th of April 1994 when President of Rwanda Juvénal Habyarimana's plane was attacked with deathly

outcomes. Also, Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira died in the attack. The Tutsi-led RPF was accused of the attack. The attacker is to this day unsolved for also government forces as well as US backed foreign forces have been investigated as culprit. This event started an immediate killing spree by the opposition forces, FAR and Interahamwe. The first ones to be killed were the rest of the government which was seen as too moderate and Tutsi abiding. (Prunier 1998, 224–229). Colonel Théoneste Bagosora filled in as a leader. Within hours from the attack an organised killing of the Tutsi population started. The killing was orchestrated by the Hutu military elite and proceeded as door-to-door practice and mass killing events. (Des Forges 1999, 5–7) Interahamwe, which had been trained for genocide, was one of the most efficient forces of destruction.

In addition to Interahamwe, many of the killers were the normal citizens. The killing was encouraged by the Hutu power and was described as "bush clearing". Other words related to agriculture were also used. This was to make the rural population understand their task and make the violence sound more ordinary. (Prunier 1998, 142, 227) The so-called innocent murderers have been explained with many theories. One is the threat to one's own existence, to kill or be killed. It is true, that moderate Hutu or *ibyitso,* were killed. In addition, the Hutu were generally afraid of Tutsi for they had been told stories about this Evil Other for decades. Therefore, merely the existence of Tutsi was a threat to Hutu. As prescribed earlier Tutsi were the richer ones and there was a shortage of supplies in Rwanda at the time. Rwanda has been also called a Land of Hunger. Therefore, the killing of the owners of lands and cows brought significant advance to those who got their riches. (Prunier 1998, 142, 245–246) Many of the recruited were young poor men. For them killing was a way to survive, they were able to get food and supplies. These men were also for once allowed to do basically anything, get drunk or rape without risk of judgement. Some people were also killed simply because of their marks of social distinction, for example owning a car. It was a way to revenge for the years of social injustice. (Prunier 1998, 231–232) Disciplined obedience has been one of explanations for the horrific events. The absolute legitimacy of authority is one of the explaining factors of this behaviour (Prunier 1998, 142). The Hutu power and burgomasters had an easy task to command their crews who were mostly illiterate as described earlier. In addition, the media propaganda which had started already before the genocide continued and accelerated the killings. (Des Forges 1999, 49)

During the genocide, it is estimated that 500 000 people were killed. This is about 75 % of Tutsi population. (Des Forges 1999, 12) With these estimates, the daily killing rate of the genocide was approximately five times the rate in Nazi death camps (Prunier 1998, 261). The RPF was able to overthrow the interim government in June ending the genocide. However, the killing did not stop.

The RPF revenged the genocide by searching the culpable for the genocide and killing them. It has been estimated that hundreds of thousand people were killed until August 1995. Both parties, Hutu and Tutsi, killed civilians. (Des Forges 1999, 10–11) The events have been called "the double genocide" by some scholars because both parties killed civilians based on their assumed ethnicity. This however is a disputed opinion. The estimates of the total victims of this genocide and the violence afterwards are from 500 000 to 1 000 000 people. In addition to massive number of killings, during this time 250 000 women and girls were raped. Afterwards 66 % of the raped were tested positive for Human immunodeficiency virus infection (HIV)/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). (Mutamba & Izabiliza 2005, 10.)

2.6 Rwandan refugee crisis

In Rwandan case it is important to understand that most who got to official refugee camps in neighbouring countries were Hutu. Tutsi were destroyed to almost full extent (75%) and most survivors were unable to leave their areas. The surviving Tutsi were mostly in Rwanda as internally displaced people, hiding wherever they could find shelter (inside walls, ceilings, swamps etc.). Many also paid for their life, some multiple times, also with sexual services. (Des Forges 1999, 10) However, there were a lot of Rwandese refugees: In November 1994 the UN Refugee Agency (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR) estimated the number of refugees as 2,1 million, other estimates were 1,3 million by Médecins Sans Frontières and 1,7 million by US Committee of Refugees. In addition to this the estimated number of internally displaced persons was 1,3-1,7 million. As Rwandan population at the time was 7 million, it can be regarded that almost half of the Rwandan population was under enormous duress. (Prunier 1998, 312–313).

In Rwandan case the refugees crossed borders to also fragile neighbour countries, Burundi, Zaire, Uganda, and Tanzania. The same kind of norms continued in the refugee camps as in the political structures they were fleeing from. (Jones 2006, 244) In the camps Rwandese people were living under the rule of their burgomasters, who had been a vital part in the spreading of the genocide ideology. According to Brooks (1998, 502), conflicts arouse on the Zairian refugee camps in July 1994 because the different opponents of Rwandan society. In July 1994 the refugees faced another issue when arriving in Goma refugee camp. Estimated 12 000 people died of cholera in three-week period. (Siddique et al. 1995, 359) In the next chapter studies from other refugee camps are presented.

3. Refugee camp; a safe haven or a limbo?

As mentioned in the introduction, refugee camps are widely seen as a safe haven for the refugees. However, during the last few years, there has been extensive press coverage on the horrors in al-Hol in Syria. Despite this, the Director General of Consular Services in the Finnish Foreign Ministry stressed that the Finnish orphan children were in "good conditions" when they were staying with "foster" families in the camp (Yle 2020). However, anyone who has studied refugee camps would not describe them as good conditions.

There is no consensus when the first refugee camp was established. Among the first camps which were called "refugee camp" were the British governed camps located in South Africa during Boer War. These were quite frankly concentration camps despite their naming by the British. Camps which were established for fleeing Armenians in 1915–1918 were closer to our understanding of the refugee camp. The largescale use of refugee camps started during the World War II. (McConnachie 2016, 404) Refugee camps were developed in European context. Later on, UNHCR was founded to protect the rights of refugees around the world. (Harrell-Bond 2000, 3) In 2020 according to UNHCR there were 26.4 million refugees. The agency's estimate is that 25% of them live in a refugee camp or camp like situation. (UNHCR 2021, 2)

Refugee camps are politically seen as the necessary and hence morally neutral course of action when dealing with mass influx of people. Since the cold war period refugee camps have become "a humanitarian industry" with international humanitarian organisations managing and establishing refugee camps. Most camps seem to unfortunately conjoin humanitarian assistance with in-humane conditions. The rapid growth of refugee duration and population in the camps has led to also rapid increase of the problems: poverty, malnutrition, overcrowding, lack of opportunities, abuses, violence, exploitation of informal economy, to name a few. (McConnachie 2016, 405–406) Harrell-Bond (1994, 15), claimed it is outright "debatable if refugee camps even save lives". The refugee camps are a breeding ground for more instability, diseases, and social and economic vulnerability. (Harrell-Bond 1994, 15–16)

However, not all refugee camps are similar, some are huge and have hundreds of thousands of refugees living in the area, some have only few hundred. There are differences for example in control and mobility of the people. Nevertheless, Kirsten McConnachie (2016, 405) describes how even the least-worse refugee camps "produce estrangement and alienation": "The nature of a camp is to separate

populations, and interchange between camp residents and a local population does not in itself constitute a relationship of equals." Therefore, there might be psychological consequences for the refugee even in the best situations.

There are no earlier studies that would connect the living quality of refugee camps with an understanding of genocide, however, refugee camps have been compared with concentration camps. Additionally, violence in the refugee camps has been researched extensively.

3.1 Physical violence in the refugee camps

There are many studies on how physical violence continues in the refugee camps. Feseha, Abeba & Gerbaba (2012, 1) studied intimate-partner violence in Shimelba refugee camp in northern Ethiopia. The topic is important, because violence against women has "substantial consequences for women's physical, mental and reproductive health problems" and refugee camps have not been much researched. They discovered that women were victims of violence twice, first as a form of conflict and then as victims of intimate partner physical violence. They concluded that among women in the refugee camp there was 31 % prevalence of intimate partner physical violence in a lifetime and 25.5 % within the previous 12 months. They concluded that there is a need for awareness raising in the refugee camps on the consequences of intimate partner abuse. They also suggested, among other things, that violence might be reduced when shortening the duration of stay in the refugee camp. (Feseha, Abeba & Gerbaba 2012, 7–10)

Additionally, Hossain, Pearson & McAlpine, et al. (2021, 327) studied the link between gender-based violence and mental health among Somali women in Dadaab refugee camps, in Kenya. They found "that more than half of the study participants reported symptoms of either probable post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or moderate/severe depression or anxiety" which was increased if the person had experienced latent intimate partner violence rather than non-partner violence. They also noted that conflict-related violence was a significant risk factor in for poor mental health (even though the experiences were not recent) when the gender-based violence continued in the camp. They advocated for programmes which would address all forms of violence to prevent and respond to gender-based violence in the camps. (Hossain, Pearson & McAlpine, et al. 2021, 330–333)

For their part, in their study of Palestinian refugees in the Ayn al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon, Hutson, Shannon & Long (2016, 871) researched how physical wellbeing can be influenced by violent conditions. In this study the writers concluded that people living in the camp have a high risk of

becoming victims of physical violence. They also found that physical violence that had affected a household was directly proportional to the amount of PTSD in the household. They also noticed that low income, i.e., quality of life, had an impact on PTSD symptomology. The study found that even a threat of violence as well as low income had an impact on people in the camp and they suffered from PTSD. (Hutson, Shannon & Long 2016, 866–871)

Refugee camps should only be seen as short time solution due to the lack of quality of life and negative impact on health. (Kizilhan & Neumann 2020, 3). Pinehas, van Wyk and Leech (2016, 139) researched the healthcare needs of displaced women in Osire refugee camp, in Namibia. The aim of the study was to explore and describe the experiences of healthcare needs of the displaced women and give implications for nurses, often first responders, on which kind of issues there might arise and how their actions might help the people in the camp. The findings of the study essentialised that the primary healthcare need of the researched women was "the need for the restoration of hope and human dignity". Few reasons for not having the previous needs met was that women had no freedom and autonomy, there was no place for them to work and learn skills, they had no certainty of the future, the aid distribution was arbitrary by the camp officials, they had no safety from abuse, HIV-positive people were stigmatised, and they could not participate in reproductive health care which they wished for cultural reasons. (Pinehas, van Wyk & Leech, 2016, 142–144) Pinehas, van Wyk and Leech showed that women in the camp had needs for basic health care, which was the result of structural violence against them. In refugee camps those kinds of conditions often prevail where the patriarchal and gender norms are reinforced.

Tom Nutting (2019, 97–98), a doctor in Moria refugee camp in Greece described in his article the inadequate healthcare availability and the inhumane living conditions of the camp. There was infrastructure in the camp for 3000 people but during his time the population reached to 10 000. There were children sleeping in the ground outside, inadequate water, sanitation and hygiene facilities, innutritious food, constant threat of violence and the "highly militarised environment often reminds people of the traumas from which they fled". Earlier in the report of an NGO (International Rescue Committee) had researched their limited cliental of which "41% [had] PTSD symptoms, 64% [had] depressive symptoms, 55% [had] anxiety, 60% [had] suicidal ideation and 29% [had] suicide attempts" (Tom Nutting 2019, 97). The mental health situation in Moria is not good and for some parts it can be discussed whether the camp is actually making it worse.

3.2 Structural violence and genocidal continuum in the refugee camps

As discussed earlier, refugee camps are a breeding ground for instability, diseases, and social and economic vulnerability (Harrell-Bond 1994, 15–16). Later in the following Chapter 4 the link between violence and meeting human needs is discussed. The earlier examples of violence and suffering in the refugee camps showcase the systemic error in our societal thinking. The genocidal continuum is accepted in the camps because it is the norm to control human mobility in conflict and seen as a natural phenomenon. This is an example of the genocidal capacity which we all encompass. It may be argued that the leaders of the world accept this suffering in the camp because the people in the camps are others, who are often seen as security risk and not wanted somewhere else. Mogire (2009, 15–16), highlights a paradigm change from 1980 onwards when scholars started to consider refugees as a security concern whilst critical security studies had broadened the context of security. This might have influenced the change in policies with the UN Security Council and even the UNHCR framing refugees as a possible threat.

Even though most of the camps are designed as temporary, as emergency relief, such as Kutupalong Refugee camp in Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh (Khaled 2021, 1), they often end up being permanent settlements. Most of these settlements have evolved into towns or cities. However, even though they might seem to be developed and urban, the people living there are forced migrants and living between times and spaces, in "transient permanence". (Oka 2011, 232–233) Former UNHCR official Paul Spiegel criticised the humanitarian system for not being fit for purpose when conflicts are protracted and therefore time in camps and other settlements are longer. (Spiegel 2017, 1) Harrell-Bond (2000, 1–3) questions where the idea for the camps came from, when they are unhealthy for everyone, and were not built for these kinds of circumstances in the first place. In the earlier section it was explained how the refugee camps were first developed in European context. Harrell-Bond (2000, 3) criticises the camp settings by shedding light on the ideas inherent in refugee aid organisation's actions, such as the UNHCR. The UNHCR has namely encompassed into its practices the "modernisation theory" of developing underdeveloped Africa. Even though the UN Refugee Convention from 1951 urged "the assimilation" of refugees into host countries, this goal has failed in African context. After that there has been little effort to look for alternatives and it has become accepted that refugees are left in the camps and more or less kept alive by humanitarian aid. (Harrell-Bond 2000, 3–5)

As Khaled (2021, 2) noted the role of aid agencies acts as a divisive factor between refugees and host countries when in Bangladesh the hosts were overlooked, being also poor and maybe in need of humanitarian assistance. This situation also resembles the situation of the Rwandan refugees, when, as stated earlier, the host countries were also poor and on the verge of conflict. Additionally, in the refugee camps of the Rwandan refugees, the divisive nature of society persisted and the genocidaires continued to have benefits due to a lack of understanding by the humanitarian aid workers of the context they were working in. Hence the genocidal ideology was embedded in the structures of the camps. Additionally, throughout the years before the genocide, international development aid had been a vital part (80 %) of the investment budget of Rwanda. It had also contributed directly to structural violence and the elite were familiar with using it to their advantage earlier. (Uvin 1998, 225–227) To conclude, refugee camps connect a variety of modern processes, racism, sexism, discrimination, and other structural forms of violence. Furthermore, international humanitarian aid agencies are facilitating and enforcing these processes and hence the genocidal continuum. The genocidal continuum is finally fully introduced and discussed in the next chapter along with the theoretical background of this study.

4. What is Genocide?

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical background this study builds itself from. Post-structuralist and feminist understanding of the society is applied to the challenging of the violent hegemony of modernity. In addition, the legal definition of genocide is presented and discussed, and broader understanding of genocide is built. Genocidal continuum is also finally introduced as an underlying process for genocide.

4.1 Violence

Because genocide is often linked to physical violence and just the word violence is often understood as physical violence, it is important to discuss understanding of violence in this study. Modern sovereign nation states are built on the state hegemony of violence (Weber, Gerth & Mills 2009, 78). The entirety of our understanding of state sovereignty thereby lies in power relations and the means to use violence. The humanity has always created insiders and outsiders and social norms in which the hierarchically lower in power relations has had to accept and live accordingly (Jones 2017, 6). This emphasizes the violent undertones and power relations which form our modern society.

This study is part of Feminist Peace Research. Feminist tradition has long roots in focusing on researching violence against women and girls (VAWG) and gender-based violence (GBV) (Jenkins, Narayanaswamy & Sweetman 2019, 420). This study follows this tradition in focusing on violence in a society and is based on Johan Galtung's understanding of violence. According to Galtung (1969, 168), "violence is present when human beings are influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations". Galtung stresses that violence can be defined a cause for people not raising to their potential. If there are situations which can be avoided, violence is at play. (Galtung 1969, 168–169) For example, Galtung for example defines the measures which lead to malnutrition as violence even though malnutrition does not harm immediately. According to Galtung (1990, 292–293) violence can be seen to be everything that limits human needs. Galtung identifies them as: survival needs, well-being needs, identity or meaning needs, and freedom needs. In this regard, it can be suggested that also other human rights violations can be regarded as violence. Human rights are defined in human rights treaties and include rights such as right to life, freedom of expression, freedom from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment, right to liberty and security, freedom of assembly and association, right to education, and right to health. (Ihmisoikeusliitto 2021)

Violence can be divided into sections for physical and psychological violence, direct and indirect (structural) violence, and cultural violence. Physical violence is violence on the body and psychological violence is violence on the soul. Direct violence is violence, which is personal and direct, in structural violence the violence is in the structures, and it appears for example as unequal power relations. (Galtung 1969, 169–171) Galtung defines direct violence as an event, structural violence as a process and cultural violence as invariant as culture changes very slowly. Cultural violence gives justification to direct and structural violence and can be understood for example as a religion, which glorifies violence. (Galtung 1990, 291–294, 296)

In this study violence is understood as described in the earlier paragraphs. Violence can be found in the neglect or ignorance. Galtung describes above how multitude of actions can be understood and most importantly experienced as violence and therefore be harmful for an individual. This harmfulness for an individual is key part in figuring out if something is genocidal or not. Genocide could be understood as process enabling the violence and this is discussed further in the next sections.

4.2. The genealogy of genocide

'Genocide' as a term was developed by the Polish-Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin in the 1940's. He said that he did not invent genocide, as it is an ancient evil, but simply named it. The word itself has Latin and Greek roots. *Genos* in Greek means race or tribe and Latin *cide* means killing. Thereby if interpreting the word linguistically, genocide would be described as the killing of national/ethnic groups because of their collective identity. Lemkin was a refugee during Second World War and introduced the word genocide in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. In his book he describes the genocidal campaigns in Poland and in Nazi-occupied territories. Lemkin also ran a campaign to pressure the UN into drafting a Convention against the crime of genocide. In 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. (Jones 2017, 3, 12–17) The Convention demonstrates how genocide is defined legally:

> "Article I The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and punish.
>
> Article II. In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." (UN 1948)

This previous legal definition of genocide is challenged by many genocide scholars. For example, Adam Jones (2017, 23–27), presents his own definition for genocide in his book *Genocide: A comprehensive introduction*, after contemplating other definitions. Martin Shaw (2015, 5) emphasises that term genocide should be understood as sociological and historical concept. The sociological understanding of the term has not been universalised because the legal and political meanings have gained primacy in debates.

There are so called hard and soft understandings of genocide; hard as in focus on the undeniable genocides such as Rwanda, with a softer understanding being not so focused on physical extermination but including other mechanisms of genocide. The discussion on accepting something as genocide, often revolves around the banalisation of the term. (Jones 2017, 28) By defining something as genocide too easily, it might undermine the uniqueness of the Holocaust and some of the most severe cases such as Rwanda. Although this is not the goal of my study, I do share the so-called softer understanding of the term.

4.3 Understanding of genocide

The genocidal definition often searches for the following aspects: targets, agents, goals and strategies, scale, and intent. These could be and are often referred by genocide scholars as main components of manufacturing genocide. (Jones 2017, 28) These components are discussed in the following subsections.

4.3.1 Targets

The Convention defines targeted groups as "a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" (UN 1948). However, this definition leaves room for interpretation and political, social and gender related groups

are missing. Daniel Feierstein (2014, 20) has remarked that race is a metaphor for otherness and hence a political concept. Political groups were mentioned in the drafting phase, but they were not added to the Convention due to the Soviet Union's strong resistance. Many genocide scholars have criticised this absence of political groups (and social classes).

Shaw (2015, 150–154) has discussed this problem of groups extensively: considering what Lemkin might have meant when drafting the Convention, the groups should be defined as national groups, ethnic groups or minorities. However, not all genocide target groups can be defined as minorities, nor is the definition national or ethnic inclusive enough. On the other hand, crimes against other social groups can be prosecuted with "crimes against humanity". However, if the accounts are the same why should different charges be used among different groups. Fein (1990, 14, 23) emphasises on real groups and their acknowledgement of them as a group and also discusses that real groups constitute from people whose belonging to such group is based on birth not choice. Fein (2007, 132) urges to stick to the definition of Convention to keep common discourse between genocide scholars, international lawyers and human rights monitors. Lemkin had excluded political groups because of the changing nature of the group. Shaw discusses this and views of other scholars who for example viewed disabled as a group arbitrary, while at the same time noting that neither national, ethnical, or religious groups are stable and permanent. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) later set out their position by referring to "any stable and permanent group". This is assumed to be the norm also in future tribunals regarding genocide. (Jones 2017, 21)

Additionally, the sociological knowledge of persistence and construction of the group needs to be assessed when specifying the group. However, when recognising the constructive nature of group building, one must admit the fluid nature of groups. (Shaw 2015, 155) It is also suggested that the target groups should be fixed and defined by the perpetrator. Jones (2017, 46) claims that group identity is often executed or outright imagined by the perpetrators rather than claimed by the groups themselves. The targeted identities are always result of blurring and combining. This also explains how in genocidal times the reasons for killing might be contradictory, "not even humans" and at the same time "strong powerful elite".

The Rwandan case indicates that if the definitions for genocide are too literal even the most horrific events and horrific genocides by scale might be excluded from the list. As more thoroughly discussed in the Chapter 2, in Rwanda the ethnic grouping of Tutsi and Hutu was artificial and has no ethnic basis, but it was constructed by the colonisers. Also, the social aspect of killing, especially in Kigali,

has not been highlighted enough in that the targets differed from the original intended targets. This might be explained by the genocidal ideology of the time: when average citizens take up arms, the picture of the enemy might be interpreted in every possible way by the killers, but to join the killing is the most important. However, this suggests that if definitions are set too firmly into set framings of groups, even Rwanda's case could be excluded as a genocide.

Another important factor in considering the targets is the status of the victims. Their civilian or un-armed nature has been highly emphasised by a multitude of scholars (Jones 2017, 29). For example, Shaw (2015, 162) states that it is the civilian identity that makes it genocidal to choose them as targets. However, it is important to remember, that the perpetrators often reject this notion of civilian targets for they hold them as enemies. The discussion about combatants and non-combatants in war has been problematic for years since the "new wars" era has begun. Is it possible to distinguish the combatants from the civilians? (Kaldor 2012, 211)

In Rwanda the killers have often been called "innocent murderers" brainwashed by their superiors. If defining genocide with emphasis on the civilian nature of victims, it would not be genocide to target those individuals later, because they have taken up arms at some point of the struggle. This is one of the reasons many scholars do not accept the "double genocide" accusation, because those targeted were not unarmed. However, the actual genocide was mostly implemented with light weapons such as machetes, the later violence was with arms and heavier weapons. Many of the perpetrators of the genocide were civilians and went on killing rampage with whatever weapons they found and were not part of the military. Did they lose their civilian nature because they participated in the killing?

As stated earlier, in this study the understanding of the group follows the position of the ICTR as being "any stable and permanent group". However, it should be borne in mind that groups fluctuate and "stable and permanent" can be understood as being temporary without taking away the meaning of stability. The refugee camps are the focus of this study and refugees in the camp are understood as a group. This group changes over the years and the people in it might change, however it does not take away the possibility to understand these people as a group. Refugees are seen as "other", and therefore forming a group, in the eyes of the citizens of the host country of the refugee camp, in the eyes of the global community and the country of origin.

4.3.2 Agents

Traditionally agency in genocide has been equivalent with state or an authority. Levene (2008, 101–117, 203) emphasises the role of states in genocidal action but also identifies elites and common people as possible perpetrators. However, in his definition of genocide the role of state is vital. The Convention (Article IV) defines actors as "constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals" (UN 1948).

The Rwandan experience highlights the possibility of non-state actors in dominant roles, even though Rwanda is also a case example of obedience and state authority. The massive genocides cannot happen without support of the common people.

In this study agency is understood as something that is taking account also other than state centric actors. It sees that a multitude of agents and authorities might be responsible for acts of genocide at the same time.

4.3.3 Goals and strategies

Convention defines genocidal the following goals, "killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." (Un 1948) Most scholars have emphasised the killing campaigns and mass murder for an event to be regarded as genocide. However, they recognise that strategies might be direct or indirect. There is therefore some kind of consensus that genocide must entail physical destruction of a certain group. (Jones 2017, 31–33) Yet this might be the most important debate between the genocide scholars. Examples of contested cases are for example Atlantic slave trade, Hiroshima & Nagasaki bombings in the Second world war, and Famine in Ireland in 1850's. The scholars disagree on intent versus neglect, war time killings and number of casualties. (Chirot & McCauley 2006, 12–13)

Genocide without mass killings is rarely prosecuted (Jones 2017, 15). Even though the Convention mentions *serious mental harm* this is vague in its definition. It is rarely prosecuted without connection to mass killings. However, Adolf Eichmann was convicted in 1961 of inhuman treatment which was interpreted under the clause bodily or mental harm. (Jones 2017, 21) Lemkin understood the concept

of genocide as being wider than the form the Convention ultimately took. Lemkin wrote about genocide as follows:

> "By genocide we mean the destruction of a nation or an ethnic group. […] It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups and the destruction of the personal security, liberty health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. " (Lemkin 1944, 79)

By including the discriminating certain groups as a genocidal mechanism, Lemkin showed that genocide is much more than a killing spree. Also, Martin Shaw (2015, 157) has supported this "original" view of Lemkin and emphasises the understanding of social destruction not as being physical but rather through other mechanisms. Examples of this would be the desire to destroy social power. Shaw is not the only one to look outside the physical violence. For example, economic and biological suppression, abolition of culture and religious life and preventing births are regarded as genocidal goals (Jones 2017, 31). Jones (2017, 63) also persists that structural and institutional violence should be incorporated into genocide studies as genocidal mechanisms. Fein (2007, 126) in turn, warns against exaggeration and encourages to stick to the definition genocide has been given in the international law.

This study follows so called soft view on genocide. It defines genocide as its broadest understanding including more than physical violence but also mental and structural violence. It counts practices such as denying of human rights, access to health care, access to sanitation, access to education, work permits, and culture as practices of genocide for these are forms of violence and are often targeted to certain social groups.

4.3.4 Scale

Many of the scholars use terms such as "total eradication", "a substantial portion", "in whole or large part" to define the scale which determines genocidal massacres. There are scholars who use mass murder as a synonym for genocide. (Jones 2017, 28–31) There seems to be a strong consensus that mass or at least substantial casualties are needed. However, not all mass murder is understood as

genocide. International tribunals use intent as a factor for making decisions. More about intent in the next subsection.

Jones (2017, 31) on the other hand, discusses how the word 'war' is used with smaller or lager wars. Similarly, 'genocide' could be used with comparatives. As mentioned above many scholars feel that the concept of genocide and the uniqueness (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 37) can be diminished when events with lower number of casualties are called 'genocide'. However, is the term war diminished when it is used in different contexts? All genocidal actions do not produce any casualties directly. Nevertheless, it is important to notice, that not only direct physical violence produce human casualties. It can also be questioned whether all genocidal action is researched thoroughly, so that the total number of casualties can be calculated.

4.3.5 Intent

Most scholars hold intent as one of the ruling components of genocide. From the conviction point of view, prosecutors need to provide proof that the actions are intentional not accidental. Many scholars also define intent as something to be proven as "specific intent". However, many also notice that proof of this intent is hard to come by and perpetrators often do not share their intentions, maybe in awareness of their potential convictions. (Jones 2017, 49–50) The international tribunals such as ICTR have formed the field with their judgements. ICTR has been controversial in its judgements. On the other hand, ICTR supported the "specific intent" dogma with its judgement prosecutor versus Akayesu:

> "[P]erpetrator clearly seeks to produce the act charged […] the perpetrator commits an act while clearly seeking to destroy the particular group, in whole or in part". (ICTR 1998, para. 498)

However, in the same judgement ICTR stated:

> "[T]he offender is culpable because he knew or should have known that the act committed would destroy in whole or in part, a group". (ICTR 1998, para. 520)

This latter statement is a step towards so called "knowledge based" intent and brings applications of Genocide Convention to Rome Statue where crimes against humanity are framed in this knowledge-based way. (Jones 2017, 50)

Jones (2017, 63) also mentions “Holocaust of Neglect” when discussing malnutrition and poverty in the world. It is not necessarily intentional but is it accidental when structural discrimination leads us to a world where we could help but we do not. This could be connected to Galtung’s view of violence. When something could be avoided, but it is still happening, for example inefficient medical care, it is violence. (Galtung 1969, 168–169) In this study the intent is connected to neglect. Neglect might be cause of ignorance but is based on the fact that the actors “should have known”. For if you should have known your actions cause such outcomes, you are to be held culpable.

4.4 Genocidal process

Genocide is often connected to conflict and war like scenarios as part of it. Convention however notices the possibility for genocide also during peacetime (UN 1948). Shaw (2015, 128, 130–132) sees genocide as a type of conflict and war and as “recurring pattern of social conflict”. Shaw also questions the actual understanding of peacetime if genocidal action is on the way. This can be connected to Galtung’s view on negative and positive peace, where negative peace is absence of war but not absence of threat of war and positive peace is absence of threat of war but also presence of structure of the society that includes everyone (Galtung 1964, 2–3). One can therefore question, how peaceful is the society, if there are mechanisms that enable genocide.

In addition, genocides should be understood as a cyclical and persistent process instead of singular horrific events in the world history (Jones 2017, 63). Also, Chirot & McCauley (2006, 28) emphasise the fact that genocide is not singular event in history but a part of human civilisation. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2002, 35–38) calls this the “genocidal continuum”. Genocide is present all the time in the structures and attitudes of people. In general, there are groups of people that are perceived as less human and therefore violence targeted at them is more justifiable. Sometimes these underlying mechanisms surface to the awareness of normal people, but normally they are in the hiding and cause invisible genocides which are accepted by the society. Invisible genocides which are accepted by societies are for example Brazilian shantytown mothers who drug their hungry children to help them die faster, for them to reach angel-baby status. This procedure is enforced by the political leaders who provide free baby coffins instead of providing nutrition aid to these poor families. Invisibility of these genocides is not that they are hidden but that these forms of violence are accepted among these people. (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 38–39)

Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 114, 11) agrees with this view of genocide as a process and contends that genocide is everywhere. Bauman establishes that for Holocaust to happen, modern enablers encountered normal societal conditions. He describes that railways, gas chambers and Zyklon B cyanide were modern inventions which came together with the racist normality of the society and thus culminated to Holocaust. In addition, none of these conditions which made Holocaust possible have disappeared. Shaw (2015 56–58) shares the view of genocide as a process and including more than just the killing. Shaw analyses Nazi Party's genocidal development from 1933–1945 and notes that even though the killing intensified on the latter years, the earlier years are as much genocidal in their process of building a genocidal history.

There are many roads to genocide. Chirot & McCauley (2006, 106) identify motives for genocide and note that there are many characteristics which are common with genocides, however they are not all necessary for something to evolve as genocide. They mention that the essentialization of the enemy is however one of the most important factors. Levene (2008, 205) calls this demonisation of evil other, which Rwanda showcases as a good example. In Rwanda the hatred build towards Tutsi was leading force in organising the genocide. Tutsi were identified as a target and they were given different meanings depending on who was listening. They were pictured as evil monsters with glowing eyes which made people afraid or as an elite, which got some people to envy them. Some people believed they have no place in Rwandan community and that they were outsiders, therefore it was justice that they left and the ones who belong in Rwanda got their riches. Some people were angry for them for the Tutsi ruling and discrimination of Hutu before 1960's and saw it as justice to revenge on them. As the previous showcases othering is a very powerful tool, because one "enemy" can be given multiple meanings. Othering is never just about ethnicity, but what that ethnicity presents for the other side. In genocides where the common people are connected to the killings the framings of the enemy are similar. It means different things for different participant, yet they kill together. Hate speech and propaganda are a handy way of spreading this hate and are often used by the elite.

From the Rwandan example we can understand fear, revenge, myths, resources, hate, mere possibility and greed as motives for genocide. Revenge is interesting motive, because it can be understood as revenge of the killer on to the victim or revenge on the organisation on the killer if they do not execute their duties (Chirot & McCauley 2006, 106–107). Another thing that made genocide in Rwanda possible was obedience. The way the people in power were able to steer the public was vital. The common people were often illiterate and believed their superiors, the burgomasters for example.

Chirot & McCauley (2006, 108–109) note that often the most negative attitudes towards the enemy are with the leaders than the actual killers. They believe that explanation of genocide is in the hatred of the leaders. However, Rwandan example questions this view a bit. Even though Rwandans were obedient, and the army and military forces were executing killing orders also normal citizens took up arms and started killing. The hatred seemed to permeate all levels of Rwandan society. Here Chirot & McCauley (2006, 109) offer traumas and memory as an explaining factor. In Jedwabne in Poland in 1941 the Christian citizens killed ruthlessly all town's 1600 Jews, children, men, and women. This event and other of the kind are explained with traumas of the past. This applies to Rwanda too, where political violence and massacres have been part of normal life for decades before the genocide. It is important also that in the broad genocides the structures of the society have collapsed or are built by the leaders to favour the hoped political outcome (Chirot & McCauley 2006, 111). This can also be compared to Rwanda where the political power systematically discriminated first Hutu and then Tutsi to build a structure where equality was not possible.

Genocides have often been orchestrated for the need to restore or to gain political power. The most severe genocides in 1900's happened because of ideologies, Pol Pot, Stalin and Mao. If ethnicity can be hard to specify and recognise by the killers, ideology is even harder. (Chirot & McCauley 2006, 105–107)

4.5 Defining genocide

In this study genocide is understood as a series of acts or not acting, which causes group that has been regarded as "other", to be subject to violence, (physical, psychological, or structural). First, it is necessary to define, that genocidal action is not something that happens in a vacuum and is one time event. Genocidal action is a process that can take up to decades to evolve in its full steam. Therefore, it is necessary to define genocide, as a series of acts. The intent in the acting is also considered, because also not acting is a choice. A reference to ICTR and Rome statue can be made where "did know or should have known", is considered as significant identification for intent. So, if an actor decides not to act in knowledge (or they should have known) that this not acting causes violence, it is intentional. However, genocide can be cause of multiple actors at the same time. As was the case with Rwanda where the leaders of the country, leaders of communities, military, civilian people and international community had their influence in the outcome. They acted sometimes as common force, as a long arm of violence, sometimes genocide ideology caused people to work on their own. Additionally, identifying something as genocide does not always need to look for culpable and prosecution

but fix the situations individuals are experiencing. Therefore, identifying or naming the actor is not always necessary. Genocide should be understood as more than a crime against humanity aiming for prosecution, but as sociological concept which can help identifying undesired outcomes.

Genocide is not something that only people from different ethnical or national backgrounds leash upon each other, even though the genealogy of the term describes it as such. It is important to understand that any group that is considered as other can be regarded as a target, be it women, Tutsis, refugees, political opponent, elite and so on. Genocide is happening for political reasons, for need for resources, for revenge, for hatred, almost everything that make wars happen. Genocide is, in addition to being a form of social conflict, a type of war. Genocide is distinguished from war so that the civilian entity is constructed as enemy to be destroyed. (Shaw 2015, 130–131) In compared to regular wars the power difference is massive. Genocide can be executed in situations where the other has little or no possibilities to change the course of action.

Lastly, any type of violence can be genocidal, not only mass murder. Psychological violence is as harmful, if not more, as it can affect the ability to return to normal life. Additionally, physical violence often has psychological consequences. It is important to understand also structural violence as part of genocidal violence, because it is one of the ways to regulate the power and possibilities of the group in question. *Minority stress* is a good example of structural violence (and physical violence) which causes psychological and even physical problems (Lick, Durso & Johnson, 2013). In genocide the target may not necessarily be an official minority but causes of minority stress can definitely be seen as genocidal practices. These practices concerning Rwandan case are discussed in analysis part, Chapter 6, but before that the methodology and data for this study are presented.

5. Methodology and data

This chapter introduces the narrative method and the data used in this study. This study will examine the individual experiences behind phenomena of genocide. To prove that genocide continues in the refugee camps there is a need to understand what it is like to live in a refugee camp. With an analysis of narratives, answers to the research questions can be found as the research subjects themselves describe them.

5.1 Narrative research

Qualitative research has taken a narrative turn and since mid-1980s it has increased exponentially (Heikkinen 2002, 16). Narrative research as a form of qualitative research highlights the experiences and opinions of people and often brings unheard narratives to the surface and therefore builds new knowledge. Narrativity has origins in philosophy, literature, and philology. Word narrative comes from Sanskrit word *gna* which was incorporated to Latin as *gnarus*. This means "passing of knowledge by the knower". Latin word *narration* means narration or story and *narrare* means to tell or narrate. (Heikkinen 2002, 16) Narrative inquiry uses stories as a way to describe human action (Polkinghorne 1995, 5). Heikkinen (2002, 14–16) emphasises how there is no reality or life without narratives, words, and texts. The reality is more and more built by process of narrativity. People experience (and sometimes even live) their lives through narratives. Narrative inquiry is needed to let people's voices to be heard in a more authentic fashion (Heikkinen 2002, 18). For this reason, narrative research is used in this study.

Polkinghorne (1995, 5) defined narratives to specially refer to texts with plots. Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou (2008, 2) on the other hand emphasised the disputed definition of narrative. According to Heikkinen (2002, 16) narrativity can be used in multiple ways: a) process of knowing and the nature of knowledge, b) nature of research material, c) means of analysis and d) practical meaning of narrativity/ practical tool. Narrativity is closely connected to move from realist theory to constructivism. It encouraged a paradigm change and the change in knowledge culture from modern to postmodern. Human lives are narrated: their "knowledge and identities are constructed and revised through shared narratives". (Heikkinen 2002, 14–15) In addition, narratives are shaped and build in different contexts by ideologies and social relations, agendas, and language (Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou 2008, 8). Language is the most important sign system of human society. With language the experi-

ences can be shared, and the everyday reality understood. (Berger & Luckmann 1985, 88) Additionally, narratives build new contexts and therefore challenge existing power relations. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2015, 3) In narrative research the modernist illusion of value-free and universal knowledge is abandoned. Research report is understood as a product rather than record, the positionality of the researcher is understood as part of the report. The aims of narrative inquiry are local, personal, and subjective knowledge. The narrative research does not aim to merge a universal grand narrative, the opposite, the idea is to break free from those. Universal grand narratives have been tools of power and manipulation. (Heikkinen 2002, 18) According to Heikkinen (2002, 22) postmodern knowledge is "juxta positional, multi-dimensional, multi-voiced and at the same time ambiguous, incoherent and conflicted". They can be seen giving the voice to those who have not been heard before, who have been silent or whose voices have been yielded by the grand narratives. This constructional understanding of knowledge which is embedded in the narrative research is one of the reasons why it is chosen for this study. In this context, this thesis aims to subjectional knowledge rather than generalisations or grand narratives; therefore, rejecting idea of objective knowledge or undeniable "truth" about the reality.

Narrativity can be understood as material as well. Polkinghorne (1995, 6) presents three basic forms of research data: numerical, short answer and narrative. Here narrative means "any text that consists of complete sentences linked into a coherent and integrated statement". Often a combination of these is used in questionnaire type of data-gathering. Qualitative researchers are primarily interested in the data produced in narrative form. Narrative data can be in the form of natural discourse or speech; therefore, it does not have to be in text form. Narrative data could be summarised to describe "everyday or natural linguistic expressions, not with decontextualised short phrases or with abstracted counts" (Polkinghorne 1995, 6). However, a narrower definition of narrative is the understanding of narratives as stories. Plot is a means to display contextual meanings of individual events. Plot operates the relational significance inside the story. The word story is often connotated with falsehood or misrepresentation but can be understood in its general sense. (Polkinghorne 1995, 7).

> "A storied narrative is the linguistic form that preserves the complexity of human action with its interrelationship of temporal sequence, human motivation, chance happenings, and changing interpersonal and environmental contexts. In this context, story refers not only to fictional accounts but also to narratives describing "ideal" life events such as biographies ,autobiographies, histories, case studies, and reports of remembered episodes that have occurred." (Polkinghorne 1995, 7).

The main idea is that narrative material cannot be reduced to numbers or classifications and its handling supposes analysis. Whatever the data, the "voice" of the research subject is emphasised. (Heikkinen 2002, 19–20). This study uses two different kinds of data, both narrative, to ensure voice of the research subject to be learned. The data is more closely discussed in section 5.4.

Narrativity can be understood as a method of analysis. The researchers believe that by doing narrative research something different can be discovered. Narrative research is seen as multilevel and dialogic method which can reveal conflicting levels of meaning and finally bring knowledge of individual and their choices. Narrative research takes inconsideration who produces narratives and why. In addition, the research seeks how the narratives are consumed, silenced, challenged, or accepted. (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou 2008, 1) Bruner (1985, 13–14) identified two modes of thinking: paradigmatic and narrative, which have later been crucial for development of narrativity as a method. Bruner describes the paradigmatic mode as including operations which build a system when establishing categorisation or conceptualisation. (Bruner 1985, 10, 13–14) Paradigmatic thinking is key means by which people organise their experience in their cognitive understanding. The paradigmatic thinking establishes network of concepts which people have constructed from familiar experiences which have reoccurred. (Polkinghorne 1995, 10) Pragmatic knowledge searches for commonalities and narrative knowledge focuses on special characteristics (Polkinghorne 1995, 11). Narrative thinking is interested in the human conditions and the quest is not to prove a theory but to explore (Bruner 1985, 10, 13–14). Human action is construction on person's earlier experiences and learning, present situation demands and future goals. Human actions are also unique and not completely replicable and narrative thinking notices the differences and diversity. (Polkinghorne 1995, 11)

Polkinghorne (1995, 5) used Bruner's understanding of modes of thinking and knowledge as a premise for his identification of paradigmatic and narrative types of inquiry. Paradigmatic type uses stories as data and analyses them in paradigmatic manner. Polkinghorne calls this analysis of narratives. Narrative type uses events and happenings as data and analyses them in narrative manner, producing explanatory stories. This type of analysis is called narrative analysis. Analysis of narratives produces classifications and categories out of the common aspects of the database. The idea is to identify details as part of general concepts. Usually in the analysis common themes or conceptual indications are searched. The analysis of narratives has two different types of research: theory-based, and data-based. Theory-based analysis searches for previously determined concepts which are obtained from the theory introduced in the research. For example, psychoanalysis uses theory-based research where the researcher is trying to locate predetermined examples of personality types or defence mechanisms.

Data-based analysis derives the concepts inductively from the data. This type is more often identified with qualitative research. (Polkinghorne 1995, 12–13)

Narrative analysis collects descriptions of experiences and organises them into a story or stories (for example case study, biographic episode, a history). Ergo it moves from sections to stories, opposite to analysis of narratives. The narrative analysis research moves from case to case instead of case to generalisation. Narrative analysis relates events and actions to each other and organises them to form a developmental plot. Narrative analysis' outcome is retrospective and temporal dimension of human experience. Regarding temporality, both types of analysis require diachronic data, where people actively describe past events in storied form so that the relationship between the events can be understood. Narrative analysis seeks to identify a new experience as similar to specific remembered experience, but not the same as previous experience. (Polkinghorne 1995, 11–12, 16)

To sum up, analysis of narratives uses stories as its data; narrative analysis uses parts of stories for example, events and actions. Analysis of narratives identifies themes and makes generalisations; narrative analysis produces stories. Analysis of narratives produces knowledge of concepts; narrative analysis produces subjective knowledge of certain situations. Both types of analysis can be important in contributing knowledge formation in social sciences. (Polkinghorne 1995, 21) In these analysis types, narratives are both, point of departure and the result. (Heikkinen 2002, 17) This study uses narrative analysis as a research method. This study embraces the method of narrative analysis to bring about new narratives by organising the experiences in the refugee camp of the survivors of Rwandan genocide in a form of stories. These stories are then analysed in contrast to the main research question and theoretical framework of this study.

Narrativity can also be used as a practical tool. As a practical tool narrativity offers for example possibilities for new understanding of one's identity and harmful narratives can be changed. As practical tool narrativity is mostly used in psychotherapy, pedagogy, teacher education, health care, geriatric care, social work, and rehabilitation. When narrative is used as a practical tool, the truth of the narrative is not important. Narrativity as a practical tool seeks to create practical consequences of making narratives whereas narrativity as research aims for knowledge production. (Heikkinen 2002, 22–23)

5.2 Researcher's positionality

Postmodernist research always evaluates the researcher's positionality because it affects the result. Especially when using narrative analysis as a method the consideration of researcher's positionality is one of the key factors that need to be addressed during the analysis process. In narrative analysis the researcher is the maker of the produced story therefore their role as a constructor needs to be taken into consideration (Polkinghorne 1995, 19). Even though all research should be aware of the researcher's character, in narrative analysis there needs to be an even more consideration of this. The researcher makes choices in their analysis about which way the story forms. These choices are based on the perspective of the researcher and are affected by the context where the researcher comes from.

The context which affects the researcher and should be considered in a study are for example gender, age, ideology, ethnicity, educational background, institutional, political ideologies, and professional relationships (Doty 2016, 149). The writer of this master's thesis is a white 31-year-old Finnish woman. The academic background of the writer includes master's studies in Tampere University in Peace, Mediation and Conflict research programme and bachelor's studies in Political Science. The bachelor's thesis of the writer dealt with peace process in Rwanda and the women's participation in it. During master programme the writer has especially concentrated on violence and genocide studies. Despite urge for field experience, the writer not yet possesses any contact nor personal experience about Rwanda. Therefore, the writer can be regarded as "outside looking in" even though the academic background builds connections to the research topic. The writer is a pacifist and a strong advocate for intersectional feminism and leftist politics. These privileges, political ideologies and personal values are visible in this study throughout, even in the topic. Taking in consideration all of the previous the writer acknowledges that their positionality modifies the research process and impacts in the end product.

5.3 Scope and limitations

According to Heikkinen (2002, 24) validity and reliability were the criteria of good research in the modernist view to gain objective knowledge. However, like discussed in section 5.1 post-modern and constructivist research reject this notion. This study builds upon this understanding of knowledge as constructed and furthermore by choosing narrative analysis as a method aims for post-modern knowledge building. Therefore, also generalisations are rejected in the scope of the study and subjec-

tive knowledge is pursued. The scope of this study are the Rwandan refugee experiences in the refugee camps during years 1994–1996. This temporal choice focuses the attention to certain time in history and brings knowledge from this contextual moment. By doing this the study and produced story is bounded temporarily and has beginning, middle and end (Polkinghorne 1995, 19). Many of the refugees researched in this study continued their stay in refugee camp after this time period, however, this is not in the scope of this study.

Limitation to this study is also the amount of material which contains perceptions in total from eight persons. Three of these are lengthy autobiographies and fives short and precise testimonials. The testimonials are focused on crime prescribing opposite to autobiographies which tell fuller story with descriptive measures. These two types of material have been chosen to give light to different kinds of experiences. The limitations to the testimonials are also that they are collected by Survivor's Fund (SURF) for UN's Outreach Programme on the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the United Nations and the testimonials seem to be repetitive among each other in words and structure. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that SURF most likely has edited the testimonials.

However, narrative analysis provides its own limitations and strengths to the scope of the study. When the generalised truth is rejected, there is a fundamental difference to pragmatic research which is always expected to find truth. When considering, if the people whose experiences are researched, are telling the truth or their testimonials are edited, the researcher needs to know the corresponding state of affairs in reality. (Heikkinen 2002, 24) The writer of this study has performed enough background research to genuinely assume the stories as truth as much as there can be truth when every experience is interpreted individually. One of the survivors quoted in the analysis has been under 10 years old when the events occurred. Nevertheless, her insights of the happenings are important. Heikkinen also notes that all research reports could be considered fictional in the sense that they are all made by the researcher and therefore constructed (Heikkinen 2002, 21). One could determine that all modernist research which claimed to be the truth are not. Narrative analysis produces verisimilitude instead of truth. Verisimilitude is dialectic and takes in consideration the fact that reality is constructed and interpretation of events. Narrative analysis provides as outcome a holistic and emotional experience for the reader. (Heikkinen 2002, 24) The aim of this study is to produce a different narrative of Rwandan genocide, by using experiences derived from autobiographies and testimonials as data, than what is understood generally.

One important limitation in the data material is language. Language in narratives determines which way the experiences are communicated but also understood (Berger & Luckmann 1985, 88). In this data set, the language choices for the survivors have been taken or at least have been influenced by other people. All the autobiographies have been written as collaborate work and in addition two of them have been translated from French to English. Even though the experiences are written by the survivors themselves, the meanings might be lost in translation. Additionally, the testimonials are most likely translated to English, however, there is no record of this. In web page of the UN's Outreach Programme on the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the United Nations[2] there are alternative testimonials some of which are in English, some in French and some in Kinyarwanda. However, these video testimonials are not in the scope of this study but might give some idea on how the written testimonials are produced. The written testimonials are heavily processed in any case to fit the purpose of the original use. However, they do provide a glimpse of the experiences of the survivors.

Considering ethics, traditional ethical guidelines have been applied throughout this study. Pieter Drenth (2006, 15–16) makes "the distinction between external and internal social/ethical problems" in scientific research. The external refers to context and outcomes of the research. Context deals with questions regarding to the research topic and independence of external pressure, use of the results and is the research reflected enough considering technological developments. This thesis topic was chosen without external pressure and because of the writer's interests. The outcomes of this research are more inclined to broadening understanding than imposing consequences on certain individuals. The internal ethical problem refers to misconduct, such as "insufficient protection of privacy or anonymity", not following rules of good practice, and manipulation of data. (Drenth 2006, 17–18) In this study the citations and references are in order, there is no plagiarism, and the positionality and limitations are considered. The material used in this study is public and can be found online. Therefore, anonymising the experiences is not relevant. Furthermore, the survivors have copyright of the material they have produced. Even though the theoretical background and articles including other studies about refugee camps strengthened the hypothesis for this study, the databased analysis method allowed new narratives and horizons to be provided by the material. In addition, the material has been handled with care.

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[2] https://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/survivor-testimonies.shtml

5.4 Data collection

First, interviews were considered as a data collecting method. However, due to numbers of issues (access, ethics, Covid19) other primary sources were used for this study. If interviews had been the method of data collection the questions would have revolved around refugee experience. There would not have been a set of questions but more guidelines in the interviews. The interviewees would have been asked to describe their being in the refugee camp and to narrate their life there. The voice of the refugees is important for this study. However, even the most delicate questions might retraumatize the participants. Even if the worst questions were not asked, just thinking of the time might retraumatise. Also, for this reason, written testimonials of the Rwandan refugees are chosen for this study.

In the context of Rwanda there is much written and spoken material available. However, there were issues with obtaining information about the survivors' time in the refugee camps because most of the testimonials and stories about the genocide focus on the time before or during the genocide. There is a data archive called Genocide Archive of Rwanda where "photographs, objects, audio recordings, video recordings, documents and publications" about the event have been collected (Aegis Trust 2015). This archive seemed at first a good starting point for this study. There are multiple video testimonials of survivors, rescuers, perpetrators, and elders. These spoken testimonials were at first considered as possible data. However, also in this archive the events focus mainly on the time during genocide. There were few references to time at the refugee camps, but these were so minor that no study could have been based on them. Additionally, few of the videos that seemed promising by their summaries, were not working. The Aegis Trust, which is the organisation in charge of the web page, was informed of the problems with the videos and they promised to have IT team work on the issue. However, at the time of this study the critical videos were not yet working.

The data used for this study is consisted of written documents of people who have experienced the events. For this study three autobiographical books have been chosen:

The Girl Who Smiled Beads: A Story of War and what comes After by Clemantine Wamariya and Elizabeth Weil. The book describes the author as follows:

> "Clemantine Wamariya is a storyteller, public speaker, social entrepreneur, and human rights advocate. Born in Kigali, Rwanda and displaced by conflict, Clemantine migrated through seven African countries as a child. At age twelve, she was granted refugee status in the United States and went to receive a B.A. in comparative literature from Yale

> University. Clemantine now uses stories drawn from her experiences to catalyze change and create community. She lives in San Francisco."

Wamariya was six when they fled Rwanda. At that age Wamariya did not understand what killing was but thought that the dead people were sleeping. In 1994 her family first sent her and her sister Claire to go and live with their grandmother in Butare. But after a while they had to escape from there and later, they finally found their way to Ngozi refugee camp in Burundi. The girls assumed their family to be dead but discovered that their parents were alive and that they had new brother and sister later during their time in United States. In Kigali their family had been rich but in Ngozi all that was gone. (Wamariya & Weil 2018, xi, 22, 45) In the analysis chapter Wamariya will be referred as CW.

Surviving the Slaughter: The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire by Marie Béatrice Umutesi. The autobiography was originally published in France in French as *Fuir ou Mourir au Zaïre* and it is translated by Julia Emerson. The back cover describes the book as following:

> "A Hutu refugee from Rwanda, Marie Béatrice Umutesi tells of life in the refugee camps in Zaire and her flight across 200 kilometers on foot. During this forced march, far from the world's cameras, many Hutu refugees were trampled and murdered. Others died from hunger, exhaustion, and sickness, or simply vanished, ignored by the international community and betrayed by humanitarian organisations."

Umutesi was born in Buymba in 1959 and was 35 years old when fleeing Rwanda in 1994. Umutesi is a sociologist by training, and worked in rural development, in a managerial position with the Centre de Services aux Coopératives (CSC). Umutesi is Hutu by ethnicity but was often mistaken for Tutsi. They left Rwanda for Zaire in July 1994 after RPF had taken almost all of Rwanda under its control. In the NGO ADI-Kivu's training centre Umutesi started working with the Collective of Rwandan NGOs in helping the refugees, and finally moved to refugee camp INERA leaving her family in ADI-Kivu. Umutesi feared a revenge from the Rwandan government and thus had to flee further west in 1996 after the Rwandan government troops attacked the refugee camps in eastern Zaire. (Umutesi 2004, 16, 71–73, 103) Umutesi is referred in the analysis chapter as MBU.

Dying to Live: A Rwandan Family's Five-Year Flight Across the Congo by Pierre-Claver Ndacyayisenga and Phil Taylor. The autobiography was originally published in French as *Voyage à travers la mort, Le témoignage d'un exile Hutu du Rwanda* and it is translated by Casey Roberts. The back cover of the book represents Pierre-Claver and the book as such:

> "Pierre-Claver Ndacyayisenga was a history teacher in Rwanda in 1994 when he was forced to flee to the neighbouring Congo (Zaire) with his wife and three children. Thus began a harrowing five-year journey during which they and more than three hundred thousand other refugees were pursued and bombed by shadowy Rwandan-backed soldiers with sophisticated weapons and aerial surveillance information. Most did not live to tell their story. *Dying to live* is an ode to the human will to survive."

Pierre-Claver was born in 1962 and was 32 years old in 1994, when he and his family escaped Rwanda. Ndacyayisenga is by ethnicity a Hutu and entered refugee camp in Zaire in October 1994. Ndacyayisenga and his family stayed first in refugee camp Birava, then Chimanga and later in Inera. From Inera they headed for west after attacks from Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and Zairian rebels because they were afraid to return to Rwanda when the new government was established. (Ndacyayisenga & Taylor, 2013, 18, 28, 47–48) In the analysis chapter of this study Ndacyayisenga will be referred as PCN.

Below in table 1. The personal characteristics of the writers of these autobiographies can be seen.

Name	Ethnicity	Age	Reference in analysis chapter
Clemantine Wamariya	Tutsi	6	CW
Marie Béatrice Umutesi	Hutu	35	MBU
Pierre-Claver Ndacyayisenga	Hutu	32	PCN

Table 1. Personal characteristics of writers of the autobiographies.

Additionally, five official testimonials collected in 2009 by Survivor's Fund (SURF) for UN's Outreach Programme on the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the United Nations are used as material. SURF is an organisation founded by British citizen with Rwandan origin, Mary Kayitesi Blewitt OBE in 1995. SURF is established to support the survivors of the genocide of 1994. (SURF 2021) The Outreach Programme on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the United Nations is run by the UN Department of Global Communications and is an information and educational outreach programme. The General Assembly established the programme in 2005 (with resolution A/RES/60/225) "to mobilise civil society" and "help prevent future acts of genocide". Thus, the

programme has two main focuses, preventing genocide and supporting survivors. (UN 2021a) Official testimonies have been collected jointly with SURF to raise awareness on the lasting impact of the genocide on survivors. In total 90 testimonies have been collected. (UN 2021b)

Testimonies of Albertine, Berthilde, Dianne, Emma, and Mercia are used in this study because they entailed references to time at the refugee camp. There are no sufficient background records published about the survivors of the testimonies. Table 2. showcases known or alleged information about the women who have given these testimonies to SURF. All despite Dianne and Albertine refer to themselves as Tutsi. However, based on Dianne's and Albertine's testimony also they were Tutsi or at least were considered as one. In 1994 Mercia was 22, Dianne 14, and other women's ages were not revealed. Based on the experience they have encountered can be assumed that they have been young women.

Name	"Ethnicity"	Age	Reference in analysis chapter
Albertine	Tutsi?	?	A
Berthilde	Tutsi	?	B
Dianne	Tutsi?	14	D
Emma	Tutsi	?	E
Mercia	Tutsi	22	M

Table 2. Personal characteristics of the women in testimonies.

This data is expected to showcase experiences that are both personal but also a norm in the Rwandan context which, however, have not been raised to the grand narrative of "new Rwanda".

The time scope of the study is set to 1994–1996 because during this time all the survivors whose experiences are referred in this study were living in the refugee camp. After 1996 most of the refugees either returned to Rwanda or left the official camp settings.

5.5 Data analysis

The first step of data analysis was to read the material through and find the sections that were of importance to this study. The autobiographical books described a much longer period of time than

which was the scope of this study. The testimonials referred to possible crimes committed and were less descriptive. The material was limited to answer the research questions and the time period the study was focused on, years 1994–1996. The limiting was fairly easy with find function in the documents. By finding parts where *refugee camp* was mentioned certain chapters and parts of the documents were found. This study follows semi-data-based research by taking in consideration the research questions which already incorporate some theory, for example focusing on forms of violence. Other than that data was read open minded and ready for possible new horizons. This study uses narrative analysis as a research method to shed light to experiences of the survivors. In narrative analysis the analysis part is free from regulation. When reading through the material themes from the research questions were organised with color-codes. Colours worked as a marker to highlight every possible event and happening in the material.

Figure 1. Colour coded research questions

Narrative forming on the other hand has some guidelines for example requirement of description of cultural context, characteristics of the subject and relationships of the subject (Polkinghorne's 1995, 16–18). Narratives are formed as answers to the research questions: normal life in the camp, forms of violence in the camp, thoughts of the refugees. These narratives combine the experiences of the survivors and synthetise them into joined narratives. These narratives, however, are not the grand narratives generally understood when talking about Rwandan genocide and they help by answering the main research question *how genocide continues in the refugee camps?*. These narratives are presented and analysed in the next chapter.

6. Analysis

This chapter presents the three narratives which were produced through the research questions and the material. Though analysis was completed in data-based style the support research questions provide a fruitful organisation for the narratives. The support questions are:

1. What is regular life in a refugee camp like?

2. What kind of violence can a person encounter in the refugee camp?

3. What kind of thoughts are the survivors thinking during their time at the camp?

Therefore, the formed three narratives are “life in the refugee camp”, “forms of violence in the refugee camp” and “thoughts of the survivors in the refugee camp”. The first narrative guides reader through a normal course of events in the refugee camp, a day in the refugee camp. Second narrative distinguishes between different forms of violence. The last narrative showcases the thoughts of survivors from the start till the end of their time in the camp. The narratives are in a loosely storied form with the first one containing more plot than the two latter and explaining ones. With analysis of these three narratives the research question *how genocide continues in the refugee camp?* can be answered.

6.1 Life in the refugee camp

This section showcases what life in refugee camps is like. Violence is handled separately in the next section 6.2 therefore it is left out from this section even if it colours the life in the refugee camp continuously.

A day in the refugee camps starts when every unit wakes up and starts their daily tasks. In the refugee camp refugees live in plastic tents or blindés as Umutesi calls them. Wamariya described the personal spaces as follows when entering the camp in 1994:

> “Claire and I were given a tent, two water jugs, two scratchy blankets, a large plastic bag, and a pot. A man pointed to the part of the hill where we should pitch our tent[.][…]Our tent was one in a square of twelve other tents. There was a stove, if you could call it that, in the middle. Squares of tents like ours—units—stretched out in every direction.” CW, 40–41.

After the long and dangerous way to the camp the organisation of the UNHCR probably felt reassuring and safe. Ndacyayisenga describes that the tents are built in certain areas, in Birava each household got nine square meters of space:

> "After registering with camp officials, we were given a tarpaulin with which to erect our tent. It was rectangular and blue, with the initials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) printed in large characters. We were also given a few pieces of wood, some nails and allocated a piece of land where we could establish our new home. Our new life began. Going forward, we'd have to content ourselves with nine square meters of space and the few material possessions we still had." PCN, 20.

However, even in the safety of the refugee camp, the same norms and discrimination continued as in the political structures they were fleeing from (Jones 2006, 244) noted. In the next statement the prejudice can also be seen, which is characteristic in the social relations between the ethnicities of Rwanda. Even though Umutesi was Hutu, she was discriminated against because she was assumed as Tutsi. This demonstrates the artificial character of othering as suggested by Prunier (1998, 142). This will be further discussed in next section. Umutesi described, how she felt unwanted in the area she was fist assigned to:

> "They let me use a small plastic blindé located in an area that the refugees had nicknamed "the neighborhood of the prefects" because it was inhabited by former officials from Habyarimana's regime. Because of the fear and suspicion that ruled the camps at that time, some inhabitants of the area did not want a neighbor whom they did not know and who, in addition, was called Umutesi, a name normally associated with Tutsi. They bribed some young men from the neighborhood who took advantage of the dark to destroy my blindé, and I had to construct a new one in another part of the camp." MBU, 75.

The tents are handy because they can be built and tore down fast and therefore are a good solution by the NGO's when need for refuge arises rapidly. However, sleeping in the tents was an adjustment for the refugees, Umutesi describes how she had no know-how but needed to learn from her neighbours how to keep the cold and hot out of the tent.

> "INERA was the first place where I slept in a sheeting. On this first night I had taken every precaution to protect myself from the cold, since at night the temperature could drop to 10 degrees Celsius. It was worse than I thought it would be. I was wearing pants, a flannel nightgown, a sweater, and socks, and in addition I was covered with a blanket and a thick bedspread. In spite of all these precautions the cold kept me awake most of the night. My nose and ears were frozen. Around six in the morning I was awakened by drops of water falling in my ear. I thought at first that it was raining and that the water was coming through a hole in the sheeting, but it was only the condensation of my breath during the night. My neighbors, when I told them of my early morning misadventures, advised me to put covers on the ceiling and walls of the blindé so I could

> protect myself from heat during the day, cold at night, and drops of water in the morning. These coverings had another great advantage in that they protected me from the curiosity of my neighbors. When night fell and lamps were lit, passersby could see everything that went on in a blindé." MBU, 75.

To conclude, the living conditions in these refugee camps met basic needs of shelter. However, privacy, and protection from temperature changes were inadequate. If one was "lucky" to get a job from the camp, there was a possibility for a better housing. However, this required education and contacts which most of the camp inhabitants did not have.

> "In addition to our wage, we were given a house near the camp, fully equipped with water and electricity, which we also shared. Athanase's family consisted of two adults and three children, like mine. Each family occupied two rooms, and a living room served as a common room. It was obviously much better than living in a tent." PCN, 23.

When staying in the camp everyday chores revolve around food, fire, water, and washing of clothes. Food will be more thoroughly discussed in next section. Water and fire are the most important things when trying to survive.

> "Each morning I walked two or three hours to fetch water. Then I waited in line at the pump, a plastic gallon jug in each hand, for an hour more." CW, 46.

Unfortunately, the resources of the humanitarian organisations were not sufficient. To survive the refugees needed to collect wood in the nearby plantations which caused tensions between the communities. Umutesi describes here what were the risks of such endeavours.

> "The provisions of heating wood from the humanitarian organizations were also insufficient, and a week's ration lasted at most three or four days. As a result, the refugees went to the Zairian eucalyptus plantations to make up this deficit, which contributed to tensions among the two communities. Men risked being beaten to death if they were caught, but women were in greater danger. They ran more slowly than the men and weren't strong enough to defend themselves when they were caught. The number of women raped while gathering firewood in the plantations of Zaire is incalculable." MBU, 78–79.

Wamariya notes that also the skill of making fire was vital.

> We had to fetch firewood. No one had matches, so just lighting a fire was a chore. You had to look out for smoke and when you saw some you walked over there, with some kindling, to carry the flames back to your unit. You had to remember your unit number—not a given at age six." CW, 42.

Food was distributed by the World Food Programme and by showing a red card the refugees in the camp would get their portion. Wamariya and Ndacyayisenga explain how the corn was almost inedible and especially the children had a hard time with the nutrition provided.

> "When asked, they flashed their red cards indicating their allotted portion of maize. After a while we could barely eat it. The maize made people constipated for days" CW, 49.

> "Two days after our arrival, we received our first rations, consisting of a few kilos of corn, beans, corn flour, oil and salt. That's what was supposed to serve as our daily sustenance during our stay in the famous refugee camps. The children had trouble getting used to their new diet. It was painful chewing the dry kernels of corn and they couldn't understand why we couldn't have three meals a day, or why we didn't have any bread, rice or meat! With hindsight, I can say that we were fortunate to have arrived when we did, in contrast to those who had arrived in July and August who had to deal with a number of challenges, such as disease, hunger and epidemics." PCN, 20–21.

Umutesi was especially worried about the malnutrition in the camp, and she tried to help her neighbour who suffered from severe malnutrition.

> "Malnutrition was rampant among children under five and among pregnant and nursing mothers, particularly those who lived alone and did not have the opportunity to hire themselves out to the locals. Among the many children with bloated stomachs, huge heads, and frail limbs whom I met every day at the nutrition center at INERA, I remember Muhawe, my little four-year-old neighbor. Bad food and dysentery had made him into a little old man whose huge head was all you noticed. He was too weak to get up and walk even a few steps and just sat in front of his grandmother's blindé. To go back inside he crawled on his hands and knees like a baby. His grandmother brought him regularly to the nutritional center, but the diet he was given didn't have much of an effect. He either vomited it all up or else refused to swallow. When I arrived in the neighborhood, Muhawe had reached an advanced state of malnutrition." MBU, 77.

Wamariya explained how at some point the children were given nutritional supplements. However, the amounts were futile.

> "Someone, somewhere inside UNHCR cared just enough, or so it seemed to me, to realize that maize alone could not possibly sustain a growing body. So once a month aid workers called all the kids over to the Center for Children, which was really just a large tarp strung up to provide shade, with a dirt floor and no sides. We children were each given half of a red vitamin—half, not even a whole one. Also once a month, on a different day, each child received a biscuit. The biscuits were made with soy and protein powder and they tasted like cardboard soaked in sugar. Once a month: half a vitamin. Once a month: a biscuit." CW, 49.

To survive in the camp, people needed to find other ways to get nutrition because as Ndacyayisenga explains here the supply of sixty percent of daily requirement was insufficient. Wamariya learned which grasshoppers were edible from her neighbours.

> "People had to be extremely creative to deal with all the difficulties that the situation presented, including finding ways to supplement the diet that the World Food Programme itself considered insufficient, supplying only sixty percent of the daily requirement." PCN, 22–23.

> "Of course we were starving, so Mucyechuru and Musaza taught me to eat bugs: grasshoppers, the green ones. […] We also foraged on people's farms. This was stealing, yes[.]" CW, 69.

The hygiene conditions in the camp were atrocious and a reason for more misery. Unhygienic conditions are the ones where diseases spread especially when many people are grouped together. For the children the situations came across as frightening. To keep yourself clean seemed almost impossible task and one had to get creative to survive.

> "More than one hundred of us shared one toilet. In the absence of a rigorous cleaning schedule, it quickly became useless. People relieved themselves all around the hole. Since there were swarms of flies everywhere, I was concerned about fly-borne disease. There were no showers in the entire neighborhood. I had to wait until night to wash myself. [… B]ut since I washed in the dark, I was never sure that I was completely clean. I dug a small ditch in front of my blindé for the water. Finally, I could wash myself in peace." MBU, 76

> "The camp bathroom was located near the ditch that aid workers dug for dead bodies. I was afraid to go; Claire was not. […] I made a point of visiting the bathroom as seldom as possible. The biggest of my fears was falling into the disgusting pit latrine. One morning a child did. A man with a bucket had to fish him out.[…] Now we had no toilet paper. Nobody in the camp had toilet paper. I hunted for soft leaves—young iridescent eucalyptus. I smoothed them flat and kept them hidden in a corner of our tent. Everybody who had not given up entirely kept a secret stash. We all walked around with leaves in our pockets and did each other the courtesy of pretending not to see." CW, 40, 43.

Related to hygiene and poor management from the camp officials, women had especially hard times with periods. Umutesi describes below what was it like for a woman to be on their period in a refugee camp. It is important to notice that in many cultures' periods are not to be seen or discussed. Based on the description of Umutesi and the secrecy of washing the rags it could be assumed that in 1990's this was the case in Rwandan culture. None of the other participants have commented on this subject. This maybe because it was not topical for them (male, not yet had periods, pregnant/ breastfeeding)

or it was a subject not to be discussed about. In addition, the researched SURF testimonies concentrated on naming possible crimes, therefore the conditions in the camp might not have arised.

> "In the area of cleanliness there was another feminine matter about which I could do nothing. Those in charge of humanitarian aid had not thought of feminine hygiene, and during their periods women used old rags or skirts. Soap was only distributed sporadically and it was almost impossible to find enough to wash oneself and one's soiled underwear. […] In addition, since men ran the camp, they had not thought of private places where women could go to wash this laundry away from the eyes of passersby. We had to wash it late at night or early in the morning in front of our blindés. The bloody water snaked in little rivulets between the blindés and here and there made bloody little puddles. To add to the discomfort of the situation, many women were obliged to wash these bloody rags in the same pots in which they prepared food for their families." MBU, 76–77

Illnesses were a common event in the refugee camp as mentioned in section 2.6 many Zairian refugee camps had cholera epidemic as soon as the camps opened (Siddique et al. 1995, 359). Cholera on the other hand was not the only threat, dysentery was really common. It appears in situations where hygiene and waste management are bad, and faeces can enter the drinking water.

> "I began lingering at their tent to avoid going to the bathroom. I still had a horror of slipping and falling into the feces and was scared of catching a disease. […] NEAR CHRISTMAS, CLAIRE woke up with dysentery. I'd already seen it a dozen times. Someone wakes up with a fever. Throws up. Their bowels explode. They scream and scream until they're too weak to scream. They shit blood. By night all the water has drained from their body and they've lost seven pounds. Many children in camp who got dysentery died. Their small bodies, already so malnourished, could not withstand such a brutal attack. Many adults died too. The cycle was always the same: scream, vomit, shit, bleed, then get rolled up in a bedsheet and placed by the latrine to be buried or burned. The morning Claire woke glassy-eyed and delirious with pain, I ran to find Musaza and Mucyechuru. They moved Claire's bed—a palette of grass—close to the door of our tent, so that she could have fresh air. Musaza made her drink a potion made of charcoal and a bright green tincture of leaves. Claire still screamed and vomited and shit blood. All day I prayed, if you could call it that. Really I just pleaded: Please don't let her die. There was no alternative, no room for what if …? Claire had to make it. I was seven. […]NOW I FEARED the latrine even more." CW, 67, 70, 71.

In addition to diseases which spread in unhygienic situations, Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection (HIV)/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was common among the people in the refugee camp, even though many of them did not know that they were infected during their time in the camp. After the Rwandan genocide 66 % of the victims of rape were tested positive for HIV/AIDS (Mutamba & Izabiliza 2005, 10). However, the real number is expected to be even higher because the infection was a shame for the women who were raped and then infected and therefore not all victims are necessarily uncovered.

> "Since the genocide, I've had a lot of temporary illness and pain in my lower parts, but I never thought that I might be infected with the HIV virus. I told myself that I felt the way I did because of the long journey and the difficult conditions I'd put up with in Zaire. I took the advice of my aunt, but was immediately plunged into a cycle of fear and depression when I learned that I was HIV positive." E, 1.

> "Some Seminarians preparing for the priesthood looked after us. They brought us food because we couldn't leave our beds. They also gave medicine to my sister who had caught syphilis. At one point, I realised I was pregnant too. I didn't want the child. I didn't know what to do. I tried to bring about an abortion, but that didn't succeed. I gave birth whilst still in Zaire and the child became one more burden that I didn't know how to bear. I didn't have any affection for him. In 1996, my sister and I returned to Rwanda and have lived together ever since. We heard that the men who gang raped us had died of AIDS so we both were tested. Together we found that we are HIV positive." B, 1.

Additionally, lice and other bugs were a problem for the people and the refugee camp. Wamariya explained how she lost the last of herself due to shaving of hair to help prevent the lice.

> "I FELT LICE crawling down my neck, out of my hair, toward my ears. I checked my seams—the waistband of my purple skirt, the cuffs of my red sweater. I found hundreds, maybe thousands, entire dystopic kingdoms. […]Not even my body was mine. My hair was blitzed and occupied. My bed was blitzed and occupied. Same with my clothes. The eggs were everywhere. More were coming. They were coming. There was no winning. So I surrendered.[…] Claire walked me over to a man in camp who had a razor, and he shaved my head. Almost all the kids in the camp were bald. I had not wanted to be like them. I wanted to be special. I cried for days." CW, 43–44.

> "Along with the lice on our heads, a whole other species of bugs burrowed into our feet. We waged a hopeless war against them. Our only possible strategy to win was impossible: keep our feet clean. Claire found a big flat rock and placed it by our tent. Each morning we took turns standing on that rock and using the water left over from doing dishes the night before to scrub our feet. While still on the rock we put on our shoes. Then we spent the rest of the day trying to keep our feet from touching the larva-filled dirt. We failed, every day." CW, 44.

To bring together the few earlier paragraphs, the health, hygienic and nutrition situation in the camps were inadequate because they caused the refugees to die or fall ill. This can be understood as a violation of right to health. As experiences above demonstrate the well-being needs of the refugees were not fulfilled in the refugee camps. As described in the section 4.1 mechanisms which have a negative impact on well-being needs are violence (Galtung 1990, 292). Pinehas, van Wyk & Leech, (2016, 142–144) recognised similar needs in Osire refugee camp in Namibia. Violence will be more thoroughly discussed in the section 6.2.

To try and manage with the insufficient hygienic conditions, Wamariya learned tricks to wash laundry. Laundry was washed by women in the nearby lakes or rivers. Because there was a shortage of

soap, the refugees learned other ways to clean their clothes. Wamariya explains how she needed to learn this new skill from older women.

> “I DID OUR laundry in the river. This meant leaving camp midmorning, so I could be there at noon. Upriver was for drinking, downriver for washing. […] To wash clothes, as I learned from watching the older women, you first make a ring of rocks in the river. You soak your clothes, along with smashed pine needles, inside that ring. Then you pound each clothing item against a rock to shake loose the filth and bugs. […]Around 1:00 p.m., I wrung out our clothes and laid them on the hot boulders. By early afternoon, the stones had absorbed so much heat that our wet skirts, T-shirts, and underwear sizzled when I spread them out. The hope was that the heat of the rocks would burn the lice and nits. This worked, sometimes, with thin cotton but never with the blankets, into which the nits burrowed too deep for the rocks to sear. To delouse the blankets you had to boil them in a gigantic pot.” CW, 66–67.

Wamariya explains how many children in the camp had nothing, not even clothes on them. She describes how UNHCR brought old clothes to the camps, and she clothed some of the children.

> “Many [children] walked around naked. […] One day UNHCR workers set out bags of clothes: old T-shirts, sweaters, underwear, pants. I grabbed an armful, took it back to my tent, and rounded up all the naked young children I could to give them something to wear.” CW, 48.

To survive the refugees were quite creative in ways of making a living in the camp. All of the autobiographies’ writers described ways in which they or other refugees were able to find work and start initiatives which made life little more bearable for the refugees. In Inera camp many refugees were able to find work with the locals. Unfortunately, that was not risk free. Additionally, small businesses were functional in the refugee camp.

> “To deal with the lack of food aid, many of my neighbors went to work for the locals. In return they received cassava, bananas, and a little money. For a day’s work they earned on average the equivalent of twenty-five cents in American money. Women, who in Rwanda had been civil servants or had worked in the private sector and who had left beautiful houses and cars in Kigali, allowed themselves to be insulted by potential employers because the survival of their families was at stake. Some locals took advantage of the abundance of female workers to force the women to sleep with them prior to hiring them. Other economic activities such as small businesses, production of banana beer and corn fritters, basketwork and carpentry took place in the camps. Those with a little money even opened small restaurants, boutiques, butcher shops, cafes, sewing ateliers, hair dressing salons, and so forth.” MBU, 78

Ndacyayisenga was able to find a living in Birava as a teacher and he had a side business with banana-wine brewery.

> “In spite of this, we were able to set up a clandestine network of itinerant classes in tents, which succeeded in teaching some basic computing skills. In Birava we were assisted by the NGO Caritas Spain and were able to occupy the mornings of some school-aged kids. When I arrived at Birava in October 1994, I met up with a former university colleague and childhood friend, Athanase, who had been fortunate to find a job teaching at Nyamokola Institute, a local private school. A psychologist by training, he taught psychology and history. Uncomfortable teaching history, he offered me the course. The school management agreed, but we had to share the salary of a single teacher, or seventy dollars per month. We were paid in U.S. dollars, as the local currency fluctuated a great deal and had lost people’s confidence. […] In addition, we continued receiving rations as refugees. Taking advantage of the house and sheds, Athanase and I started a small banana-wine brewery. […] Our wives helped sometimes, transporting bananas and preparing the fermentation yeasts. We sold our final product to camp resellers or directly to the local people, who greatly appreciated the high quality wine made by Rwandan refugees.” PCN, 23–24.

After leaving Birava, Ndacyayisenga was able to continue banana-wine brewery in two other refugee camps. Later in Chimanga refugee camp Ndacyayisenga was running brewery, tavern and butcher shop. However, not everyone could have started a business like this, one needed money and connections.

> “The local traditional leader, a man named Herman Vuningoma, with whom I maintained a special friendship, helped me by sending me customers from among his followers. He was known as the mwami, which means “king.”” PCN, 29.

Additionally, Umutesi was working during her time in the refugee camps. She was able to establish connections to old network of NGOs when first arriving in Zaire. She started working for the Collective which is the reason she moved to Inera refugee camp in the first place to be closer to the refugees she was trying to help.

> “[T]he Collective set up a self-organization program in the camps to begin to establish more credible leadership and to organize for return. The first thing we did was to establish a small credit fund to permit the refugees to take care of those needs not covered by humanitarian aid, such as buying clothes, soap, vegetables, and so forth.” MBU, 83.

> “With groups of rural women who had benefited from the small credit program, we had our first workshop to study the causes and consequences of the Rwandan tragedy at Bukavu at the beginning of 1995.”MBU, 83–84.

In International Women’s Day in 1995 they organised event which helped to encourage women to form women’s groups and finally female representatives were chosen for the camps.

> “International Women’s Day in 1995 was an opportunity for us to encourage the women to organize and participate more actively in bettering the conditions in the camps and to engage in discussions on return and reconciliation. Cultural, self-help, and other

> women's groups were created. Female representatives were elected for the camps. From then on, in most of the camps, the female representatives were consulted by the humanitarian NGOs and even by the UNHCR when they planned something for women. They were also consulted on distribution of humanitarian aid. The representative structure of the women also played an important role in the social life of the refugees." MBU, 84.

Later Umutesi also founded La Ligue des Femmes Rwandaises Pour la Defense de la Droit de Vie, which for example distributed magazines in the camps to provide information on camp security and other matters that concerned the women in the camps.

> "In 1995 with the help of several other women, including Frieda, Louise, Judith, Fébronie, and Véronique, La Ligue des Femmes Rwandaises Pour la Defense de la Droit de Vie was founded. The goal of the League was twofold: it was committed to denouncing all acts that ran contrary to the right to live, in Rwanda and in the camps, and to creating a forum in which women, in the interior and in the camps, could speak out about the problems of the day and about the tragedy they were experiencing. The League produced and distributed two magazines, one in French, Le Reveil (The Awakening), and another in Kinyarwanda, Ijwi ry'umunyarwandakazi (The Voice of the Rwandan Woman)." MBU, 85.

Additionally, Wamariya's sister was able to find job at the camp. To find a job also creativity was needed.

> "But Claire noticed people near the edge of the camp trading with the Burundians who lived nearby. The locals had almost nothing themselves.[…] This lit Claire up. Anything we couldn't use she brought to the fence. "Do you want this?" she asked, showing a man's sweater to a sixteen-year-old boy. "This is very nice. This will look very nice on you. I'll take that bag of potatoes. One day, near our tent, I noticed Claire singing. One of the camp managers was Canadian and had the power to give a few refugees jobs. Claire knew that to get a job, here, at her age, in this sea of ruin, she had to broadcast her scrappiness, intelligence, and drive. […] Beyond that, she needed money. She needed a job. The camp manager heard Claire out. Then he asked, "What useful skills do you have at your age?" Claire said she could help take care of the orphans at the camp, organize volleyball and basketball games for them, create clubs like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, lead them in dances and songs. Claire got the job." CW, 64–66.

The camps restricted the movement of the refugees, which will be discussed more in next section. However, there were few ways to get out of the camps. Wamariya's sister was able to get married with care worker and then he provided both girls with papers, to get out.

> "AFTER WE'D BEEN at the camp for a couple months, a handsome Zairean CARE worker declared that he was in love with Claire. She was, somehow, as magnetic as ever, her dark eyes undefeated and alight. Rob was twenty-five and seemed extremely sophisticated and put-together, with his well-cut hair, clean crisp jeans, striped shirts, and shiny shoes. Claire told Rob that she was too young to get involved, that the last thing she needed was to be a sixteen-year-old refugee without any parents and with a little sister and a baby to care for. But he persisted. "Me, I want to marry you," Rob said

> daily. “Me, I want to marry you. You can go to school.” “You see me in this camp suffering? You think I’d be better off pregnant?” Still, every day, Rob tracked down Claire and told her that he’d fallen in love with her the day we entered the camp. He promised her that if she married him, we could move to Zaire and live with his mother. Claire knew we were targets, two girls without a guardian. Every woman was a target there. […] This made Rob, with his handsome smile, an escape hatch, a ticket out. […] Claire said yes to Rob. Claire and Rob married, at camp, surrounded by a few envious refugees and a couple of Rob’s friends and coworkers. I wore my favorite green skirt. The best things about the day were the sweet fried mandazi and sodas.” CW, 72–73.

One way out was escape and return to Rwanda; however, this option was only valid for the Tutsi because at that time it was not safe for a Hutu to return to Rwanda. Dianne explained how she escaped the Goma refugee camp. The surveillance these Tutsi women experienced were through their captors.

> “When the situation became unbearable, my sister suggested that we commit suicide, a suggestion that I opposed. Instead I opted to try escape back to Rwanda. So pretending to go collect water, I escaped. But my sister was always under strict surveillance; she could not sneak out easily like I did so I had to abandon her in the refugee camp. Since my sister was the only close relative that I had remained with, I decided to take a risk and returned to Goma to try fetch her back home. But when I reached there, people warned me that my life was in danger, so I ran back to Rwanda. Unfortunately, my interahamwe brother-in-law killed my sister when he heard that I had attempted to go and facilitate her escape. I hold myself guilty of having caused my sister’s death!” D, 1.

Even though in Zaire the refugees’ movements were not as strictly controlled as in Burundi, the refugees were still considered as refugees and outsiders. Umutesi was able to travel around because of her work. One time she even travelled to Belgium.

> “In 1995, when I left for Europe to attend a seminar on gender issues, many of my colleagues thought that I was going to use the trip to seek asylum in Belgium, because the situation in the East of Zaire continued to degenerate. Nevertheless, for many reasons, I decided to return to Bukavu. The work of the Collective and the League were important. My departure would have been cowardly, with hundreds of thousands of refugees still in the camps and my colleagues still working in Bukavu. In addition, my mother and all of my family were still in Bukavu. I could not abandon them.” MBU, 88.

In 1996 the eastern Zairian refugee camps collapsed due to the attacks by forces of Rwandan government and the rebellion movement which caused First Congo War. For the refugees there were two choices: return to Rwanda or flee to west. Umutesi first stayed in an apartment in Bukavu, but left the eastern Zaire in October 1996 (MBU, 103). Ndacyayisenga left Zairean refugee camps and headed west in November 1996 (PCN, 47–48). They were not sure if return was safe for them because they

were Hutu. Neither Umutesi and Ndacyayisenga nor Wamariya returned home, they have all built lives outside Rwanda.

> "The political will of the Rwandan government was the unknown factor. Was this government going to install a democracy and promote representation of all the political, ethnic, and regional factions in the running of the country? What guarantees would one have of safety? The news was bad. The new government had just excluded Hutu ministers from government." MBU, 95

> "The survivors fled north towards the refugee camps at Inera, Kashusha and Adi-Kivu, whose populations had multiplied several times in the space of a few days. In these three camps, panic was universal. We were expecting an RPA-rebel attack at any moment. The directors of the NGOs had all left. People's usual activities were replaced by preparations for a possible flight. We wondered what we should take from the tent and especially what direction we should go." PCN, 39.

The women who gave their testimonies to SURF have all returned to Rwanda. Their return might have been easier due to the new government which returned to favouring Tutsi. However, their lives in Rwanda have been quite misfortunate even after the return. Mercia and Berthilde explained how they returned to Rwanda with other returning refugees.

> "I was forced to live with him as husband and wife and I became pregnant, and the baby was born before I came back to Rwanda in 1996 with the huge tide of refugees. Since then I haven't seen this man and I don't know where he is." M, 1.

> "In 1996, my sister and I returned to Rwanda and have lived together ever since. We heard that the men who gang raped us had died of AIDS so we both were tested. Together we found that we are HIV positive. We support each other through the highs and lows." B, 1.

To conclude, even though the people in the refugee camp stayed alive, "Staying alive was so much work" (CW, 42). The surviving was not easy and the day-to-day actions in the camp are done for one reason: staying alive. The refugees went from one place of despair to another place of despair. The health situation in the refugee camps was inadequate and basic needs and human rights were not met. In addition, people living in the camp are subject to physical, psychological, and structural violence, which is proposed in the following section.

6.2 Forms of violence in the refugee camp

The following paragraphs showcase the different forms of violence which face the inhabitants of refugee camps. This section is divided into four forms of violence, direct physical, and psychological and structural violence. Additionally cultural violence is discussed.

The refugee camp conditions were really insecure, especially for women. Rwandan genocide is one of the first where rape has been accepted as a war crime in the judgements. Judgement of Jean-Paul Akayesu by ICTR is the first judgement where rape and sexual assault was seen equal to other crimes. This judgement is also a landmark judgement for all future genocide prosecutions because it held that rape and sexual assaults can be genocidal acts. (Scheffer, 1999) It is estimated that 250 000 women were raped during the genocide (Mutamba & Izabiliza 2005, 10). Unfortunately for some, the experience did not stop to the official end of the genocide. All of the women who had given testimonies to SURF; Dianne, Albertine, Berthilde, Emma and Mercia have been subject to forced relationships and marriages and through that, rapes and enforced pregnancies.

> "When the interahamwe were fleeing to Congo, our captor forced us to move with them and from then on the act of raping us became a daily experience. When the situation became unbearable, my sister suggested that we commit suicide, a suggestion that I opposed. Instead I opted to try escape back to Rwanda. So pretending to go collect water, I escaped. But my sister was always under strict surveillance; she could not sneak out easily like I did so I had to abandon her in the refugee camp. Since my sister was the only close relative that I had remained with, I decided to take a risk and returned to Goma to try fetch her back home. But when I reached there, people warned me that my life was in danger, so I ran back to Rwanda. Unfortunately, my interahamwe brother-in-law killed my sister when he heard that I had attempted to go and facilitate her escape" D, 1.
>
> "I have endured years of torment since 1994, fear and social pressure trapped me into an abusive relationship, pregnancies and HIV infection. I was first raped while staying in a refugee camp in June 1994. The man insisted I become his wife and even after the genocide, I stayed with him against my wishes, because I was ashamed of what everybody who knew me would say." A, 1.
>
> "Later I entered into a forced marriage with a Hutu relative to gain protection My sister and I accompanied his family to the refugee camps in Zaire where, again, we were subject to repeated rapes. She became pregnant. We were threatened by the other refugees and our tent was burned down. Some Christians moved us into lodging. The refugees were always raping us and beating us, saying that we were Tutsis." B, 1.
>
> "He made me his wife. I lived under atrocious conditions, under constant threat from him and from others. […] He began to harass me, saying he was sorry that he had not killed me earlier." E, 1.
>
> "My soldier "husband" returned to search for me on his way to exile in Congo, after the defeat of the Rwandan Army (FAR), and he took me with him when he fled to a refugee camp. I was forced to live with him as husband and wife and I became pregnant, and the baby was born before I came back to Rwanda in 1996 with the huge tide of refugees." M, 1.

For Dianne, Albertine, Berthilde, Emma and Mercia main source of violence was their own intimate partner relationship. Intimate-partner violence has also been a problem in other refugee camps, as showcased Feseha, Abeba & Gerbaba (2012, 7–10) in their research in Shimelba refugee camp in northern Ethiopia. In their study it was suggested that the camp conditions were an increasing factor for the intimate-partner violence. Consequently, has it ever been researched how many of the women in refugee camps are in relationships with their own accord. Additionally, the Umutesi and Ndacyayisenga discussed that women were target also for the officials working in the camp. They describe how the camp authorities used rape as tool to showcase their power. Not even married woman were safe from this, every woman was a target.

> "Like all soldiers, those of the CZSC loved women and money too much. When women didn't come of their own accord, or when they didn't have enough money for prostitutes, they entered the blindés and took women by force. In Kashusha camp, for example, women didn't go out any more after six o'clock. When they went to the bathroom, they had to arm themselves with a razor blade. That way, when a soldier from the CZSC tried to force the door they could cut the sheeting and leave by the back. After multiple rapes by soldiers from the CZSC, a young woman from Mushweshwe camp was hospitalized. Another young girl's brother was arrested for something or other. Taking advantage of his guard's inattention, he ran off. Believing that he had returned to his sheeting, the soldiers followed him there, but finding only his sister, they took her in for questioning. The next morning the young woman was hospitalized. She had been beaten and raped. At the same time they recovered the body of a young girl near the CZSC at INERA camp. She had been raped before being stabbed." MBU, 82.

> "The soldiers took advantage of their camp patrols to commit atrocities: torture, imprisonment, rape and even murder. They had more than enough pretexts to facilitate their crimes. For example, if they wanted to commit a rape, they'd take a woman away to supposedly check if she was hiding grenades under her clothes! All under the helpless gaze of her husband." PCN, 22.

As told earlier in section 6.1 tensions between local population and the refugee caused constant threat to the refugees, men and women.

> "Men risked being beaten to death if they were caught, but women were in greater danger. They ran more slowly than the men and weren't strong enough to defend themselves when they were caught. The number of women raped while gathering firewood in the plantations of Zaire is incalculable." MBU, 79.

The presence of weapons in the camp, was conducive to fuelling violence. Even though there were disarmament procedures in action there were weapons everywhere. The banal violence that had tarred Rwandan history for decades continued in the refugee camp.

> “The presence of weapons was another factor in this insecurity. The disarmament had worked well enough, but not every little street had been searched. There were people with weapons and grenades everywhere. The situation was most dangerous in the camps of Panzi and Bulonge, where there was a large concentration of soldiers. Grenades exploded there every night and in the morning you mourned the dead, victims of jealousy or account settling. “ MBU, 79–80.

> “The deterioration of conditions in the camps brought with it another type of criminality. Killings, for vengeance or out of fear, began to give way to killings committed for the purpose of robbery. […] Security was precarious, and the numbers of rapes, killings, and robberies stayed relatively high despite the introduction of new efforts to maintain order.” MBU, 81–82.

The former regime started to conduct raids to Rwanda from the camps during the end of year 1994 and caught the attention of the new Rwandan government.

> “The remnants of the former regime who fled to Zaire after the RPF victory had not lost all hope of returning to Rwanda. Towards the end of 1994, the former Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and Interahamwe began to reorganize and conduct raids into Rwanda. Most of these operations were run out of the Birava camp, with its easy access to Rwanda over Lake Kivu, whose long shores were indefensible by the RPA. As a result, the camp had become a thorn in the side of the new Rwandan government, which decided to move on the camp to put an end to the acts of sabotage and theft being perpetrated by the raiders.” PCN, 25.

Consequently, the camps started to be under attack from Rwanda. The RPF (now Rwandan Patriotic Army, RPA) attacked refugee camps to wipe out the remnants of previous regime and Interahamwe.

> “On April 11, 1995, […] Mortars, grenades, assault rifles: the ground trembled as if shaken by an earthquake. Inside the house, everyone was panicked. We all lay on the floor, fearful that grenades would be tossed in through the windows. The attack lasted about forty minutes, after which we heard the sound of outboard motors starting and then slowly moving away. The assailants disappeared after having done the dirty job they had come to do. When the explosions stopped, Athanase and I headed over to the camp to find out what had happened. A horrible sight awaited us. Charred bodies were scattered on the ground, arms and legs strewn about, injured people screaming in pain, calling for help.... The camp had come under heavy-weapon attack by the Rwandan Patriotic Army, determined to inflict the greatest number of casualties upon the three thousand refugees who lived there. Fearing the return of the attackers, many people fled the camp during the night. In the midst of the chaos, the wounded were quickly gathered in the courtyard of the small camp infirmary and given first aid by the medical staff. The most seriously affected were taken to the camp in Adi-Kivu, where there was a sort of general hospital for the region’s refugees, some thirty kilometers from Birava. It was only in the early hours of the morning that we could actually measure the extent of damage caused by the attack. A number of bodies were mangled beyond recognition. After counting heads, arms and legs, we arrived at a total of thirty-eight dead. Hundreds had been injured.” PCN, 26.

> "Repeated attacks by soldiers from the RPF were an additional cause of uncertainty and created a state of generalized psychosis. The camp at Birava, located on the shores of Lake Kivu, across from Rwanda, was attacked at the beginning of 1995 by a commando group made up ofabout one hundred Rwandan soldiers supported by mortars located on a small Zairian island in Lake Kivu. More than sixty people were killed with grenades, mortars, and knives and more than a hundred others were wounded. Following this attack the camp at Birava was deserted. The camp at Panzi was also the target of regular attacks from Rwanda. Twice, when shooting broke out, I was at Panzi." MBU, 79–80.

Direct violence was evidently a part of normal life in the refugee camp as it was part of normal life in the Rwandan society. Direct violence is violation of human rights and Galtung's definition of security needs (Galtung 1990, 292). Direct violence causes sufficient amount of the suffering in the camp, if not physically then psychologically. In addition to direct physical violence, the refugees were also subjected to psychological violence. In the refugee camp the insecurity was a constant companion. Even though refugee camps are supposed to be safety to refugees, it is far from reality. Wamariya described her feelings of insecurity as follows:

> "I yearned to be protected, and I was not protected. Each night, I floated away, half asleep, half awake. […] Nobody in my world was tender and protective of me anymore." CW, 67, 69.

Only the threat of violence can cause psychological problems such as PSTD, moderate/severe depression or anxiety. As explained in section 3.1 Hutson, Shannon & Long (2016, 866–871) found in their study in the Ayn al-Hilweh refugee camp in Lebanon that threat of physical violence increased risk of PTSD. Additionally, they saw quality of life having an impact on PTSD symptomology. Tom Nutting (2019, 97–98) referred to study done in Moria refugee camp in Greece where 60 % of subjects in the study had suicidal ideation. Psychological stress in the refugee camps is high and can cause aforementioned mental issues. The measures which lead to this human suffering must be seen as violence as well.

Additionally, to physical violence the refugees were subjected to structural violence. Galtung referred to it as a process in the structures that hinders peoples' possibilities, for example racism (Galtung 1969, 169–171). Refugees are in the camp out of necessity, it is not their own choice, and therefore they are stripped of their rights to control themselves. Violations to health were already discussed in the earlier section but those are part of process which starts from structural violence. The structure of refugee camps subjects the refugees to these violations of their rights which might eventually show as direct violence against them, such as dying from malnutrition. Malnutrition and violations of rights of health were likewise discussed in the earlier section.

There is a clear power imbalance between officials and refugees in the camps. Sometimes the refugees themselves have possibility to organise and join regulating the camp. However, they are never in capacity to decide for example number or type of resources in the camp. The refugees are often held in the camp so, that they have no possibility to leave the camp, or their mobility is severely controlled by the camp officials or local authorities (McConnachie 2016, 405). One form of structural violence was the denial of freedom of movement by the camp authorities. Galtung (1990, 291) described this as violation of need for freedom. Refugees were not allowed to leave the refugee camp in Burundi. Wamariya described how "UNHCR forbade refugees to leave the camp" (CW, 64). As well, in Zaire movement was severely restricted but more by the local authorities. Ndacyayisenga explained how situation in Bivara got worse when Zairean Contingent for Security in the Camps, "Contingent" were placed as law enforcement in the camp. Already in the previous section it was mentioned how the Contingent misused their power in the camp.

> "In 1995, at the request of the UNHCR, the camps were placed under military control to ensure the safety of refugees and humanitarian personnel and prevent the camps from being turned into training camps. The mission of law enforcement was entrusted to a force supervised by the UN through the UNHCR, called the Zairean Contingent for Security in the Camps, or simply "contingent" in the language of the refugees. Its members were all recruited from the private guard of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko. "Contingent" or not, the word will long remain etched in the minds of all Rwandans who had the misfortune to live in these camps of misery in eastern Zaire. Even before the creation of this notorious force, refugees were confined to the camps. Anyone who dared to go out for one reason or another was immediately set upon by Zairean soldiers, who after a sharp "Telema, maboko likolo" ("halt, put your hands up"), would ask you to show an infinitely long list of possible identification papers. If you showed your identity card, they'd ask for your baptism card. They could even go so far as to demand receipts for the bank notes in your possession! We were never sufficiently in order to be able to pass through a checkpoint without being stripped of all our belongings. With the establishment of the Zairean Contingent, the foxes were into the henhouse." PCN, 22

The authorities in the camps denied education under the guise of fear of recruitment. Denying of education is violation of rights of a child (Ihmisoikeusliitto 2021).

> "The government of Zaire, unfortunately with the support of the UNHCR, avoided establishing long-term projects in the camps, especially schools, in the hopes that the refugees would quickly repatriate to Rwanda. The UNHCR also feared that schools might serve as recruitment centers for the Interahamwe and former soldiers from the defeated Rwandan Armed Forces." PCN, 23.

Authorities sometimes used their power authoritatively by blocking initiatives of the refugees. This can be understood as violation of human rights as blocking initiatives can be seen as denying right for free speech (Ihmisoikeusliitto 2021).

> "A similar problem arose when a group of educated women wanted to disseminate information by and for women. They felt that women did not participate actively in discussions on return because they weren't sufficiently well informed. Their attempt to start a newspaper was blocked by the camp authorities, who themselves had just started their own paper and would not tolerate any competition. It was the kiss of death for the enthusiasm of the women, who didn't want to run the risk of being expelled from the camp for having disobeyed orders." MBU, 84.

One important aspect in the refugee camp question is the fact that the same societal structures existed than with society back in Rwanda. Most camps had mixed populations and victims and perpetrators lived side by side. Same kind of structural abuse was possible which had taken place in Rwanda before the genocide.

> "The great majority of Hutu of all classes had left Rwanda when the rebels took power. This meant that in the camps bandits, ministers, bankers, assassins, businessmen, simple peasants, and soldiers lived side by side, and victims lived with those who had persecuted them in times past." MBU, 79.

It is important to notice, that both Umutesi and Ndacyayisenga had contacts and wealth which worked to their advantage. Being Hutu offered them privilege. They were able to provide to themselves far better than the Tutsi in this study, whose best option to survive was to get married. Then again also Wamariya and her sister had it better than most in their camp. If you had any wealth, contacts, were educated, had name or were the "right" ethnicity your chances were already much better.

> "Most of the people in the camp were poor farmers from southern Rwanda and Burundi. They knew they weren't going home soon. We were privileged—abakire. In Kigali, I had a TV. My father had cars. Here I had a sister who was indomitable, even if she resented me. Their fate was not mine. People didn't like us very much. We were the rich girls, we had so much to learn. All the small luxuries of city life, the table manners, the cut flowers, Claire's dream of going to McGill—all that was useless." CW, 45.

Lastly the cultural violence of Hutu ideology is discussed. Cultural violence offers justification for use of structural or physical violence (Galtung 1990, 291). The "ethnic" violence which had started decades before Rwandan genocide and justified the killing, continued in the refugee camps. The old "ethnic" divisions and attitudes persisted and so did the norms of Rwandan society. All Tutsi were considered RPF, hence the enemy. Umutesi describes how the prejudiced profiling resulted into deaths.

> “Every attack on a camp by the RPF was followed by a period of generalized fear, even in the camps that had not been targets. […] When an unknown person entered a camp, he was in danger of being lynched. Often it was enough for someone to simply shout that someone was RPF for him to be killed. Even the employees of the humanitarian NGOs were threatened. Camps like Kashusha, where there was a large concentration of bandits from Kigali, were among the most dangerous. […] If you wanted to appropriate someone else’s possessions, you only had to accuse them of being RPF. By this simple word you could activate a blind killing machine, guided only by fear, resentment, and vengeance, though as time passed these feelings diminished.” MBU, 80–81.

> “At INERA, I was considered to be “pro-RPF” because, among other things, I looked like a Tutsi and had a Tutsi name, and I preferred the company of the old women in my neighborhood to that of the directors of the camp.” MBU, 81

The ethnicity was a reason for violence being perpetuated against someone. Emma and Berthilde explain that they were assaulted and harassed for being Tutsi.

> “When the child was born, his physical resemblance to me was evident. This increased the hostility of my captor who accused me of having slept with a Tutsi. He began to harass me, saying he was sorry that he had not killed me earlier.” E, 1.

> “We were threatened by the other refugees and our tent was burned down. Some Christians moved us into lodging. The refugees were always raping us and beating us, saying that we were Tutsis.” B, 1.

Even though Wamariya did not understand death, she needed to learn young that people hated her for just being alive.

> “I did not understand why we had to remain in this nightmare because we lacked papers, but I accepted that it was true. […]The way I wished to be invisible because I knew someone wanted me dead at a point in my life when I did not yet understand what death was.” CW, 73, 92.

To conclude this section, the refugees were subject to multiple forms of violence in the camps. Much of the violence was justified with belonging to wrong ethnicity or lower societal group (refugees, women, Tutsi etc.). The violence caused physical as well as psychological problems for the refugees.

6.3 Thoughts of the survivors in the refugee camp

This section showcases some of the thoughts in the material by the survivors. The feelings fluctuated during their time in the camp. Some of the refugees also questioned the humanitarian organisations and international community for letting something like this happen to them.

In the beginning of their time in the camp the refugees were happy to be rescued and were optimistic about their time in the refugee camp.

> "Most of its inhabitants were from my hometown and I knew quite a few people. Plus, my sister Thérèse and her husband Joseph had already been there for a couple of weeks. These were all factors that eased our transition since we had people we could rely on for help. […]We found ourselves in a well-organized camp, with an administrative structure and NGOs in place responsible for the distribution of food, supplies and medicine." PCN,

However, after time passed, the optimistic feelings turned to not giving up and fighting for future.

> "Claire had no one to look after her, and she refused to believe that this, here in Burundi, was the life she deserved. Bugs, filth, hunger, death." CW, 73.

> "When I was not cooking I sat on a rock and watched people coming into the camp, their faces slack with defeat and relief. I no longer had hope. I didn't expect to see my mother's hair, plush and wavy. I didn't expect to see Pudi's ropy arms. I could barely remember the rest of him. But still I waited." CW, 46.

Especially Umutesi described in her book, how she battled the feelings of despair and disbelief but she was able to keep the hope up.

> "I couldn't help asking myself what evil we had done to be condemned to these extremities." MBU, 77.

> "Each time that I saw women leafing through The Voice of the Rwandan Woman while cooking, or when the Zairians complimented us on some article that had appeared in Le Reveil, or when the director of JUA came to ask my permission to reprint articles from Le Reveil in his own newspaper, it encouraged me. Even if recognition of these actions remained limited to the refugee camps and the population of Bukavu, there was hope. After all, the pen and pencil were the only weapons available to the women, and it was a way to show that there were other ways to make oneself heard than through violence." MBU, 86–87.

In the refugee camp the everyday life is hard and many fall into destructive habits or settle for their fate. The measures which cause following sentiments can be described as violation to identity needs. (Galtung 1990, 291).

> "A refugee suffers, not only from having been torn from her land, her house, her work and her country, but also from having to beg to survive. For someone who has had work that allowed them to live decently, it is difficult to accept someone else deciding for her what she should eat and how much. It is even more difficult to spend the entire day sitting around with nothing to do but wait for the distribution of aid. Feeling useless is the worst thing imaginable. To forget their uselessness, the refugees threw themselves headlong into drink and debauchery. Alcohol and sex became their major pastimes.

Marriages took place younger and younger and were less and less stable. The majority of girls over fifteen were pregnant or had already given birth." MBU, 83–84.

> "But only a small percentage of the camp population was involved in these tenuous occupations, most were idle. In general, people who had been farmers in Rwanda fared better than those who had been bureaucrats or intellectuals, unaccustomed as they were to the hard life and working in the fields. Women spent their days cooking corn and beans, which was very demanding of both time and wood. The men played igisoro (a traditional African board game also known as awélé) or drank locally-brewed banana wine if they could afford it. It was the children who paid the steepest price. Chased out of their schools starting in 1990 by the war in northern Rwanda and then in April 1994 in the rest of the country, those fortunate enough to still be with their parents did not enjoy their basic rights to food and security, and even less to education." PCN, 23.

Sometimes the situations felt undeniably hopeless.

> "Claire knew we were targets, two girls without a guardian. Every woman was a target there. Our lives were impossible, hopeless. One woman in camp cried all day, every day. People screamed at her: "You don't think we all want to cry? We all want to cry." We all knew very little separated her from us." CW, 72.

> "Sometimes, when I think of the circumstances in which he was conceived and of his birth, I'm overcome with negative feelings and I wonder why I didn't have an abortion, or why the child didn't die at birth." M, 1.

Along with the feelings of despair and hopelessness arose criticism against politicians and the international community. Wamariya criticised in her book the clinical word genocide and how is not enough to describe the human suffering. Additionally, Wamariya criticised the politicians in the UN of not paying enough attention to the human suffering.

> "The word genocide cannot articulate the one-person experience—the real experience of each of the millions it purports to describe. The experience of the child playing dead in a pool of his father's blood. The experience of a mother forever wailing on her knees. The word genocide cannot explain the never-ending pain, even if you live. The word genocide cannot help the civilians. It can only help the politician sitting in the UN discussing with all the other politicians in suits, How are we going to fix this problem? These people have committed such horrible crimes. They've suffered such horrible things. They need water, they need food, and oh … wait … Their attention drifts, time to move on. The word genocide is clinical, overly general, bloodless, and dehumanizing." CW, 92–93.

Ndacyayisenga described the chaos in the camps in 1996 when the NGOs had left, and the refugees were left to take care of themselves.

> "In these three camps, panic was universal. We were expecting an RPA-rebel attack at any moment. The directors of the NGOs had all left. People's usual activities were replaced by preparations for a possible flight. We wondered what we should take from the tent and especially what direction we should go." PCN, 39.

Umutesi criticised the local heads of the UNHCR who together with Zairian military forces tried to force the NGOs to recommend return to Rwanda.

> "Once back in Bukavu, I wrote an article on the complicity of UNHCR in the adoption of the coercive measures that were impacting the refugees, and I continued with the usual activities of the Collective. We had to revisit our strategies. From then on, since organizing large-scale demonstrations and seminars in Bukavu or in the reading centers was forbidden, we needed to go back to semi clandestine activities. Even meetings of the representatives from the different camps, around forty people, took place in the blindés or in the fields. After the arrest of Ndagijimana Cyprien, we began to take threats from the UNHCR seriously. We were constantly afraid that we would one day see the soldiers from the CZSC entering our offices to arrest us all." MBU, 101–102.

Umutesi also criticised the international donor countries of their lack of pressure on Rwanda to make the return more human for the refugees.

> "Rwanda's donor countries seemed to have opted for an immobility that looked like complicity. There was no pressure exercised on the government in Kigali to induce them to create the conditions necessary for a large-scale return of the refugees." MBU, 95.

To survive the refugee camps one needed "not giving up" attitude. During their time in the camp there were glimpses of hope and times of despair as in normal life. However, taking into consideration the circumstances it is probable that they might cause and increase severe mental health problems as discussed in section 3.1. It leaves a question in mind, who are the refugee camps designed for? Nevertheless, it is fairly easy to question with Harrell-Bond (1994, 15) whether refugee camps even save lives.

6.4 Results

To conclude the analysis chapter, this study has produced three narratives: "life in the refugee camp", "forms of violence in the refugee camp" and "thoughts of the survivors in the refugee camp". The narratives describe the experiences of the survivors in inhumane situations in which Rwandan refugees lived after the genocide. Everyday life in the refugee camp included scarce facilities and violence. Even though the humanitarian organisations establish camps to keep the refugees alive, that is all they do and sometimes even fail at that. They fail to a very great extent in the quality of life they provide. This study seeks not to generalise the experiences of these survivors into grand narratives.

However, due to the historical facts which support these narratives, these experiences most likely accurately describe the experiences of thousands of others in the camps in eastern Zaire and northern Burundi. In the following figure 2. the results of the analysis are presented in simplified form.

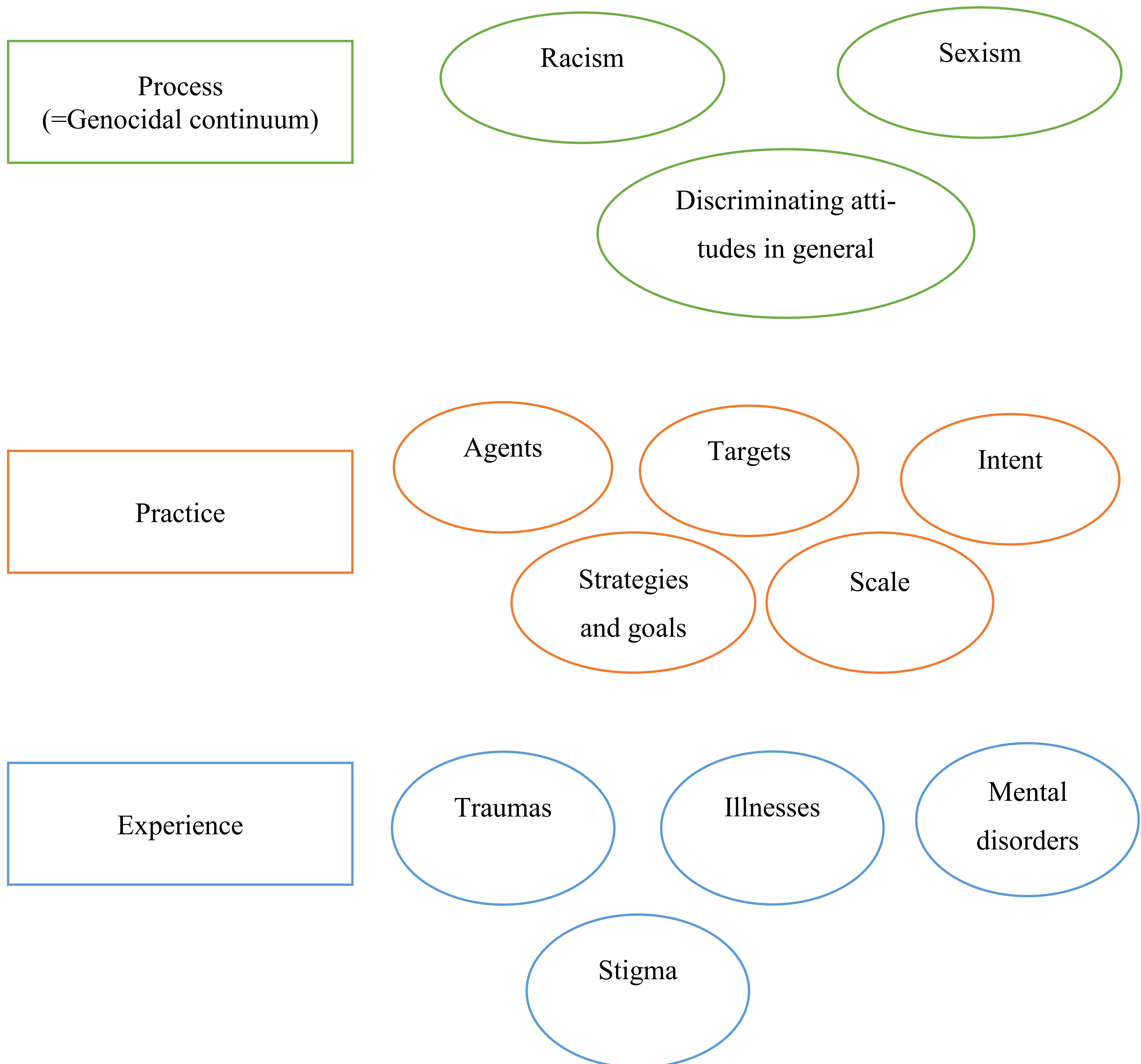

Figure 2. The multiple levels of genocide.

It can be analysed that in these people's lives the genocide continued in multiple ways, as a process, as a practice and as an experience. This is presented in figure 2. The figure 2. illustrates the levels from structural level to private. Firstly, the genocide continued in the camps as a process. Genocidal continuum best describes this process, where attitudes and therefore structures and norms in societies accept that not all peoples' lives are as worthy (Scheper-Hughes 2002, 31–33). Genocidal continuum can be identified from the multiple experiences which were described earlier in the thesis. In the

refugee camps norms and conditions continued which reiterated the social norms of the pre-existing society. Refugees were in a vulnerable situation compared to local authorities and militants who used the power imbalance to their advantage. The refugees who had wealth or contacts were better off than the ones who did not have anything. This was a continuation of the civilian experience in Rwanda, where the civilian population had been under a discriminatory and corrupted government and militant groups. Additionally, because the camps collected people from all classes of Rwandan society immediately after the genocide, the ethnic division continued, and people were subject to violence due to their ethnicity or their biological sex. This genocidal continuum is the key underlying factor, justifying the practices and experiences of genocide.

Secondly, there are elements which can be identified in the camp system which enforce the continuation of genocide in practice. To prosecute and define genocidal action, agents, intent, goals and strategies, targets, and scale are often considered (Jones 2017, 28). Although Levene (2008, 101–117) emphasises the state officials' agency, also other, indeed multiple, actors can be identified in this study. Who uses power in forming refugee camps and regulating them? The perpetrator is invisible for the refugee maybe because of its multifaceted nature. The international humanitarian organisations who often run the camps and the international community are one agent. Those who fund the humanitarian organisations and do not want the refugees to enter their countries are another. Refugees are fleeing violence at their homes from local government and militias, which are one agent. They are especially influential agent in the Rwandan case because they were either in the camps or were able to influence them. Often refugee camps are located in neighbouring countries where the refugees are from, therefore also the host country and its administrators are one agent. The refugees mentioned RPA, The Contingent, and the UNHCR as the ones having power over the refugees during their time in the camp. These agents do not necessarily have as their goal the destruction of the refugee population, but they do not want to save them from violence either. It seems the strategy is to keep refugees contained and away. Not all genocidal strategies and goals produce direct casualties (Jones 2017, 31–33). These agents could be held accountable when considering the knowledge, the agents have on the situation in the camp. A true intent might be impossible to show but as stated in Chapter 4 (subsection 4.3.5) also neglect can be counted as intent when the actors should have known the state of the situations (Jones 2017, 50).

Refugees, as a whole and in the camps, are a heterogeneous group. For example, in the Rwandan case Hutu's and Tutsis were in the same camps with Zairians, Tanzanians, Burundians, all with their own ethnic divisions and social classes. However, on the outside they showcase as a group, as others. Here

we follow the position of ICTR "any stable and permanent group" (Jones 2017, 21) with the understanding that the group can be regulated as stable even though the people in the group change. They are regulated as a group in the camp and therefore it is possible to reference them as a group facing genocidal practices. Even though Fein (2007, 126) warns against the banalisation of the term of 'genocide', in this Rwandan refugee case the number of casualties is not even a question. In the refugee camps in the scope of this study, human casualties were a norm. By controlling the freedom of movement, the camp officials and militias not only violated the refugees' right to freedom of movement but subjected the refugees to physical and psychological violence. In addition to direct physical violence in the form of attacks by RPA, they were exposed to human rights violations, such as violation of the right to education and numerous violations of their right to health. For example, malnutrition and lack of medical attention may mean slow but intentional killing and should be counted as violence (Galtung 1990, 293) and therefore in this case can be understood as genocidal practice.

Thirdly, the horrors continued as a subjective experience. The experience of genocide is not just dying or surviving the slaughter as described by Wamariya (2018, 92–93). The poor living quality is a continuation of the conflict. In the scope of this study, the genocide continued in the minds of the refugees. The personal experience of genocide is complex, and the survivors remember it and suffer from its outcomes for years. Furthermore, their physical health is impacted. The Tutsi women in this study who were staying in the camp with their abductors and so-called husbands. Most of them had already been raped before the time in the camp and the raping continued in the camp. For them the experience of genocide was not death but rape and violence. Later the women faced physical health problems due to their time at the camp; most of them were HIV infected. Additionally, time in the camp affects their mental health as stated in the studies about refugee camps in section 3.1. Nutting (2019, 97–98) noted that a high number of refugees had suicidal ideations. Refugees who are infected with HIV or whose mental problems develop into PTSD or other mental disorders, suffer from these for the rest of their lives. The three levels of genocidal phenomena presented above were uncovered through narrative analysis method. This identification could be helpful when researching other parts of societies and when trying to prevent genocide.

7. Conclusion

In this study the experiences of Rwandan refugees in refugee camps in 1994–1996 have been analysed by means of a narrative analysis method. The method produced three narratives which highlighted the experiences of the refugees. The experiences showcased multiple forms of violence and suffering in the refugee camp even if they were rescued there to save them from the genocide. The theoretical basis of this study emphasised the multiple forms of violence, widening the understanding from physical violence based to structural violence and "needs-met" based understanding. The theory part also discussed the definitions of genocide from mass murder to events with less direct human casualties such as enforced pregnancies. The legal definition of genocide was also discussed and challenged even though the genocide defining aspects are also understood as components of genocidal practice in this study.

The method of choice in this study did not provide objective truth or a grand narrative on the aftermath of genocide in Rwanda. However, such knowledge building is deemed impossible by the writer and constructivist tradition. This study highlighted the experiences of the refugees and used material in which the refugees themselves described the course of their life. Interviews might have provided more direct answers to the research question; however, the interview situation and questions might have directed the refugees into different direction. Although, narrative analysis is a method which is highly influenced by the researcher in the form of narrative constructing, it does not change the wording of the refugees. The choices made in this study have a bearing on the results but also offer a view in which genocide could be understood as a larger part of societies.

As a result of the analysis, the legal definition of genocide was successfully contested. Genocide continues in the refugee camps in multiple ways: as a process, as a practice and as an experience. Firstly, the study highlights the need to understand genocide as a process, as a genocidal continuum. The understanding of genocidal continuum sheds light on the constructed norms in our societies where attitudes toward others foster capacity for violence and genocide. Norms and conditions continue in the refugee camps, which reiterate the social norms of the pre-existing society. These norms and conditions are enforced because they are embedded in the system of control in refugee camps. This provides possibilities for cultural and structural violence.

Secondly, genocide is in the structures of the refugee camp system and through them showcases in practice. Even though this study aims to broaden the legal definition of genocide, also elements can

be identified which could lead to prosecution. Agents, goals and strategies, scale, intent, and targets can be identified. International humanitarian organisations, international global community, host countries and countries of origin can be identified as agents. These agents have strategies regarding the refugee population and thus these agents could be held accountable. Although a true intent might be impossible to showcase, also neglect can be regarded as intent according to The Statue of Rome. As discussed throughout this entire study, mass murder is not needed for something to be regarded as genocide and therefore also other strategies than the ones which lead to total eradication are accepted as practices of genocide. According to the survivors' experiences multiple forms of violence were at play in the refugee camps, direct physical violence through attacks by RPA and structural violence in camp regulation which caused human rights violations. Refugees can be regarded as a target group even though they are not homogeneous for they showcase as a group, as others, for the outsiders. This analysis allows us to identify the elements of genocide in a refugee camp.

Thirdly, at the heart of this study are the experiences of the refugees. The horrors continue as a subjective experience. The personal experience of genocide is complex, and the survivors remember it and suffer from its results for years. Their physical as well as mental health is impacted. As an example, the Tutsi women who were staying in the camp with their abductors and so-called husbands, had endured years of physical violence in the camp when they returned to Rwanda. Afterwards many of them discovered they were infected with HIV, which will be their companion for the rest of their lives. In addition to the other mental health problems people take with them from the camps, they also need to carry this shame and stigma of being HIV positive.

This study suggests, along with the studies presented in Chapter 3, that refugee camps are not safe havens. They are better described as a limbo. Refugee camps are places where insecurity and suffering continue, and they are a breeding ground for instability. Furthermore, due to diseases and human rights violations they also fail in their main goal, that of keeping refugees alive. The genocidal process and practices are present, and genocide continues as an experience. This study showcases the situation 25 years ago, however similar human suffering continues today. Refugee camps are not a good solution when considering refugee experiences, the system is slowly killing them. A new way to help refugees needs to be developed and implemented. Restricting human mobility and seeing refugees as security threat are the first questions which need to be addressed. Controlling movement of people diminishes their possibilities and potential by excluding them from the world. The so-called human-

itarian industry needs to understand which kind of social structure is maintained with their programmes and take responsibility for the suffering of human beings. Unfortunately, it was not possible to research this in the scope of this study but further research on this would be beneficial.

Furthermore, discrimination and structural violence need our attention everywhere. Neo-colonial processes, which lead to human suffering in pre-colonial areas and the discriminating treatment of minorities all around the world, are genocidal. Modern-day societies acquire structures where we are all the time on the verge of a group's genocide. A broader understanding of genocide provides us with knowledge on how to avoid genocidal continuums and genocidal practices. By identifying the genocidal continuum and practices of genocide we are closer in the understanding of the phenomena. Focusing on mass murders does not provide understanding on genocide neither does it provide understanding on how to prevent such events. Understanding of genocide as a whole need to include process and experimental levels. This study suggests that further research on genocidal processes, practices and experiences are needed. The research should be located in other refugee camps together with allegedly peaceful societies in the global north. This would broaden the understanding of the phenomenon of genocide and help prevent human suffering in the future.

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Glossary

Translations are provided by Prunier (1998, 401–405).

Ibyitso	Accomplice, The Tutsi living in Rwanda were thought to be accomplice of the infiltrators who invaded Rwanda in 1990. The name was given to them by the regime's extreme supporters. Later also moderate or not radical enough Hutu were called accomplice.
Inkotanyi	"The tough fighters" after an old royal regiment was the name given by RPF to its soldiers.
Interahamwe	"Those who work together", a name of regime's youth movement, which became the first civilian militia and were trained by the French. They started taking part in killings in 1992.
Inyenzi	Cockroaches. Name given to Tutsi guerrilla forces in 1960's and reclaimed by hardliners in the 1990's preparing for the genocide.
Umuganda	Unpaid community work demanded from the labours since 1974.