

Mari Maasilta
Post doctoral researcher
SSKH/Swedish School of Social Science
University of Helsinki
Finland
Mari.maasilta@uta.fi
Tel. +358.3.3551.6027

Outsiders or active citizens? The role of oral and mediated communication in African refugee camps

Introduction

The right to communicate is one of the basic human rights. Not only does this right entail that people have the freedom to express themselves, it also requires that they have access to channels of communication. Refugees and other displaced people often find themselves in situations of extreme personal, cultural and economic estrangement. Their freedoms of expression, the use of their own language and their right to be heard or to tell their stories are compromised by the situation that they find themselves in. My paper deals with the media agency and media access of displaced women in East African refugee camps. I analyze the means of communication these women have access to as well as the role played by formal mediated communication and informal communication in the efforts of women to keep in contact with their region of origin and to try to find resettlement in a third country. The role of informal communication is emphasized because many female refugees are illiterate and their access to formal mediated communication is limited.

In what follows, I will first introduce the reader into the life of refugees in East African refugee camps. I will then describe the use of different media by women from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) living in two refugee camps in Rwanda. The analysis is based on focus group interviews with 24 women in the camps of Kiziba (four

groups) and Nyabiheke (three groups) and on individual interviews with UNHCR authorities in the camps and in the Nairobi UNHCR headquarter (five interviews). The interviews were made in November 2010 by four members of our research group¹.

The interviews need to be understood as preliminary and experimental. Their purpose is more to help the researcher to define the most relevant issues to her research with refugee women in Finland than to make any conclusions. The questions in the interviews with women living in the camps concerned daily life and the problems they encounter as well as the knowledge and information needs these women have about DRC, Rwanda, and the potential resettlement countries. With the authorities, the interviews concerned the organization of the camps, along with any problems and challenges, as well as the general politics of UNHCR.

The original idea of the interviews had been to focus more on the past experiences of refugee women in DRC, but none of the respondents were willing to talk about these stories or their own experiences in great detail. The women obviously did not want to return to difficult experiences which they had left behind in their lives. It was anticipated in advance that they would be careful in their wordings due to suspicions they might have about potential DRC collaborators in the discussion groups. In fact, this did not seem to be the case.

In the later parts of my paper I will discuss my empirical findings in relation to Spitulniks (2002) threefold typology of mass media (formal mediated communication), small media and interpersonal media (informal communication). [SLIDE] I will argue that the boundaries between small media and interpersonal media are more than vacillating, especially when it comes to the messages sent and received in cyberspace or by mobile phones. Mediated communication is vital for the social fabric of those connections that are not geographically fixed but are formed by strings of people. It is in these social

¹ *Structures of Compassion: Media, migration and politics of emotion* project is financed by the Finnish Academy 2010-13, responsible leader Emeritus Professor Ullamaija Kivikuru, Swedish School of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki. My study is a sub-project of this project. The interviews were made by Camilla Haavisto, Karina Horsti, Ullamaija Kivikuru and Kaarina Nikunen.

spaces that mobile phones and sometimes the Internet are expected to increase possibilities for connections, even if the technology does not always meet these expectations. (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman 2009, 12.)

Life in the camps for refugee women

About 10 million people live in refugee camps in Eastern Africa. In September 2010, there were 510 camps and settlements for refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the 14 countries of East Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region. Refugee camps are supposed to be temporary settlements providing displaced persons with food, shelter and protection until they can safely return to their regions of origin or obtain permanent settlement in a third country. In practice, many camps have become a permanent home for hundreds of thousands of people in Eastern Africa. People live for years in an uncertain situation, in which their basic human rights are limited and they are unable to work, move freely or have any political voice. Some of the camps in Sudan and Kenya are even 30 to 40 years old. Only around three per cent of the inhabitants of all East African camps will ultimately be settled in third countries. (See e.g. Harrell-Bond 2002; Horst 2006.)

Finland is one of the third countries that have been resettling “quota refugees” – people who have been designated as refugees by UNHCR – from East African refugee camps. During the last 20 years the country has received around 20.000 refugees. The Parliament of Finland decides annually on the resources for admitting quota refugees to Finland and on the annual number of quota refugees². In recent years, the Parliament has allowed for 750 quota refugees. Ten per cent of the quota is reserved for those refugees who are in need of special protection because of immediate medical needs or who belong to vulnerable groups, such as survivors of violence and torture, women at risk, children and

² The definition of ‘refugee quota’ and the requirements and procedures for admitting aliens to Finland under the refugee quota are laid down by the Finnish Aliens Act (in force since 1 May 2004).

elderly people. Approximately a third of the annual Finnish refugee quota has been made of Congolese refugees arriving from UNHCR camps in Rwanda, Burundi and Ethiopia. Congolese refugees have also been resettled in Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Norway and Sweden.

Women are often in a vulnerable situation in refugee camps, especially if they are without a partner or if they are single mothers. They lack protection and take the greatest risk in their efforts to survive and feed their children. They may be mainly or even solely responsible for maintaining the household, taking care of children as well as sick and elderly family members, obtaining water, preparing food and securing firewood. In many camps, the need to collect firewood for cooking obliges women to walk far away from the camps, making them vulnerable to sexual assault (Hyndman 2004, 198). Their coping strategies in the camps include using sex and other dangerous and unhealthy means to obtain a livelihood. On top of all this, women also undergo the physical burden of pregnancy. Taking in consideration the multitude of roles refugee women have and their adaptability to the poor conditions of these camps, one should however stress their strength and agency rather than their vulnerability, weakness and dependency, as several researchers have stated (Benjamin 1998, 28; Horst 2006; Hyndman 2004).

The camp of Kiziba with its 19.000 refugees was established in 1996. The interviewees had been there for 10-14 years at the time of the interview.³ [SLIDE] The camp of Nyabiheke with its 14.500 refugees was established in 2005 and the interviewees had lived at the camp since its founding. [SLIDE] During the years the interviewees had stayed in these camps, their lives had been hindered by a lack of variety in their diets and limited educational possibilities. The women explained how in the beginning of their stay they had access to a greater quantity as well as a greater variety of food than at present.⁴ Furthermore, whereas earlier the children had the possibility to go to secondary school, today only primary schooling is available in the camps. Unlike in bigger camps, such as Dadaab or Kakuma in Kenya, there were no serious security problems in Kiziba or in

³ See a video from Kiziba <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gq2yG82nsjg&NR=1>

⁴ According to the WFC all refugees receive a food ration amounting to 2,100 Kcal per day. Horst (2006) discusses in her study the sufficiency vs. insufficiency and limited variety of food offered to refugees.

Nyahibeke, nor were there clashes between local people and refugees. Although possible sources of conflict are the lack of land and firewood (cf. Kekäläinen 2010, Turner 2005), such conflicts had not come to pass because refugees have no land and therefore no opportunity for agriculture and because their firewood is supplied every month by UNHCR negating the need to fetch wood from the surrounding environment.

Formal mass media

Access to formal mass media in the camps of Rwanda is more limited than in the bigger camps of East Africa, which are equipped with satellite televisions and Internet connections (cf. Horst 2006; Kekäläinen 2010). The only mass media mentioned in all focus groups in Kiziba and Nyabiheke was radio. Even if the radio is in general the most widespread formal media in Africa, in refugee camps it is not given that those who live there will own a radio. In the blocks where the women were living [SLIDE], there were only some radio-owners and other women would gather where these radios were located to listen to programming together. Another factor limiting access to radio is the lack of batteries. Batteries were extremely expensive and difficult to acquire and this meant that women could only listen to short programs and news bulletins.

As for listening habits, women were mostly tuned to BBC Kinyarwanda and Swahili programming. Radio Rwanda was rarely utilized because it only transmits news from Rwanda and the women were naturally more interested in what was going on in their places of origin. Historically African radio-owners have got their news from international radio stations such as BBC, RFI and Deutche Welle rather than relying on political news of local radio stations (Ellis 1989, 326). What is remarkable is that none of the interviewees said that they followed Radio Okapi – a public service station based in Eastern DRC which broadcasts in French and four national languages of DRC and aims to contribute to building peace in DRC. Some studies on East African refugee camps have reported about tensions between the refugees from different origins created by the

news from the home areas of the inhabitants (Horst 2006, 91), but such occurrences did not come out in our interviews.

If access to radio is intermittent, then television is a rare luxury for the women. In Kiziba, some women explained that they have sometimes travelled to Kibuye, the town nearby the camp, and had seen on television how the situation in DRC was and “how people are suffering”. In Nyabiheke, television was not even mentioned in the interviews with refugee women but according to the Head of Byumba Field Office, educational films are shown on video during the school holidays. UHNCR has also planned with FC Barcelona to install a central PC with a screen in the Nyabiheke so that residents can get access to news but the project was not yet realized during the visit of the research group (21751/9).

Small media and interpersonal media

Even though access to mass media was scarce, the women did not express any need to get more news through mass media about world events or even about events at home. Unlike people in the mediatized Western countries, the interviewees were used to living outside or on the fringes of mediated information distribution networks. This fact that they could not constantly follow news did not, however, mean that they were in the complete dark when it comes to the issues they are interested in. More important than mediated communication, in the lives of the refugee women, was the news they obtained through alternative small media and through oral communication. Mobile phones and the Internet were regularly used to communicate with family members and friends living in either their place of origin or in resettlement. Women also communicated orally within their own camp neighborhoods and with UNHCR officials. Practical information about camp activities was spread through information walls and by word of mouth. As the members of our research group also noticed, every visitor to the camp was also utilized as a possible source of information about the outside world. Earlier studies in refugee camps have shown that social networks with neighbors and kinships function as an important system for the transaction of information, services and resources between individuals. For instance, in the Dadaab refugee camp social networks were actively employed to search

for the disappeared family members or to get financial help from abroad. According to Horst, the gathering of information through communication within the social network was “essential for a reduction in people’s uncertainties and to give them the feeling that they were in control as much as they possibly could be” (Horst 2006, 64).

There were no Internet services in Kiziba or Nyabiheke but the refugees could access the Internet in Internet cafés in nearby villages. African cultural values of sociality, interdependence and coexistence made it possible for illiterate women to access the Internet without being able to read or write by themselves. To keep in touch with family members they could ask help from people who had an email address and Internet access. UNHCR officials said that they did not have time to help refugee women to get connected to the Internet but there were always other refugees, mostly men or youngsters, or people from nearby villages who could type and email messages for them. Through such connections, women were able to exchange news and plan their future with members of their family.

From our interviews it does not seem that the refugee women in the camps we visited are participating in social media. This is certainly due to a lack of resources, especially in small camps like Kiziba and Nyahibeke. According to the UNHCR officials, in other camps there are blogs established by UNHCR and NGO aid workers and even community-run websites. Women are, however, not the primary users or content makers of such sites as they lack both time and know-how to benefit from these means of communication.

Mobile phones were used frequently to contact family members either “back there” in their places of origin or in third countries where they had been resettled. I do not have exact numbers about mobile phone ownership in the camps but according to one set of statistics, in 2008 one in three Africans had access to a mobile phone (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman 2009, 11). In each focus group of three to four women there were at least one or two women who had a mobile phone. Given that mobile phones and other media equipment are used communally in Africa (e.g. de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman

2009) one could assume that mobile phones are the most frequently used media equipment in the camps. Mobile phones compress distance between people and make it possible to cope with long periods of separation from family and friends living far away. However, the reality is that on the margins of mobile access the technology does not always work as expected. (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman 2009). In Kiziba, the problem was that there is “no network from Rwanda to Congo”⁵. The network works, however, in the opposite direction and people remaining in DRC could call friends and relatives in the Rwandan camps.

Interestingly, the high connection charges in Africa do not seem to deter those who are determined to stay in touch with the outside world (Nyamnjoh 2005, 206). Calling from refugee camps to Europe is expensive and yet the women in the groups said that they have been in contact with relatives and neighbors living even as far as Finland.

Informal information about resettlement

Besides being used to keep camp residents updated about family news, mobile phones also serve to distribute informal information about resettlement and the conditions in these new countries. The knowledge the respondents had about Finland and other countries which resettle refugees was mostly based on information received from relatives and friends. The problem with interpersonal communication and the use of small media is that the content of the message can alter when traveling along a chain from one person to another. Also, those Africans who have succeeded in migrating to Europe or America may not necessarily want to crush the dreams of their relatives who are still trying to migrate despite the personal difficulties they may be experiencing in their new countries. The remittances they send to their family members are also a proof of better living conditions in the new country and keep expectations of success and wealth alive among the relatives. (E.g. Horst 2006, 144.)

⁵ This was an explanation offered by the interviewed but I have no information which was a real technical reason for the bad audibility.

Interpersonal communication was also used to inform camp residents about conditions in their country of origin. In November 2011 when the interviews were made, the consensus among the women in both camps was that their only option for a better future would be to migrate to a third country rather than try to return to DRC. In May 2007, the UNHCR authorities had conducted an Intention Survey in the camp of Kiziba which investigated the perspective of refugees regarding their future. One of the findings was that there were in fact refugees who would like to return to DRC. Kiziba Camp collated a list of 341 families who expressed a desire to return. The vast majority of these individuals originated from Masisi and Rutshuru in the North Kivu Province. From the investigations the UNHCR made in eastern Congo, it appeared however that the situation was not safe enough for these families to return. (UNHCR, October 2010.) Similar sentiments had been transmitted by Kiziba camp residents who had taken a risk and visited the area without official permission. Some were killed on these journeys while others returned soon after with bad news. In Nyabiheke, the distance to the DRC border is considerably longer than from Kiziba and therefore traffic between DRC and the camp is rare. In this camp the women did not report informal news transmitted by visitors to Congo.

The most steadfastly negative attitude towards return came from young women who had either come from DRC reasonably recently or who had spent most of their life in the camp. Some older women still contemplated return but even they told of men they knew who had returned from DRC with 'bad stories'.

Despite a high level of interest in resettlement and regular news from family members, in all the groups the interviewees only had a very general knowledge about the third countries they might be resettled in. All that women could say about European countries was that 'life there is different' and 'life is good there'. It is possible that the context of the interviews themselves may have had an influence on the opinions expressed by the interviewees. Knowing that the researchers came from Finland, one of the countries receiving quota refugees from UNHCR camps in Rwanda, they might have seen the interview as an opportunity to make a good impression in order to advance their own

efforts to be resettled there. This may explain some of the positive sentiment expressed about this country.

I: And you said that you had somebody in Finland.

R: It's some of our neighbours that have gone to the place.

I: Have they been in contact with her later?

R: Yeah, we do..

R: The life there is different from what they were used to in the camp. That is their communication, and, yeah, the life is different.

I: The main thing is that the life is different.

R: That is it.

I: Did they tell anything more?

R: That the life as a widow or somebody who is still single is not as hard as it is here in the camp, that when you get there the life is easy compared to what they've got here.

(21751/4)

I: What do they think of, when they hear Finland?

R: Because they have friends who went in Finland, sometimes they call us and they say, that in Finland is a good country and they have good life there. So Finland, they think, is a good country.

I: Anything more specific? What is good?

R: As compared to our life in this camp, then the one of Finland. They said, when they get to Finland, they have enough food, they have security, they have no problem. (21751/7)

R: For me, I have a friend who has family living in Finland. (--). [36:43] And she told me, Finland is a good country and there is (area) to do (--). In which you can do agriculture. [Rwandan 6 s] In Finland, they have cows..

I: ..Cows, yes.

R: ..cows. And they get milk from cows. (21751/8)

In some groups the interviewees participated with the assumption that the researchers had the capacity to influence decisions about migration to Finland. In these situations, the researchers felt uncomfortable and tried to move the discussion back towards their research interests. They also tried to challenge what they felt to be too over-positive conceptions the women had about Finland and to impress upon the interviewees about racist attitudes in the Finnish society and the harsh weather conditions but without much success. For instance, when refugees were told that the climate in Finland is cold, the

interviewees tended to minimize the problem by saying that one gets used to the conditions. Cindy Horst describes same kind of idealized image of life abroad and reluctance to give up about these dreams among her Somali informants in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya (Horst 2006, 8).

The resettlement interviews conducted by UNHCR officials are one way of determining the information needs refugees have when it comes to the resettlement process and the conditions and demands of the countries receiving quota refugees. The main purpose of these interviews is to develop resettlement profiles in order to “rank” candidates according to their vulnerability and need. Two UNHCR officials described one case in which a man was interviewed for resettlement who did not want to apply with his family:

“In the context of that interview, we learned that the principal applicant had a mother and a sister who resided in the camp. And according to the applicant the mother was 88 years old, and the sister had some kind of a disability. And he was quite happy to leave them, and proceed on resettlement by themselves, 'cause in his view his mother wasn't interested in resettlement, and his sister wouldn't go either. Because it was a concern for us, an elderly person and a disabled individual, we decided to also just check on them. And so my colleague went to the house, and it turns out that the woman who is disabled is completely paralysed and has been in her bed for the past eight years. She doesn't move, she has to be fed, she goes to the toilet in the bed. And it's entirely, it's tragic. There are no words to describe it. And now we are in a position to do something about this individual.”

This interview shows that refugees do not always have accurate information about the resettlement process and the factors which influence whether they will be chosen or not. This applicant believed that the age of his mother and the disability of his sister would hinder his prospects for resettlement while the reality was, in fact, the contrary. Had the man known that in some cases the most vulnerable people are given precedence, he and his family could have been put on the resettlement list much earlier. On the other hand, there is also a lot of evidence about cases in which displaced people have acquired very detailed information about the conditions that may increase their resettlement opportunities and have modified their stories and documents according to this knowledge (e.g. Horst 2006; Kekäläinen 2010).

Small media and interpersonal communication in refugee camps

The study of informal or 'small media' in Africa has focused on political communication in situations where there are repressive governments: situations where radical or alternative media provide a platform to challenge domination, exploitation and the globalization of poverty. Small media, such as graffiti, flyers, underground cassettes, Internet listservs, slogans, jokes and rumors, have in repressive conditions served as 'vital and pervasive undercurrents and reservoirs of political commentary, critique, and potential mobilization' (Ellis 1989; Nyamnjoh 2005, 204-205; Spitulnik 2002).

My purpose in this paper has been to broaden this approach to the use of informal, small media in the context of refugee camps in which human rights are limited by a lack of safety and economic hardship as well as political and organizational decisions (e.g. Harrell-Bond 2002). Neither the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees nor its 1967 Protocol contains any reference to the information rights of refugees. The protection mandate of the UNHCR is limited to the provision of physical safety, non-discrimination and subsistence. It does not cover the information rights of refugees. This was also highlighted in one response to our research from regional UNHCR officials when our report on our visits to the camps of Kiziba and Nyabiheke was presented to them.

Refugees in East African refugee camps are more likely to be informed by informal media than by radio, television, newspapers or Internet. This is not only because of the repressive situation faced by camp residents but also due to the strong oral tradition in the refugees' countries of origin as well as poor access to official media. There are, however, differences between the camps; Bigger camps, such as Dadaab and Kakuma in Kenya, are better equipped when it comes to satellite televisions, video equipment, Internet connections and even media training. However, even in these camps, the limited information rights of camp residents make unofficial sources of information important.

As it has been observed earlier, alternative media are most likely to become a source of information during crises, when the public experiences a heightened need for information in the public. This is especially likely when the conventional media, for whatever reason, lacks credibility (Nyamnjoh 2005, 216).

Refugee camps have been characterized as an example of postmodern *non-places*, in which people have lost their identity and control of their life. Life in these artificial non-places is neat, controlled and standardized. The user of a non-place lives in a contractual relation with the space and is reminded, when necessary, that the contract exists (Augé 1995, 101-104). The contract in a refugee camp states, for instance, that the doors of camps are closed at night and that one cannot move freely outside the camp without special permission. What's more, the amount of nutrition, water and fire wood is strictly calculated. In order to get their monthly allowance camp residents have to use a ration card which can be seized if one leaves the camp without authorization (Kekäläinen 2010; Turner 2005, 312).

Refugee camps can also be conceptualized as *mobile margins*, situated in social spaces on the margins of the state and created by people's mobility. Marginality refers here to multiple circumstances, both perceived and real, that cause people to feel disadvantaged, such as limited access to communication technologies and means of transportation. Mobile margins also refers to the economic conditions of the people living in areas that are considered to be poor (de Bruijn, Nyamnjoh & Brinkman 2009, 12).

Spitulnik has stated that small media present problems for the strict division between mass and interpersonal media, as they are usually a kind of hybrid of the two modes (Spitulnik 2002, 180). According to my analysis, the same is true for the division between small media and interpersonal media, because the definition depends on how these media are used. According to a traditional interpretation, sending an email is a modern version of correspondence, and should thus be interpreted as interpersonal communication while Internet listservs and web pages belong to small media. The specific way that emails are sent and received by women in refugee camps transforms

this medium into something more like a collective and public media, as the initiator of the email message, if illiterate, needs help from a literate person to write her message and to read the reply. The person transmitting the message has access to the same content as the ‘real’ sender and receiver and can also act as re-distributor of its content. Similarly, the use of mobile phones for sending SMS messages often requires help from literate or more technically proficient people (Kibora 2009).

This collective use of the Internet and mobile phones multiplies the number of receivers beyond what is normally expected from interpersonal communication. For instance, messages describing conditions in resettlement can easily be distributed to tens or even hundreds of people thirsty for information. Given that the media equipment in African refugee camps is limited, the sharing of this equipment and their communitarian usage is an everyday occurrence. A negative aspect of the communitarian use of media is the lack of confidentiality. Those who need help from external persons will be obliged to share also private issues if they want to get them communicated. Horst describes how people in the Dadaab camp even spy each others conversations by purpose or send their children to get any interesting gossip or information about the war situation or about arriving remittances (2006, 139). Thus, despite the normally apolitical or interpersonal nature of such media, emails and SMS messages can become politicized in marginal communities like refugee camps.

Epilogue

Doing focus group interviews in refugee camps involves many dilemmas, some of which were evident in our study and of which I will discuss here. First of all, the focus group interviews were made during a short visit to the camps in Rwanda. The researchers had only one day per camp and the interviewees were recruited in advance by the UNHCR officials. As such, meetings with women resemble more to the interviews made by donors, journalists, resettlement officers or evaluators than to real research interviews. Even researchers who have stayed for long periods in the refugee camps have had

difficulties in making their informants convinced about their “unpolitical” status. As the majority of the visitors in refugee camps often have something to offer in exchange for interviews, like financial assistance, projects or resettlement possibilities, it is difficult to explain the purpose of research interviews for the interviewees (Horst 2006). This was also the case with our interviews; the researchers got the feeling that it was in the interest of the interviewees to describe the camp life in a very dim light to advance their resettlement but they were less interested in describing their media habits. Another difficulty was related to difficulties to make interviews with people who have had traumatic experiences. A researcher should not push people to tell about painful experiences if they are not prepared to make anything to assist them with the possible consequences of remembering such events. The worry about this, and the fact that researchers were obliged to use interpreters with whom they had not worked or even properly discussed before the interviews, made the interviews rather superficial.

However, even if the interviews are lacking concrete details and individual experiences, they convinced me about the active role of refugee women and the importance of researching media and communication issues from their point of view. Until this, the role of media and communication in relation to refugee issues has been studied mostly from the point of view of the receiving countries and their public. In refugee camps media and communication may have been considered as marginal issues compared to more basic needs, such as food and shelter, security, education or health issues but as Horst has stated, communication can reduce the feeling of uncertainty and give people the feeling that they are in control of their life (Horst 2006, 64). The unsecured situation of displaced people and their possibilities for repatriation or resettlement are large and complex issues. In order to be able to make decisions about their future life the refugees need plenty of information and possibilities to reflect and negotiate with their family members and relatives as well as with authorities.

As said earlier, the aim of this paper has been to define the specific issues for the future research with asylum seeker and refugee women in Finland. Writing this paper has convinced me that, in order to understand the media relations of refugee women in a new

country, one should not forget their past. One of the first challenges the women meet when arriving in a Western country is a shift from informal and interpersonal media culture to formal mediatized culture. This means, for instance, that they have to learn to communicate with authorities through Internet instead of personal communication or that they will be continuously exposed to television which may transmit shocking news and images from their countries of origin.

Literature

Benjamin, Judy A. (1998) Issues of Power and Empowerment in Refugee Studies: Rwandan Women 's Adaptive Behaviour at Benaco Refugee Camp. *Refuge*, Vol. 17, No. 4.

De Bruijn, Mirjam, Nyamnjoh, Francis & Brinkman, Inge (2009) Introduction: Mobile communications and new social spaces in Africa. In *Mobile Phones: The New Talking Drums of Everyday Africa*. Cameroon: Langaa & African Studies Centre. Pp. 11-22.

Ellis, Stephen (1989) Turning In to Pavement Radio. *African Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 352, pp. 321-330.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara (2002) Can Humanitarian Work with Refugees be Humane? *Human Rights Quarterly*, Volume 24, No. 1, pp. 51-85.

Horst, Cindy (2006) In "Virtual Dialogue" with the Somali Community: The Value of Electronic Media for Research amongst Refugee Diasporas. *Refuge*, Vol. 23, No 1. Pp. 51-57.

Horst, Cindy (2006) *Transnational nomads. How Somalis cope with refugee life in the Dadaab camps of Kenya*. Studies in Forced Migration, Volume 19. New York: Berghahn Books.

Hyndman, Jennifer (2004) Refugee camps as Conflict Zones. The Politics of Gender. In Wenona Giles & Jennifer Hyndman (eds.) *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kekäläinen, Annu (2010) *Leiri. Tarinoita ihmisistä jotka haluavat kotiin*. Juva: WSOY.

Kibora, Ludovic (2009) Téléphone mobile. L'appropriation du sms par une "société de l'oralité ». In De Bruijn, Mirjam, Nyamnjoh, Francis & Brinkman, Inge (Eds.) *Mobile Phones: The New Talking Drums of Everyday Africa*. Cameroon: Langaa & African Studies Centre. Pp. 110-124.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B. (2005) *Africa's Media. Democracy and the Politics of Belonging*. London: Zed Books.

Spitulnik; Debra (2002) Alternative Small Media and Communicative Spaces. Teoksessa Hydén, Göran, Leslie, Michael & Ogundimu, Folu F. (Eds.) *Media and Democracy in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Turner, Simon (2005) Suspended Spaces – Contesting Sovereignties in a Refugee Camp. In *Sovereign Bodies. Citizens, Migrants and States in the Postcolonial World*. Edited by Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 312-332.

UNHCR. The UN Refugee Agency. Briefing Note Kiziba Refugee Camp Rwanda. October 2010.