MA Dissertation

Between collective victimization and victimhood: the experience of the Ethiopian refugees (Anuak and Highlanders) in Nakivale settlement. Uganda

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Abstract

This thesis examines collective and competitive victimhood among Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale settlement, Uganda and how these experiences of victimhood are influenced by the humanitarian setting of the camp. The study is based on fieldwork conducted by the researcher during the time she spent as an intern in the settlement from September until November 2019. The study adopted a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and personal observation as methods for data collection.

The findings have revealed how collective victimization of the Ethiopian Anuak which have been historically subjected to by the Ethiopian government and the Ethiopian Highlanders is negatively influencing and shaping the way they perceive the Ethiopian Highlander refugees in the same settlement. The findings have also shown how the competitive victimhood has developed mainly among the Anuak refugees in a way that shows them as the ultimate sufferers and the ideal "victims" which enhance their exclusive victim consciousness.

Through claiming victimhood, Anuak refugees have made their voices more heard and their suffering more legitimate compared to the other refugees including the Highlander. In this sense, being a "victim" goes beyond the normalized image that has been set by the humanitarian discourse which represents refugees as apolitical, passive, dependent but rather reveals their consciousness about their past and the power they have to bring this suffering to the surface.

Key words: Collective victimization, Collective victimhood, Competitive victimhood, Victim, Camp

Acknowledgments

List of Acronyms:

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

OPM: Office of the Prime Minister

UNHCR: United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

EPRDF: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

ARRA: Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs

HIJRA: Humanitarian initiative for Just, Relive and Aid

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Chapter one

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

This section demonstrates the history of refugees in Uganda in addition to the description of Nakivale refugee's settlement, Gambella region and the 2003 genocide. The term "Highlander" and its contextualization within the research is presented in this chapter in addition to the main research questions, problem the motivation behind conducting this research and its significance.

1.1.1 Refugees in Uganda

Uganda has been well known for the high number of refugees it receives since the 1950s from different African countries such as South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya and Rwanda. The history of African refugees in Uganda goes back to the twenty century in the mid of fifties when 80,000 Southern Sudanese crossed into Uganda after the conflict started in Sudan (now South Sudan) and most of them were settled in West Nile in North-Western Uganda (Frank, 2015:1).

According to very recent estimates by Ugandan Office of Prime Minister (OPM) and United Nation High commission for refugees (UNHCR) (2020), the total refugee number in Uganda is 1,424,373 in which South Sudanese constitutes the largest number of refugees with 880,673 refugees and a percentage of 61.8. Coming second are the Congolese who are bout 415,098 with percentage of 29.1. The total number of the Ethiopian refugees in Uganda is relatively small as it comes in the eights rank with about 3,083 with a percentage of 0.2 after South Sudan, DRC, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, Eritrea and Sudan (OPM/UNHCR, 2020)

Therefore, Uganda has been generously accepting many refugees who are fleeing different forms of violence and persecution to its territory. The "open door policy" of Uganda to refugees could be seen as a result of Pan Africanism, a movement that started in the 1960s which aimed at building more solidarity among Africans and assisting those who were escaping the colonialism and its violence (Frank, 2015:5).

However, although many receiving countries including Uganda might find themselves for different reasons accepting a large number of refugees, UNHCR has set three "durable solutions" as a part of its mandate to deal with the issue of refugees including repatriation, integration, and resettlement (UNHCR, 2011). One of these durable solutions and which would be addressed in this research is resettlement that provides an opportunity for refugees

to be resettled in a third country other than their country of origin and the country of their asylum.

The option of resettlement is very preferable but is becoming very difficult since it is a complicated and costly solution and thus small number of refugees gets the chance (Crisp, 2003:25). Finding alternative approaches to implement the three "durable solutions" to govern the refugees and their movement, Uganda has adopted the policy of resettlement in its territory (Erik, 2014). There are many refugees' camps and settlements in Uganda including Adjumani, Kiryandongo, Kyaka II, Kyangwali, Oruchinga, Rhino, Rwamanja and Nakivale (Ilcan et al, 2015:2)

The map below by UNHCR shows the distribution of different refugee's settlements in Uganda and the allocation of the UNHCR offices along the country. A black arrow is inserted in the map pointing to the location of Nakivale settlement which is in the southwestern Uganda and bordering both Tanzania and Rwanda from the South.

What is indicated from the map is the existence of many refugees transit/reception/collection point (over ten) especially in the north of Uganda which is bordering South Sudan. However, there are no close reception centers or collection point near Nakivale settlement. This explains having a reception center inside Nakivale settlement where new arrivals and asylum seekers would be allocated there before being granted the status of refugees and moved out to the settlement.

1.1.2   Nakivale refugee's settlement

Nakivale is one of the oldest settlements in Uganda and in Africa. It was established in the 1960s to receive the Rwandan Tutsi who were fleeing the civil war in Rwanda (Ilcan et al, 2015:2). It is located in the Isingiro district in southwestern Uganda, where the nearest town, Mbarara, is roughly 60 km away. Nakivale settlement contains several markets, health center, churches, shops, restaurants and small bars.

As a settlement, Nakivale has a much more established nature as it consists of allocated land for housing and agriculture to ensure more self-sufficiency for refugees (Erik, 2014:10). The affordability of such services in the settlement minimizes the temporality of the staying there as refugees tend to find themselves settled and attached to the place through work, business, or the cultivation of land. Nakivale Settlement is jointly administered by the UNHCR and

OPM. OPM is represented by the settlement commandant, who is responsible for the administration of the settlement, including its management (receiving, registering and settling refugees, for example, and allocating land), coordination of service delivery, security (Ilcan et al,2015).
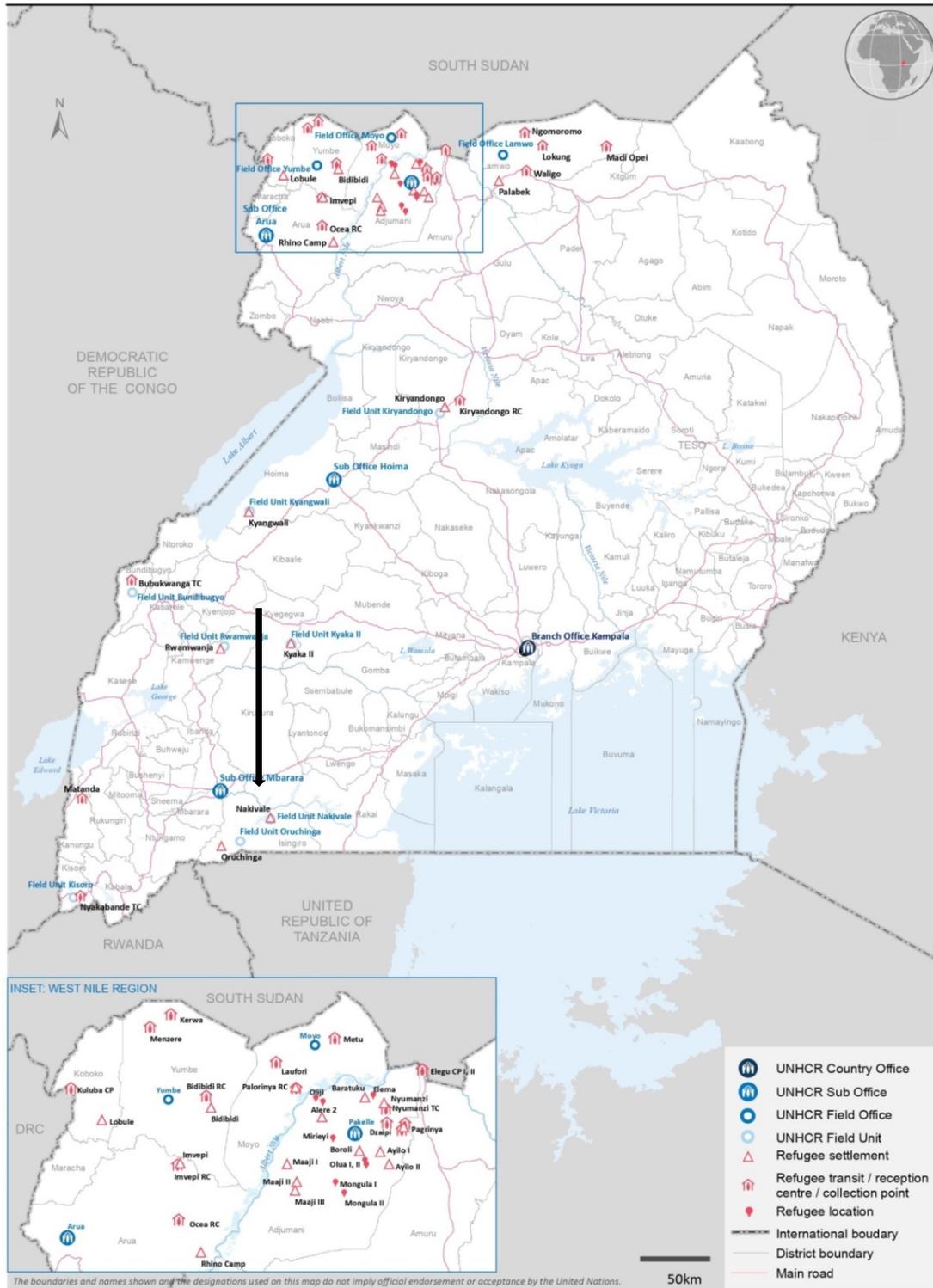
Figure 1: Map for Refugees settlements in Uganda. Source: UNHCR (2017)

In an estimated area of 185 km2, the total population in Nakivale settlement is 115,747 with 111,322 refugees and 4,425 asylum seekers who are distributed in three zones inside the settlement which are Base camp, Juru and Rubondo (OPM and UNHCR, 2019). The largest population are from DRC (57,415) followed by Burundi (33,353) and Somali (13,251) (OPM and UNHCR, 2019).

In what follows below, I will describe the background of Gambella region and the Ethiopian Anuak in addition to the massacre that committed in 2003 in Gambella region against the Anuak.

1.1.3 Gambella region and the Anuak

Gambella is a hot, lowland region in the south-Western part of Ethiopia with an altitude of 500 meters and temperatures averaging 37 degrees (Feyissa, 2015:32). Gambella is bordered by Oromia from the North, North East and East and by the Southern Nations and Nationalities People's Region (SNNPR) from the South and Southeast and by South Sudan from the Southwest, West and Northwest (Degife, 2017:3). Gambella is divided into (check map below) Anuak zone which is the largest one, Nuer zone, Mezhenger zone and Etang zone (2007 census). According to (2007 census) Anuak zone is divided into six wereda (Gambella Zuria, Abobo, Gog, Jor, Dima and Gambella). Nuer zone is divided into four wereda (Lare, Jikawo, Wantawa and Akobo), Mezhenger zone is divided into two wereda (Godare and Mengesh) and finally Etange zone divided into one wereda (Etange). Many ethnic groups live in Gambella region including the Anywaa (21.16 %), the Nuer (46.6 %), the Majang (4 %), the Opo and the Komo (1%) in addition to the highlander's population (Amhara (8.42 %) Oromo (4.83 %) and Tigray (1.32 %) (2007 Census).

The Anuak or the Anywaa are a Nilotic group which lives along the riverbanks and they depend on crop harvesting, fishing and hunting as their supplementary income sources (Sewonet, 2002). Anuak in Gambella were the largest ethnic group but the demography of the region has dramatically changed since the beginning of 1984 because of the resettlement program by the Derg[1]regime (Feyissa, 2015). These resettlement programs resulted in arrival of more than 60,000 highlanders to Gambella region (Feyissa, 2015:46) who included in addition to the Amhara also Oromo and Tigreans. In addition to the settling of the Ethiopians from the Highlands, Gambella region has been receiving a huge influx of Nuer from South

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[1] Derg refers to the Socialist government that overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie and ruled from 1974 until 1987

Sudan who were forced to cross the border because of the civil war and conflicts in Sudan (now South Sudan) (Sewonet, 2002:4).
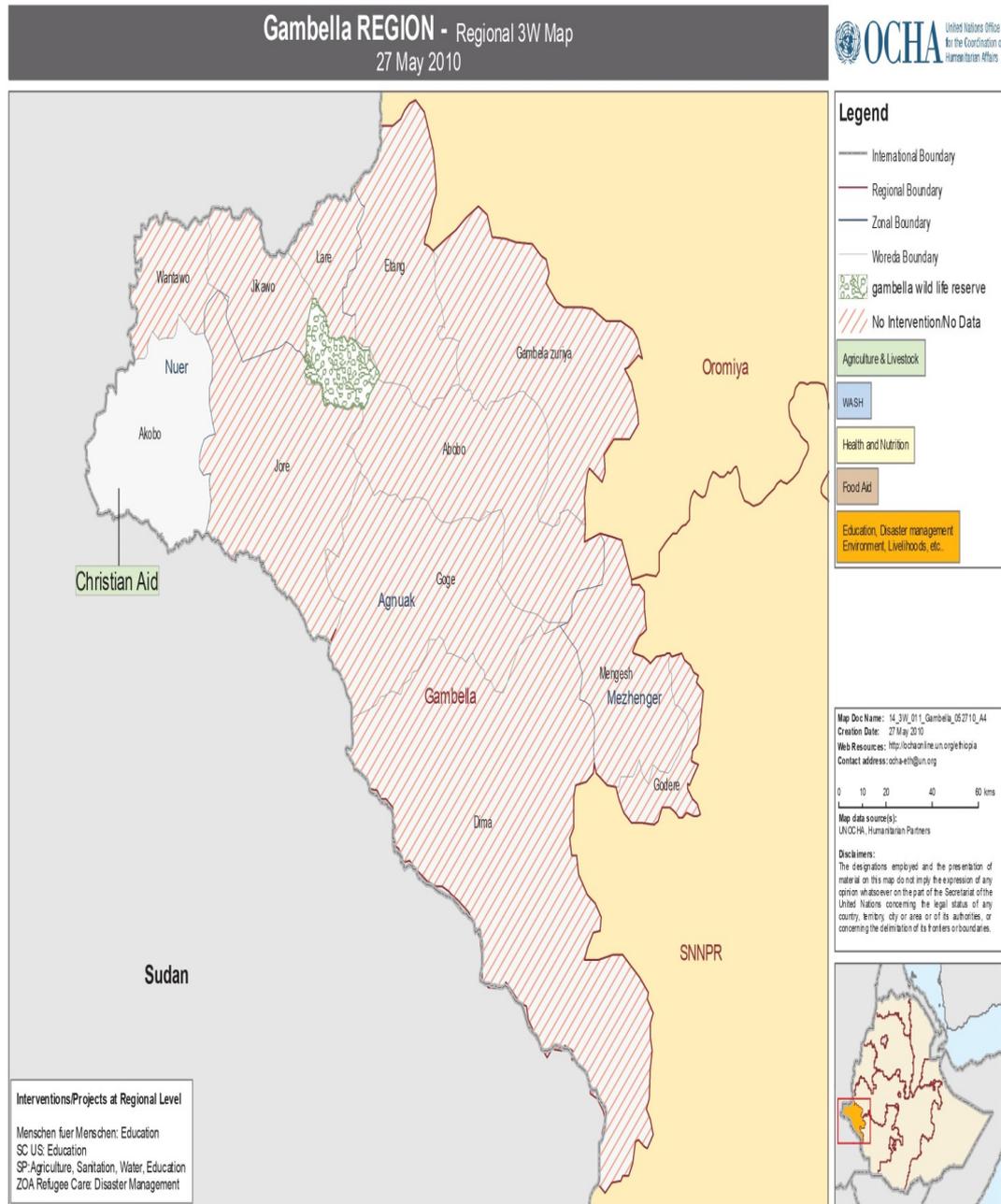
Figure 2: Map for Gambella region with its zones and Weredas[2]. Source: OCHA (2010)

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[2] Weredas are administrative level that is smaller than the zones.

Gambella region is very rich of land and water as there are four rivers (Baro, Gilo, Akobo and Alwero) passing through the region (Degife, 2017:3) in addition to the oil/gas, tungsten, platinum and gold (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:14). This richness has been attracting many investors from different parts of the world without real benefits to the local communities of the region. Since the mid-2000s, thousands of hectares of fertile lands have been given by the Ethiopian government to foreign companies and wealthy individuals to export some crops such as rice, cotton at bargain prices (Degife, 2017:3). The two best known foreign investors are India's Karuturi and Saudi Arabia's Saudi Star, the latter is owned by Ethiopian/Saudi billionaire Mohammed Hussein al-Amoudi (Human rights watch, 2012:17).

Most of the land that has been given to foreign companies and investors were taken from indigenous people in Gambella mainly Anuak and Nuer, forcing thousands to leave their homes under what is called "villagization" programme (Human rights watch, 2012:2). Villagization is a program that has been adopted initially by the Ethiopian government since the Derg regime which aims at "clustering of agro-pastoral and/or shifting cultivator populations into more permanent, sedentary settlements" (Human rights watch, 2012:11). Despite the promises by the Ethiopian government to provide basic resources and infrastructure, the new villages where people have been transferred to lack basic standards of living in terms of food and water supply, health and education (Human rights watch, 2012: 2). Additionally, relocations have been characterized by violence threats and assaults, and arbitrary arrest for those who resist the move (Human rights watch, 2012:2). At the same time, Gambella region lacks enough medical facilities and schools, in addition to the Anuak people being underserved and denied basis opportunities offered to other Ethiopians (IHRLC, 2007).

It is important to consider here that different ethnic groups in Gambella such as the Anuak and Nuer and their living have been affected by the villagization program. However, the Anuak have been facing "multiple" forms of marginalization as they are a small group and they have been consistently fearing of being outnumbered by other groups particularly Nuer who are new to the region. Additionally, besides being a minority in their own region, the Anuak fear the continuous intervention of the highlander's supported by the Ethiopian government into their lands.

1.1.4   The term "Highlanders" within the context of the study

This research will use the term "Highlanders "vs "Anuak" who are the indigenous people in Gambella. The term "Highlanders" is coming from the Ethiopian highlands (elevated areas with more than 1500 meters heights) in which more than 80% of the population are located in and where 90% of the country's total agricultural product is coming from (Bewket, 2001:1). This research will use "highlanders" referring to different groups of Amharic, Oromo and Tigray who occupy the Ethiopian highlands. The highlanders who are also named as *Degegna o*r Habesha are culturally attached with the Ethiopian state and the Orthodox Church while the Anywaa, Nuer, Majang, Opo, and Komo adhere to Presbyterian Church which is Protestant division or local religions (Feyissa, 2015:32).

Although the term "highlander" might be imprecise in an objective sense (Gagnon et al, 2005) but in the context of Gambella the division between "Highlanders" and non-highlanders is very real and important to members of both groups. Speaking about "Highlanders" as one homogenous and uniform group might be misleading but the use of the term here is about the positioning and the historical representation of power and hierarchies between the two groups within the Ethiopian state. In addition to being a reference for a specific geography of Ethiopia (Highlands) , Skin color plays a role in the labelling of Highlanders as a form of identity politics in which "black" Nilotic groups such as Anywaa and Nuer are different from the highlanders who are "red" (Feyissa, 2015:32).

Anuak often use a one term which is *Gala* to refer to both the Ethiopian state and the Ethiopian Highlanders (Feyissa, 2014:172) which means being a "Highlander" does not only mean being different from others lowland inhabitants in terms of color and culture but also representing the state and its power. Moreover, historically the Anuak have been victimized economically and politically until this victimization reached its peak in 2003 when hundreds of them were killed and thousands forced to leave their homes.

1.1.5   The genocide against the Anuak in 2003

The 2003 massacre that happened in Gambella left a remarkable impact on the Anuak population in general. Many Anuak became refugees and fled their home region fearing further persecution and some of these ended up as refugees in Nakivale settlement in Uganda. In 2003, government soldiers and highlander civilians committed a massacre in Gambella, Ethiopia in which nearly 424 Anuak civilians were killed, targeting educated men

specifically, and 16,000 Anuak were displaced to Sudan during the massacre and its aftermath (IHRLC, 2007). Many Anuaks who fled to Sudan back then (now South Sudan) moved to Uganda and became refugees there including the participants of this study after the civil war sparked in South Sudan in 2013.

Many reports have mentioned that a militant Anuak group or "Shifta" attacked some highlanders who were eight employees of the federal government's Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) and all of them were killed and their bodies were mutilated (Gagnon et al, 2005:11). This attack happened as many Anuak were afraid of the government plans to open a camp for Sudanese refugees on what they consider as Anuak land (Gagnon et al, 2005:12).

The attack on the eight highlanders was the spark for the massacre that happened later in the same day in which highlander's soldiers started randomly targeting, arresting, burning houses, raping and killing the Anuaks as revenge to what happened (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:). The soldiers were Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) forces with a uniform and in many cases, attackers were identified by names (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:13). The biggest number of soldiers in Gambella belongs to the ethnic groups that make up the region's highlanders and the 2003 massacre constituted the beginning of the Ethiopian military forces in the conflict against the Anuak (Gagnon et al, 2005:1).

In addition to the Killing, burning houses and arbitrary arrest, rape of women by Ethiopian soldiers has been reported. Since the beginning of the massacre in 13 December until January rape incidents reached up to 138 cases in Gambella town (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:14). The rape also involved Anuak men but it is not really known the exact number of cases as a high stigma is associated with this issue and many people feared to talk about it (Gagnon et al, 2005:34). Most of the sexual violence and assault that has been reported include gang-rape which involved at least three perpetrators (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004).

Among all these violence and violation of human rights, one might wonder about the response of the Ethiopian government back then to the massacre and their efforts to investigate and hold those who committed any crime accountable. The federal authorities

have not publicly admitted that the military Ethiopian forces have committed any abuses in Gambella since December 2003 (Gagnon et al, 2005:51). Additionally, when many Anuak who had been attacked during the massacre or lost one of their relatives spoke to the police about the involvement of some highlanders soldiers they faced denial and refusal from the police to accept such accusation (Gagnon et al, 2005). As a result, many Anuaks did not to go to the police and report what happened to them because of the fear that no one will believe them. This has made the Anuaks to feel insecure and threatened because of the denial and lack of recognition of those who committed those crimes against them.

1.2 The Motivation of the Study

In October 2019, I came to know about the existence of Gambella as a region and its people during my internship in Nakivale settlement for refugees in Uganda. What called my attention was the referring of one of the officers to refugees from Gambella who live in the settlement as "Black Ethiopians". From that time I was determined to know more about Gambella community in Nakivale, why they were referred to as "Black Ethiopians" and if they face any sort of discrimination from other co-nationals (Oromo and Amharic) who are living in the settlement.

From the time I spent there with them and through my interactions, I realized that they face a lot of problems and challenges in terms of access to health services, proper shelters, and a good environment. What I realized also is that these problems are not exclusive to Anuak refugees but to almost all the refugees in Nakivale. The transfer of Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement, namely their transfer from Base camp 4 where the other Ethiopians refugees live to Base camp 5 might have different justifications and meanings including the discrimination/rejection that Anuak refugees might have faced vis a vis the highlanders while they were living with them in base camp 4. However, what was noticeable from the personal observations and the interviews is the strong presence of the memory of the 2003 massacre that happened in Gambella region against the Anuak. Therefore, I decided to look closely at how the victimization that Anuak people have been facing back home, is following them as refugees and affecting their perception towards other Ethiopians refugees who live in the settlement.

1.3 The Research Purpose

This research aims at examining how collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement, Uganda affects their inter-group relations with other Ethiopian 'highlander' refugees in the Nakivale settlement.

The methodology of this Master thesis is based on the social-psychological theory of collective victimization and victimhood which is concerned with attitudes, emotions, and behaviors of a specific group towards another. This research tries to shed light on the experience of this suffering and how the Anuak are feeling and making sense of this suffering. Additionally, victimhood cannot be addressed as an isolated experience of pain and suffering. In other words, "victims become victims and are made visible through complex networks of discourses, narratives and prioritization of various actors such as states, donors and everyday survival practices" (Jensen, 2014:104).

More importantly, addressing the issue of victimhood among the refugees in this research is not an attempt to link them and their experiences with the lack of power, voice and agency. Attention mostly goes to hardship and violence but I will also explore what people do to survive and make sense of their own suffering and their feelings of being neglected and left behind.

Claiming victimhood has different meanings and connotations which are not necessarily associated with the insufficiency and fragility of people who have been victimized. Rather, victimhood is an "empirical object of analysis in itself, not only concepts of suffering" (Jensen and Ronsobo, 2014:2) and could be claimed to gain more power, recognition and legitimacy for the victimization. Therefore victimhood is negotiable according to different sets of power, different actors involved and different discourses. When it comes to the issue of "victim" and "perpetrator" it is not always such a clear-cut dichotomy as both are "contested categories negotiated through the ongoing political process" (Jacoby, 2014:527). Therefore a status such "victim" must be looked at in a contextualized manner in order to understand their meanings and impact among different social groups.

1.4 Problem Statement

Based on the observation of the researcher during the time she spent in Nakivale, the continuous recalling and restoration of the traumatizing past (the 2003 massacre in Gambella) seems to create a feeling of insecurity and skepticism among the Anuak refugees. These feelings of insecurity and skepticism are developing tensions between the Anuak and the

other highlanders in Nakivale settlement. Moreover, taking into consideration the special context of Nakivale as a refugee's settlement, these feelings might be exacerbated and worsened. As a result, a lack of trust would develop between Ethiopian refugees (Anuak and highlanders) and hinders them from being active and participate in improving their economic, social and political life inside the settlement.

1.5 Research questions

1. How does collective victimization of the Anuak Ethiopian highlanders create a sense of collective and competitive victimhood among Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement?

2. How does collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees influence their perceptions and attitudes towards other Ethiopians refugees in Nakivale settlement?

3. How does the camp/settlement and the resettlement policies play a role in intensifying the sense of victimhood among the Anuak refugees within Nakivale settlement?

1.6 The significance of the study

Most of the articles and the studies about collective victimhood I came across were done within the European or the Israeli/Palestinian contexts that focus on the impact of violence/conflicts and how it is related to the collective victimhood and the memory of people (Noor et al, 2017). Not much has been done about collective victimhood in Africa despite the great numbers of conflicts and wars that have created massive victimization and left millions of people as victims.

Therefore, this study would be an important addition to the field of collective victimization and its influence on the social relations between the victim group and the other group (perpetrator). Moreover, what makes this study special is looking at these issues among refugees who are living in a refugees' settlement. What is interesting here is to explore collective victimhood within a refugee's settlement as an exclusionary space for many and therefore a perfect place for intensifying the sense of victimhood especially if the groups (victim and perpetrator) are living together.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Victimhood within the domain of Social Psychology

In this chapter, the main concepts used to analyze the field data are defined and explained. I will also show how different concepts are related to each other, and their theoretical interconnections. Additionally, I will also demonstrate what their relevance to the research questions and research problem is.

It is important to acknowledge that collective victimization and victimhood are very complex and intertwined with different economic, social and political factors. Therefore, these concepts have emerged in different fields and disciplines such as history, political science, political psychology, sociology and the humanities (Young and Sullivan, 2016:30). As the focus of the study is on the perception of Ethiopian refugees towards each other and how this affects their relations, most of the concepts would be used and discussed within the field of sociology and social psychology. Social Psychology as "discipline that attempts to understand how the thought, feeling and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of others" (Godon Allport (1968) cited in Tasiu et al 2015:3).

Therefore, social psychology would offer a good chance to understand how Anuaks refugees in Nakivale see the highlander refugees and how they perceive their presence in the same settlement. Moreover, as Social psychology concerns with the perception and its effect on the way people interact with each other, new insights would emerge regarding the social interaction between the Anuak and the highlander refugees in Nakivale settlement. Concerning the context of the study, social psychology gives a chance to explore how being a member of a certain group in addition to the social context affects the response to collective victimization (Sharvit et al, 2010). In the same way, social psychology helps in understanding the impact of the indirect victimization related to temporally and geographically distant events on intergroup relations, and how collective victimization feeds back into intergroup relations in the present (Vollhardt, 2012:140).

In the following section, the three central concepts in this study which are collective victimization, collective victimhood and competitive victimhood would be defined. In my view, all three concepts will help in understanding the underlying processes causing feelings of threat or uncertainty for the Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement.

2.2 Collective victimization and collective victimhood

2.2.1 Definition of the main concepts

1. Collective *victimization* is

"victimization which results from collective violence which is the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group—whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity—against another group or set of individuals, to achieve political, economic or social objectives" (WHO, 2002:215).

"The experience of intentional harm inflicted on a collective by another group or groups, a harm that is viewed as undeserved, unjust and immoral, and one that the group was not able to prevent" (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Shori and Gundar, 2009, p. 238 cited in Vollhardt, 2012: 137)

2. *Collective* victimhood is "a psychological experience and consequence of harm which may affect the cognitions and behaviors that shape the group's collective identity as well as their interactions with other groups (Noor et al.2017:121).

3. *Competitive* victimhood is," competition between the conflicting groups over physical, material, cultural, psychological and moral dimensions of suffering to prove that their group has suffered more than the adversarial group"(Noor et al. 2017:123).

It is important to differentiate between collective victimization as an act of harm by one group toward another (Noor et al 2017) and collective victimhood as "psychological experience and consequences of such harm which may affect the cognitions, and behaviors that shape the group's collective identity as well as their interactions with other groups (Noor et al.2017 p:121). In other words, collective victimization is "a process and objective state" while collective victimhood is "perception and subjective state". (Vollhardt, 2012:137). According to Jensen and Ronsobo (2014:17) victim speaks to suffering and hardship while victimhood is associated with how suffering is entextualized and acted on". In other words, victimhood goes beyond the experience of victimization and suffering to the experience of addressing, navigating through and negotiating this victimization and suffering. However, for victims to be engaged in the experience of victimhood, there is a set of beliefs, practices and values which make up the victim-based identity which is necessarily collective (Jacoby, 2014:522). Collective victimhood is established on the ground of the victimized "we" not on the individual level which gives it more powerful and political effect (Jacoby, 2014:522). In

the same line, the narratives/ experiences of the individuals go parallel with group's narrative/ experiences which are based on the victim identity to gain" mutual recognition and legitimization" (Jacoby, 2014:522). Therefore, the collectivity of victimhood comes from the effect of the victimization at the group level even if the stories and narratives of victimization are coming from individuals.

Examining victimhood among the Anuak shows how the historical victimization that the Anuak have been through including the 2003 massacre is impacting Anuak's life and their interaction with other Ethiopians refugees. Additionally, taking into consideration the new status of both groups (highlanders/Anuak) as refugees, examining collective victimization and victimhood reveals if Anuak refugees are managed to overcome what has happened in the past or not. Although it might not be easy for the Anuak to bury the past but what concerns me in this research is to explore how Anuak refugees are dealing with their past especially the massacre in 2003 and how it affects their interaction with the highlander refugees.

In the same line, exploring collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees helps in understanding their perceptions and attitudes towards the Highlander refugees. Understanding this will open the doors to see if the historical relationship between the two groups as perpetrator and victim is still present inside the settlement. That is to say, would Anuak still see highlander refugees as perpetrators and representatives for the highlander soldiers and civilians who did the massacre in 2003 or would they recognize their victimization and suffering as refugees.

To better understand collective victimization, it is necessary to consider the specific context within which the victim group under study is functioning. That is to say, some factors should be addressed such as "the type of the collective victimization, the continuity of the violence, the involvement of the victim group in the conflict and its role "(Vollhardt, 2012:148). Additionally, what should be considered is" the status of the group, the acknowledgment of the suffering internationally and by the perpetrators and finally, the relations with the perpetrator group, or relations with other groups" (Vollhardt, 2012:148).

Moreover, to examine collective victimization and collective victimhood, one must take a closer look at the different forms of persecution and violence which trigger these experiences.

Violence can take different shapes and forms such as "displacement, occupation, terrorism, and genocide, as well as other forms of state-perpetrated violence such as repression, disappearances, torture, and other human rights abuses" (Suedfeld, 1999 cited in Vollhardt, 2012:137). Thus, collective victimization can manifest in different ways through various actors who would be involved as perpetrators for example, individuals, ethnic/racial groups, armed groups or the states. On the other side, victims can be other ethnic/racial groups who might/might not live in the same country or share the same territory. In the following section, I elaborate more on collective victimization by focusing on the experience of the Anuak refugees and how they are victimized and victimized by whom.

2.2.2 Collective victimization and the experience of the Anuak

The massive killings against the Anuaks in 2003 are considered a genocide that involved the state which was represented by the highlander soldiers. Although it is not well investigated if the Ethiopian government has ordered or encouraged committing the massacre (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:21), the fact that EPRDF soldiers were involved held the government responsible.

The deliberate and systematic murdering of the Anuak ethnic group, the infliction on the Anuak through raping women, intentional infection with HIV/AIDS, torturing and arbitrary arrest constitute some elements for crimes against humanity and genocide (Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International, 2004:19/20). Moreover, the violence against the Anuak also falls under structural violence since they have been historically subjected to negligence and marginalization from the Ethiopian government which deprived them of enjoying their basic human rights. Structural violence is highly related to structural inequality as disparities between the groups at economic, social and political levels (Young and Sullivan, 2016) which leads to marginalization and creates a division between low status and high-status groups. Thus, what is been mentioned above represents part of the collective victimization that the Anuak have been facing and which led them to flee and become refugees living in a refugee settlement away from their home.

Both the Anuak and the highlanders have been subjected to victimization as they had to flee their home country Ethiopia to seek refuge in Uganda. Victimization within this context consisted of state violence, hunger, poverty and ethnic conflict which have been affecting different groups in Ethiopia. However, as both groups have been through different hardships

and challenges, each group tries to explain and make sense of their suffering through various ways to express themselves and make their voices heard. Nevertheless, the focus of the research is on the collective victimization experienced by the Anuak as one of the ethnic groups that relatively has been most marginalized and left behind in their country of origin.

For the Anuak refugees in Nakivale, their collective victimization includes the marginalization that Anuaks have been subjected to since the Derg regime in addition to the 2003 massacre and it's afterward events. Since the 2003 massacre in Gambella against the Anuak happened almost two decades ago, this research considers the massacre as a source of historical victimization but also a direct source of victimization as many of the Anuak refugees in Nakivale have survived it. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, historical victimization will be defined as any form of violence or persecution that the Anuak had faced since the Derg regime until arriving at Nakivale settlement. This research will examine the way collective victimization among the Anuak refugees interact with the ongoing violations in Gambella region and how it is influencing and shaping their collective victimhood as refugees in Nakivale.

The current disadvantages and obstacles the Anuak group faces cannot be delinked from the historical collective victimization as the latter may intensify the sense of the continuous injustice and therefore both historical and current victimization would be connected (Vollhardt, 2009). On the same page, the temporal and geographic distance to the events of victimization is an important tool for analyzing collective victimization (Vollhardt, 2012:137) among the Anuak refugees. In other words, to better understand collective victimization and collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees it is crucial to explore their involvement and physical proximity to the source of their victimization.

2.2.3 Politics of victimhood: how victims become victims

In this section, I will explore how victimhood is made and produced through different external and internal factors and actors that contribute to producing and shaping the suffering experiences of individuals. Jensen (2014) argues that victimhood produced through multiple processes of negotiations where actors and practices are affected by what is called the relation of exteriority. In this regard, "Victimhood cannot be explored as a substantive category of objectifiable suffering only. Rather, victims become victims and are made real through a

complicated web of discourses entering into programs; narratives; prioritizations of actors such as donors, states, and civil society groups" (Jensen 2014:104).

Victimhood is not only a "function of whether it be recognized or disallowed; it is the function of intense local political struggles in which state transformation processes and global trends in development coalesce" (Jensen 2014:122). However, in Jensen's study it was not clear presented how the individuals (who are imagined as victims) see themselves as victims. Moreover, it was not clear how victimhood is different from victimization within the context of the study and how, targeted groups are defining and responding to this victimhood. Otherwise, the study gives a valuable contribution as it sheds light on the priorities of the states, donors, and stakeholders and thus what "victimization category" to be recognized broadly than others. Therefore, in this research I will explore how the Anuak refugees fit into these victimization categories and so how their assemblage of victimhood is formed and produced.

Jacoby (2014) argues that victim-based identity nourishes in a democratic climate as there is a freedom and greater chances to express anger and dissatisfaction and thus gain compensation (p: 520). In a quite opposite environment, Malkki (1996) warns against attaching the image of the victim with refugees through the humanitarian intervention as it tends to show them as speechless and silent objects. More specifically, Malkki (1996: 378) argues that humanitarian intervention depoliticizes and dehistorcizes refugees and thus fails to deal successfully with the suffering they face. The latter point is very essential in studying collective victimization and collective victimhood as it emphasizes the importance of acknowledging the origins and sources of the suffering. The study by Malkki also reveals the importance of making the voice of refugees heard through their own narratives and stories not through discourses and practices which represent them as masses that all have the same conditions and the same sufferings.

However, the purpose of this research is to recognize and acknowledge the suffering of the Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement without reducing them to "hapless and objectified victims" (Jensen and Ronsobo, 2014:1). That is to say, "victim" is not only a "recognizable forms of life, upon whom we are asked to act, toward whom we are enticed to relate with feelings of support and solidarity, and with whom we enter into dialogues and transactions" (Jensen and Ronsobo, 2014:4). Rather, being a "victim" could be a means to "identification,

integration, exclusion or separation" depending on the audience to which this discourse is directed to (Schellmann (2018:35).

Within the context of the research I look at claiming the status of "victim" as a way of identification or claiming identity more than impaired function or capability. Therefore, the victim in the case of the Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale is a person who is defined and identified by his/her suffering and vulnerability and accordingly looking for recognition of this suffering and rewarding. In the same way, victims have different demands and goals such as "justice, a voice, truth, peace, monetary compensation, martyrdom, independence or political representation" (Jacoby, 2014:517) which vary according to the contexts and the nature of victimization they have been subjected to. In the following section, I will elaborate more on the third concept which is competitive victimhood.

2.3 Competitive Victimhood: The Mechanisms and Dimensions

Victimhood has been looked at from a competition perspective, as a tool for intergroup level analysis of collective victimization. Competitive victimhood has been addressed concerning parties involved and the context in which victimization takes place such as dual conflicts, structural inequality and intra minority inter-group relations (Young and Sullivan, 2016).

Victim group may compete over any aspect of collective victimization such as which side has suffered from a higher death toll or who has lost more resources in the conflict or who is more severely deprived or who has been more forced to give up their ways of life (Noor et al. 2017:124). In an attempt to explain why groups might engage in competitive victimhood, Noor et al (2012) address what is called magnitude gab a concept that has been proposed by Baumeister (1996). According to the concept magnitude gap, perpetrator and victim groups tend to have different perceptions and narratives for the same event. In most cases, the perpetrator group underestimates the violence while the victim group overestimates the severity and illegitimacy of the violence and the harm (Noor et al, 2012:354).

Another mechanism that drives competitive victimhood is the biased memory which is established and constructed in a way that serves the group and allows lessening its wrongdoing while emphasizing its goodness and innocence (Noor et al, 2012:354). Likewise, conflicted groups selectively form memories and tend to focus on the other side responsibility of the conflict and emphasize "self-justification, self-righteousness, glorification and

victimization" (Bar tal, 2013:52) (Vollhardt and Bilali, 2014). The memories of the injustice and humiliation constitute an important part of victimhood as a social identity for the group especially if it is related to a chosen trauma (Volkan, 2004) which the group actively recalls (Urliae et al, 2013:47). The chosen trauma is a mental representation shared by group's members of a specific remarkable event in its history in which the group hugely suffered and injured (Urliae et al 2013:48).

Within the context of this study, I consider the massacre in 2003 against the Anuak as chosen trauma for the Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement as they are continuously rendering the violence they encountered during the massacre and aftermath. The image of the enemy which is rooted in the one group's chosen trauma invade the mental representation of that group and makes it think that "old adversaries are embodied in contemporary enemies" (Noor et al, 2012:355) Accordingly, the biased memory of the group makes it more innocent while the other group is perceived as the guilty and the violent (Bar-Tal, 2000). The perceived reality of innocence makes the group's engagement in competitive victimhood more likely as it would entail more recognition and legitimization for group's suffering. In this sense, competitive victimhood prevent chances for reconciliation which needs the conflicting groups to change the" self-glorifying, and self-praising" image and see the experience of victimization in a more objective way (Bar-Tal, 2000:385).

To express the uniqueness of the suffering, "victim" group emphasizes some dimensions that shows the extent and magnitude of collective victimization and also reveals the intention of the group to engage in competitive attitudes in the first place. For example, Noor et al (2012) classify five of these dimensions which are physical, material, psychological, cultural and legitimacy dimensions of suffering. The physical dimension illustrates and quantifies the loss of the group as the largest lose in term of death injuries and discredit and underestimates the suffering of the others.

The exclusive consciousness of the harm might not be only be at the physical or the material level but also at the psychological level as groups tend to only see their pain and anxiety that result from their experiences of victimization. Another interesting dimension of competitive victimhood is the legitimacy dimension in which groups compete over whose suffering is more legitimate, fair and characterized by self-defense not attack and aggression. Lastly, groups might compete over material aspect of suffering especially if it is associated with

structural violence and inequalities that leave them feeling deprived compared to others and thus "perceive relative discrepancies between what they have and what they should be entitled to" (Noor et al, 2012:356).

Through this research I will investigate the competitive victimhood among the Anuak and the Highlander refugees and how it is manifested and expressed. By answering this, the research will shed light on the experience of the Anuak and the Highlanders as refugees and how the latter status contributes in producing and establishing competitive victimhood among the both groups. Also, the research will examine what Anuak and highlander refugees are competing for, is it recognition for who have suffered more or it goes beyond just recognition to gain more material benefits and advantages.

2.3.1 Competitive victimhood and its functions: beyond material compensation

Competition over victimhood might not be for desired outcome such as material compensation from claiming victimization (Sullivan et al, 2012:792). Moreover, competitive victimhood is not necessarily to be a sign for some victimization that a certain group has been through, but it could be a defense strategy against a threat to the group's morality. For example, Sullivan et al (2012:793) define competitive victimhood as "a strategy adopted by group members to deal with a situationally induced threat to the group's moral identity and not a pure indicator of the extent to which they see their group as a victim group". In this regard, Moscovici and Pérez (2009) assert that the "appearance of modern liberalism and the concept of 'crimes against humanity' in the recent 300 years have led to a reversal of moral judgments of the powerful and powerless in society" (cited in Sullivan et al, 2012: 780). That is to say, groups with no power and who were known as deviant and less moral are adopting new identities as morally entitled victims (Sullivan et al, 2012:780).

In linking victimhood with morality, the oppressed or the less advantageous group might also adopt victimhood to claim more superiority in comparison to their oppressors. Here victimhood is considered to get moral or social value especially when the oppressed face humiliation and subordination (Kahalon et al, 2019). Belonging to the "perpetrator" group might be costly at the moral level and most people do not want to be attached to such a label. With this regard, Sullivan et al (2012:779) argue that "belonging to a group that perpetrates negative acts against a victim group can induce a distressing moral identity threat, whereas belonging to a victimized group may induce a sense of high moral status". At the same time,

competitive victimhood could be adopted by the high-status group to overcome or challenge the reversal stigma to defend themselves and gain more moral credentials (Sullivan et al, 2012). In other words, the stigma of oppression and guilt among high-status groups that have been historically in the position of power because of the wrong they have done might push them to compete over the status of "victim".

The negotiated identity of the victim also generates some questions such as how "Highlanders" refugees in Nakivale define their suffering as refugees and how they deal with and respond to the suffering of the Anuak. Another important question is how this mobilized identity of the victim and perpetrator is influenced by the context of being a refugee living in a refugee settlement and governed by its rules and policies including resettlement. Does being a refugee in a refugee settlement reinforce the historical relations between the "Highlanders" and the Anuak and the assumption that highlanders are the source of threat to the Anuak? Or are reversals also possible? Would it for example, be possible that an inverse relationship emerges in which the Anuak are the source of the threat for the highlanders and the latter find themselves in the position of "victim" and why. Or are reversals also possible? Would it for example, be possible that an inverse relationship emerges in which the Anuak are the source of the threat for the highlanders and the latter find themselves in the position of "victim" and why.

In addition to escaping threat to moral identity and enhancing the group's moral image, competitive victimhood might function to bring members of a certain group together and enhance their group cohesion. According to Vollhardt (2012) the strong in-group identification is related to a higher level of competitive victimhood and negative inter-group consequences such as anti-Semitism or justification of past use violence (p: 145). One of the elements that characterize in-group identification is the in-group ties which are defined as the perceptions of similarity, bond, and belongingness with other group members (Cameron, 2004:241). Another element that characterizes the in-group identification is group superiority which has comparative dimension and it makes group's members to perceive their group worthier and better than the others (Roccas et al, 2008:284)

Competitive victimhood offers a chance of presenting ones' suffering as a unique experience that characterize a specific group and which does not only strengthen group cohesion but also provides a protection from any external threat (Noor et al 2012:358). The stories of the

violence help in bringing different group's members together who are connected and united through their experiences of injustice and suffering (Noor et al, 2012:358). Therefore, competitive victimhood serves as a unifying strategy to make a specific group feel special with regard to the victimization and the injustice they have been subjected to and thus makes its members to unify by this uniqueness of suffering.

On the other side, although competitive victimhood could have positive impacts on the group members, it has some negative consequence concerning the relations and the interaction between the different conflicting groups. Noor et al (2017:124) argue that competitive victimhood stands against the inclusive victim consciousness which encourages more positivity between the victim groups and tries to draw attention to the common suffering which increases the willingness for forgiveness.

In the same line competitive victimhood creates an exclusive consciousness which leads the exclusion of others, mistrust and intolerance (Vollhardt and Bilali, 2014:12). One of the ways that exclusive victim consciousness functions is through claiming group superiority (Vollhardt and Bilali, 2014). Therefore, one can see that group superiority which is associated with high in-group identification helps bring group members together and enhance their unity but works in the opposite way with regard to the outgroup members.

Although, competitive victimhood affects negatively the intra-minority intergroup relations but this negative effect might be reduced if groups share or experience similar victimization. (Young and Sullivan, 2016:33). Therefore, acknowledging the suffering of the other group and their experience of victimization stand against the competitive victimhood and exclusive victim consciousness and increases the chances of forgiveness. In the light of the above mentioned, I will explore how these aspects of inclusive/exclusive victim consciousness are manifested through the experience of the Anuak and the Highlander refugees and how they function with regard to the group cohesion and the solidarity among the same group and between the two groups. I will also examine the how does in-group superiority is shaping/influencing competitive victimhood among the Anuak and the Highlander refugees and how it affect the attitudes of both groups towards each other.

In the next section I will navigate through competitive victimhood in relation to the discourse of vulnerability and deservingness in terms of who needs intervention and help and based on what experience.

2.3.2 Competitive victimhood, vulnerability and deservingness

The experience of the refugees with a history of collective victimization is hugely intertwined with discourses of "vulnerability and deservingness. Such discourses are rooted in the humanitarian world as it establishes the ground for the different humanitarian actors to maintain their work and intervention (Malkki, 1996). In the same line, these discourses overlap with the image of refugees as the ultimate victim who is traumatized and has lost everything (Ravn et al, 2020:138).

Vulnerability is a very complex and contested term which entails different dimensions, features and outcomes. The concept of vulnerability can leave a space for more oppression stigmatization and control (Brown, 2011:316). On the other hand, vulnerability is essential for tackling human rights issues as it entails sympathy and helps in establishing moral community and thus more equality and social justice (Turner, 2006, p. 44 in Brown, 2011: 317). On the other hand, the labeling of "vulnerable" enhances the already existing difference between people and opens doors for more exclusion (Harrison and Sanders, 2006 in Brown, 2011).

In contrast to the argument of the exclusion, in exploring policy intervention and assistance programme which deal with refugees within the European context, Ravn et al (2020) link vulnerability with the "deservingness" at legal, moral and economic level. In other words, being vulnerable means more inclusion and entitlement to services, benefits and advantages. Ravn et al (2020) illustrate how deservingness is based legally in the 1951 convention which defines refugees and their legal status based on the specific experience of vulnerability they have faced back home (p:137). Another defined level is the moral deservingness which entitles refugees to assistance and support based on the extent of their vulnerability and who morally deserves intervention. According to Ravn et al (2020) moral deservingness interrelates to vulnerability at micro level (personal suffering and loss), macro-vulnerability (lack of social network and capital) and macro-vulnerability (various barriers in the host society). Moral deservingness gives interesting insights to understand the experience of the competitive victimhood among the Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale as it does not only validate and legitimize the position of the refugees as "victims" but also as the ultimate and the deserving victims.

The categorization of "deservingness" as has been described above shows how the humanitarian regime work with regard to refugees, how are they categorized, how are they prioritized and at what base. Establishing categories of suffering according to a very complex set of laws, rules, discourses and practices might succeed to include some but at the same time exclude many others. This research will examine how the discourse of vulnerability among the Highlander and the Anuak refugees is intersecting with collective and competitive victimhood and the experience of being a refugee.

2.3.3. Competitive victimhood, power and perpetual victimhood

Acknowledging the power dimension and power differences between the victim group and the perpetrator in examining victimhood is very essential as it underlines the reasons behind the sense of being neglected or forgotten in comparison to the other group. According to Noor et al (2017:129), an important element in the power differences is the present-day status between the groups which reveals their position as a minority or a majority. Power plays a big role concerning the groups that are divided between perpetrator and victim as in most cases these groups are organized in a hierarchical way and thus power differences hugely affect the attitudes and response of people to the existing violence and disadvantages (Social psychology of victimhood)

Concerning the case of the Anuak refugees, to understand competitive victimhood, the research explores the power relations and power differences between them and the highlander's refugees in Nakivale settlement. For instance, the research will examine how Anuak refugees perceive power hierarchies and their access to different resources inside Nakivale in comparison to the Highlander refugees. Accordingly, this would reveal how Anuak and Highlander refugees are benefiting and competing over the available resources, for example, water access, health care in the settlement.in addition to the competition over the material aspects, understanding the power difference between Anuak and highlanders refugees in Nakivale reveals the competition over the recognition of who is suffering more and who needs more and faster intervention.

Competitive victimhood can be used as an adaptive mechanism for both victim and perpetrator groups: depending on their needs for power or moral image (Young and Sullivan, 2016). Although having a "positive and legitimate victim identity" is important to improve

the life of the victimized groups, it is crucial to consider that such an identity might be confronted by competitive victimhood from the other group which might be the perpetrator or the one with high status (Sullivan et al, 2012:793). Kahalon et al (2019) argue that groups compete over victimhood not purely to protect their morality or moral images. Instead, this desire to protect morality is not just about concern over identity but makes a ground of power for the advantaged to be dominant and for the disadvantaged to compensate and empower its members (Kahalon et al, 2019).

Competitive victimhood can be linked with being more/less moral or powerful and a label such as "victim" might entitle the group to the status of empowerment, superiority and legitimacy more than weakness and inferiority. In the same way this research will investigate the experience of collective victimhood among Anuak refugees as "disadvantaged" group and reveals how victimhood is claimed by this group and at what basis. Although concepts such as "advantaged" and "disadvantaged" might carry different meanings and be confusing but within the context of this research, these concepts are linked with the historical relations of victimization between the Anuak and the highlanders.

The power difference between the groups make the "victim" group or the less advantaged group that has been victimized to continuously feel threaten and in danger. With this regard, (Schori and Klar, 2017:181) has define what is called perpetual victimhood as "the belief that one's group is a constant victim persecuted continually throughout history by different enemies" which influences the perception of some group's members regarding the other group as having hostile attitudes and intentions. Therefore, perpetual victimhood might have a deconstructive effect on the social relations with the other group as it creates an atmosphere full of uncertainty and hater with less trust and reliability. Exploring perpetual victimhood offers insights into competitive victimhood as a victim belief and helps to understand more the connection between the past of victimization and the present which the victim group still finds it unsafe and harmful. However, as perpetual victimhood makes the group feel it is a target of victimization by different victimizers and in no specific place, perpetual victimhood might extend the direct context of victimization and affect relations with other groups that were not directly responsible of their victimization. (Noor et al, 2017:128)

Competitive victimhood has also been addressed in relation to having a third-party group that can influence and control the status of "victim" among the groups which are in conflict

through the support it offers to one of the groups. For example, Adelman et al (2016) argue that third parties such as the United States in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict might have a big role in intergroup conflict and thus victimhood as concern about the acknowledgment of outgroup suffering will risk the loss of third-party support for the in-group.

The third party could be the international community, which brings the attention of the world to specific conflict and can offer sympathetic brief solution as with the case of refugees in the camps that run by the humanitarian organizations conflict zones (Jacoby, 2014:527). In this research, I will analyze how both collective and competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale are influenced by some third parties, and who are these parties and how they are functioning within Nakivale settlement as a humanitarian setting.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown the different meanings and interpretations with regard to victimhood and victimization in addition to the complexity associated with it in terms of who is involved, who is the victim and who is the perpetrator. Additionally, the chapter has shown that claiming victimhood is not exclusive to those who are being victimized or the "ordinary" sufferer, but it can be claimed by "high-status" group who have been historically in a more powerful position. That is to say, victimhood is changeable and both victims and perpetrators can gain both power and agency through claiming victimhood. Here it becomes clear that collective victimhood is not only a direct product of victimization but also highly influenced by economic, social or political contexts in which different parties of the conflict are involved. Finally, the chapter has reviewed different literature with regard to competitive victimhood and how it functions against inclusive awareness of the other's suffering and vulnerability and how this affects intergroup relations.

Chapter three

Method and Methodology

This chapter aims at exploring the motivation of the study, methodology and methods used to conduct this study, as well as explaining in more detail the study area and population, the

sample size in addition to the data analysis, my positionality, ethical considerations and limitation of the study.

3.1 Research Methodology

This research has been conducted in Nakivale settlement in South Western Uganda as I was doing my internship there from September to November 2019. I used a qualitative approach as I wanted to have a closer look at the life of the refugees in Nakivale settlement and at the same time listen to their stories and voices.

Creswell defines "qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in a natural setting" (cited in Ahimbisibwe, 2015:77). Following the above definition, I wanted to explore the experience of the people by connecting more with them and their stories and narratives. Likewise, emphasizing the importance of qualitative research, Banyard and Miller assert that

"*whereas quantitative methods permit the identification of specific patterns of behavior, qualitative methods reveal the subjective meanings that underlie and give rise to these behaviors (...) a unique strength of qualitative methods is precisely their capacity to permit an exploration of respondents' subjective interpretations of life events—the personal meanings they create and the feelings and cognitions that underlie and result from the meaning-making process*"(1998:499).

Maxwell (2013) argues that "qualitative research works with the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes, which correspond to a deeper space of relationships, processes and phenomena that cannot be reduced to the operationalization of variable". Therefore, using a qualitative approach was essential to understand the complexity of the Anuak refugee's life in terms of their way of thinking and the challenges they face. Moreover, I wanted to understand how people perceive themselves as refugees living in Nakivale and how they see the experience of the other refugees as well. Conducting qualitative research gave the participants a chance to address what they think is a priority for them without being bound to a specific interest I have as a researcher. In this regard Vollhardt and Nair (2017:429) argue that qualitative research gives strength to studies about collective victimhood as it allows for understanding more the experience of the collective victimization.

Conducting qualitative research through interviews and focus groups was a good chance for me as a researcher to understand the context well and for the participants to engage in what they worry about. In other words, engaging in qualitative research allows understanding better the socio-economic, psychological and political aspect of refugees' life which has own uniqueness and particularity.

3.2 Data Collection Method

Different methods were used in this study to collect the primary data including in-depth unstructured interviews, focus group discussion in addition to the observations by the researcher.

3.2.1 Interviews

The in-depth interviews were mainly unstructured ones to allow the participants to freely engage based on their priorities and concerns. Minichiello, V, et.al define unstructured interviews as "interviews in which neither the question nor the answer categories are predetermined, they rely on social interaction between the researcher and informant to bring out information" (cited in Ahimbisibwe, 2015:83).

In the case of the Anuak refugees, six in-depth interviews were conducted and most of the interviews were conducted with the participants at the Anuak chairman's house in Base camp 5 or what is referred to in the Nakivale settlement as 'Gambella village'. My key informant for the Anuak was a man who has a high position among the Anuak community in Nakivale and who guided and introduced me to the other Anuak participants. My translator for the Anuak was an Anuak who was translating from the Anuak language to the English.

The primary participants were the Anuak as the focus of the research is on their experience of victimhood. However, conducting interviews with the other Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale was essential to understand different perspectives about their relations with the Anuak and collective victimhood among the latter. Concerning the so-called Highlander refugees eight interviews were conducted with them in their houses in base camp 4. Out of these, 8 interviews were with Oromo Ethiopians including four women and four men whose ages vary between 30 and 60 years old. My gatekeeper to the Highlander participants and the one who translated the interviews with them was Oromo woman and she works with HIJRA as an interpreter.

All the participants were Oromo as the translator does not speak Amharic and thus I had only one Amharic participant who spoke to me directly with broken English. Having individuals to translate was a vital part of conducting the research as they were not only translators but also the ones who guided me to most of the participants in the research. Having two translators from the communities (Oromo and Anuak) under the study was necessary, as there was no way to find someone who speaks Oromo and Anuak languages outside the refugee community.

Three interviews were done in English with three officials of the Nakivale settlement management including someone used to work for but was no longer an official in the settlement. The first interview with an officer from HIJRA was mainly to have an idea about the activities of the organization (HIJRA) concerning the Anuak refugees, different interventions and if there are any special issues regarding the relationship between the Anuak and the Highlander refugees in Nakivale. The second interview was conducted with official from the OPM and the aim was to know more about the conditions of the Anuak refugees, their relationship with the other Ethiopian refugees and the challenges they face. The third interview was with a former official from the settlement and it was conducted outside Nakivale in Kabingo where he was visiting. This official used to work in Nakivale and he was in charge when the Anuak were allocated their new village (moved from base camp 4 to 5).

3.2.2 Focus group discussion

Two Focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted with the Anuak participants whose ages vary between 20-49 years old. The first one involved six people and the second one involved nine people. The participants in the first FGD were all men while the other group contained more diverse participants including men, women, young and old people. Doing focus group discussion was very useful as it involved different participants from both sexes of different ages and each one was bringing something different the others were not paying attention to. For arranging for the second FGD with the Anuak refugees, I decided to bring coffee, sugar and cake so that we could have them together during the discussion and that was the main incentive I gave for the participants throughout the research.

What I have realized during the second FGD is how the participants were involved and engaged in the discussion with different moments of joy, laughing, sadness, desperate, loud

voices and sometimes silence. Additionally, I felt that through the gathering and sharing of these moments, a sense of intimacy and togetherness has emerged between the participants. FGD was thus more than a tool of collecting data: it was also a powerful strategy that helped to bring the participants together through addressing their concerns and suffering.

On the other hand, although most of the participants were actively engaged in the discussion, there was a sort of dominance among some who would raise some issues and then the others would start talking about the same issues also. For example, in the second FGD there was a woman participant who wanted to talk about many issues and her presence was very influential. Such dominance might be a disadvantage of the FGD, as the presence of some participants would influence the others and thus the whole track of the discussion. However, to mitigate this influence, I tried to distribute the chance to talk equally and make sure that everyone says what he/she wanted to stay.

Another challenge regarding the FGD was confidentiality as the groups contained many (max 9) and thus there was a possibility that participants would not talk freely and if they do there would be a concern about the privacy. Additionally, not controlling the path of the discussion and different topics that the participants wanted to raise was also challenging and time consuming as the two-group discussion took from one and half to two hours.

3.2.3 Participant observation

Participant observation is a "way to collect data in a naturalistic setting by ethnographers who observe and or take part of the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied" (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011:2). Living inside the settlement has given me a chance to explore many places such as markets, bars and restaurants, the reception center, churches, squares where youth play sport and do recreational activities. Also, I came to know more about people and their relation to the settlement and the way they interact and communicate with each other and with the humanitarian workers. Writing up field notes during my stay in Nakivale was essential as it helped to capture the different experiences of refugees generally and my participants particularly through a descriptive and analytical presentation of what I've seen in the settlement. My work as an intern at HIJRA office in Nakivale has given me a chance to observe different activities in different settings with refugees from various backgrounds. My activities consisted in helping in distributing food and sanitary products for

women, as well as settling the newly arrived refugees from the reception center[3] to inside the settlement.

My time in Nakivale also coincided with the election in which refuges choose their leaders to represent them based on their geographical zones in the settlement. The election takes place every two years and there are different positions for people to be elected for starting with chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer, women representative, youth representative, person with special needs (PSN) representative, education and environment. I did not have the chance to work on elections neither with Anuak nor with the other Ethiopian refugees as I was asked by HIJRA office to assist in the election in the zones occupied by Congolese, Burundians and Somalis. However, many officers who were working on the election were talking about how "Gambella" people are well organized and that they did not create any problems or troubles during the election and that they exceptionally compared to other groups, were in a total agreement regarding their leaders.

Additionally, I had the chance to attend the case assessments that were done by the community service and protection offices and involved refugees with different nationalities such as Congolese, Ethiopian, and Somalis in the presence of a translator most of the time. All of the Ethiopians who had cases to be assessed were "Highlanders" and I have not attended any session with Anuak refugees as they were rarely seen at the office. Most of the cases including the ones of the Ethiopian refugees were about lack of security for different reasons such as ethnic violence, gender-based violence and most of them wanted to be resettled in a third country outside of Africa. Attending the case assessment has allowed me not only to learn about the fear and concerns among the refugees but also about the relationship between the refugees and the officers. During the assessment of the cases, I also came to know more about the relationship between the refugees and the organization/officers and how the latter react and respond to the claims made by the refugees about their situations. Finally, my internship position, made me gain valuable insights into the bureaucratic process inside the organization and how it affects the refugees and their feelings of (not) being heard or seen.

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[3] Reception center is a center inside Nakivale settlement where the researcher spent two weeks working there in its office and it is responsible of receiving the new arrivals and asylum seekers from the borders of countries neighboring Uganda such as Burundi and Rwanda. The capacity of the reception center is 683 of asylum seeker but at that time in October last year the actual number was 2245.

3.2.4 Secondary data

In addition to the primary data, secondary data were also collected to get more contextual knowledge about the history of Gambella region and the Anuaks, asylum claims, refugees in Uganda and resettlement policies. Additionally, previous studies concerning the psychological and social studies about collective victimization and victimhood were useful although most of them were done in a completely different geographical context from the one in the study. Most of the literature and secondary data consisted of reports, books, Journals and other internet sources.

3.3 Sampling Method and Size

In this study, I used snowball sampling to find the participants who might be suitable for the study. Although there were no predetermined sampling criteria for the participants, it was important in the case of the Anuak that they had lived earlier in Base camp 4 where they co-habited with the highlander refugees, before their transfer to their new place (Base camp 5) in 2014. For the purpose of the research, I wanted to have Anuak participants who had been in close contact with the other Ethiopian refugees in Base camp 4 who would know more about life there, as well as about the reasons for their transfer. I used purposeful sampling regarding the officials I interviewed from the settlement to gain more detailed information and understandings concerning the research questions. For example, it was very crucial to interview someone who was in charge when the Anuak were transferred from Base camp 4 to Base camp 5 to understand more from a neutral side what happened and why.

3.4 Data Transcription

I transcribed all the audio-recorded data I have manually which took between 2-3 hours per interview, depending on the precise length of the record. I tried to avoid using any software program or audio converting tool to transcribe my interviews to avoid any risk concerning the privacy of the data and the safety of my participants.

3.5 Data Analysis

To analyze the collected data, I had to transcribe the recorded interviews and the focus group discussions that I conducted. I use thematic analysis to analyze the data through categorizing it and then sorting the data into bigger themes. (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 79) defines thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes)

within data". I started the analysis by overviewing the data I have with its different sources to familiarizing myself with it.

Secondly, I did the coding using MAXQDA which is a software program that used mostly for analyzing qualitative data. For coding, I imported my transcripts and then dividing them into many sections and labeled (coded) these sections which present similar patterns. Some of these codes are descriptive in which I describe the contents inside the sections, and some are analytical. After that, I identified similar patterns within the codes and then generated different themes which are broader compared to the codes. I tried to come up with themes that are relevant to the research questions and the problem and thus serve the research purpose

I also did vivo coding through paying attention to the actual spoken words of participants (Manning, 2017) and using these words in my analysis. By using vivo coding I aimed at highlighting the participants' voice through the language and vocabulary they used. In vivo coding has been criticized by not being inclusive as it relies on the spoken words and thus it excludes nonverbal means of social interaction (Manning, 2017). I did not face such a problem as all my participants were able to communicate verbally with me. However, one of the issues that might have limited the analysis using in vivo coding is the fact that the voices of the participants was not heard through their native language but through the medium of the translator who used English language. Thus, although my participants were able to speak verbally, they were silent in another way.

3.6 My Positionality

As participants' background and different contexts come to influence them, the same thing happens with the researcher who has his/her own beliefs and background including gender, race, class, socioeconomic status, educational background (Bourke, 2014:2). Being aware of my positionality within the context of this research as a black young intern and Master student is very important as it does not only tell about my interest to engage in such research but also how my participants perceived me and my engagement.

I have always had an interest in knowing more about Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people which might be due to the historical relations we share with them as Sudanese including the geographical and cultural connections. This interest has made me more sensitive towards the issues and the concerns of the Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale. Besides, the fact that I'm

coming from a country that has lost part of its territory with its people, cultures and resources (i.e. South Sudan), has made me aware of how the difference and conflicts between groups might be real and lead to devastating consequences. So this is how my interest in researching the relations between the two opposing Ethiopian groups in Nakivale, the Anuak versus the 'Highlander' refugees developed. I focused on how their historical relations and difference back home, has influenced their attitudes and perceptions about each other within the context of the settlement.

However, my presence in Nakivale was not only about me as a black young woman doing her internship and later her research in an environment full of insecurity and vulnerability but also about the power that I had to access such a place.

I remember, one day I was walking inside the settlement with a friend when I saw a child who started laughing and calling me "muzungu" which means white person in Kinyarwanda. That incident has called my attention and made me think about how people see and define me and at what base. To be called "muzungu" by that child was more than referring to the classical definition of the word but an expression of how much I was seen by him as different /stranger. The cry of the children and sometimes adults with the word "muzungu" was not new as I saw many doing the same especially when they see UNHCR or other organization's vehicles passing by. Accordingly, the cry of "muzungu" by that child might reflect not only how I was seen as a different but also how much powerful I looked in their eyes. Acknowledging this is important as it reveals how I was perceived by the research participants and how much power they thought I had and how it affected their response and reaction to me and my research.

Most of the participants from Anuak and Highlander refugees thought that I was there to evaluate their living conditions especially when I say I'm from HIJRA. HIJRA is a very well-known organization in Nakivale settlement as it is one of the implementing partners in Nakivale and it is involved in many activities concerning the refugees such as community service which I was working with its office, legal protection, women and child protection. Additionally, HIJRA office in Nakivale is responsible of the assessment and identification of cases that are eligible for resettlement through the protection office and after that they refer the cases to the UNHCR office in the settlement. Some workers from HIJRA also do home visit monitoring where they go and visit refugees in their houses to make an assessment for their living conditions, their surroundings and listen from them more.

The emphasis and focus on bringing the suffering to the surface by the participants especially the Anuak were behind the decision to write about collective victimization and collective victimhood among Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale settlement. However, in an attempt to manage the expectations of the participants, I was keen to explain to them that I'm a student and I'm just doing my internship with HIJRA and conducting a research as a part of my Master studies.

3.7 Ethical Considerations:

Researching some populations which are in vulnerable positions such as refugees might bring more complexity regarding the ethical consideration of the research and the researcher and raise questions about what is ethically considerate (Biramn, 2005:156). Conducting this research with participants who live in conditions the least I can describe as miserable was a big challenge in terms of my responsibility as a researcher, the expectation of the participants and the benefits that the research will bring to them.

To be able to conduct a research in Nakivale settlement usually one needs to get permission from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. As I was already doing my internship in the settlement which I got the permission to do it with its research from the office of the prime minster (OPM), I did not need to get extra permission.

All the participants were informed about the research and the purpose of it through a consent form which was provided to them in a hard copy to read through and then they wrote their names and signed. The main purpose for conducting the data was for my internship research and this is stated in the consent form, however, I told the participants that I'm doing a Master studies and this information will also be used for my Master thesis

The consent form states that the information will remain confidential and that the recording tape for the interviews and the focus group discussion will be destroyed after the research is finished. The consent form has been known and agreed on academically as an instrument that legitimizes the collecting of the data and protects the participants and their rights. On the other hand, the consent form might have negative aspects such as creating more fear and concern especially with a population like refugees and migrants (Birman, 2005)

Through conducting this research, I realized that my participants especially from the Anuak were not comfortable with it despite their willingness to talk and share their stories. Although

no one has said anything or refused to sign, I had the impression that showing up the consent form and asking them to sign was bringing more skepticism than reassurance. Taking this point into consideration is extremely important especially when conducting research with refugees living in a camp/settlement. The fact that those refugees in most cases are fleeing violence and persecution intensifies their sense of insecurity and makes them highly skeptical about their surroundings.

Moreover, although the identities of the informants and their positions are kept anonymous in this research, the consent form negates this anonymity which again generates fear among the participants (Birman, 2005:166). Accordingly, I had the feeling that the consent form was a protective tool for me as a researcher and for the academic guidelines more than for the participants (Howard-Jones, 1982). All this has pushed me to think about the validity of the consent form and its efficacy, about creating new means and ways that would redefine what consent form is and would take into consideration different contexts and power differences surrounding the participants. Many of the participants especially the Anuak wanted to know about what I will do with this research and with whom I will share the result. As I did my internship with HIJRA and my internship research was also about the same topic, I told them I would share the findings of my research with its office in Nakivale.

3.8 Limitation of the Study

The language barrier was one of the main problems I faced in the field and it made me question my objectivity and neutrality in representing the participants and their concerns. It also made me realize how the role of the translator makes him/her a powerful actor in the process of not only translating a different language but also establishing meaning for this language. The ability of the translator to make and construct meanings and assumptions through the linguistic medium creates a 'hybrid' role that makes him/her an analyst and cultural broker more than a translator (Temple & Young, 2004:171). I faced this translation "dilemma" especially with the translator of the Anuak as he was one of them and thus he was involved personally. Although the translator was working hard in translating what others say, I felt that he was emotionally touched and overwhelmed by the conversation. The translator for the other Ethiopian was also from the community (Oromo) but her reaction to the words of the other participants was less intensive.

The two translators I had in my study were not only research assistants but also "cultural insiders" who know the language and the culture of their groups through their membership in these groups (Birman, 2005:171). The involvement of the two translators might limit my research as those translators do not only share the same language and the culture with the participants but also the experience of the suffering. What is problematic here is the possibility that those translators will not be able to distance themselves and their experiences from the other's and thus blurring the boundaries they should have as translators.

Time constraint was also another element of limitation. Having additional time in Nakivale settlement would have given me a chance to know my participants more and gets different insights regard my research questions. Staying more in Nakivale would have allowed me to explore the life of my participants outside the interviews and the group discussion setting. For example, missing some of the cultural events that Ethiopians refugees have in the settlement or some of the big events that are organized where all refugees come and interact with each other (e.g.: world refugee day).

Another limitation is not having interviews or discussions with officials from UNHCR which makes the research lacks somehow as it would have been insightful especially with regard to the resettlement chances and policy related to Ethiopian refugees. I tried to see one of the officers in the UNHCR office through an arrangement by one of the staff at HIJRA office and we set a date but they never answered me back. I also contacted one of the UNHCR officials by email and asked for any report/document concerning the conditions of the Anuak refugees in Nakivale and why they have been separated from the other Ethiopian refugees but I received an apology because of the confidentiality of the information.

Chapter Four

Literature Review

In this chapter, I will review some of the literature about collective victimization and victimhood in an attempt to explore more these concepts and the different contributions and

prior studies in this field. Additionally, the two concepts of collective victimization and collective victimhood would be examined in relation to migration and resettlement of refugees and how both concepts are affecting/ affected by the experience of being a refugee living in a camp/settlement. As migration is a broad concept and it entails many categories, I focus on refugees who are fleeing oppression and persecution in their home countries and seek refuge in a different country.

4.1 Collective Victimization and the Experience of being a Refugee

Although there is a considerable body of literature that has dealt with collective victimization and victimhood (see chapter above) not so much has been addressed in relation to migration and refugees. Vollhardt and Nair (2018) highlights the movement of people as "an added layer of structural victimization" as it is an involuntary experience for many people who wouldn't have left their homes if they were not forced to resulting in migration "being an added layer of structural victimization"(p: 422). Therefore, "migration and adaptation to a new society are inherent in many groups' experiences of collective victimhood" (Cohen, 2008 cited in Vollhardt and Nair, 2018:422).

The study by Vollhardt and Nair (2018) was done with four different groups who faced victimization due to different reasons and among those four groups Burundian refugees who got resettlement in the United States of America. What is interesting about this study is the acknowledgment of the complexity of collective victimization and its two-sided nature as it entails vulnerability and resilience, loss and rebuilding and silence and remembering. Moreover, addressing collective victimization among diaspora groups who were forced to leave their homes speaks to "the loss of culture, identity and homeland" (Vollhardt and Nair 2018:429) which is similar to the case of the Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale settlement. So acknowledging the particular existing social status and background context of the refugees before they left their home country, in this case the Ethiopian refugees in Nakivale settlement is crucial to understand their trajectories and ideas of victimhood or victimization by other. In other words, it helps to understand how victimization and collective victimhood, especially among the Anuak refugees prior to departure are affected later on by being a refugee living in a refugee settlement. However, the study by vollhardt and Nair is not really clear about the difference between victimization and victimhood as both concepts are used interchangeably, which makes some confusion conceptually.

In addressing the contradiction between being "victim" and being a social actor, Sheriff (2008:216) argues that refugee's women are social actors and not passive victims through the role that they play such as gathering information and helping the vulnerable. Although women refugees were victimized due to the war in their countries Sheriff (2008) does not consider them as passive victims as they "show resilience and determination to work for the survival of their family members despite hostile conditions" (p: 218). Therefore, victimization is not always associated with passiveness and lack of agency. This is a good point to acknowledge as it helps to think about the relations between victimization that the Anuak refugees have faced and victimhood and if victimhood is always associated with passiveness and lack of agency or it might encompass other opposite meanings.

Speaking about victim and agent, Rider (2012) emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between lack of autonomy due to coercive conditions and lack of agency. Speaking specifically about refugees who are sexual violence survivors, Rider (2012:83) argues that agency relies on their ability and response to the coercive structure and how they negotiate this coercion to secure themselves and their families. Accordingly, marginalized individuals or groups have their own means to navigate through or negotiate the oppressive system that they found themselves in. Accordingly, having an agency or being able to negotiate the obstacles assists in exploring how the Anuaks refugees in Nakivale are dealing with and facing their victimization and how they are resisting it.

On the other side, Barthes, 1980 (cited in Malkki, 1996:78) argues against the humanitarian intervention regarding refugees that make them "pure victims in general: universal men, universal women, universal child and taken together universal family". In other words, the readymade category of the refugees as silent with no knowledge which is constructed by different actors such as humanitarian organizations, camp officials tend to dehistorcizes their suffering and make their "presence merely biological or demographic" (Malkki, 1996:390). As a result refugees "would lose their individual personhood and become ahistorical, pitiable masses that the charitable-at-heart seek to keep alive" (Agier, 2011 cited in Nawyn 2011:57).

These aspects help to understand how "social construction and moral imagination" (Malkki, 1996:382) of refugees as a passive, mute and speechless victim is related to collective victimhood within the context of this research. In chapter five, I will analyze whether collective victimhood among refugees and specifically Anuak refugees in Nakivale makes

them less active, less agent and silent or whether it would be a strategy to speak out and make their voice heard. Additionally, I would examine whether collective victimhood among Anuak refugees contributes in dehistorciazing and depoliticizing their experience of suffering or acts oppositely by reviving the memory of their victimization and keeping it alive.

Speaking about the social imagination of the refugees, there is a predominant assumption that refugees move suddenly without choice as the decision to leave home being taken within days and sometimes hours (Turner, 2001:11). When it comes to migration as a movement of people, it is self-evident that not all refugees have the same backgrounds, experiences, and motivations. In the same line, Massey (1994:149) argues that various groups of people have a different connection to movement, "Some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it". The different rationale to move and whether this movement been expected or not, lead us to think about how Anuak refugees explore, justify, perceive and negotiate their mobility and accordingly their victimization and victimhood. Perhaps more importantly, it helps to see how Anuak refugees see the experience of mobility and thus victimization of other refugees particularly highlanders and whether they see it as a legitimate and "real" experience or not.

4.2 Refugee's Settelmnt: a Space of Power Relations and Hierarchies
"The regime of international humanitarian assistance— the refugee industry— concentrates power at specific sites but operates across political borders and between groups of unequal positioning".   (Hyndman, 2000:61)

Hyndman (2000:119) describes the camp as "material expressions of the international refugee regime, on the one hand, and segregated spaces of cultural and political otherness on the other". In the same way, the refugee camp is not just a place to provide shelters and food, it is a place "which someone decides who gets plastic sheeting and who does not, who receives food rations and for how long, what social programs should be put into place and who should be in charge of them" (Nawyn, 2011:57). Therefore, the idea of naked life described by Agamben as merely biological existence is highly associated with refugees and them being passive victim with no power who depends on the humanitarian regime to survive. Thus the camps or the settlements become "highly policed spaces of exception, which produce and govern naked life (Schellmann, 2018:203)

However, portraying refugees as "bare life" and silent victims has been challenged by Malkki (1997 cited in William, 2014:121) as she argues that the camp could produce new forms of political life which is started when refugees become organized and aware of the fact that they have fled forcible from their national home. Knowing this helps in understanding how the humanitarian setting of the settlement defines the ultimate "victim" and how it reinforces/challenges earlier experiences and ideas of collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees, prior to their flight.

According to Agier (2011:71), two characters define the camp which are ordinary exceptionalism or permanent precariousness and the extra-territorial nature of the camp as space. This extraterritoriality is manifested through the gateways and the check on the entrance of the camps which symbolize the moving into a "different regime of government and rights" (2011:71). The exceptionalism and permanent emergency are related to the temporality of the camp and the state of waiting for return home or humanitarian assistance which "gives meaning to the suspension of time" (Agier, 2011:77). Going back to the context of the research, the waiting of the refugees in a camp/settlement might also be for having a better service in the camp, waiting for resettlement in a third country. In other words, the waiting might be for recognition of the suffering and vulnerability of the refugees by the ones who are in charge of the camp. This reveals how the state of waiting in a camp/settlement contributes to the collective victimhood among refugees and their feelings of being forgotten.

Neto (2018) points to the camp as space which "neutralize" the life of its refugees as it involves refugees with different backgrounds whom some of them are victim of violence and others were the perpetrators , former soldiers or fighters who committed crimes and they live together with their victims (p:40) Once individuals are defined as refugees, the above categorizations disappear and their suffering defines their positions in the camp and outside in addition to the "moral hierarchies created around different definitions of vulnerability with different access to resources provided by the humanitarian organization". (Nawyn, 2011:57). In defining who the refugee is, the discourse of suffering and vulnerability might be an exclusionary to other non-refugees (e.g. host community or the nationals) who are considered as pretenders by the "true" refugees and thus not deserving the humanitarian help (Neto, 2018:38). This deservingness which is bases on the historical victimization that a specific

group of refugees have faced might be empowering and liberating in sometimes especially when the camp contains the minority and majority groups together in the camp. For example, Somali Bantu refugees who have been for centuries stigmatized and victimized and looked down at by other Somali groups managed to gain more recognition in the camp as persecuted minority and as a result thousands of them were resettled to the United States of America (USA) (Agier, 2002:334).

However, the position of refugees inside the settlement might not be determined by suffering only but by the construction of the camp as a space of power relations. Therefore, the camp/settlement is not a homogenous and neutral space and this lack of neutrality highlights the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion (Neto, 2018) among refugees and between refugees and camp/settlement authority.

In her attempt to explore the camp as a political and economic space that might also apply to the Nakivale settlement I worked in, Hyndman (2000:70) states that "The concentration of international organizations forms a kind of global locale that serves as the financial district and administrative center of humanitarian assistance". This centralization of power within the humanitarian world could also reflect in the geography of the camp through the way that organizations which serve there are distributed and allocated which has a significant role in determining power relations between organizations, workers (citizens or refugees) and refugees whom these organizations serve them. In defining power relations among refugees inside the camp, the physical structure of the camp/settlement and the allocation of the houses of refugees and the organization offices play an important role. In his study in Meheba camp in Zambia, Neto (2018:37) states that refugees who live in or near urbanized areas such as the main road of the camp/settlement have better services and infrastructures as they are close to the markets, clinics and school.

In the same line, Neto (2018) explores how population, density and proximity of the area to the social services, administration of the camp and police station affects behaviors and the attitudes of the refugees towards crimes, conflicts and seeking justice. In addition to the location, time (i.e. being in the camp for a long time or being a newly arrived refugee) plays an important role in the hierarchies and difference between refugees inside camps/settlements. Michel Agier (2011:121) demonstrates how social categorization of refugees inside the camp is associated with their time there as they are classified as settled, recent and new arrivals. Accordingly, refugees who have been in the camp/settlement for a

long time are more entitled to benefits and privileges and they would have a protective and dominant role concerning the recent refugees (Agier, 2011:126-127).

Exploring the above aspects help in exploring how collective victimhood among Anuak and Highlander refugees is influenced/shaped by this specific context of the camp as a space governed by different power relations and socio-economic hierarchies. For example, how the location of the areas where both Anuak and highlander refugees live is influencing their access to resources and services such as water, electricity, proximity to the main offices inside the camp.

Through this research I will analyze how refugees define and assess power relations inside the settlement in terms of spatial allocations (i.e. in what kind of basecamp they are settled). Moreover, I will examine how the access of Ethiopian refugees to resources inside the settlement is reflected in their social status and their perception towards each other. Also, I will examine the feelings of negligence/recognition, justice/injustice among refugees and how are these feelings challenging and influencing collective victimhood specifically among the Anuak refugees.

In examining power relations between refugees from a broader perspective, Malkki has addressed the difference between camp Hutu refugees (who live in Mishamo camp) and the urban Hutu refugees (who live in the town) with the host society. As Green (1997:1) demonstrated in her review about Malkki work, for the camp Hutu refugee, there was a feeling of moral superiority over the Tutsi who were seen by the Hutu as thief who have stolen the lands from the original Hutu inhabitants and wanted to reduce their numbers by committing the massacre. The camp Hutu refugee refused the living outside the camp and the intermarriage with the host society like town Hutu refugees did as they thought this would erode their national identity and thus the camp and the experience of the exile became original parts of nationhood among the Hutu (Green, 1997:1).

The camp Hutu refugees in Tanzania is an interesting example of how being in a camp/settlement is powerful and how it helps to connect people with their suffering and history more than erasing it. In the same way, being a refugee inside a camp/settlement acts as link chain between the new setting of refugees in exile and the collective victimization that lead them to be in that setting in the first place. The experience of living in the camp made

the Hutu refugees to claim moral superiority and being condemnatory to those who settled and integrated with the local communities outside the settlement. Although the context of the current research is different as most Anuak refugees are living inside the settlement, the experience of the camp Hutu refugees in Tanzania gives insights into the impact of the camp on the Anuak refugees. In this research, I will explore the experience of the Anuak as camp refugees and how living inside a camp/settlement and having the status of refugees is seen and perceived by them. Additionally, I will examine how being camp refugees for the Anuak affects their collective victimhood and their perception towards other Highlander refugees who are accused of committing a massacre the Anuak.

Another study by Turner (2001) who states that living near the road, Tanzanian villages and the offices of the international agencies has given Hutu refugees in Lukole[4] and their life a modern touch as their place become a center for more business and commercial activities. However, living in such places did not only change the social and economic position of those refugees but also altered their identities as Hutu. Hutu refugees who live in poor areas in the camp though that the easy and wealthy that other Hutu have in the camp had "spoiled" them and made them forgetting their Hutu-ness and their obligations as Hutu (Turner, 200:247).

From the studies by Malkki and Turner, one can see how refugees relate their true identities and their past to the extent of suffering and challenges they face. For Hutu refugees in Mishamo camp, living inside the camp and not getting the advantages and privileges of living outside was a powerful reminder for them that they are still Hutu and they have history which ended them up in this camp. Likewise, Hutu refugees in Lukole camp who live in rural areas did not let the modern life that characterizes the other prosperous part of the camp and which made other Hutu wealthy and arrogant to distort their identity as real Hutu and disturb their sense of community. Thus, social, spatial and economic differentiation, privileges and advantages, opportunities and accesses to different resources come to play a vital role in producing and constructing the identities of refugees inside the camp (Turner, 2001). In relation to Malkki and Turner work, I will examine how Anuak refugees recognize and make sense of their suffering in relation to the highlander refugees and their positions in the settlement. Moreover, how the camp setting plays a role in constructing the identities of the Anuak refugees as victim who think that they are entitled to more redress and recognition.

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[4] Lukole is a refugee camp in Tanzania in the border with Burundi and most refugees there are Burundians who fled Burundi because of the war and conflicts (Turner, 2001)

In identifying one of the elements that contributes in producing the camp as a hierarchical space, Turner (2001) argues that rumors as informal narratives structure the camp into areas of urban/rural, rich/poor. The fear and the sense of intimidation generated from rumors of violence push people to move from one area to another to seek more safety (Turner, 2001). Away from its role in spatially dividing the camp, rumors assist refugees in understanding and making sense of many issues they face and also answering vital questions regard their existence in the camp and the situations back home (Turner, 2001). Rumors of violence are very common in Nakivale settlement and it circulates so fast between refugees with various nationalities. Regardless of the truthfulness or the certainty/uncertainty of this form of narrative, it spreads fear and makes refugees always in a state of expecting violence (Turner, 2001:243). Through this research, I will examine how rumors might play a role in producing collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees and how the latter use these rumors to their collective victimization.

4.3 The Dilemma of Resettlement: between who gets the chance and who is left behind

As has been mentioned previously in the introduction chapter, resettlement has been established as one of three "durable solutions" alongside integration and repatriation of refugees to find a way for international actors and organizations to deal with refugees and also show solidarity between countries. However, when it comes to resettlement, the reality might be gloomy and disappointing for some as the chances of resettlement do not meet up with the increase in the number of those who need protection.

Resettlement is defined as "the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status, the status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country (UNHCR, 2011:11).

UNHCR estimated that in 2020 some 1.44 million refugees will be in need for resettlement globally with an estimated 667.000 individuals from 32 African countries of asylum (UNHCR, 2019:19). In the previous years, sixty percent of African refugees submitted for resettlement are from DRC, ten percent from Eretria, seven percent from Somalia and sex

percent from, South Sudan (UNHCR, 2019:19), In Uganda, 3,288 refugees were departed from Uganda with majority being Congolese (91%), South Sudanese (6%) and others (3%) to USA, Norway, Canada and Sweden and other countries (UNHCR, 2019). Despite the receiving of these refugees, the number of resettled refugees remains very low compared to the number of refugees hosted by countries of the first asylum, which are mostly located in the Global South.

It is important to clarify that, the states are not binding to the resettlement as it is not part of the 1951 convention mandate and thus the states are not obliged to it, rather refugee resettlement relies on the goodwill of states (UNHCR, 2011). Although countries such as the United States, Australia, Canada, and Scandinavian countries have been guaranteed most of the chances for resettlement, they do not necessarily focus on resettling UNHCR identified resettlement cases (Garnier et al, 2018: 8). UNHCR started to collaborate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the resettling states to identify resettlement cases and prepare resettlement submission (Garnier et al, 2018:9).

Investigating power relations among organizations, states, and individuals who are in charge of defining and implementing refugee resettlement is essential. Such power relationships are influenced by the context of global inequality, which initiates the need for resettlement programs from the beginning and intensified by the few chances of resettlement (Garnier et al, 2018:2). This information helps to think about the actors who are involved in the decision making concerning resettlement, how active and effective they are and in what interest they choose people for resettlement. This is indeed important as it sheds light on resettlement in Nakivale and the experience of those who are left behind. The latter point will lead to understanding the impact of resettlement on those who stay in the settlement, particularly the Ethiopian refugees including the Anuaks and how it affects their relations with the Highlander refugees.

Most of the literature focuses on the aftermath of the resettlement and neglects the effect of the resettlement policies on those who remain particularly in the settlement or in the camp. The effects of resettlement on those who stay in the camp are seldom studied and examined (Bram, 2008:570). Failing to get a chance of resettlement to a third country for many refugees especially those who are living in a refugee settlement or camp might be devastating and harmful and might lead to committing suicide (Bram, 2008:573). On the other hand,

resettlement is looked at as a desirable solution from the perspective of those who get the chance of the resettlement (Bram, 2008:570) and then the focus starts to be on their lives and the ways of integrating them into the new world they have been moved to.

In the refugee camps and settlements, UNHCR and other organizations which are active in such places try to explain the process of resettlement to the refugees and asylum seekers and make them aware of the requirements and criteria to be resettled. For example, in Nakivale settlement in Uganda, UNHCR and other implementing organizations do and announce for training and sensitization activities to provide refugees information and reasonable expectations concerning their possibilities in getting resettlement (Svedberg, 2014:37).

Nakueira (2019:17) argues that through their assessments, "aid workers from diverse agencies become de facto regulators of an externalized border that screen and sort those who are more and less deserving for migration to third countries". However, the efforts made by the organizations and aid workers are not always successful, as many refugees disregard what is being said and keep their unrealistic hopes of resettlement (Svedberg, 2014:37). Accordingly, these unrealistic hopes would act as a barrier to be self-reliant as refugees would keep having these hopes about leaving the settlement one day to a third country (Svedberg, 2014:37). Therefore, the ability and willingness of refugees in camps and settlements to believe and trust those who give information about resettlement and accept it such as aid workers and officers is questionable.

This distrust between refugees and those workers is mutual as refugees are also the least trusted within the humanitarian settings (Nakueira, 2019:12). The lack of trust between refugees and aid workers makes many refugees set their own beliefs and strategies concerning resettlement and the ways that can be taken to get this chance. Agier (2011) illustrates the power that humanitarian organizations on categorizing individuals in the camp through the status of refugee which determine the person's acceptance or rejection in the camp. Similarly, the same humanitarian and aid organizations have the power over who would be more eligible for resettlement not according to the suffering of those refugees but according to the preset definition of suffering by UNHCR. As a result, refugees might feel that they are excluded and discriminated against and consider this lack of care and help as new face of the victimization that they have faced and which forced them to flee their countries to come and live in a camp.

Thus, not being the right candidate for the suffering category as prescribed by the humanitarian regime to be eligible for resettlement might create a sense of victimhood as people would feel negligence and injustice. Horst Cindy highlights how Somali refugees in Kenya use a word (buufis) which means "extreme hope for resettlement' which has made resettlement to be a highly competitive process and a source of tension between refugees (Crisp, 2003:23). The current research would examine how the lack of chances for resettlement is attributing to the collective victimhood among the Anuak and the Highlander refugees and the way they see and identify their suffering. Also, the research will explore how resettlement in Nakivale and particularly not being able to get resettled is creating a tension and lack of solidarity between Anuak and highlander refugees.

In conclusion, the literature review has shown how the camp is constructed in terms of power relations and hierarchies and how refugees might be positioned according to these relations and hierarchies not merely according to their suffering. These power hierarches are shaped through the distribution of the refugees' houses and the proximity to the urban areas of the camp in addition to time refugees have spent in the camp. The literature review has also demonstrated how not getting a chance for resettlement is frustrating for many refugees and it enhances their feelings of being neglected and left behind. Understanding the above-mentioned shows how the collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees is constructed and influenced by being a refugee living in a camp/settlement.

Chapter Five

Findings and Analysis

This chapter provides an analysis of the data collected through interviews and focus group discussions in addition to the field notes and the observation by the researcher. The analysis aims at answering the main research questions concerning the collective victimization and victimhood among the Anuak refugees and its impact on the way the Anuak relate to and perceive the Highlander refugees in Nakivale. Through the analysis, I will illustrate how competitive victimhood among the two groups (Anuak and Highlander refugees) is manifested and how it is affecting the both groups. Additionally, the chapter gives a

contextualized analysis regarding Nakivale as camp/settlement and how the latter as a humanitarian setting shapes and defines the experience of collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees. The chapter will also demonstrate how these experiences of victimhood are shaping /shaped by resettlement chances in Nakivale and the discourses of vulnerability and deservingness.

5.1 Historical Victimization among the Anuak Refugees
5.1.1 The memory of the 2003 genocide

The memory of the massive killing against the Anuak in 2003 in the Gambella region is deeply present among Anuak refugees in Nakivale and whenever there is a chance, they recall what happened. This could be because most of the Anuak participants in this research have survived the 2003 genocide and thus they were directly involved in the violence and many have lost their beloved ones from relatives, friends and neighbors. The catastrophic loss and the violence which resulted from the 2003 massacre in Gambella constituted a chosen trauma (Vollcan, 2004) for the Anuak as it became a central event in their life. This chosen trauma has enhanced the sense of fear and insecurity among the Anuak refugees and made them feel that they are in a continuous state of victimization. The Anuak refugees in Nakivale accuse the Ethiopian government of committing the massacre through the Highlander soldiers in Gambella in addition to the Highlander civilians. With this regard one of the Anuak participants stated,

"Our coming here was because of the genocide in our country, the time when the genocide happened; it was in 2003, almost 16 years now" (Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Another Anuak participant said,

"Government of Ethiopia does not like Anuak because Anuak are the people who have been there, other tribes came to them. Second, the reason why the Ethiopian government did the genocide was because of three to four things, one we have oil and gold , not only that but even the land is so fertile. They want take all these resources without having one to complain about them and that is why they came out with that genocide, that is the conclusion according to me" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

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Anuak participants have emphasized that they are the indigenous people in Gambella region and that their existence came before the existence of the other tribes and ethnic groups in the region. Although there are other ethnic groups in Gambella as has been mentioned in the introduction chapter but being the very first to settle in Gambella, make the Anuak feel they are the ones who are entitled to the land and that they are the first target for the Ethiopian government.

The movement of massive numbers of Nuer from Sudan (now South Sudan) and the settling of many Ethiopians who were brought from the highlands in the 1980s has produced feelings of fear and insecurity among the Anuak people. Stating that "Anuak have been there (referring to Gambella) others came to them" illustrates the awareness of the Anuak with their history and the expansion of the Nuer into their territories which has been described by Evans-Pritchard as one of the distinguished example of tribal imperialism in the history (Feyissa, 2014:180). The displacement of the Anuak from their lands had a major impact on their lives collectively, especially since the land constitutes an important element that shapes their identity as Cultivators. With this regard another participant said,

"The reason why the government did genocide was because of the land, the land is so fertile, that why the government decided to kill us to take the land "(Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Anuak refugees clearly accuse the Ethiopian government of doing the genocide against the Anuak to take their lands and the natural resources available in the region. Additionally, one can understand from the above quotations that the Ethiopian government did not want any resistance from the Anuak who felt that they have the very right in the region since they call themselves the indigenous people of Gambella. What has strengthened the Anuak suspiciousness concerning the involvement of the Ethiopian government by that time was that the Ethiopian government had not intervened to stop the killing as one of the participants say,

"They massively killed more than 400 people and then it went on for four days of which none of the government authority stopped them, they were killing according to their wish, see? (...) military forces launched an attack without any clear definition "(Peter, Base camp 5, September/2019)

What happened for the Anuak during the 2003 genocide is the exact definition of collective victimization in which Anuak found themselves systematically targeted through different forms of violence that continued for days. In addition to the 2003 genocide, the Anuak see the relocation of the Highlanders that took place by the Derg regime in the 1980s to Gambella region as a plan by the Ethiopian government to outnumber the Anuak people and taking their lands.

"*The initial plan was to integrate the Anuak people with Highlanders and they brought up from there and filled the fertile areas in Gambella*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The transfer of thousands of Ethiopians during the Derg regime areas which were considered as Anuak's land has had a huge impact on the Ethiopian Anuak and their life. As a result, massive social decline took place in Gambella which illustrated by the 4-Ks that refer to " kac (hunger); kwac (begging), kap (prostitution) and ku (theft)"(Feyissa, 2015:46). This societal collapse and disruption illustrate the historical victimization that Anuak have faced collectively which came to determine the relationship between the Anuak and the Highlanders. This historical victimization has risen to the surface again when the Ethiopian government started in 2010 what is known as the villagization program (see the introduction chapter) which has displaced thousands of the Anuak from their homes to remote areas. The villagization program have been criticized by many Anuak participants who think such programs have led to the marginalization of the Anuak and did not bring any benefit for them.

"*The time we came here, there was something called villagization which means to allocate people from unfertile land to fertile land, also when you talk about that they will put you in prison if not that they will kill you. Lastly, we realized that those people they want the land because they took all the lands, they reallocate people from and practiced agriculture there*" (John, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The villagization program has been established under the name of "socioeconomic and cultural transformation" (Human rights watch, 2012) which brings back to the mind the resettlement program during the Derg regime which has been described by as an extreme example of social engineering to be done by the government (Feyissa, 2015:46). Despite the

different rational behind the villagization program, there is a very important element that has been raised up by many reports and also by the participants which is the investment in Gambella's land. With this regard one of the Anuak participants mentioned,

"*You know we have investors in Ethiopia, how can you get an investor from China, Pakistan, America to come and invest in your land and they do not pay you anything. You see that?! My land is divided by four rivers and we have forest which is good for cultivation, instead of the indigenous people cultivating their lands, they decided to bring investors from outside and people in Addis Ababa are the one who are benefiting*" (Peter, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The investment in Gambella region for the Anuak is directly related to the exploitation and the taking of the land forcibly for the favor of the investors without any gain for the Anuak who found themselves neglected and with no benefits. The referring to the "people in Addis Ababa" as the ones who are benefiting shows that the exploitation by the investors is associated with the Ethiopian government.

"*That is a plan of killing because it is clear that plan A failed to kill the Anuak people because the international humanitarian organizations intervene and became afraid to continue killing*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The conflict with the Nuer in Gambella has also been recalled several times by the Anuak participants who consider Nuer as refugees who came and took their lands and kill their people. According to the Anuak, although Nuer are South Sudanese refugees who came and settled in Gambella but they have a lot of power that would not be available for ordinary refugees. With this regard one of the Anuak participants said,

"*What I have seen here, a refugee cannot go and kill a citizen, something will happen to that refugee but there in Ethiopia, in Gambella only, refugees come with guns and panga and start kill the citizens, Gambella people. Then if you want to ask, why this refugee come and kill our people like this they will arrest you and put you in prison which means that is still genocide, that is a cold war now*" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

Another Anuak participant continues,

"*From there since the government has hidden agenda behind, they started to make some relationships and those Nuer started to give some gifts to the Ethiopian government* "(Focus group discussion, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The collaboration between the Ethiopian government and the Nuer as it perceived by the Anuak against them intensifies the feelings of negligence and injustice as they feel that they are ones who are supposed to be helped and assisted and not the Nuer who have come from outside. Thus, the continuous violations against the Anuak by the Ethiopian government and the Nuer in addition to the 2003 massacre have produced collective victimization against the Anuak group and made them feel "sandwiched between Nuer pastoral expansion and state-sponsored resettled highland farmers" (Feyissa, 2015:46). Through this collective victimization, Anuak refuges feel that they have been targeted as a group which has created a strong sense of fragility and insecurity among them.

In the next section I will demonstrate how collective victimization of the Anuak refugees has extended through their journey of taking a refuge in South Sudan before reaching Uganda.

5.1.2 Migration as continuity of collective victimization and collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees

What make the memory of the 2003 genocide alive among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale is the violence and the violations that happened during and after the genocide especially during their journey of taking refuge in South Sudan. After the Genocide happened, other Anuak decided to go to Kenya where they stayed in Kakuma refugee camp and later moved to Dadap. Many Anuak refugees fled to Sudan (South Sudan now) as it is very close to Gambella region where they stayed in a refugee camp in a small county called Pochalla. Some of them decide to stay in Alari refugee camp in Pochalla[5] and some went to Juba or Khartoum and few managed to cross up to Juba, few managed to cross up to Malakal and few passed through the Nile up to the Rank. (See map below)

In pochalla, South Sudan, Anuak refugees were not also safe and have been attacked several times by what the participants have described as Ethiopian forces.

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[5] Pochalla is a small county in Jonglei state, South Sudan and it is about 300 kilometers from Gambella region

"*Because they did not finish the killing of the educated Anuak men, they said ok let's go and attack again, they came again up to the camp in Alari and they killed some people, then the UN decided that we cannot continue hosting those refugees here so it is better to have another place for them, then we uplifted to Juba in 2012 by a plane*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

Another Anuak participant mentioned,

"*What has brought us here was what was happening in South Sudan, there was a relation between Ethiopia and South Sudan against us.. While we have been there in South Sudan, many of us have been killed by shooting by South Sudanese. While we were in Pochalla, some people from the South Sudanese army they came and shoot some of our people and then we started to run*" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The armed attack by different military forces especially by rebel groups against civilian refugees inside the camps/settlements is not new to the history of refugees in Africa especially in the eastern part of the continent and in what is known now as South Sudan (Crisp, 2003:7). The violence that Anuak refugees faced in South Sudan has created a great sense of threat and insecurity and it was not only a reminder to what they faced in Gambella region but to many, it was an extension to the massacre that took place in 2003.

"*We thought about the same what happened in Ethiopia when the highlanders came and they were killing only men, so may be those people want to do the same thing here so we ran and left women who were beaten and from there we ran.. UNHCR and Jonglei office came and relocate us to Juba"* (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Figure 3: Map of South Sudanese-Ethiopian borders. Source: USAID

Even after them being transferred to Juba, the civil war in South Sudan that sparked in 2013 has greatly affected the Anuak refugees in Juba as many of them were staying in a refugee camp called Gorom[6]

"*There was the war between Salva kiir and Machar and it extended to the camp where we used to live.. They could come and take your wife by force, raping young girls so we have realized that this not only the government of South Sudan but also government of Ethiopia, and so we decided to leave*" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

"*We couldn't withstand living there because we are not nationals and no one told us to come to Uganda, it is up to the individual to decide if you have the money because to cross*

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[6] Gorom is a refugee camp which is about five kilometers from Juba and it hosts many Ethiopian refugees mainly Anuak

the border is like 50 dollars, since we were refugees and we depend on UNHCR services, the few people who managed to cross the border came to Uganda" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The collective victimization that Anuak have faced through fleeing Gambella and then seeking refuge in South Sudan for years before ending in Uganda has produced a certain image for how refugee conditions should be like and what power should they have. For the Anuak, the image of Nuer refugees in Gambella contrasts with what they have experienced and the typical image they have for being a "refugee". This conflict is exacerbating the feeling of the Anuak of being targeted and makes them even suspicious of the role of the humanitarian regime which is supposed to help them as the "real" refugee.

"What I dislike about Ethiopia is even you go to America, Tanzania , coming to Uganda or even Kenya you cannot find that system where refugees can kill citizen while the government of Ethiopia is keeping quiet, UNHCR also which means they are happy."(John, Base camp, November/2019)

The narratives and the stories of collective victimization by the Ethiopian government and the Nuer were being used by the Anuak participants to clearly indicate the injustice and the unfair treatment they have been subjected to. This feeling of injustice and the suffering they face is generating collective victimhood among the Anuak refuges. This victimhood is used not only to highlight their misery but also to empower them. That is to say, collective victimization and collective victimhood do not only make Anuak refugees more outspoken about their suffering but also critical to their government and the humanitarian regime. Collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale became a means to historicize and politicize their experience of being refugees and not just apolitical subjects with no past. Through collective victimhood, Anuak refugees become more active by speaking out their history of victimization and suffering through their own narratives and stories. Collective victimhood allows Anuak refugees to stand against the constructed image of the refugees as "apolitical, innocent, pure victim, without agency, roots and past (Turner 2010:160 cited in Neto, 2018:40).

Through the experience of victimhood, Anuak refugees do not only revive the memory of their suffering but also the political memory of this suffering. Politicizing and contextualizing

the suffering and harm is what makes the Anuak refugees' powerful "victims" who resist erasing their history and their bitter past. Victimhood offers a chance for the Anuak refugees to raise voice that other actors in the humanitarian regime are unable and unwilling to hear. Through claiming the "victim" identity, Anuak refugees reveal "deep historical layers of silencing and bitter, complicated regional struggles over history and truth" (Malkki 1996: 398 cited in William, 2014).

5.2 Collective victimhood and competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees

5.2.1 Insecurity in the settlement

After the civil war started in South Sudan in 2013, many Anuak refugees found it impossible to stay there and decided to leave the country. The ones who came to Uganda were allocated first in the West Nile region in Northwestern Uganda which is in the border with South Sudan. Later, Anuak refugees have been relocated from the West Nile region to Nakivale settlement in the Southwestern part of the country. In the beginning, when Anuak refugees started to arrive at Nakivale settlement, they were put in Base camp 4 where other highlander refugees live. As Anuak refugees are Ethiopians by nationality, OPM decided to allocate them with the other Ethiopians refugees and they were given houses there.

However, later the OPM and UNHCR decided to transfer the Anuak refugees from Base camp 4 to Base camp 5 which became later known as *Gambella village*[7]. There are many and different narratives regarding the reasons behind the separation of the Anuak refugees from their Ethiopian fellows. However, there was an incident that happened and has been raised by most of the participants which is about a dispute between Anuak and highlander children at the water point. I met the Anuak guy who was back then in 2014 the child involved in the conflict and he mentioned,

"*It was my time to go and get water for women when I reached there and I found all the jerrycans of Anuaks put behind. While I was tried to put jerrycans to the place where they were a man who removed the jerrycans came and he was talking and abusing me very seriously*" (Amadi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

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[7] Base camp 5 is referred to by Gambella village as most of the refugees there are Anuak who are also referred to by camp staffs and other refugees in the settlement as Gambella people not Anuak

Amadi continues,

"*To me, it was not because of water, but from the time we arrived here, they didn't welcomed us and talking things bad against us*" (Amadi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

"*There was a water point which we used to fetch water, one day they came to beat one of us until they left that boy half of death and from there they used to come out with many things, that you are dirty, we don't want you to stay with us here.*" (Focus group discussion, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The dispute in the water point between the children has escalated and later the families of both sides involved, and it became a conflict between the Anuak and the highlander refugees. According to the former official who was in charge of the transfer of Anuak refugees from Base camp 4, the water shortage in the settlement especially in Base camp makes the disputes at the water point between refugees very common. Additionally, most of these disputes are followed by the intervention of the families and the neighbors of the ones who are disputing.

"*I don't recall, I'm not sure, but if this happened it is not only limited to Gambella… these things are happening especially in base camp because you and I know that water is not enough for the community in Base camp, people line so long, so this cause a few tension but usually the parents will take the side of their children and neighbors will take the side of the neighbor and remember those are new people.*"(Former OPM official, Isingiro, November/2019)

Apparently, there was tension between the two groups which has led to the escalation of the dispute as one of the Anuak participants said.

"S*o these brown Ethiopians are all our brothers and we did not know that they will come out with something to go in the office and tell something what to the office, they went and they said three things, first these Gambella people are black in color and for us we are brown. Secondly, those people of Gambella are Christian and for us we are Christian and third for them they have their own language but for us we have Ethiopian language which is Amharic*" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

The discourse of difference is very common and highly used by the Anuak refugees to demonstrate their distinction from the other Ethiopians. Labeling other Ethiopians as "brown Ethiopian" is an interesting example of this discourse of difference which is often used by the Anuak to mark the difference in color between them as "black" and other Ethiopian as "brown". The Anuak refugees accuse other Ethiopians of discriminating against them because of the black color which make the Highlander to look at them in an inferior way. The way that these colors are constructed are deeply rooted in the historical relations between the Anuak and the Highlander as the identity discourse by most of the Ethiopians is " color-conscious with a hierarchy of shades ranging from *qey*, ('reddish'), *teyem* (low red), to *tikur* (black)" (Feyissa, 2014:181). The Blackness of the Anuak has been associated with backwardness and thus the need to be modernized and rescued from the primitive and uncivilized life by the Highlander Ethiopians (Feyissa, 2014). Interestingly enough, this color discourse has also moved to Nakivale as many officers and workers use terms such as "black Ethiopians" and "brown Ethiopians" to refer to the Anuak and the Highlander respectively. This racial categorization fueled by the difference in color, religion, language, culture has been a major factor in the exclusion and the victimization of the Anuak throughout their history. For the Anuak refugees, the Highlander refugees in the settlement are a continuation for these historical relations and power indifference as one of eth Anuak participants mentioned,

"Those Brown Ethiopians are all the same; wherever they are they will do the same thing" (Michael, Base camp 5, November/2019)

One of the ways that collective victimhood is manifested is through perpetual victimhood which is about the feelings or the beliefs that specific victim group is a target of continuous victimization through their whole life by different perpetrators (Schori et al, 2017). The feeling among the Anuak refugees that they are still targeted by the Ethiopian government and the "brown" Ethiopian is very dominant. Highlander refugees are considered as a continuous threat for the Anuak refugees even inside the settlement. More interestingly, the Anuak use the word "Gala" that refers both to Highlanders and the Ethiopian state (Feyissa, 2015:32). This referral indicates that highlanders are not only some Ethiopian nationals who occupy the highlands but also the backbone of the Ethiopian state and the representatives of its power

Through the interaction with the Anuak refugees in Nakivale, I realized that they often refer to the other Ethiopians as the "highlanders" or the "Brown" Ethiopians. Therefore, the labeling of "highlanders" has followed the Amharic, Oromo and Tigrayans people even after becoming refugees in Nakivale settlement. The referring by the Anuak refugees to other ethnic groups as "highlanders" does not only point out to the geographical background of those groups but also entails the powerful image and privileges of those groups even after becoming refugees.

Although Oromo Ethiopians which are the Highlander participants in this research belong to have also been subjected to violence mainly because of ethnic conflicts, Anuak refugees do not really recognize the suffering and the hard ships that they have faced. One of the factors that might be affecting the way that Anuak refugees see the victimization of Ethiopian Highlander is the actors who are involved in the conflict. That is to say, Anuak tend to perceive "Highlanders" as a homogenous group who have same power relations among its members and who are in strongly identified with the Ethiopian state (Feyissa, 2014). Therefore, the violence against the Anuak by the Highlanders (state and civilians) as a source of collective victimization perceived as illegitimate and immoral compared to the violence against Highlander groups by the state or other Highlander group. This perception is a result of accumulated historical grievances between the groups as Highlanders vs lowlanders which has reflected on them as refugees. The new and different status of the Highlander Ethiopians as refugees in Nakivale could not prevent the sense of threat and insecurity among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale but also contributed to the collective victimhood among them. Being with the highlander refugees in the same settlement became a reminder of the historical and collective victimization that Anuak have been through and has increased their sensitivities towards any form of discrimination or injustice. Answering a question by the researcher about whether he is considering going back to Gambella, one of the participants said,

"No, Because of four reasons, one the plan of attack is still there, and they are still killing. Am I not fearing death? if those people who were repatriated were killed and arrested, what about me? And good enough they are targeting strong young educated men, do you think I will survive? NO"(laughing) (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The fear among the Anuak refugees reflects not only their concerns and unwillingness to go back to Gambella but the targeting of the Ethiopian government to the educated Anuak.

Many reports about the Genocide in 2003 have addressed this issue which mainly aims at silencing the Anuak. This feeling of insecurity among the Anuak refugees is a direct result of the collective victimization that they have been subjected to for years and it constitutes an important element in their life as refugees in Nakivale.

5.2.2 Spatializing Nakivale: on power relations within the camp

In this section, collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees would be explored through the relation of the Anuak and the highlander with the camp itself as space of power asymmetries and hierarchies. Even though the camp/settlement includes refugees with their different backgrounds and their different positions, new economic and social divisions and hierarchies have been created inside. In addition to the social and financial capitals that refugees have, internal factors related to the camp play a role in socially and economically stratifying refugees inside the settlement. Addressing the issue of the camp as nonhomogeneous space, one of the Anuak participants said,

"We all migrated from our countries but here, the status of living can define that we are refugees that is why you don't have power here, you try to look at this side at night, it is dark " (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The above quotation reveals how the Anuak refugees see and perceive the power asymmetry in the camp for example through not having electricity in their areas. This power asymmetry is generating a feeling among the Anuak refugees that they are left behind and that the services and the support go to those who have more power and thus make their suffering more recognizable.

As has been mentioned earlier in the introduction, Nakivale is divided into the base camp which is the center of the settlement and then two subbase camps including Juru and Rubondo .The main road in Nakivale is crossing through Base camp and it extends up to the city of Kabingo and on its sides there are different grocery stores and clothes and vegetable shops, prints and photocopy shops, small bars and restaurants. Also, all the offices of the organizations [8]which are active in Nakivale in addition to the office of the Prime Minister

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[8] There are many partner organizations which are active in Nakivale settlement such as International Rescue Committee (IRC), windle international, American refugees Council (ARC),

(OMP) and the well fenced and guarded office of the UNHCR are there. The distribution of the offices in Base camp is nourishing the area and making it the business and the commercial center of the settlement. The base camp has five villages starting with Base camp 1 for South Sudanese live there, Base camp 2 for Congolese, Base camp 3 for Somalis, Base camp 4 for Ethiopians and Base camp 5 for the Anuak refugees. Refugees from other nationalities also live in these villages but the mentioned nationalities constitute the highest number of the inhabitants in these villages.

Both Anuak and highlander refugees are living in the Base camp, however, Base camp 5 or so-called '*Gambella village*' where the Anuak refugees live is a bit far from the main road in comparison to Base camp 4.

In addition, compared to the other Base camp villages, so-called '*Gambella village'* has more rural characters because of its big green fields where Anuak refugees cultivate their crops and also the many plantain trees which are almost in every house. Also, the lack of shops for shopping except for a small one on the road with most of the shelves empty makes the movement of people there less and thus the place looks stagnate and not full of life. Most of the houses there are opened into each other with no doors or gates and only separated by low grassy fences and narrow pathways[9].

On the other hand, base camp 4 villages where the Highlander refugees live is closer to the main area of the organization offices, shops, health center and to Base camp 3 where the Somalis live. The engagement of the Somali refugees in the business and trade makes their area more urbanized and fuller of life as there is a continuous movement by refugees there.

 In Base camp 4 where Highlander refugees live there are also many shops and one of the biggest restaurants in the settlement which is very popular, and many refugees go there from different nationalities in addition to the organization's staff. In the same side, there is a library which is a remarkable building with a big hall inside and thousands of books and it is opened for refugees and organization staff as well. Near the library there is a small school which shares the same yard with the library, and it has two to three classrooms where I used to see children studying and playing there. This library and school are just opposite to the HIJRA

Nsamizi and Medical Teams International (MTI) and Tutapona which their activities vary from protection, education, livelihood and health of refugees.

[9] These data are from the personal observation I made during my field work, November/2019

offices and separated from each other by a road where I used to see almost every day different organization's vehicles crossing by. Also, in that area there is a small shop with decorated curtains and bright white lights where young men gather and spend their night watching movies and football games.

The urban features of these parts of the settlement and its proximity to where services are provided have reflected on the social status of its inhabitants as they are viewed by many to be 'privileged refugees'. Addressing the power that Highlander refugees have in the settlement as the ones who have a successful business, one of the Anuak participants said,

"Because we are Ethiopians and we love to drink coffee, but since they are the only people who are selling coffee, so some go and buy it from there" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Addressing their love and affection for drinking coffee illustrates how Anuak refugees emphasize their national identity as Ethiopians through their adherence to such cultural practices. Being the only ones who sell the coffee which the Anuak prefer, make the highlander refugees in a more powerful position as the Anuak refugees feel that they are in need to and dependent on the Highlander refugees. These economic and commercial activities in Nakivale are benefiting refugees who have entrepreneurial skills and access to capital (crisp, 2003:14) and making the others who do not have such resources left out.

Another factor that defines the power asymmetry between the Highlander and the Anuak refugees in Nakivale is the time they have spent in the settlement. Anuak refugees started to arrive in the settlement in 2013 and thus they are relatively new to the other Ethiopian refugees who have been there before them and had a more established life. One of the participants who is speaking about their time when they were living in Base camp 4 said,

"When we came to Nakivale, it was the place where we settled before coming here (in base camp 5[10]), we used to rent houses there and pay money also."(Amadi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

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[10] The words between the round brackets in the participants' quotations are by the researcher to make the reader understand the meaning and the context better.

Another participant mentioned,

"There were empty houses for Brown Ethiopians and giving them money. We were moving in groups because we were hearing and know the way they behave. From there they started to talk very bad, the color, the religion and the habit" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Many refugees in Nakivale rent their houses and their plots of lands when they move outside the settlement for living in Kampala or any city in Uganda. When Anuak refugees arrive in Nakivale, Highlander refugees were renting their houses for them. The fact that highlander refugees were the ones who rented their houses gave them more power as they had the decision concerning who would stay and also who should stay and who should move out. One of the incidents that happened during the time Anuak were living with Highlander refugees and has been recalled by the Anuak participants is having some highlander refugees who came while the Anuak were praying and threw their drums. Answering a question by the researcher about the reason for doing this and if it has something to do with the other Ethiopians who are Muslim, one of the participants mentioned,

"The one, who did this, she was a Muslim but not her intention alone, but other Ethiopians, Muslim and Christians who talked to this woman to come and throw this drum. The lady is the owner of the place where we used to pray" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Anuak refugees accuse a Highlander woman who was an owner of one of the houses where Anuak used to live in Base camp 4 of disturbing their prayers to force them to leave the house. Although religion is one of the elements that is included in the discourse of difference among the Anuak refugees in Nakivale, Anuak feel that religion is not as important as the color element as one Anuak participant has mentioned,

"It is two together , even those they are Christians but they do not support us because they are one in color , one in language, they are one in culture , they may support themselves even though some Christians are there. (Focus group discussion"

Again, the racial categorization is becoming very clear and it shows how the Anuak refugees perceive the presence of other Ethiopians and how their perceived homogeneousness in terms of color, culture and language is threatening the Anuak refugees. As a result, the feeling of the victimization by the Highlander persist among the Anuak refugees which is fueled by the different power relations between the two groups in the settlement.

To illustrate more the power dimension, Highlander refugees have raised the issue of renting their house to the Anuak refugees several times and they were keen to represent themselves as the ones who cared for and supported the Anuak. The long time the Highlander refugees have spent in the settlement made them well established in the settlement and gave them a protective and dominant role (Agier, 2011) over the Anuak as recent refugees. Addressing this, one of the highlander participants stated,

"*Nothing we do for them and nothing they do for us, we are brothers and sisters, we are a same family. When they came, we gave them houses to stay and they say that Ethiopians are segregating us because of color but nothing like this*." (Kofi, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Besides the features of some parts of the settlement and the time of arrival, the fact that Anuak refugees are few is also a factor which excludes them from getting some services. For example, one of the officers who work at HIJRA office stated,

"*The opportunities at offices are very few for Gambella people, for example, if there one slot they usually give it to other Ethiopians, even at the offices, they are not well represented in term of interpretations, for example at the health center, at the police station, OPM, they are not so many people who can speak their languages, so they fail to access these services because the other interpreters are available compared to those*." (HIJRA official, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Answering a question by the researcher about the reasons behind this lack of representation, the official continues,

"*I think because they are a small community, they usually left out and are covered up by the other Ethiopians, the other Ethiopians are quit many compared to them, so this leaves them out* " (HIJRA official, Base camp 4, November/2019)

The above quotation by HIJRA official reveals how nationalities become ethnicities (Agier, 2002:333) as different ethnic groups such as Anuak, Oromo, Amhara are all becoming "Ethiopians" which is related to the policy in Nakivale that does not encourage ethnic/tribal based division. In this sense, Anuak refugees might miss out some chances for better services as they are considered as Ethiopians and thus no attention to their particularism as an ethnic group. Not having this attention is enhancing the collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees and makes them to feel abandoned. However, by another way the beings of the Anuak refugees as "Ethiopians" in the settlement is s also challenged. For example, although ethnic/tribal divisions is not supported in Nakivale, referring to Base camp 5 and Anuak refugees there as Gambella village and Gambella people respectively even by staff and workers shows how Anuak refugees are distanced from their beings as "Ethiopians". Having a label such as "Gambella" within this context might sound segregating but it also reminds the Anuak refugees with who they are, where they came from and what happened for them in the past. In this sense, "Gambella" is not merely a village name in the settlement but it becomes a "real identity term" for the Anuak refugees in Nakivale as long as the camp last (Agier, 2002:334).

Within the reports of HIJRA, Anuak refugees in Nakivale are classified as a minority group and in one report there is a mention for Gambella community along with LGBTQI[11] community as minority groups that are facing some discrimination. According to the report, the infrequent meetings with these communities prevent getting enough information and knowledge about them but there are some attempts to support community leaders to engage them more. However, it was not clear from these reports what kind of discrimination do Anuak refugees face and what precisely has been done to ensure more protection to this community.

The fact that Anuak refugees are considered as a minority in addition to their relatively new existence in the camp and the location of their village (Base camp 5) contribute to the

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[11] LGBTQI is an abbreviation that stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex.

feelings that they are receiving less attention from the camp administration and organizations there. for the Anuak refugees the status and the assumed richness that Highlander refugees enjoy in Nakivale is making the officials of the camp more focused on them and their issues as one Anuak participant mentioned,

*"I don't know why other refugees are better than other refugees, because the interest now is on those who are living better, they have supermarkets, they have shops, they have everything, and they are refugees. The eye of the OPM and UNHCR is on them and visiting them. is it because they are rich, or they live better than us or they neglect us because we are poor, we came by running, we came illegally, I do not know (...) Of course we all Ethiopians but why other Ethiopians are living better than other Ethiopians (*Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019**)**

What is interesting from these words is how the participant has linked illegality with their refugeeness as if others came legally which indicates how Anuak refugees are addressing their victimization and shaping their collective victimhood. Moreover, the vulnerable status of the other Ethiopians as refugees is also questioned by the Anuak as they think that they are not real refugees as they did not only suffer to come to Uganda but also have good service inside the settlement and they are cared about. It's worth noting that Highlander refugees have also crossed borders mostly through Kenya from Ethiopia to come to Uganda. Additionally, all the refugees (Highlanders and Anuak) in the settlement have the refugee status. Being a "real refugee" for the Anuak is not about be legally recognized as refugee by having the refugee status but it is more about experience of suffering and the damage that those refugees had to face.

All this makes Anuak refugees in Nakivale less sympathetic towards the suffering of the other group which is the "highlanders" although they are also refugees and are living together in the same settlement. Questioning the refugeeness of the highlander refugees in Nakivale as they have shops and business and they are the ones who get better services is another manifestation of competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees. In this case, Anuak refugee's competition goes beyond who suffers more to getting more intervention and better service.

Thus, the inclusive victim consciousness which recognizes the suffering of the others among the Anuak refugees mainly through the cognitive response is nearly absent.

The camp setting and the unequal power relations are playing a role in shaping Anuak's victim identity and reinforcing the historical relations between the "Highlanders" and the Anuak and the assumption that highlanders are the source of threat to the Anuak. Thus, I argue that as a way of legitimizing their victimization and sufferings, Anuak refugees are not shying away from claiming victim identity as it gives them a capacity to exert power and agency more than being associated with passiveness and inferiority. These findings go against the argument that claiming victim identity flourished and encouraged by the developed political context and democratic atmosphere where the "victims" are aware of their victimization and they know that they can be compensated because of the dominant rights-based culture (Jacoby, 2014:516). Through this research it becomes clear that the dichotomy of democracy/authoritarianism or developed/less developed might not always work when it comes to the experience of victimhood and claiming victim identity. Jacoby looked at victimhood within crystal clear contexts which are either allowing the victims to speak out and express their concerns or suppress them and mute their voices. What is problematic about such an argument is that other different contexts such as the context of the camp and the experience of its inhabitants as "victims" is totally overlooked.

As a highly exceptional and non-ordinary space that came into existence because of the sufferings and the victimization of people, the camp consists of different power dimensions, different actors, different rules and different governmentalities that shape the life of those people. Although one might argue that the context of the camp (in this case Nakivale) is closer to be apolitical, oppressive and silencing context more than liberating one. However, the experience of the Anuak refugees in Nakivale shows that the camp is not necessarily silencing space but rather it might be a tool for the victimized groups to produce victim identity that make them more visible and their voices more heard.

5.2.3 Facebook news and rumors: on perpetual victimization and the transmission of collective victimization among the Anuak refugees.

Through the interviews many Anuak participants have addressed the continuous violation in Gambella region and that they follow the news every day coming from there which increases their fear and sense of insecurity. Although the Anuak refugees are not physically present in Gambella region of Ethiopia, the geographic distance between them and Gambella region as a

source of victimization does not prevent them from feeling threatened. One of the Anuak participants stated,

"*Here in this community, we are not really happy because we always hear information about our people in Gambella being killed by the government of Ethiopia.*" (Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Another Anuak participant mentioned talking about how plan A (referring to 2003 massacre) has failed to finish Anuak people and now the Ethiopian government has a plan B,

"*The plan B that I'm talking about is like a cold war, prisoning them one by one, let's reallocate them to dry land and they can die of hunger, let's try to integrate those refugees (referring to Nuer) who are very hostile to kill them and we are going to stand with refugees. You know plan B is very bad, very bad and today it is still going on.*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The awareness of the Anuak refugees about their exclusion and the threat from their government is an ongoing experience that did not end by the 2003 massacre. This has produced perpetual victimhood which puts them in a continuous expectation of harm and violence. For the Anuak refugees, the violence they faced was not a "single, transitory, or accidental experience but rather is an enduring reality caused intentionally by a determined enemy or even a succession of enemies" (Schori et al, 2017:180). Those enemies might be the Ethiopian government, the Nuer, the Highlanders in Ethiopia, or the Highlander refugees in Nakivale.

The continuity of violation such as poisoning people in the hospital and restaurants, removing people forcibly from their lands and killing them has been emphasized by most of the participants. To be connected with what is happening in Gambella region in Ethiopia; social media and mainly Facebook play a big role in this through some posts that are shared with other Anuak in Gambella region in Ethiopia. One of the participants mentioned,

"*I saw on Facebook, Ethiopia gave the vice president of South Sudan an ID to be Ethiopian citizen in Gambella, just look at that! They gave him a nationality*" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

The participant was trying not only to demonstrate that the violation by the Ethiopian government against them is continuing but also criticizes the empowerment of the Nuer refugees and leaders in the region at their expense. Answering a question by the researcher if he has read this really in Facebook, the same participant continues,

"*Yaa, I saw it on Facebook. There are some people who are working on Facebook, any information for Gambella people, they post and they are the ones we used to get the information from. Sometimes we can say it is not true but after confirmation, we find it true*" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

Another participant mentioned,

"*Our Facebook, they don't lie, those people are living in Ethiopia and they know what is happening there, this not just on Facebook, it is real, and it will happen. Even this killing I was talking about in February (in 2019), I first saw it on Facebook, ya and two days after it happened, so this not just Facebook, this reality*". (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

"*Even these days, they have come with something on Facebook, they say when it is dry in Ethiopia they will go and attack some villages for the Anuak and they even mention the names.*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

Despite the physical distance of the Anuak refugees from events of victimization (Vollhardt, 2012:137) which mainly occur in Gambella region, the social media platforms are acting as bridges to shorten this distance. However, Although Anuak refugees are far from Gambella, some participants have told me that some people in collaboration with the Ethiopian government came to Uganda and took two Anuak refugees among them the former deputy chairman. Answering a question by the researcher about the reasons behind taking those people, one of the participants mentioned,

"*I do not know (...) We repeated to them(referring to UNHCR) that those people give money to bribe people especially those who work in the government, they give them money until they pick the people they want, those who are leaders so that those who remain there*

will have no power. When we tell them, they say nothing will happen to them" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

The sense of insecurity among refugees generally in Nakivale is very high and many factors are attributing to this such as sexual violence, the fear of being targeted by another group or the fear of being taken forcibly back to the country of origin. Based on the time I spent in Nakivale and the case assessment sessions I used to attend at the HIJRA office, I realized that fear to be deported back to the country of origin among many refugees from different nationalities is very common. Many refugees believe that the governments of their country of origin or members from other ethnic groups are following them and Highlander and Anuak refugees are no exception to this. Investigating more about the incident of repatriating the two Anuak men, I knew from the participants that they have not been taken from the settlement but have been asked to come to Kampala and from there were taken to Ethiopia. The lack of trust between the Anuak refugees and the Ethiopian government has affected to the way how Anuak see the Highlander civilians and highlander refugees in Nakivale. Many Anuak refugees believe that Highlanders are in involved in poisoning Anuak in Gambella and also in Nakivale settlement as one of the Anuak participants mentioned,

"*They have the system of killing the people inside and outside the country and especially where we are now. Because there in Ethiopia, they use poisons to poison people when they go to eat in their restaurants and also in hospitals, if women want to deliver in there they will give them wrong medications to kill the children if not the women.. We are not new to those people and we knew them from Ethiopia.*" (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Incidents such as the poisoning and the deportation of the Anuak refugees from Uganda can be considered as rumors as they might be true or not despite the confirmation of the Anuak participants. The rumors inside the settlement and following of the Anuak refugees to the news and what is happening in Gambella, whether it is true or not have a big effect on them and their lives as refugees. As a form of narratives, these rumors and news are not innocent and they are inspired by the violence of interpretation and the power to prioritize and authorize some interpretations over others (Turner, 2001:10). These rumors which Anuak refugees believe in provide them with a meaningful picture for the conflict with both Nuer and Highlander Ethiopians and reduce their uncertainty (Bar-Tal, 2000).

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The different narratives by the Anuak refugees including these rumors reveal the power dimension in claiming victim identity. The Anuak refugees have succeeded through what they think is true and they believe in to bring back to the surface their suffering including the very historical one in a way that satisfy them and make them achieve their goals (Jacoby, 2014:517). However, although these rumors and news help Anuak refugees to make sense of what is happing around them, it also make them more concerned about their safety and their future and expected to more violence. These violence expectations generate more injury and stress among Anuak refugees in Nakivale settlement and it contributes to their feelings of being threatened and targeted. Thus, Anuak feel that their experience of collective victimization is endless and creates more frustration and anger toward the Ethiopian government. This frustration and anger feed into the collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees and it is translated into hostile perceptions towards highlander refugees in the settlement.

5.2.4 "There are the real refugees and there are the refugees"[12]: on the lack of solidarity between Anuak and Highlander refugees

The above quotation by one of the Anuak participants shows how Anuak refugees perceive not only their experience as refugees but also their perceptions of other refugees. In making distinctions between them (the Anuak) and other refugees including the Highlander, there was an emphasis by the Anuak that they are the "real" refugee. To understand this distinction better, this Anuak participants continues,

"*Those who decided to come to be refugees and those who forced from their lands to a different land, they flee from their countries fearing death, jumping over the dead people and did not expect life anymore and they are here in Nakivale now*" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

"*There are those who fled the country because of financial crisis or drought and some kind of political conditions but what happened for us, we did not decide to be refugees and*

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[12] (Peter, Base camp 5, October 2019)

we have never heard about refugees. We saw refugees when they were coming to Ethiopia from South Sudan" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

According to this participant, Anuak refugees are "real" refugees as they faced the 2003 massacre in the Gambella region and then had to flee and leave everything behind suddenly without being prepared for it. Talking about the massive killing that the Anuak have faced in Gambella region accompanied by the description of "Jumping over the dead people" by the participant shows not only how much the memory of the 2003 genocide is present among the Anuak refugees but also how their suffering is legitimizing their beings as "real" refugees. This leads us to what other Anuak participant said,

"We are not the same like other refugees who live here, because those refugees who came from their countries, while they have many things, they have money, they have their relatives in America" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

Another participant said,

"*To me, I would have said like us Gambella people, we are refugees (stroke) vulnerable and they are refugees, though we are not PSN (Laugh) , we are refugees but not refugees who came legally, when they came they made their plans and their budgets for coming, but Gambella people are minority , neglected refugees and they are vulnerable"* (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

The emphasis of the Anuak participant that they (Anuak) are vulnerable but not people with special needs (PSN) is interesting as it shows how "Vulnerability" is perceived and is used by the Anuak refugees. Referring to PSN as a category of "vulnerability" reveals how Anuak refugees get engaged with and influenced by the humanitarian categorization of suffering. According to the Anuak participant, being vulnerable is not about having some physical or mental dysfunctions or impairments but rather it is about them not having the decision but to move or leave their country.

To flee a country because a of economic matters such as "financial issues" or "drought" as one of the Anuak participants mentioned is not enough to be classified as a "vulnerable" refugee as people will still have the chance to decide and prepare for their journey. On the

other hand, those who are fleeing specific form of violence (e.g. genocide) such as the Anuak refugees and do not have other options than fleeing the country are the authentic "deserving" refugees (Ravn et al, 2020)

The horror that Anuak faced in South Sudan in addition to not being able to plan and make a budget, not having money and people who support does not only make them refugees but vulnerable refugees and authenticate their experiences of victimhood. These pre-determined conditions that define who are the real refugees are not different from the discourses of vulnerability within the international projects and the programs which concern with refugees. These discourses define "who is the most vulnerable" and "who deserve hospitality from a moral point of view" (Ravn et al, 2020). The clear distinction that is made by the Anuak refugees between "real" "vulnerable refugees who flee genocide vs refugees who move because of economic issues such as the Highlander refugees reflects how refugees are affected by such discourses.

 According to this distinction, Anuak refugees perceive themselves as the ones who deserve assistance and faster intervention. Adopting "victim" identity that is enhanced by the vulnerability discourse by the Anuak refugees establishes a ground for them to claim resources and call for action based on moral obligation (Ravn et al, 2020). In this case, being considered as a victim for the Anuak refugees is a "right and even arguably, a privilege, not equally bestowed on all injured people" (Jacoby, 2014:517)

Although claiming "vulnerable" status by the Anuak refugees highlights their suffering and lack of resources, it is used strategically to be prioritized and get more recognition, inclusion and power. The Anuak refugees were trying to make their vulnerability more visible in comparison to the other refugees in general and Ethiopian Highlander in particular. As one Anuak participant said,

"We crossed three borders; we are different from other nationalities...for them, they did not come because of genocide but for us we fled genocide and if we went back we will be killed" (Amelia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

"We crossed the whole country of South Sudan, from border to border, again crossing another border for another country, it is not just a matter of (interrupted) if I'm a Congolese

or Burundian decided to go and cross the border, I can cross and go back to my country, but even if I decided, if I have the money to go, do you think I can cross the border simply to go back to Gambella? No". (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

Focusing on the death, rape, arrest, repatriation and also the number of the borders they had to cross shows how the Anuak refugees are competing over the physical dimension of suffering (Noor et al, 2012). By comparing their suffering with others suffering, collective victimization among the Anuak goes beyond the sense of collective victimhood to competitive victimhood. Many Anuak refugees have emphasized that they cannot go back to Gambella like other refugees which again illustrated their competition over the structural dimension of suffering (Noor et al, 2012). Not being able to go back could be due to many reasons such as the ongoing violence in Gambella against the Anuak, the existing structural inequality in the region which make their chance in a better live back home very little. By engaging in such a comparison, Anuak refugees demonstrate themselves as the ultimate sufferer and the legitimate "victim".

On the other hand, seeing the suffering of the other refugees in general and the highlander refuges particularly creates exclusionary victimhood which fails to establish inclusive victim consciousness that recognizes the vulnerability of the others. This lack of inclusive consciousness creates a binary division (us vs them), bias and continuous blaming of the Highlander refugees which exemplify the unhealthy investment of the Anuak to their victimhood (Jacoby, 2014:529). What was also clear from the interviews is not only the tendency of the Anuak to highlight the victimization they face and that that they are suffering more but also criminalizing the other group and putting them in charge of the miserable conditions they have been through. With this regard, one of the interviews mentioned while he was describing the incident of the water dispute,

"*Reaching the hospital, they took it a simple issue instead of making an assessment to catch the boy who beat the boy. The parent of the boy took him to Kampala, hiding him there; they covered the issue like that. We observed something might be there since they are rich have money and that their nature also, this one thing we are still felling till today, we are poor, so your right will not be maintained in anywhere here.*" (Focus group discussion, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Another one mentioned,

"This history is in our blood and we cannot forget even for the children we can tell them that the behavior of these brown Ethiopians like this, don't be together with them as they can do as they did for us." (Negasi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The massacre that happened in 2003 has influenced the perception of the Anuak refugees towards other Ethiopians without distinction as they have been always perceived as a source of hostility and danger for the Anuak. For the Anuak refugees, it does not matter if the "Brown Ethiopians" are official in the government, soldiers, civilians or refugees, they all the same and whenever they have the chance to attack the Anuak, they will do. The Anuak refugees have the feeling that they are victimized continuously by the "Brown" Ethiopians even if they are refugees as they are the ones who have the money and power and they can influence the authorities in the settlement. This perception towards Highlander refugees is intensifying victim consciousness and collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees. As a result, collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees is manifested not only through the lack of recognition of other's suffering but also the lack of trust and the continuous feelings of threat and insecurity.

However, what is interesting is that competition over visibility was more intense among the Anuak refugees than the Highlander refugees and it manifested in different ways. The unequal power relations between the Anuak and the Highlander refugees make their engagement in competitive victimhood vary (Noor et al, 2012: 358). The focus of the Anuak refugees was on how much loss they have which is mainly about the physical and material dimensions of suffering. The focus of the 2003 genocide against the Anuak as a chosen trauma and the role of the Highlander "brown" Ethiopians illustrate the competition over the legitimacy dimension of suffering for the Anuak refugees. To clarify more, the Anuak refugees were always referring to the violence and violations that have been committed by the Highlander Ethiopians and how the violence is unjust as one of the Anuak participants mentioned,

"On the process of the attack nobody knew that day was going to be the day of killing the Anuak people. It happened that the government officials were not informed that tomorrow

would be the killing; they left free to go to the work, the school children also not informed and went for classes, women and children" (Peter, Base camp 5, October/2019)

Stating that Anuak people were not aware of what will happen and that there were no signs or warnings which lead many innocent "women and children "to be killed is an implicit accusation that the violence committed was unethical and immoral. Moreover, the Anuak participants have not mentioned at all any involvement of the Anuak in violent attacks or actions back in Gambella region and some participants denied that they have armed forces. Also, Anuak participants have never mentioned how the 2003 massacre against the Anuak started which many human rights reports stated that it was retaliation because of the violent attack that started first by some Armed Anuak against Highlander. Perceiving the violence against them as an illegitimate and unjustifiable in addition to dismissing the fact that they have armed groups and forces is an attempt by the Anuak refugees to not disturb their images as innocent, vulnerable victims. This competition over the legitimacy/illegitimacy of violence is strongly linked with being selective with regard to what Anuak refugees want to recall and bring to the surface and what would be powerful for them. With this regard, this selectivity might be attributed to the collective biased memory of the Anuak refugees as one of the mechanisms that underlie competitive victimhood (Noor et al, 2012). In this case, the memories of the Anuak refugees are constructed in a way that favors them through devalue their violence/wrong and emphasize and overestimate other's violence and hostility (Noor et al, 2012).

5.2.5 "Our case supposed to be like those"[13]: on collective victimhood, competitive victimhood and Resettlement

This part will examine how resettlement in Nakivale and particularly not being able to get resettled is creating tension and lack of solidarity between Anuak and highlander refugees. Also, how the latter point is attributing to the collective and competitive victimhood among both groups and the way they see and identify their suffering.

During my time in Nakivale, I realized that being resettled to a third country is a dream for many refugees in the settlement and many people are staying there or the hope of getting that chance. Examining collective victimization and collective victimhood in a place such as

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[13] (Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

Nakivale settlement, one cannot but notice how resettlement and its chances are affecting the way refugees construct and define their suffering. In general refugees in Nakivale who get chances for resettlement are very few and in most cases they are Congolese, Burundians and Somalis while the chances for the Ethiopian refugees are very limited. With this regard, the former official in the settlement mentioned,

"*I haven't heard of any Gambella, who has been resettled since then, and for the whole Ethiopians, they are very few and those have been there for a very long time and the Gambella quite new so I do not think any one of them has been considered for resettlement. Mostly because of a security issue and it is not the case or the Ethiopian*s" (Former OPM official, Isingiro, November/2019)

As has been indicated in the introduction chapter, the highest proportions of African refugees who get resettled to a third county in the recent years are the Congolese followed by South Sudanese. The reason behind is that the situation in countries such as South Sudan and DRC is considered as unsafe as there are still different conflicts taking place and thus refugees from these countries are the ones who have the priority to be rescued outside Africa. In 2019, 138 cases were referred from HIJRA to UNHCR for further assessment for resettlement with majority being Congolese (83) followed by Burundians (23) and Somalis (13) and then South Sudanese (6)[14]. There were two cases for Ethiopians in the bottom of the list out of these 138 cases. This small number revels that Ethiopia might not be considered as a source of threat to its people who have fled from there as it is not on a high-profile crisis that recognized internationally. Through my interviews with both Anuak and Highlander refugees, resettlement came in different ways and with different descriptions and it has been used during the conversation to serve many purposes. One of the Anuak participants said,

"*We told them (*referring to OPM*) that we came because of insecurity; we can't lie to say that we have this and this as the same what other nationalities used to do within Base camp here" (*Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019*)*

Stating that "we cannot lie" and the explicit accusation of other refugees of lying about their situations to gain some benefits including resettlement chances adds an interesting dimension

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[14] HIJRA report of referred resettlement cases to UNHCR.

to the experience of collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees. Distancing the group from the "wrong" that other refugees do (by lying and not telling the truth), could be a strategy to claim moral superiority and improve the image of the group. This finding goes consistently with the argument that in-group superiority among a specific group helps in maintain a positive moral image for that group (Vollhardt and Bilali, 2014). However, I argue that despite the positive impact of in-group superiority of giving more power to the Anuak refugees, in-group superiority also has negative consequences. One of these negative consequences of in-group superiority is its failure to make the Anuak refugees recognize the suffering of other Highlander refugees which results in exclusive victim consciousness.

Not having chances for resettlement is hugely affecting Anuak refugees in Nakivale and it feeds into their sense of collective victimhood as they have no people abroad who can support them as one of the Anuak participants stated,

"*We have no people who went outside to send us money, we don't have people in Ethiopia to send, we depend only on UNHCR.*" (John, Base camp, November/2019)

Another Anuak participant said,

"*They would come here and talk about resettlement but when we ask them they say to get resettlement, you go and register in the office and report your problem, maybe if you have been raped this is insecurity or if you are sick, and this sickness needs to be taken to hospital in Kampala and the proof that there is no cure and get a document so they decide to write any paper to UNHCR, so UNHCR can decide to take that refugee abroad to get the treatment*". (Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019)

The above quotation by the Anuak woman reveals not only the lack of resettlement chances for the Anuak refugees but also how resettlement chances are defined by the categorization of suffering and those specific sufferers who are entitled to resettlement. The same Anuak woman indicates that she and her husband are having HIV/AIDS talked about their suffering especially her husband who cannot touch anything and how other refugees are being cared for by UNHCR.

"I could see some of Congolese and Burundians were taken to the hospital, coming back; the UNHCR will take them abroad to get better treatment and our case is supposed to be like those people" (Sophia, Base camp 5, November/2019*)*

HIV/AIDS here becomes a social source (Fassin, 2005:372) for this Anuak woman as it makes her the right candidate for the resettlement since her suffering legitimizes her existence within the humanitarian domain. The sick and the disordered body serves as a vital tool to make the voices of the Anuak refugees more heard and their suffering more visible. Not having chances for resettlement despite being a legitimate sufferer increase the sense of victimhood among the Anuak refugees. In this case, victimhood is manifested through the way that Anuak refugees see and perceive the harm that result from their experience of the collective victimization and the consequence of this harm.

Again the discourse of vulnerability used by the Anuak refugees to validate their deservingness for resettlement cannot be detached from the requirements and the criteria of refugees who are eligible for resettlement. Vulnerability is an essential element in the document of the agenda for protection set by the UNHCER which concern with resettlement of refugees. Creating a hierarchy of suffering by prioritizing the experience of victimization qualify refugees based on their "vulnerability" and the amount of damage and harm they are subjected to.

Although many refugees know that they are suitable candidates for resettlement based on their suffering and vulnerability, not being able to get this chance makes refugees feel that they are left behind purposefully and thus enhances their collective victimhood .The fact that third countries such as the European countries, the United States, Canada and Australia are not providing enough chances for resettlement is playing a big role in intensifying this sense of collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees. Refereeing to specific natalities such as the Congolese and the Burundians by the Anuak as the ones who are lucky and who get the chances to go abroad is not far from the reality which prioritizes refugees over each other. Although the situation in Ethiopia might not be considered as risky as the one in DRC or South Sudan, Anuak refugees fear being persecuted if they go back to Ethiopia especially because they belong to a minority group that does not have any sort of power. Additionally, many Anuak refuges are traumatized and have shown no willingness to return as the majority of them have survived the 2003 massacre in Gambella. Also, the challenges that face Anuak refugees back home is not only because of the possibility of being targeted but also because

of the lamentable and precarious economic and social circumstances that make their return almost impossible.

On the other side, Highlander participants indicate that Anuak refugees take advantage of how they are different and on that basis, they try to get resettlement and be sent abroad as two of the highlander participants said,

"*They are saying this just for processes only because all of us are Africans and black that is what is the name of business now (…) What I'm telling you is the truth, no one has injured anyone but that thing of black and white is just business* " (Kofi, Base camp 4, November/2019)

"*maybe because they take themselves differently but we do not take them differently we are the same blood and we are the same color but they see themselves as minority group but we do not take them like that because of process (referring to the resettlement) maybe they do like that.*" (Yonas, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Highlander refugees mentioned that they are all African and there is not difference between them and the Anuak. For the highlander refugees, raising the issue of being different or discriminated against because of the color or religion or language is used by the Anuak refugees to construct a category of suffering and thus be eligible for more intervention. For the Highlander refugees, the color discourse by the Anuak refugees is not based on a deep and profound racial categorization and stratification among the Ethiopian society but rather it is a claim to be more eligible for resettlement. By emphasizing that both groups (Anuak and Highlander) are the same and they are brothers, Highlander refugees are defending themselves against the image of the perpetrator and the victimizer.

Labeling resettlement as "business" illustrates how resettlement is perceived by the refugees as an activity that entails negotiation of the suffering and agency more than a merely protective tool for those who are in need. As it has been stated in the beginning of this section many refugees in Nakivale want to be resettled and they complain about not having this chance and Highlander refugees are among those as one of the participants said,

"When we go to HIJRA to assess me, they chase us every time and said third countries do not want you as a refugee and we do not know the reasons" **(**Eve, Base camp 5, November/2019**)**

Another highlander participant mentioned,

"I fell those people (referring to UNHCR) are segregating us, I got resettlement in 2008 but it has stopped, nothing going on but as I human being I feel bad " **(**Noah, Base camp, November/201**9**)

The two quotations above show the dilemma that refugees face when it comes to resettlement as having this opportunity depends on the willingness of the host countries where refugees will be resettled in and it is not an obligation. For example, there are two cases for Ethiopians who have been referred by the HIJRA office to UNHCR last year out of 134 cases. Even after being referred to UNHCR for further assessment, those refugees might wait for years to finally depart from Uganda to the country which will choose them. This state of waiting for resettlement is creating an atmosphere of confusion, despair, frustration and anger and feeling of being forgotten among both the Anuak and the Highlander refugees. Due to these uncertainties and limbo situation, intense competition over the visibility and the recognition of those who suffer the most and who deserve to be helped starts to emerge.

5.2.6 Collective victimhood and the Anuak refugees: on group cohesion and in-group ties

During my time in Nakivale and especially during the election of the communities' leader, the Anuak refugees were among the very few to be addressed by the camp administration and election officers as a very organized community and that they do not cause chaos and they know what they want to do. In this regard, the former camp official who was in charge of the Anuak transfer from Base camp 4 mentioned in describing what happened after Anuak have been given the land,

"I told them what they have to do, and they did it by themselves, did everything like demarcating, leaving space for path or roads, they did it by themselves, I did not do anything. **(**Former OPM official, Isingiro, November/2019**)**

Similarly, the official from HIJRA states,

"They are a very peaceful community and united, I think because they are few and they need all that support they can get so they stick with each other, they are more united than most of the communities here in Nakivale " (HIJRA official, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Being a minority makes the Anuak refugees in Nakivale more attached to their group which strengthens their group cohesion and ties and thus gives them more support among themselves. As this official mentioned, the high sense of community and the adherence to the group might be a coping strategy to capitalize on the available support they have. The unity of the Anuak refugees as a group and their organization are some of the strengths to be identified with their group. Additionally, the cohesion and the unity between Anuak refugees might be a constructive manifestation of their collective victimhood which both intensified due to a perceived external enemy or threat (Vollhardt, 2012:148). In this case, the perceived enemies for the Anuak refugees are the "brown Highlander" refugees, whose presence recalls the oppression that has been practiced against the Anuak by the Ethiopian government and the Highlander civilians back in Gambella region.

One of the ways that the social cohesion among the Anuak manifested is through their movements in groups whenever there is an incident or some dispute with other refugees. For example, Highlander refugees have addressed that during the water incident that happened in Base camp, Anuak used to come in groups and escalate the disputes as one Highlander participant said,

"It is against our culture that other people coming in group, for them they come in groups. For example, at water place, some can fight even our community themselves but once they fight with them it becomes a big complaint. **(**Adam, Base camp 4, November/2019)

However, they were some accusation by Highlander refugees against the Anuak refugees that not only they take actions collectively but also, they are violent and hostile in their responses.

"According to us when the kids fight, we separate the elderly and the families but for them (Anuak), they came with Panga and knock on someone's door to fight with them." (Kofi, Base camp 5, November/2019)

To live with the highlander refugees in the same village was not enough for the Anuak to overcome their victimization but living together has intensified the already existing tension between the two groups. The experience of the collective victimization among the Anuak refugees has increased their sensitivity to any threat they might face and thus they felt that they need to be prepared and defend their group from any harm or potential victimization. The Anuak have emphasized that their coming in group during the water incident was mainly because most of their children and women do not speak the language of Highlander Ethiopians and that is why others (mainly men) join to understand what is going on. However, despite the intentions of the Anuak which might not appear as hostile or violent, their actions might still be misunderstood for some such as Highlander refugees as the former camp official stated,

"They (the Anuak refugees) are very united community, even some people might misinterpret them because they are very united, what happens to one of them, they come and want to know (...) but of course you face that treatment back home; you are already into this protective mood so you think the same will happen here." **(**Former OPM official, Isingiro, November/2019*)*

The unity and the sense of togetherness among the Anuak refugees cannot be looked at without considering their experience of collective victimization. Anuak refugees still feel threatened and moving in groups might be a defensive mechanism for the Anuak refugees against any potential threat they might face from different groups including the Highlander refugees.

5.3 Highlander refugees in Nakivale: on competitive victimhood, morality and inclusive consciousness

Through the interviews, most of the highlander participants have emphasized the fact that they are all (Highlander and Anuak) refugees and that they all have problems and challenges as one of the highlander participants pointed out,

"as I see, we are all refugees and as refugees we all have problems but what I see from them (i.e. referring to Anuak?), when they were here, they were many people and they had elderly people and some of them I do not know if they went to find a job but their numbers were reduced and sometimes when I see some girls are moving around, I see on their face as if they have some problems "(Adam, Base camp 4, November/2019)

To clarify more what he means by "some problems", the same participant continues

"I saw a lady with a child who was walking here (in base camp 4) and she was begging and we gave her (interrupted)…When they ask for assistance, even for us we are refugees, we do not have anything but as humanity, what we have we share with them "(Adam, Base camp 4, November/2019)

This participant did not only admit that all refugees have problems but also acknowledged the issues that Anuak refugees in particular might be having such as a decrease in their numbers, their needs for money which made some to come and beg. Highlander refugees tend to view themselves as the ones who do not have problems with Anuak refugees and that they used to peacefully exist with them but the Anuak were the ones who disrupted this peaceful coexistence. There was also emphasis by the Highlander refugees that color difference e.g. being black or brown does not matter for them and that they are all African and all Ethiopians.

"One day they went and they accused us at the commandant office when the commandants asked why are they segregating or ignoring you they said because of color and we are all Africans, we all black. Even now, we have peace with them because the place I stay they always come, they visit me and visit them, and we take coffee together." (Yonas, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Another participant mentioned,

*"Since they came and we invited them here and giving them what we have but they have the same problem they have there (…) they did not accept us as our brothers, They have that problem in mind, they stayed six months with us here in Base cam*p (Kofi, Base camp 4, November/2019)

According to this Highlander participant, even after living with the Highlander refugees in the same place, Anuak refugees were still trapped in their victimization past and the violence they experienced in Gambella region. Addressing the rejection of the Anuak refugees to stay with the Highlander refugees despite the good treatment and support they received from the latter when they came to the settlement, might be an attempt to produce a more positive and moral image for the Highlanders refugees. For the Highlanders, being affiliated to a group that is considered as a perpetrator or accused of violating other groups might be morally costly and threatens the moral identity of the group (Sullivan et al, 2012:779. To further enhance this positive moral image, one highlander participant said,

"We are sharing everything, they come and buy from here and there is a day they had a problem where someone from the Gambella community has died and all the Ethiopians went there and buried the person and that was in 2017. We do not have any problem with Gambella but we do not know what they say". (Adam, Base camp 4, November/2019)

The same participant continued,

"There was sometimes from UNHCR, they call us as Ethiopians and say we have process, you bring your people, so we called them and even go there and tell them that there is something like this so let's go together hand in hand, later on, this thing has stopped and we do not know what happened" (Adam, Base camp 4, November/2019)

According to this participant, the support that highlander refugees give to the Anuak exceeds the financial assistance or any other form of help they give to those who need but also sharing with them potential chances of resettlement. For Highlander refugees, although Anuak refugees take advantage of their color difference to get chances for resettlement, they (Highlander refugees) genuinely share any opportunity with them.

Once again Highlander refugees try to boost their morality with an implicit comparison between them and the Anuak refugees. In this case, Highlander refugees claim competitive victimhood not because they are a victim group but as a tactic to defend the moral identity (Sullivan et al 2012:793).

On the other hand, in acknowledging the past and the suffering of the Anuak refugees, one of the Highlander participants who is a religious leader mentioned,

"*The place that suffered a lot in Ethiopia I can say it is Gambella, those people have suffered at their place in the home country, they were beaten and killed*" (Yonas, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Yonas continues,

"*Even many times they have explained that their families were killed in Ethiopia and they tell me and come to them and I make them strong. I'm a person of god and I'm spreading the words of God that is why they are explaining to me*" (Yonas, Base camp 4, November/2019)

Being a religious leader did not only make Anuak refugees to come to this participant and tell him their stories but also to empower them and make them more able to bear and overcome their suffering. Knowing the past of the Anuak refugees in addition to his position of power as a religious man have made this participant more conscious about the victimization that Anuak have been subjected to. However, this participant did not only talk about the challenges that Anuak have faced but also the suffering of refugees from other nationalities in the settlement. The first time I met this participant was during a visit I made with a friend to a Congolese traditional prayer which involved mainly Congolese and he was speaking in Swahili and French. The prayer was emotionally intensive as so many people were screaming and crying and by the end he started to talk and advise them. Addressing the suffering of other refugees he mentioned,

"*I cannot only say Ethiopians and Gambella are suffering but many people like Burundians and Congolese are suffering but I explain the one I know. I see some Congolese who are going without shoes and their legs have cracks and you might see them, that is all made through the problems they have*" (Yonas, Base camp 4, November/2019**)**

Stating that Anuak refugees reach and tell him their problems because he is a "person of god" highlights how important religion is in the life of the Anuaks refugees in Nakivale and that having such an influential trustful religious man might build more bridges between them and his group, the highlanders. These expressions of being aware of the other group's suffering

and the showing of empathy reduce the chance of developing an "exclusive victim" role (Noor et al, 2012:363) and helps in building more solidarity between the two groups.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the findings have revealed that collective victimization that Anuak refugees have been facing has produced collective victimhood which is manifested in different ways. One of the ways that collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees manifested and was consolidated is through competitive victimhood which was very clear through the competition of the Anuak refugees over the recognition of their suffering and their entitlement as a group for more intervention and help. The findings have shown how competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees requires a sense of in-group superiority and being /feeling worthier than others for claiming victimhood (Roccas et al 2008). As one of the competitive victimhood elements, in-group superiority is bringing the Anuak refugees together and strengthening their sense of belonging to the community but also establishing an exclusionary victim consciousness.

The Anuak's failure to recognize the suffering of the Highlander refugees, by not accepting their experience as victimized people who had to flee their home as well contributes to more hostility towards the Highlander refugees. On the other hand, in-group superiority also exists among the Highlander refugees as they tend to show themselves as the ones who help the Anuak and protect them through giving houses, money and even sharing chances of resettlement with them. For the Highlander refugees to represent themselves as the ones who take care of the Anuak refugees and extend a helping hand might aim at protecting the morality of the group from the threat of the perpetrator image. However, the representation of the Highlander refugees themselves goes beyond protecting the moral image to provide a ground of power for the group and more dominance (Kahalon et al, 2019). As a result, the group that claims superiority is likely to focus on how special their victimization is and thus adopting competitive victimhood as a way to improve their moral image (Noor et al, 2017:128)

For the Anuak refugees, collective and competitive victimhood give them a chance not only to speak about their need for help and assistance but also to be critical to their past violence, injustice and the challenges which made them end up in this vulnerable position. Accordingly, I argue that through collective victimhood and by adopting the victim-based identity, Anuak refugees in Nakivale are standing up against the dehistoricization and

depoliticization of their experience of suffering. As a result, I argue that claiming the status of the "victim" and enhancing collective victimhood by the Anuak is used as a strategy to gain more power and moral legitimacy more than showing passiveness and lack of agency. The findings have also shown how the camp influences experience of the collective and competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees through the power asymmetry between refugees of the same nationality which intensifies their feelings of negligence and injustice. In the same line, the research has shown how not getting chances for resettlement is creating a toxic atmosphere of distrust between the Anuak and Highlander refugees and contributing in producing more hostile prejudices.

Chapter six

Conclusion

This thesis has described the experience of collective victimization, collective victimhood and competitive victimhood among Ethiopian refugees from the Gambella region (both so-called 'Highlanders' and 'Anuak') in Nakivale refugee's settlement in South Western Uganda. I analyzed how a historic event (2003 genocide) started the collective victimization of the Anuak and how this created a sense of collective and competitive victimhood among its Anuak victims, who are now refugees in Nakivale settlement. My second question was to understand how collective victimhood by the Anuak refugees influence their perceptions and attitudes towards other Ethiopians refugees in Nakivale settlement? Third, how does resettlement play a role in intensifying the sense of victimhood among the Anuak refugees within Nakivale refugee camp? To answer these questions, I conducted qualitative research during my time as an intern in Nakivale settlement in 2019 (October-November)

I relied mainly on the work of Noor et al (2012/2017) to establish the conceptual framework based on collective and competitive victimhood, as well as collective victimization. The idea for focusing on the two groups (Anuak and the Highlander) Ethiopian refugees is based on a reference that was made by one of the officials in the settlement to the Anuak as "black Ethiopians". This label of "Black Ethiopians" with its clearly racial connotations, made me curious about racial/ethnic discrimination among refugees of the same nationality in Nakivale refugee settlement. However, the interviews with the Anuak participants did not so much focus on racial boundaries, but rather about other challenges and the problems they face and how they express it and make sense of it which is where my exploration of their 'victimhood' emerged.

The main findings of the research illustrate how historical collective victimization that Anuak refugees have been facing since the resettlement programs during the Derg regime in Ethiopia making them to negatively perceive Highlander refugees in Nakivale. The research has shown that Highlander refugees in Nakivale are still perceived as a source of threat to the Anuak refugees. In this way, the collective victimhood among the Anuak refugees becomes perpetual victimhood which establishes a persistent status of "victim".

The research has also demonstrated how competitive victimhood among the Anuak refugees who feel injustice is manifested. The findings have also shown that competitive victimhood exists among the Highlander refugees but the way it functions and the desired outcomes that result from it are different from the competitive victimhood adopted by the Anuak refugees.

For the Anuak refugees, competitive victimhood serves as a means to make them recognized as the ultimate "sufferer" and thus the ones who are entitled to the benefits and the humanitarian assistance inside the settlement. Moreover, competitive victimhood enhances the sense of community between Anuak refugees as they feel that they are united by the uniqueness of their suffering and victimization. For the Highlander refugees, claiming competitive victimhood was a strategy to morally defend the group against the perpetrator image imposed on them by the Anuak refugees. Competitive victimhood between the two groups (The Anuak and the Highlander) creates an atmosphere of distrust and unwillingness to see the suffering of each other.

The findings have also revealed how the camp as a space of different power relations comes to affect collective and competitive victimhood, especially among the Anuak refugees. The social/economic stratification and differentiation between the Anuak and the Highlander refugees contributes to an intensification of the sense of victimhood among the Anuak refugees and the feeling that they are spatially 'left behind' on purpose. These feelings of negligence and injustice among Anuak refugees are reinforcing their former experience of collective victimhood and it also generates competitive victimhood which is influenced by the spatial and economic hierarchies in the camp. With this regard, it becomes important to look at the camp not as a neutral space but rather defined by extremely complex paradigms which continuously produce and establish new identities including the "victim" identity. In this sense, the ground-based division between the Anuak and the Highlander refugees is not only ethnic but relational to the camp (Agier, 2002:335) as a space of different and unequal power sets

In the era of migration that we are living in, the whole world is affected by the movement of people fleeing for different reasons including fleeing persecution and wars in their countries and the need to recognize those who need help and intervention is on the rise. My findings have revealed that Anuak refugees, as all other refugees, are considered eligible for help and intervention by the different humanitarian organizations based on the extent of their "vulnerability'. This involves a comparative way of looking at the experiences of suffering of others in order to determine the ones who are most in need of intervention. As a result, competitive victimhood is created by this humanitarian system and allows groups to compete for claims of being most innocent and thus deserving of empathy, support and assistance (Noor et al, 2017:366).

My thesis gave insights in the world of suffering and injury with a specific focus on refugees who live in the camp/ settlement who are caught in a state of limbo with extreme feelings of being forgotten and left behind. The research sheds light on the experience of those refugees and how they are making sense of their injuries and sufferings and how the meanings they create affect the way they perceive and interact with other refugees (of the same nationality). The complexity of the humanitarian regime makes the clear-cut definition of who is the most deserving "victim" a hard task. This makes it all the more important to explore how refugees narrate themselves and reflect on their experience, rather than relying on the image set by the humanitarian organizations, aid workers, politicians and academics.

The findings of this research can probably be applied to other refugees' communities in different camps/settlements. Although every group or community has its history that makes it different from the other groups, the humanitarian setting of the camps/settlement and the forms of ruling and governing inside these spaces are almost the same. For future researches, one might look at the experience of victimhood and its different manifestations in different settlements other than Nakivale. Also, future research about collective victimization/victimhood and competitive victimhood can be examined among refugees from other ethnic groups who belong to the same country (e.g. Rwandan Hutu and Tutsis) or who are from different neighboring countries with some history in common (e.g. Eritreans and Ethiopians).

Declaration of Authenticity

Declaration of authenticity

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I'm aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: _Eihlam Elgamal_

Date and Place _7/7/2020 . Oldenburg. Germany_

Signature

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