

Navigating Refugee Realities by Rethinking Human Rights Discourse: The Case of Congolese Refugees in the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp and the United States

Rina Komiya (Tokyo Metropolitan University)

Abstract

This article adopts a critical human rights perspective and challenges the prevailing portrayal of refugees as passive victims solely reliant on aid, as well as the top-down approach that fails to capture the complexity of their experiences. It includes a literature review showing the shift towards recognizing refugees' agency and resilience. The article presents case studies of Congolese refugees in the Nyarugusu camp and those resettled in the United States, illustrating their active role in their communities and dispute resolution. It questions the tension between human rights principles and local practices and emphasizes holding powerful actors accountable for creating vulnerable conditions. Instead of criticizing refugees' choices, the article advocates for addressing the root causes of their challenges and developing a more equitable and just human rights discourse. This perspective is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of refugee experiences and promoting meaningful change to improve their conditions and rights.

Keywords: Refugees, Refugee Camp, Human Rights, Dispute resolution mechanism, Resettlement

1. Introduction

Taking the standpoint of a critical human rights theorist, human rights discourse has long been shaped by a legal perspective, contributing to an essentialistic view of rights-holders. The process of creating legal definitions necessitates classification and differentiation, often leading to fixed identities for claimants (Kennedy, 2004). This essentialist notion is further entrenched through institutionalization, as seen in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

(TRC), where individuals are categorized as “official victims” or “official perpetrators” (Enns, 2007). However, real-life situations are far more nuanced, as exemplified by the testimony of a female soldier in the Liberian TRC who found herself simultaneously labeled as a victim, witness, and perpetrator (Coulter, 2009, p.151).

Once determined as victims, the essentialized image of victims would haunt the individuals. In order to mobilize public outrage, the language of the human rights reports describe victims as sympathetic innocents, perpetrators as deviant, and human rights professionals as heroic (Kennedy, 2002; Mutua, 2002). Such victims are constructed as passive objects of pity and innocence, who were rendered dependent and subject to external interventions (Marks & Clapham, 2005).

With this tension in mind, this article will challenge the human rights discourse surrounding refugees based on two points. First, refugees are not those who do not have any agency as human rights discourse would presume. The article aims to explain that refugees play a crucial role in dispute resolution in the community by introducing a case of refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (hereinafter referred to as “Congolese refugees”) in the Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania and those who moved from there to the United States. This challenges the notion of refugees as vulnerable innocent victims who solely rely on aid. Second, the article highlights a situation where human rights discourse and local practices of refugees may have tension and argues that the top-down style of human rights discourse may not reflect reality. It is too shortsighted to blame people on the ground without understanding the context. Rather than merely “empowering” locals, the article argues that human rights discourse must scrutinize and criticize the larger violators of human rights that contribute to refugee crises, including those in the global north.

The article structure progresses from a literature review on refugee agency to an examination of custom-based dispute resolution mechanism in the Nyarugusu camp.

Subsequently, the focus shifts to the experiences of *M'mbembe M'mbond* in the United States, a community-based organization providing support to Bembe refugees, the primary ethnic group among Congolese refugees.

2. Literature review

According to the Refugee Convention, a refugee is defined as a person who has fled their home country due to fear of persecution based on factors such as race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group (PSG) and is in need of international protection.¹ Currently, the global number of refugees reaches 35.3 million, as reported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (UNHCR, 2023).

Since the 1980s, scholars from various disciplines, including philosophy, law, and anthropology, have extensively discussed refugees and refugee camps. According to Richard Black, a total of 250 articles published in the *Journal of Refugee Studies* were categorized into 16 academic fields, including political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, socio-legal studies, history, international relations, geography, education, gender studies, economics, philosophy, linguistics, demography, business studies, and organizational studies (Black, 2001, p.61-62). While Refugee and Forced Migration Studies² encompasses such a multidisciplinary field, it originally emerged from research related to refugee-related policies and their recommendations. Refugee research, therefore, requires researchers to document and analyze the injustices and inequalities experienced by refugees and to take responsibility for improving the situation. For example, in *Imposing Aid*, written by anthropologist Barbara Harrell-Bond in the 1980s, when the refugee issue was recognized as a global and important problem, and

¹ see Article 1A, paragraph 2 of the Refugee Convention.

² Studies dealing with refugees are called Refugee Studies, Forced Migration Studies or, together, Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Forced Migration Studies covers not only refugees but also other categories of people who have been forced to move, such as internally displaced persons, asylum seekers and statelessness. In view of the complexity and diversity of experiences with forced migration, the international trend has been to refer to research dealing with refugees as Refugee and Forced Migration Studies.

refugee studies emerged, there was a strong belief that research on refugees should be used to benefit refugees, strongly reflecting the belief that it should be used for the benefit of refugees (Harrell-Bond, 1986). Refugee research aims to live up to the high academic standards of the social sciences while aiming for the knowledge generated by research to be used for policy formation and decision-making, with the aim of making recommendations to agencies such as governments and the United Nations (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, pp.185-186). Such situation of refugee researchers has been termed by Karen Jacobsen and Loren Landau as the 'dual imperative' of researchers (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003, p.186).

In the pursuit of improving the situation of refugees, most scholars adopt a critical perspective towards refugee camps, viewing them as entities that restrict individuals' freedom and impede their autonomy (Agamben, 2005; Harrell-Bond, 2004; Hyndman, 2000). As a result, research on refugee camps presents contrasting portrayals, emphasizing power dynamics between influential actors like host governments and vulnerable refugees reliant on assistance. Scholars like Eftihia Voutira and Harrell-Bond have conceptualized the "ideal type" of a refugee camp characterized by hierarchical structures and role divisions, where government officials, armed police, military personnel, international NGOs, and humanitarian organizations manage and distribute aid, while refugees themselves are perceived as aid recipients (Voutira and Harrell-Bond, 1995, p.210). In addition, it is perceived that refugees often lack a unified voice or common ground, except for resistance against camp authorities (Colson, 2003, p.10). Consequently, refugees are depicted as experiencing compromised agency and autonomy, akin to "prisoners" (Hyndman, 2000, pp.142-147), while the camps are perceived as lawless and lacking cohesion due to refugees' dependency on aid.

However, the prevailing perception of refugees' lives within camps falls short of capturing their full dynamics. In a study of Burundian refugees residing in Lukole refugee camp in Tanzania, Simon Turner discovered a subgroup of young men who, despite extended

stays in the camp, exhibited fearlessness towards aid agencies, assertiveness, and acted as mediators between the agencies and fellow refugees (Turner, 2010, pp. 1881-2344). Turner refers to these individuals as ‘liminal experts,’ capable of negotiating with aid agencies and challenging the perception of vulnerable refugees (Turner, 2010, p. 2139). He highlights three exemplars of liminal experts - aid agency workers, zone leaders, and entrepreneurs - and illustrates how they have risen to become influential figures (‘big men’) within the camp, wielding political, economic, and traditional power. Contrary to the image of refugees being solely dependent on aid, Turner especially emphasizes the significant presence of entrepreneurs who, through self-sustenance, transform the camp's controlled spaces into thriving living environments (Turner, 2010, p. 2190).

In addition, since the 2010s, there has been a notable shift in refugee research, with increasing attention being directed towards Refugee-led Organizations (RLOs). These organizations are established and operated by refugees themselves, viewing them not merely as passive beneficiaries of international assistance but as active agents who leverage their experiences and expertise to support and empower their own communities. One significant study shedding light on RLOs is the work of Pincock and colleagues (2020). They conducted qualitative research encompassing approximately 80 RLOs situated in both urban areas and refugee camps in Uganda and Kenya. Their findings emphasized the pivotal role RLOs play in filling the gaps left by external support and assistance. These organizations provide crucial services in areas such as education, vocational training, psychological counseling, healthcare, microfinance, sports, youth development, and justice. By taking the lead in addressing their communities’ specific needs, RLOs empower refugees to actively participate in decision-making processes and foster a sense of ownership and responsibility within their own social structures. In a similar vein, McConnachie’s research (2014) added valuable insights by highlighting how refugees contribute to the maintenance of order and governance within the

refugee camp. Through adherence to customs, morality, and spiritual principles, refugees in the camp actively engage in ensuring security and establishing their own organizational structures. This participation illustrates that refugees are not mere passive recipients of aid but are instrumental in shaping and sustaining the camp's social fabric.

Drawing inspiration from these emerging research trajectories, the current study focuses on Congolese refugees residing in the Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania, as well as those who have been resettled in the United States.

3. Dispute resolution mechanisms in the camp and in the United States

In the following section, the article delves into a comprehensive examination of two custom-based dispute resolution mechanisms in the Nyarugusu refugee camp in Tanzania, which houses Congolese refugees, as well as those in the United States.

The Nyarugusu refugee camp, located in the western region of Tanzania, was initially established in 1996 to provide refuge for Congolese refugees. However, with the arrival of a significant number of Burundian refugees in 2015, the camp now hosts both Congolese and Burundian populations. As of the end of 2022, the camp's total population reached 129,703, comprising 80,043 Congolese refugees and 49,660 Burundian refugees (UNHCR, 2022), with the Bembe ethnic group being the most predominant among the Congolese refugees.

The camp is enclosed by a perimeter fence, with Tanzanian government police officers stationed at the entrance to ensure security. Approximately 5 kilometers away from the camp are small villages inhabited by local Tanzanian residents. Notably, the dwellings occupied by refugees bear a resemblance to the architectural style of neighboring Tanzanian villages, making the Nyarugusu refugee camp visually similar to a typical Tanzanian village. Despite this, the camp provides better infrastructure than its neighboring settlements, including primary

and secondary schools, youth centers, medical facilities, religious institutions (churches and mosques), and burial grounds. However, due to its remote location, the camp faces challenges such as poor mobile phone signal reception and limited internet access.

Within the Congolese section of the Nyarugusu camp, there are four zones: Executive, Zone, Cluster, and Village, each governed by a leader. These leaders, two per zone (male and female), are directly elected by the Congolese refugee community in quadrennial elections supported and conducted by UNHCR. They act as intermediaries between the Congolese refugees, the government, and aid agencies. Various organizations consistently provide essential aid in the Nyarugusu refugee camp. The World Food Programme (WFP) plays a significant role in distributing food items such as maize, while international organizations and NGOs offer support in the form of soap and clothing. Private companies also contribute to the well-being of the refugees, with the Vodafone Foundation, associated with the multinational mobile network operator Vodafone, donating tablets and educational content to two secondary schools in the camp.

The resettlement program for Congolese refugees in the United States began in the early 2000s, initially on a small scale. Before 2016, there were suspicions that some refugees in the Nyarugusu camp might have paid an “agent” to expedite their resettlement cases. However, in 2015, the United States introduced a group resettlement initiative, pledging to accept around 30,000 Congolese refugees from Tanzania. UNHCR statistics reveal that between 2004 and 2022, a significant number of 25,661 Congolese refugees were resettled in the United States, with the exception of missing data for the year 2005. The resettlement destinations vary, encompassing most states, including Hawaii, with varying numbers of refugees each state accepts.

a. In the case of the dispute resolution mechanism in the Nyarugusu refugee camp

This section illuminates the customs-based dispute resolution mechanism in the Nyarugusu refugee camp, as well as the evolving customs referred to by the refugees. Primary data was collected through a rigorous research design, using snowball sampling for participant recruitment. In 2016, six focus group discussions involving 51 Congolese refugees, including 8 participants engaged in the dispute resolution mechanism, were conducted.

In the Nyarugusu camp, when conflicts arise, refugees prefer to seek advice from zone leaders rather than the police. There is a hierarchical structure for seeking help from leaders, starting from the village, then the cluster, and finally the zone. In situations where leaders face challenges in resolving disputes, an alternative dispute resolution mechanism called *Amani na Usalama* comes into play for Congolese refugees in the camp. The *Amani na Usalama* process follows a trial-like format for resolving disputes and hearing witness testimonies. However, the decisions rendered are based on “Congolese customs³” and not legally binding. The main objective of *Amani na Usalama* is to promote reconciliation and restore social harmony within the community. The system primarily deals with cases related to marriage, handling an average of three to six cases per week. Parties wishing to use the *Amani na Usalama* services must pay an initial fee of 2,500 TSh, and an additional fee of 5,000 TSh is charged upon reaching a resolution. *Amani na Usalama* does not receive any direct support from the Tanzanian government. However, they submit monthly reports to the government for approval through leaders. Additionally, members often represent refugees when required to testify in formal judicial institutions, such as courts. Since *Amani na Usalama* plays a critical role in the camp, the members of *Amani na Usalama* have received training from aid agencies to address issues that may contravene Tanzanian law, such as domestic violence, child abuse, and child marriage.

³ While refugees assert that “Congolese customs” are employed in the *Amani na Usalama* process, the reality is more complex and nuanced. DRC is a diverse country with numerous ethnic groups, each having its own unique customs and traditions. As such, the idea of a unified “Congolese customs” does not exist even within the borders of the DRC.

According to Congolese refugees, the Amani na Usalama system emerged in 1997 when cultural chiefs, leaders, and elders convened to address family matters within the camp. Some individuals assert that Amani na Usalama was fashioned after traditional issue resolution methods practiced in their communities back in the DRC, where customary courts (*tribunaux de zone*) operate within the legal system, and traditional leaders (*chefs coutumiers*) outside the formal judicial system play a significant role in mediating and resolving disputes within traditional communities (Zongwe et al., 2020). Although the interviewed refugees remember and value the Amani na Usalama system as such, its precise origin remains unclear as there is no written documentation of such local practices under this specific name. Nonetheless, the Amani na Usalama system has become a vital resource for the camp's residents, providing an additional layer of support and guidance in navigating complex disputes and promoting peace within the community.

In 2016, during the interviews, seven members of Amani na Usalama were appointed by community leaders based on the camp's ethnic composition. Originally intended to serve four-year terms, some individuals extended their tenure by repeating their positions multiple times. The composition of the members in 2016 was as follows:

- a) Representative: Male, 57 years old, Bembe (moved to the United States in 2019)
- b) Vice Representative: Male, 69 years old, Luba
- c) Advisor: Male, 69 years old, Fuliro
- d) Advisor: Female, 51 years old, Lega
- e) Discipline Officer: Male, 73 years old, Bembe
- f) Secretary: Male, age unknown, Bembe
- g) Assistant Secretary: Male, age unknown, Bembe

The assertion made by refugees that “Congolese customs” are used in dispute resolution is complex and nuanced, as their long-term residence in the Nyarugusu camp has exposed them

to human rights norms introduced by aid agencies, influencing their perspectives on conflict resolution. One intriguing illustration of this transformation relates to women's status, exemplified by Case 1:

In the DRC, a man and woman cohabitated without the man paying a dowry to the woman's family. When the woman passed away, to avoid conflict between the families, the husband's family offered one of their own women to the woman's family, providing them with a new opportunity to receive dowry. However, in Nyarugusu refugee camp, instead of adhering to the traditional practice, the husband's family opted to provide monetary compensation to the woman's family.

From an international human rights perspective, advocates may interpret this change as a successful "empowerment" of local customs influenced by human rights norms. Refugees have indeed been influenced by external factors, such as extensive training and awareness campaigns on gender-based violence (GBV) conducted in the camp. Consequently, terms like "GBV" and "domestic violence" have become part of their daily language, demonstrating an elevated understanding of gender equality. However, it is questionable whether the understanding of human rights in the sense of a liberal world has truly been achieved among Congolese refugees.

Upon questioning Amani na Usalama members and other individuals about the reason for this custom change, none of them mentioned women's rights as a driving factor. Instead, one person stated that it was more about practically in the camp that people prefer instant monetary compensation than another human being. While the Amani na Usalama representative attributed the change to training by international organizations, his patriarchal

views surfaced when he stated how Congolese women in the United States became “problematic”:

In the United States, women are encouraged to be independent and financially self-sufficient, which allows them to assert themselves against men. Women in the United States believe that they can remain free and autonomous after marriage. However, in the DRC, women do not have the same level of freedom after marriage. When women earn higher incomes than their husbands, they are not subjected to their husbands’ control. In the United States, a wife’s consent is essential in all matters, but this is not necessarily the case in the DRC. Now in the United States, many Congolese women take their cases to the police for resolution. For instance, there was a case of domestic violence in my State where the police advised the man to live separately from the woman. The man sought community intervention to resolve the issue, while the woman relied on her children to call the police (former Amani na Usalama Representative, personal communication, May 29th 2023)

Indeed, the Amani na Usalama representative is not an exception in his perspective on women's status, as others interviewed in the United States also expressed similar concerns about women becoming more empowered through financial independence. Some even went as far as to claim that women were unable to hold leadership roles and that UNHCR manipulated elections when female leaders were selected in the camp.

Based on the accounts of Congolese refugees, both men and women, the changes observed in customs, particularly concerning women’s status can be seen as a form of

“domestication⁴” of international human rights law. This suggests that refugees have adopted certain changes based on what international organizations promote, not necessarily because they fully agree with the values, but rather to gain support from these organizations or to survive amid the challenges they face.

In essence, the adaptation of customs reflects a pragmatic approach to incorporate some aspects of human rights norms to meet the requirements and expectations of aid agencies and international organizations, even if the refugees do not completely embrace the underlying values. This dynamic illustrates how the long-term presence of refugees in the Nyarugusu camp has created a nuanced interplay between their traditional customs and the influence of international human rights perspectives introduced by external actors.

b. In the case of the dispute-resolution mechanism in the United States

In exploring the efforts of the community-based organization, M’mbembe M’mbondo, in the United States, this section delves into the experiences of Congolese refugees and the challenges they encounter in their resettlement. Despite their initial beliefs that life in the United States would significantly improve compared to their time in the Nyarugusu refugee camp, the reality often presents them with different obstacles. While the US Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) aims to aid refugees’ integration and promote self-sufficiency, certain barriers hinder their successful resettlement. Among these challenges, language barriers stand out as a significant hurdle for working-age refugees. Although language learning opportunities are provided, many refugees find it difficult to balance attending language schools with the need to work and support their families. As a result, their English proficiency remains limited, limiting their access to better job opportunities and leaving many to work in

⁴ The concept of “domestication” frequently finds application in the work of Japanese anthropologist Motoji Matsuda, renowned for his extensive study of contemporary Kenya. Explored within his book titled “Toshi wo kainarasu—Afurika no toshijinruigaku [Domesticating Cities: Urban Anthropology of Africa],” Matsuda’s work illustrates the strategic actions of domestic migrants in Nairobi. These migrants deconstruct the seemingly insurmountable landscape of desolation represented by the city, only to meticulously reconstruct it from within, adapting it to align with the practicalities of their individual lives.

manual labor positions, such as warehouse sorting or cleaning. In addition to language difficulties, transportation becomes a major issue for the refugee community. Lack of access to reliable transportation complicates their daily lives, hindering their ability to explore job opportunities, access essential services, and fully engage in American society.

In response to these challenges, Bembe refugees have proactively formed community groups at the city and state levels since around 2010. These groups emerged organically, driven by the need for mutual assistance and the preservation of Bembe traditions and culture. In 2012, the federal-level M'mbembe M'mbondongo was officially established, providing a more organized structure to address the community's needs and concerns. At the inaugural meeting of the federal-level M'mbembe M'mbondongo, attended by approximately 40 individuals from different states, a Bembe man from South Dakota was chosen as the first leader. Other leadership positions, including vice president, secretary, treasurer, advisors, and a youth department leader, were also established to ensure effective coordination and support. Additionally, it was agreed that state-level M'mbembe M'mbondongo groups, which had developed organically, should be more organized through elections, and state-level leaders would report cases to the federal level. As the organization grew, a constitution was created and submitted to the US government for recognition in 2014. This constitution outlined the establishment of a board of members and various departments within M'mbembe M'mbondongo, further solidifying its organizational structure. Today, most states have their own M'mbembe M'mbondongo groups that report matters to the federal level, fostering communication and collaboration across the community. Both state- and federal-level M'mbembe M'mbondongo leaders are elected every two years, ensuring a democratic process in leadership selection. The federal M'mbembe M'mbondongo convenes an annual general assembly and submits an annual report, enhancing transparency and accountability within the organization. The current leader of the federal M'mbembe M'mbondongo hails from Georgia, with the election for this position scheduled for July 2023.

The strong belief in resolving disputes within the community, encapsulated in the Bembe proverb “*Tumina mshi ibe twaianda*” (“You will swallow blood if you hurt yourself”), underscores the community's commitment to resolving conflicts internally. According to this approach, disputes are first reported to the state-level M’mbembe M’mbondo, then to federal-level M’mbembe M’mbondo and only when the federal-level group is unable to reach a resolution and the case is too severe, external authorities are involved. This community-based approach echoes the hierarchical dispute-resolution mechanisms observed in the Nyarugusu camp, emphasizing the preservation of peace and harmony within the Bembe community. However, this community-based approach has raised concerns when viewed through a human rights perspective, as demonstrated in Case 2:

An individual from State A reached out to a M’mbembe M’mbondo leader in State B for assistance following a car breakdown. Unfortunately, the situation took a tragic turn when the leader’s daughter became a victim of sexual assault perpetrated by the same individual. As a consequence, the authorities apprehended the accused. Fearing potential deportation upon conviction, the federal-level M’mbembe M’mbondo group collectively made the decision that the victim should retract her testimony, thus enabling the accused to remain in the United States. In the pursuit of resolution, the perpetrator’s parents offered monetary compensation to the parents of the victim.

From a human rights perspective, the decision made by M’mbembe M’mbondo and the pressure exerted on the victim cannot be tolerated, as it constitutes a clear human rights violation. However, it is important to understand the justifications provided by the representatives of M’mbembe M’mbondo. They recognized the potential far-reaching

implications of the perpetrator's deportation and understood the adverse consequences it would have on both the victim's future prospects and community harmony.

The representatives predict that if the perpetrator is deported, the victim will face stigmatization within the community. She may be blamed as the person who deported her fellow Bembe, leading to her expulsion from the Bembe community. This stigmatization would make it challenging for her to find suitable marriage prospects within the community. Considering the lack of community support and limited means for her to navigate life in the United States independently, this expulsion would leave her in a vulnerable position.

In this complex situation, the case exemplifies the adeptness of Bembe refugees in navigating the rules and laws of the United States to maintain peace within their community, even when both the perpetrator and victim reside together. It highlights the unique challenges faced by refugees and the difficult choices they must make to preserve community harmony and individual well-being at a long run.

4. Conclusion

The central aim of the article is not primarily centered on criticizing human rights itself. Instead, the article endeavors to challenge a specific facet of the human rights discourse, specifically the portrayal of human rights victims, and to highlight the inherent limitations in fully capturing the complexities of refugee experiences and the dynamics within their communities.

The article begins with a comprehensive literature review, highlighting the evolution of research on refugees and their agency. It points out a shift in the portrayal of refugees from being seen as passive victims to recognizing their active role and agency in their communities. Some of the early literature often depicted refugees as vulnerable and powerless, solely dependent on aid and international organizations. However, recently more and more studies

have challenged this narrative and emphasized the resilience and agency of refugees in coping with their displacement.

Next, the article delves into the experiences of Congolese refugees in two different settings: the Nyarugusu refugee camp and the United States. The article provides valuable insights into the agency of refugees and challenges the prevailing perception of refugees as passive recipients of assistance. It highlights how refugees adopt survival strategies and community-based solutions to navigate challenges, such as language barriers, limited job opportunities, and transportation issues. By examining two dispute-resolution mechanisms in the Nyarugusu refugee camp and the United States, the article emphasizes the importance of understanding refugees as active agents who play a significant role in shaping their lives and resolving conflicts within their communities.

While the case studies of Nyarugusu camp and M' mbembe M' mbondo demonstrate the agency of refugees, the article also points out tensions and conflicts that may arise between human rights principles and local practices. It raises questions about the effectiveness and applicability of a top-down approach to “empowering” local people through human rights discourse.

While both case studies may be subject to criticism from a human rights perspective, a closer examination reveals that refugees' actions are driven by their survival strategies in difficult situations. Rather than solely blaming refugees, the article suggests that it is essential to hold more powerful actors accountable for creating the conditions that force refugees to make challenging choices. These actors contribute to structural violence that places refugees in vulnerable positions, making them susceptible to conflicts with human rights discourse.

The main goal of the article is not to criticize human rights itself, but rather to advocate for a critical approach that focuses on addressing the underlying causes of challenges faced by refugees. It is important to highlight that the author does not fully agree with the decisions and

reasoning behind the choices made by refugees in Case 1 and Case 2. Particularly, Case 2 requires a more comprehensive examination to respect the perspective of the victim. However, the article emphasizes that by acknowledging the structural violence experienced by refugees and holding accountable those who wield significant influence, the discourse on human rights can develop into a more equitable and just form. This critical approach is of utmost importance in cultivating a comprehensive understanding of refugee experiences and propelling meaningful change to improve their conditions and rights.

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