

REFERENCES

- Adler, R. N., Loyle, C. E., & Globberman, J. (2007). A Calamity in the Neighborhood: Women's Participation in the Rwandan Genocide. *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 2(3), 209–233.
<https://doi.org/10.3138/gsp.2.3.209>
- Alison, M. (2009). *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203013458>
- Bellone, P. (2024, April 22). *A Land of Violence, A Land of Conquest: Memory, Truth, Historical Continuity, and Imperialism in Rwanda*. Journal of Public and International Affairs.
<https://jpia.princeton.edu/news/land-violence-land-conquest-memory-truth-historical-continuity-and-imperialism-rwanda>
- Brown, S. E. (2014). Female Perpetrators of the Rwandan Genocide. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 16, 448-69. DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2013.788806
- Brown, S. E. (2016). Reshaping Gender Norms in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *Genocide Studies International*, 10(2), 230–250. <https://doi.org/10.3138/gsi.10.2.06>
- Brown, S. E. (2018). *Gender and the Genocide in Rwanda: Women as Rescuers and Perpetrators*. Routledge.
- Buckley–Zistel, S. (2006). Remembering to Forget: Chosen Amnesia as a Strategy for Local Coexistence in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 76(2), 131–150. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40027106>
- Creswell J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

The Role of Hutu Women in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide
Nadia Jasmine Alexandra, Ririn Tri Nurhayati, S.IP., M.Si., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- D'Arville, C. (2018). Violence Against Women in the Rwandan Genocide. *Perceptions*, 4(1).
<https://doi.org/10.15367/pj.v4i1.48>
- Eltringham, N. (2006). "Invaders who have stolen the country": The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race and the Rwandan Genocide. *Social Identities*, 12(4), 425–446.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630600823619>
- Ferizović, J. (2020). The Case of Female Perpetrators of International Crimes: Exploratory Insights and New Research Directions. *European Journal of International Law*, 31(2), 455–488. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/cha037>
- Fielding, L. (2013). *Female Genocidaires during the Rwandan Genocide*. Anchor Academic Publishing.
- Frickel, M. (2024, April 2). *Rwanda: From colonialism to genocide*. Dw.com.
<https://www.dw.com/en/rwanda-from-colonialism-to-genocide/a-68662605>
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690>
- Gerring, J. (2006). Case Study Research: Principles and Practices. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*. <https://www.ocw.upj.ac.id/files/Slide-PSG301-Case-study-Research.pdf>
- Holmes, G. (2013). *Women and War in Rwanda : Gender, Media and the Representation of Genocide*. I.B. Tauris.
- Hogg, N. (2010). Women's participation in the Rwandan genocide: mothers or monsters? *International Review of the Red Cross*, 92(877), 69–102.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s1816383110000019>



Jones, A. (2002). Gender and genocide in Rwanda. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 4(1), 65–94.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520120113900>

Lemarchand, R. (1994). Managing Transition Anarchies: Rwanda, Burundi, and South Africa in Comparative Perspective. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 32(4), 581–604.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022278x0001586x>

Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation - Analysis of Government - Proposals for Redress*. Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Levene, M. (2000). Why Is the Twentieth Century the Century of Genocide? *Journal of World History*, 11(2), 305–336. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20078852>

Longman, T. (2005). Rwanda's Paradox: Gender Equality or Emerging Authoritarianism. In G. Bauer & H. Evelyn Britton (Eds.), *Women in African Parliaments* (pp. 133–150). Lynne Reinner.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2002). African States, Citizenship and War: A Case Study. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944)*, 78(3), 493–506.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3095887>

Moshman, D. (2007). Us and Them: Identity and Genocide. *Identity*, 7(2), 115–135.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15283480701326034>



- Mulinda, C. K. (2002). *La généalogie de l'idée du peuplement du Rwanda: Considérations sur l'autochtonie ou l'allochtonie des Rwandais* [The genealogy of the idea of settlement in Rwanda: Considerations on indigenoussness or allochthony of Rwandans]. In F. Rutembesa., E. Ntaganda., & J. Murwanashyaka (Eds.), *Peuplement du Rwanda. Enjeux et perspectives* [People's settlement in Rwanda: Challenges and prospects] (pp. 49–72). Butare: Editions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda.
- Newbury, C. (1988). *The Cohesion of Oppression : Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*. Columbia University Press.
- Nowrojee, B., & Thomas, D. Q. (1996). *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Powley, E. (2003). Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition. *Women Waging Peace*.
https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/10_strengthening_governance_the_role_of_women_in_rwanda_s_transition.pdf
- Prasad, P. (2017). *Crafting Qualitative Research: Beyond Positivist Traditions* (2nd ed.). Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315715070
- Prunier, G. (1995). *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. London Hurst & Company.
- Rutembesa, F. (2002). *Le discours sur le peuplement comme instrument de manipulation identitaire'* [The discourse on settlement as an instrument of identity manipulation]. In F. Rutembesa., E. Ntaganda., & J. Murwanashyaka (Eds.), *Peuplement du Rwanda. Enjeux*

et perspectives [People's settlement in Rwanda: Challenges and prospects] (pp. 73–102).

Butare: Editions de l'Universite Nationale du Rwanda.

Rwanda Government. (2012). Summary of the Report Presented at the Closing of Gacaca Courts Activities. *Kigali: Rwanda Government.*

Sharlach, L. (1999). Gender and genocide in Rwanda: Women as agents and objects of Genocide. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1(3), 387-399. DOI: 10.1080/14623529908413968

Stanton, G. H. (1996). *The Ten Stages of Genocide*. Genocide Watch. <https://www.genocidewatch.com/tenstages>

Stanton, G. H. (2004). Could the Rwandan Genocide Have Been prevented? *Journal of Genocide Research*, 6(2), 211–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1462352042000225958>

Taylor, C.C. (1999). *Sacrifice as Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003086604>

United Nations. (2019). About the Genocide Convention. *The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)*. <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/documents/Genocide%20Convention-FactSheet-ENG.pdf>

U.S. Department of State. (1997). *1996 Human Rights Report: Rwanda*. State.gov. https://1997-2001.state.gov/global/human_rights/1996_hrp_report/rwanda.html



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

The Role of Hutu Women in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide
Nadia Jasmine Alexandra, Ririn Tri Nurhayati, S.IP., M.Si., M.A., Ph.D.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2025 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Uvin, P. (1997). Prejudice, Crisis, and Genocide in Rwanda. *African Studies Review*, 40(2), 91–115. DOI: 10.2307/525158

Walby, S. (1989). Theorising Patriarchy. *Sociology*, 23(2), 213–234.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42853921>

Weedon, C. (1996). Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory. *Cambridge, MA: Blackwell*.

White, K. R. (2009). Scourge of Racism: Genocide in Rwanda. *Journal of Black Studies*, 39(3), 471–481. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40282573>