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Repatriation of Rwandan Returnees In Kigali: Integration of those Born and Raised on Exile as a Result of the 1959 Violence Wave

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Rwanda, November 2018

List of Abbreviations

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

IDP: Internally Displaced Person

IMF: International Monetary Fund

IOM: International Organization for Migration

MIDIMAR: Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee Affairs of the Republic of Rwanda

MINEMA: Ministry In Charge of Emergency Management of the Republic of Rwanda

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

OPM: The Office of the Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of Uganda

PARMEHUTU: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu (Party for the Movement of Hutu Emancipation)

PVO: Private Voluntary Organization

RANU: Rwandese Alliance for National Unity

RPA: Rwandan Patriotic Army

RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

WFP: United Nations World Food Programme

Abstract

This study explores the repatriation process of millions of Rwandans that returned to Kigali after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, focusing on those that were born and raised in Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Burundi as a result of the ethnic violence in 1959 and its aftermath. To complete this project, both theoretical and empirical research was conducted, including academic perspectives, numerical data analysis, and one-on-one interviews on the field. By examining the previous living conditions in the host countries, alongside the process of return and resettlement once in Rwanda, this study presents the physical and emotional integration of a young generation of Rwandans that returned their country of origin in which they had never resided.

Acknowledgements

Prima facie, I am grateful for the good health and wellbeing that were necessary to complete this project. I wish to express my sincere thanks to all the SIT Rwanda staff, particularly Mercy and Sunday, for providing me with all the necessary facilities for conducting this research, their help, and endless words of motivation. I place on record my sincere thank you to Jean Claude Rwahama, director of Refugee Affairs in MINEMA, for the continuous inspiration and willingness to connect with others. I am especially grateful for Celine, SIT Rwanda academic director. I am extremely thankful and indebted to her for continuously sharing expertise, and sincere and valuable guidance and encouragement extended to me at all times in this program. I also take this opportunity to express gratitude to my Rwandan host family and local friends for their help and support, as well as for teaching me some basics in Kinyarwanda. I also thank my sister, Marta, for the unceasing encouragement, support, and attention.

Murakoze cyane.

... one cannot be happy in exile or in oblivion. One cannot always be a stranger. I want to return to my homeland, make all my loved ones happy. I see no further than this.

Albert Camus

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Repatriation of Rwandans Born and Raised on Exile: Returning to Kigali

1. Introduction to the Study

In the last century, over two hundred million people have been displaced from their homes, regions, and countries as a result of political violence.[1] Some among these were uprooted because of their identity features, including ethnic, national, and religious. Rwanda, a relatively small country located in the Great Lakes region of East Africa, has become a clear example of animosity based on ethnic division that, since the middle of the twentieth century, has caused violence, war, and even one of the most brutal genocides in history. Until the end of the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994, in which approximately one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were massacred in a period of a hundred days, Rwanda did not experience a unifying government that integrated all citizens under one discourse.[2] Until then, the political turmoil and ethnic divisions caused many Rwandans to leave their home country in search for peace and stability.

Only until the Rwandan Patriotic Army(RPA) took power after the genocide in 1994, the Tutsi minority that was driven out or fled Rwanda since the late 1950s returned, alongside their descendants.[3] The repatriation process was slow and difficult, given that many families had left Rwanda many years before and had been integrated in the surrounding countries. Many had given birth to children and grandchildren that had never visited Rwanda until their return. Nevertheless, the newly formed 'Government of National Unity,' led by Paul Kagame's Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), actively encouraged repatriation and promoted calls for return. Since 1994, hundreds of thousands of returnees have reintegrated themselves into a new Rwanda, which faced many challenges as well as opportunities for a fresh start. Rwandans from many origins,

[1] Howard Adelman and Elazar Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge: Rites and Rights in Minority Repatriation* (Columbia University Press, 2011).
[2] Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*, 1st edition (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999); Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (Columbia University Press, 1999); Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History* (Zone Books, 2006); David C. King, *Rwanda* (Marshall Cavendish, 2007); Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*.
[3] David Newbury, "Returning Refugees: Four Historical Patterns of 'Coming Home' to Rwanda," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 2 (2005): 252–85; "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda," *UNHCR* (blog), accessed November 6, 2018, http://www.unhcr.org/rw/returnees; Howard Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy: The Case of Rwanda," *The International Migration Review* 30, no. 1 (1996): 289–309, https://doi.org/10.2307/2547471; Robert Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa," *The World Today* 40, no. 10 (1984): 436–43.

different backgrounds, and age groups now are a significant sector of the population, especially in the capital and biggest city of Rwanda, Kigali.[4]

This study sheds light on the repatriation process of Rwandans that lived in the geographical bordering countries, focusing on returnees who were born and raised on exile as a result of those that fled during the 1959 violence wave and its aftermath. These returnees were second, in some cases third, generation exiles that, in most cases, had never visited Rwanda. Furthermore, this paper focuses on those who seeked repatriation in Kigali city, given that it is the social, legal, geographical, and economic capital, and also home to a noteworthy number of returnees with the described characteristics.

This report attempts to explain the nuances of the processes that those born on exile followed when returning to Kigali, focusing on the challenges and achievements that each group faced depending on their origin. This is, the country in which they were born and raised, along with their respective living conditions. Thus, I focus of those returnees from the Republic of Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo(DRC) or former Congo-Leopoldville or Zaire, the Republic of Burundi, and the United Republic of Tanzania or former Tanganyika, given that these countries were hosts to most Rwandans that fled and returned after the genocide, being the geographical immediate neighbor countries of Rwanda in the Great Lakes region. Given that these countries are substantially different, the offspring of the 1994 Rwandans was exposed to dissimilar conditions such as government, legal status, language, ideology, and economic policy.

In addition, their legal status is also different in their foster countries. While some integrated in society and got jobs and housing, others were refugees[5] and lived in refugee

[4] "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda"; Newbury, "Returning Refugees"; Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy"; Howard Adelman and Elazar Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa," in *No Return, No Refuge* (Columbia University Press, 2011), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/adel15336.9; Peterson Tumwebaze, "Rwandans Lose Refugee Status as Cessation Clause Comes into Force," *The New Times | Rwanda*, January 1, 2018, https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/226701; Milicent Mutuli, "UNHCR - UNHCR Promotes Return of Rwandan Refugees in Tanzania," UNHCR, November 10, 2002, https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2002/10/3da7010c4/unhcr-promotes-return-rwandan-refugees-tanzania.html?query=return%20rwanda; Republic of Rwanda, "Data: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management," MINEMA: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management, accessed November 29, 2018, http://midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=65.

[5] In this paper, I will refer to refugees those that fit the UNHCR definition: 'A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries.' Source: "What Is a

camps or settlements. Therefore, their identity composition, skills, and legal status are different. This point is, furthermore, crucial to their further integration when returning to Rwanda. Their former conditions will shape and determine their perceive needs as well as their connection to Rwanda and further repatriation. Considering these different situations that Rwandans lived in their neighboring countries, they also followed different processes of integration and different challenges regarding physical and identity characteristics. The goal of this paper is to explore the general integration process, as well as the similarities and differences of the various groups of returnees experienced.

This study aims to answer the following questions: What was the process of physical and emotional integration of returnees that were born and raised out of Rwanda as a result of the 1959 exile wave into Kigali City? What were the previous conditions of the repatriated before they returned to Rwanda? and how did these affect the integration process? What were the main challenges and achievements of repatriation? And, lastly, What are the remaining challenges for integration of returnees born and raised on exile?

The integration process of second and third generation returnees is crucial to the understanding of this group of Rwandan society that is so diverse in nature but also shares common features. This study sheds light on the identity constitution as well as the physical integration of returnees in Kigali, which is important for a deeper understanding of the challenges of a post-genocide society such as the Rwandan loaded with returnees, survivors of genocide, perpetrators, and other groups. Furthermore, the process of integration between these different listed groups reflects the achievements and challenges of the government of 'National Unity,' as well as of the reconciliation, restoration, and development programs in Rwanda. In addition, among the three types of durable solutions to refugee situations (return/repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country), repatriation has over the past twenty years become the distinctively most important solution, preferred by the UNHCR as well as most host states. It often reflects progress towards peace and conflict resolution.[6] Lastly, the previous conditions of

Refugee? Definition and Meaning | USA for UNHCR," accessed November 21, 2018, https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/.

[6] For more studies that argue that discuss repatriation in a peacebuilding context, see Newbury, "Returning Refugees"; Patrik Johansson, "REFUGEE REPATRIATION AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR PEACE," in *Globalization and Challenges to Building Peace* (Anthem Press, 2007), 91–106, https://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.davidson.edu/stable/j.ctt1gsmzr2.10; Elisabeth King, "Educating for Conflict or Peace: Challenges and Dilemmas in Post-Conflict Rwanda," *International Journal* 60, no. 4 (2005): 904–18, https://doi.org/10.2307/40204090; Tove Grete Lie, Helga Malmin Binningsbø, and Scott Gates, "Post-Conflict Justice and Sustainable Peace" (World Bank, 2007),

returnees in the host countries and their experience sheds light on a deeper study of asylum and refugees, as well as identity development.

This study is divided in seven main chapters, being this introduction the first one. Chapter 2 presents the background of the study; the historical and political background of the exile wave as well as of Rwanda in the second part of the twentieth century. Chapter 3 describes the research methods that were used to conduct this study, both theoretical and empirical, along with Chapter 4 that describes the ways in which the integration of returnees is operationalized, presenting the indicators through which the process is measured in this project. Chapter 5 extends on the existent literature on general repatriation and return, considering international law and policy, as well as academic theories on the reasons that motivate repatriation, the common procedures of return, the actors involved, and perceived challenges. Chapter 6 is a presentation, analysis, and interpretation of the data, which divides the findings in three main sections: the situation of returnees prior to return, the return process, and finally, the integration of those born in exile once in Rwanda. Lastly, Chapter 7 will present the main conclusions of the study, as well as policy recommendations for the remaining challenges moving forward.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02503; Gaim Kibreab, "Citizenship Rights and Repatriation of Refugees," *The International Migration Review* 37, no. 1 (2003): 24–73; Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa"; Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy"; Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*.

2. Background of the Study

2.1 Origins of Ethnic Division in Rwanda

Rwanda, a relatively small country located in the heart of the Great Lakes region in East Africa, has experienced a history of strong ethnic division in the twentieth century. The Banyarwanda, the cultural and linguistic group that inhabits in Rwanda and certain parts of its surrounding countries, speak the same language, share the same culture, and the same religions in roughly the same proportions.[7] However, deep divisions between ethnic groups, especially the Hutu and Tutsi, have caused violence and political turmoil over the twentieth century, culminating in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In both Rwanda and Burundi, the Hutu constitute about 85 percent of the population and the Tutsi 14 percent, although these percentages have varied dramatically because of large-scale slaughters and refugee waves.[8]

The terms "Hutu" and "Tutsi" referred to two groups that descended from cultivators and pastoralists, respectively. The Tutsi used to rule over the Hutu due to strong economic power and ownership of cattle, very precious in Rwanda before modernization. However, significant intermarriage and movement between the two groups took place and no political divisions or hatred divided both groups cause significant trouble, violence, or animosity.[9] It was not until the German and Belgian colonial rules that the divisions between the Hutu and the Tutsi groups were manipulated and politicized by giving out identity documents that identified each person as either a Hutu or a Tutsi. In addition, the colonial rule prioritized the Tutsi group and created a monarchy, causing animosity between the groups. The identities were then further reified

[7] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; René Lemarchand, "Revolutionary Phenomena in Stratified Societies : Rwanda and Zanzibar / PHENOMENES REVOLUTIONNAIRES DANS DES SOCIETES STRATIFIEES : RWANDA ET ZANZIBAR," *Civilisations* 18, no. 1 (1968): 16–51; René Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (Praeger Publishers, 1970); René Lemarchand, "Genocide in the Great Lakes: Which Genocide? Whose Genocide?," *African Studies Review* 41, no. 1 (1998): 3–16, https://doi.org/10.2307/524678; Filip Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973," *Revue internationale de droit comparé* 38, no. 1 (1986): 289–91; Filip Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise : Rwanda, Burundi, 1988-1994* (Paris: Karthala, 1994); Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*; King, *Rwanda*.

[8] Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa"; Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy"; Newbury, "Returning Refugees"; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; J. J. Carney, *Rwanda Before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era* (OUP USA, 2014); Astri Suhrke and Howard Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers, 2000).

[9] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973"; Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*.

and entrenched into each group's history and identity when, on the eve of Rwandan independence in 1959, the Hutu overthrew the Tutsi ruling class, killing an estimated ten thousand and producing the first of several exoduses following large massacres.[10]

2.2 The 1959 'Rwandan Revolution' and Exile

Between the years of 1959 and 1961, Rwanda experienced a period of animosity and ultimate ethnic violence between the Hutu and Tutsi groups. This period is also referred to as *muyaga* (in Kinyarwanda), meaning "Wind of Destruction," "The Rwandan Revolution," or "The Social Revolution."[11] These years also marked the transition between the Belgian mandate, ruled by a Tutsi monarchy, to an independent republic dominated by the Hutu group, which constituted the majority of the population in Rwanda.[12]

Beginning in November 1959, the Revolution brought to Rwanda numerous riots and direct attacks on Tutsi populations. After an attack on Dominique Mbonyumutwa, Hutu sub-chief at the time, conducted by a Tutsi extremist, violence escalated across the country, resulting on an intervention by the Belgian colonel Guy Logiest. Logiest attempted to restore the law and order by fostering a program that empowered, protected, and prioritized socially, politically, and economically the Hutu group. Simultaneously, violence against the Tutsi continued, and, furthermore, increased. Belgium organized and fostered elections on 1960, in which the Hutu parties thrived and gained control of the vast majority of the communes in Rwanda. By 1961, the Hutu leader Grégoire Kayibanda (part of the major pro-Hutu party, PARMEHUTU) became the head of an autonomous republic.[13]

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[10] Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*; Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa"; Carney, *Rwanda Before the Genocide*; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*; Lemarchand, "Revolutionary Phenomena in Stratified Societies"; Lemarchand, "Genocide in the Great Lakes"; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*; Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*.

[11] Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*.

[12] Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Long, "Rwanda's First Refugees."Mahmood Mamdani, ed., "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959," in *When Victims Become Killers*, Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda (Princeton University Press, 2001), 103–31, https://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.davidson.edu/stable/j.ctt6wq0vm.9; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Katy Long, "Rwanda's First Refugees: Tutsi Exile and International Response 1959–64," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 6, no. 2 (May 1, 2012): 211–29, https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2012.669571.

[13] Long, "Rwanda's First Refugees"; Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*; Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa"; Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973"; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*.

During the revolution and its aftermath, many Tutsi left Rwanda, escaping from purges and systematic killings conducted by the Hutu extremists. This group of exiles is commonly referred to as the "1959 wave," which this study focuses on. Between 1959 and 1962, around 336,000 Tutsi fled the country and settled primarily on Rwanda's four bordering countries; Burundi, Uganda, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), and Congo-Leopoldville (now Democratic Republic of Congo). The Rwandan exiles were considered and treated as refugees in the host countries, and almost immediately urged for a return to Rwanda, which was not definitive until after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.[14]

While on exile, the Tutsi refugees from Rwanda started organizing into guerrilla bands and attacking Rwanda from its neighboring countries. These movements would sporadically operate from bases in Burundi, Uganda, Zaire, and Tanzania.[15] Violence between the Tutsi and Hutu groups escalated and, on December 21 1963, ten thousand Tutsi were killed by normal citizens in "popular" slaughters, while twenty thousand were executed by the government. In addition, their cattle and possessions of the Tutsi were hunted down and looted, respectively. This wave of violence caused over a hundred thousand Rwandan refugees seeking asylum. This violent episode was justified by the government following a Tutsi attack from Burundi.[16]

Another similar occurrence in 1973 consistent on an effort of ethnically cleanse the Catholic seminaries of the Tutsi-dominated clergy and educational establishment. This episode alongside the Hutu-Tutsi animosity appeared to calm down when a Hutu, Juvénal Habyarimana, pulled o his coup d'état.[17] Nevertheless, refugees started to

[14] Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Long, "Rwanda's First Refugees"; Newbury, "Returning Refugees."
[15] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*; Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973"; Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Peterson Tumwebaze, "History of Rwandan Refugees: 1959 to-Date," *The New Times | Rwanda*, June 17, 2011, https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/97705; Frank Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below" (Institute of Development Policy and Management, 2017); Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*.
[16] Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa"; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Scalzo Kristin, "The Rwandan Refugee Crisis: Before the Genocide," The National Security Archive, March 31, 2014, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB464/; King, *Rwanda*; Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*.
[17] Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*; Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973."

organize with each other, providing military training and strategies, while pushing for refugee repatriation and return of Rwandans to their country of origin.[18]

2.3 Civil War, Genocide, and Repatriation

On December 1990, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), a Uganda-based military group formed from the Rwandans living on exile, mostly Tutsi refugees, attacked Rwanda from the Northern border in efforts to end the oppressive and divisive regime and, foremost, to allow for refugee repatriation.[19] On 15 January 1989, President Habyarimana had announced a new five-year plan that "claimed to accept with good grace the verdict of democracy."[20] He thanked his fraternal states for giving his compatriots the chance to become citizens, contribute to their economic development (only Tanzania had in fact granted full citizenship to the Banyarwanda), and provide a permanent solution to the refugee population. The return of individual refugees would be considered on humanitarian grounds, but massive return was excluded. Despite peace talks and the signing of the "Arusha Peace Accord" in 1993, tensions persisted. The violence and hatred against the Tutsi escalated, and the genocide was being prepared by Habyarimana's government. [21]

On April 6, 1994 Juvenal Habyarimana's plane was shot down and the genocide against the Tutsi began in all parts of Rwanda. During a period of one hundred days, over 1 million Tutsis were systematically killed. When the genocide was stopped and the RPA took power and created the government of National Unity, several Rwandans began returning home, mostly refugees. In addition to refugees who left Rwanda in 1994, refugees who fled the country in 1959 and 1960 had settled different parts of the Great Lakes Region for around 35 years began to return as well.[22]

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[18] Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*.
[19] Kristin, "The Rwandan Refugee Crisis: Before the Genocide"; Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Lemarchand, "Genocide in the Great Lakes"; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*.
[20] Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa."
[21] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*; Reyntjens, "Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda. Droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973"; Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Peterson Tumwebaze, "History of Rwandan Refugees: 1959 to-Date," *The New Times | Rwanda*, June 17, 2011, https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/97705; Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*. Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa."
[22] Ibid.

3. Research Methodology

This study falls in the social sciences field, especially political science, and international law and relations. For conducting this study, I combined both theoretical and empirical research. I first explored the theories and literature on repatriation processes in general, focusing on international law on repatriation, the reasons for fleeing the country, the reasons to return, actors involved in the process, and main challenges perceived by academia. I also included numerous academic perspectives on the Rwandan case specifically, focusing on not only the process of repatriation after 1994, but also on the causes of exile and different situations on hosting countries, included mostly on the background of the study and on the findings section. Both the fleeing process and the living conditions previous to return reveal key elements to the further integration in Rwandan society, especially for those that were born and raised in foreign countries and had never visited Rwanda before.

Regarding empirical research, I conducted several interviews on the field, as well as used official databases. The interview subjects range from individuals who were part of the returnees born and raised on exile and returned after the genocide, to government officials and governmental institutions that are in charge of refugee affairs and the repatriation process in Rwanda. From those born and raised on exile as a result of the 1959 violence wave, I interviewed 5 individuals born and raised in Uganda, 2 in Tanzania, 2 in DRC, 1 in Burundi, and 1 in the United Kingdom. In addition, I interviewed Jean Claude Rwahama, director of Refugee Affairs in the Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management of the Government of Rwanda (MINEMA). All these interviews were conducted one-on-one in English or French, without the need of a translator. Furthermore, I used the databases of repatriation and refugees from UNHCR, MIDIMAR, and MINEMA, publicly available online, as well as official reports and situation screenings conducted by the same organizations and ministries.

This study is both time-constrained and geographically limited. For this reason, the selected group of returnees analyzed is constituted by Rwandans born and raised outside of their country, that resulted from the 1959 exile wave. This limits the capacity of the study to explain the repatriation process in Rwanda in general terms, given that previous generations of returnees might have gone through dissimilar processes. In addition, the study select only the returnees that were born and raised in Uganda,

Burundi, DRC (or former Congo-Leopoldville or Zaire), and Tanzania (former Tanganyika), given the physical geographical borders with Rwanda and home to the majority of exiles. However, there were many individuals that also returned from other countries. In addition, due to time and mobility limitations, this study only analyses the return process in Kigali City, given that it is the social, legal, geographical, and economic capital, and also home to a significant number of returnees with the described characteristics. Nevertheless, the process of repatriation and return in rural areas was different, and this study is unable to reflect the nuances of the integration of returnees in all parts of Rwanda.

Lastly, it is important to remark that this research was conducted in a post-genocide context, which involves many challenges when interacting with local populations, officials, and NGO representatives. The Rwandan population still suffers the traumas of genocide and of exile, causing occasional mistrust and suspicion, especially towards foreign researchers. For this reason, the interviews were conducted with the primary goal of avoiding any type of harm, either physical or psychological to any of the subjects.

4. Operationalization of Variables

Considering all the existing literature reviewed above, and the specific Rwandan context, this study examines the repatriation process in two dimensions; the first, physical, and the second, emotional.

The *physical* integration of Rwandan returnees born and raised on exile is measured by using the following indicators: (1)Land Ownership and Housing, (2)Education, and (3)Labor Market and Income Sources. It is important to note that these conditions are examined in relationship to one another. Furthermore, they are accounted in the country of origin, where the returnees were born and raised, and also in their conditions during their immediate return to Rwanda, as well as in the present.

Regarding emotional repatriation, *identity* transformation is examined as the main feature. The indicators chosen to measure this concept are (1)Language, (2)Perceptions of Rwanda, (3)Perception of National Identity and Self, and (4)Personal and Professional Relationships. As with the physical indicators, these are examined in relationship to one another, dragging special attention to the *transformation* of these features from country of origin where Rwandans were born and raised before returning, to the ones once in Rwanda.

5. Perspectives on Return and Repatriation

In international law and social science studies of movement of persons, repatriation is referred to as the process through which a person returns to their country of origin or citizenship.[23] This study specifically focuses on *voluntary* return of persons, such as but, not limited to, refugees. This is, their return decision must be based on voluntary return, as opposed to expulsion or deportation. The international community widely recognizes voluntary repatriation as the preferred permanent solution to refugee situations.[24] Furthermore, it is an option to be exercised only voluntarily by the subjects, since they cannot be forced to return, or the country of origin can force to take back the people who fled. This was the case of Rwandan exiles and refugees, given that the right of repatriation existed as a preferential, but not always enforceable, norm.[25]

5.1 International Law and Repatriation

Following international law, here are three types of durable solutions to refugee situations: return or repatriation, local integration, and resettlement in a third country.[26] Repatriation has over the past twenty years become the distinctively most important solution, preferred by the UNHCR as well as most host states and third countries. Having long been the ideal solution only in theory, in the mid-1980s repatriation started to be

[23] "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda"; Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*; Newbury, "Returning Refugees"; Vytis Čiubrinskas, "Diasporas Coming Home: Identity and Uncertainty of Transnational Returnees in Postcommunist Lithuania," in *Postsocialist Europe*, NED-New edition, 1, Anthropological Perspectives from Home (Berghahn Books, 2009), 95–117, https://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.davidson.edu/stable/j.ctt9qcrm3.9; Barry N. Stein and Frederick C. Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict: Protection and Post-Return Assistance," *Development in Practice* 4, no. 3 (1994): 173–87; Marita Eastmond and Joakim Öjendal, "Revisiting a 'Repatriation Success':: The Case of Cambodia," in *The End of the Refugee Cycle?*, 1st ed., Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction (Berghahn Books, 1999), 38–55, https://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.davidson.edu/stable/j.ctt9qcp3z.9; Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa"; Johansson, "REFUGEE REPATRIATION AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR PEACE"; Kibreab, "Citizenship Rights and Repatriation of Refugees"; Johan Pottier, "Relief and Repatriation: Views by Rwandan Refugees; Lessons for Humanitarian Aid Workers," *African Affairs* 95, no. 380 (1996): 403–29; John R. Rogge and Joshua O. Akol, "Repatriation: Its Role in Resolving Africa's Refugee Dilemma," *The International Migration Review* 23, no. 2 (1989): 184–200, https://doi.org/10.2307/2546257.

[24] Johansson, "REFUGEE REPATRIATION AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR PEACE"; Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa"; Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict."

[25] Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy," 296; Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*.

[26] Eastmond and Öjendal, "Revisiting a 'Repatriation Success'"; Pottier, "Relief and Repatriation"; Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict"; Rogge and Akol, "Repatriation"; Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below"; Johansson, "REFUGEE REPATRIATION AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR PEACE"; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Voluntary Repatriation," UNHCR, accessed November 24, 2018, https://www.unhcr.org/excom/exconc/3ae68c9518/voluntary-repatriation.html.

endorsed as the ideal solution also in practice, and today the other two solutions, local integration and resettlement in a third country, are applicable to less than 1 per cent of the world's refugees.[27]

In UNHCR's experience, such solutions are indispensable for lasting peace and true stability. Kumar argues that the "return and resettlement of the refugees and IDPs are necessary for social peace and economic growth"[28], and describes the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and IDPs as "an essential prerequisite to political stability in many war-torn societies". UN Secretary General Annan, in an address to the UNHCR Executive Committee argued that "[t]he return of refugees and internally displaced persons is a major part of any post-conflict scenario. And it is far more than just a logistical operation. Indeed, it is often a critical factor in sustaining a peace process and in revitalizing economic activity."[29]

The standard view of repatriation can be seen in Conclusions 18 (1980) and 40 (1985) of UNHCR's Executive Committee,[30] which set four 'preconditions' for the agency participation in voluntary repatriation:

1. Fundamental change of circumstances, 'removal of the causes of refugee movements.'
2. Voluntary nature of the decision to return, 'freely expressed wish.'
3. Tripartite agreements between the country of origin, the host country of asylum, and the UNHCR, 'to provide formal guarantees for the safety of returning refugees.'
4. Return in safety and dignity , 'under conditions of absolute safety.'

These preconditions represent high standards regarding the nature of any repatriation. Nevertheless, the situation that satisfies all these conditions is rare. For this reason, numerous scholars criticize these preconditions for being unrealistic. For example, Stein claims that in reality, "UNHCR can establish standards it hopes to achieve, but

[27] Antony Anghie and B. S. Chimni, "Third World Approaches to International Law and Individual Responsibility in Internal Conflicts," *Chinese Journal of International Law* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 195, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.cjilaw.a000480.
[28] Krishna Kumar, ed., *Rebuilding Societies After Civil War: Critical Roles for International Assistance*, illustrated edition edition (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub, 1996), 15, 41.
[29] Johansson, "REFUGEE REPATRIATION AS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR PEACE."
[30] Refugees, "Voluntary Repatriation."

cannot set preconditions for its participation."[31] Many scholars along with Stain claim that agreements and guarantees are always desirable, but this in many occasions delays or denies assistance to returnees. Furthermore, although UNHCR's tripartite approach to repatriation is useful and important, it is often slow, and "does not reflect the refugees' own pace and criteria for deciding to go home."[32] In many occasions, refugees and other returnees decide to return to their country of origin on their own, rather than waiting for the UNHCR official approval and formal action.[33] In these cases the lack of UNHCR's and other parties' assistance creates complications in the process of return.

5.2 Reasons to Return

Experts in refugee and returnee affairs such as Gorman, often speak of 'magnet' effects or 'push' and 'pull' factors that contribute to refugee decisions to move or return to their country of origin.

An example of a 'pull' factor is, under ideal circumstances, mass repatriation when the conditions in the country of origin have change and furthermore, have become attractive enough to encourage return of refugees and exiles.[34] These go beyond the UNHCR conditions for voluntary repatriation (listed above), given that returnees' information and decisions are based on numerous factors. The returnees' *perceptions* of the economic, social, physical, and security conditions in their country of origin are key in this regard. It is also important to note that these perceptions are deeply connected by the reason these refugees and their families fled in the first place. [35]

On the other hand, 'push' factors are more strongly related to the countries of asylum, which sometimes change living conditions of refugees to encourage them to leave.[36] These could include reductions in refugee food rations, restrictions in movement and access to social services, business licenses, land property, employment, and marginalization.[37] Political turmoil and conflict in the host country can also incentivize

[31] Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict."
[32] Stein and Cuny.
[33] Stein and Cuny; Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa."
[34] Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa."
[35] Gorman.
[36] Gorman.
[37] Robert Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa," *The World Today* 40, no. 10 (1984): 439-441.Gorman, 441.Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa," 441.

exiles and refugees to leave their country of asylum, given that there are no incentives for lasting security and stability anymore.

Furthermore, it is important to remark two points about returnees', especially refugees', decision making. First, in repatriation processes not all returnees are the same or enjoy the same conditions. Thus, their responses and decisions will be shaped by their living conditions along factors such as degree of urbanization, education, gender, socio-economic status, and mobility. Secondly, groups within the collective of returnees will behave in different ways depending on the time of return. This study examines the return process from 1994 to the present. Therefore, there are different groups that returned immediately after the genocide, which differ from those that waited until Rwanda was restored and rebuilt to a greater extent.

5.3 Actors

They key actors in the process of voluntary repatriation are the host country, the country of origin from which the population originally fled, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), private voluntary organizations (PVOs), the refugees and their families, and other third parties that can include donor countries or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). It is important to emphasize that, ultimately, the decision of voluntary repatriation comes from refugees *themselves*, making them the most important actors in the process. Stein and Cuny note that "refugee-induced repatriation is a self-regulating process on the refugees' own terms. They apply their own criteria to their situation in exile and to conditions in their homeland, and will return home if it is safe and better by their standards."[38] However, they also recognize that many of those who return are in desperate circumstances "in part because of the inadequate international support they receive."[39]

5.4 Physical and Emotional Resettlement

The decision to flee reflects the refugee's belief that he or she lacks the power to ensure adequate protection from insult, injury, imprisonment, or death. Flight represents

[38] Barry N. Stein and Frederick C. Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict: Protection and Post-Return Assistance," *Development in Practice* 4, no. 3 (1994): 174.Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict," 174.
[39] Stein and Cuny, 175.

an attempt to use whatever power, control, and mobility the person still possesses to escape from danger to safety. In comparing alternatives such as whether to flee, to repatriate, or to accept re-settlement, refugees attempt to conserve and strengthen their control over their own lives, and to reduce the possibility that further stress will occur. Basically, they aim to limit change and disruption. Not surprisingly, refugees seek security. To cope with the stress of flight, they may retain old behavioral patterns, old institutions, and old goals. [40]

In clinging to the familiar, refugees attempt to move the shortest distance not only in physical terms, but also in terms of the psychological and socio-cultural context of their lives. They attempt to transfer existing skills and practices, or to relocate with relatives, neighbors, or their own ethnic groups, in order to recreate the security of an encapsulating community with familiar institutions and symbols.

5.5 Challenges of Repatriation

In mass repatriation movements, scholars such as Stein, Cuny, and Gorman identify three main stages: (1)Identification of returnees, (2)Movement into the country of origin, and (3)Integration.[41] Each of these stages present many logistical problems, as well as protection ones, being the former usually more prevalent than the latter. Typically, the first stage, identification of returnees, is conducted by the UNHCR through various mechanisms and screenings. It usually can involve potential protection and screening problems, as well as problems with determining whether the returnees are really making a free choice and are from the country of origin. This process is especially long and challenging when the wave of return is very big.[42] The second stage, the repatriation process, is usually conducted in phases, starting for establishing certain border crossing points in the country of asylum, and then transportation to the country of origin. The means of transportation highly depend on the available resources. Other returnees might be transported directly from existing refugee camps or settlements to reception centers of the country of origin. Then, they are resettled permanently in the country of origin through various programs and 'transit stations.'[43]

[40] Eastmond and Öjendal, "Revisiting a 'Repatriation Success'"; Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict"; Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*; Čiubrinskas, "Diasporas Coming Home."
[41] Stein and Cuny, "Refugee Repatriation during Conflict."
[42] Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa," 442.
[43] Gorman, 442.

The final stage of the return process, the integration of returnees into a new life in the country of origin, is usually the hardest and longest. This task is a goal of the repatriation process and high levels of integration are the most desirable outcome of any refugee situation

6. Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation of Data

This section synthetizes the data collected, while analyzing and interpreting the results of the findings. It combines both the information collected from reports and data bases such as the ones of MIDIMAR, MINEMA, UNHCR, and others, as well as that collected through interviews.

First, this part presents and analyzes information on the previous conditions of returnees, this is, the living situation of those born and raised on exile in their country of asylum. This examination is divided by the four countries considered: Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Burundi. This part reflects information on physical conditions in each of these countries, including legal status, housing and land ownership, education, labor market and income sources, and aid. In addition, the emotional and identity conditions will also be accounted for through an analysis on language, perceptions on Rwanda, perceptions on national identity and self, family, personal, and professional relationships.

Secondly, this section presents the process of repatriation and moment of return. Factors such as the statistics of the returnees' country of origin, waves of return, motivation and incentives for return, and actors involved in the process will be considered, as well as the 'push' and 'pull' factors that motivated Rwandans' decision to return.

Thirdly, this chapter displays and examines, as well as evaluates, the process of integration once in Kigali, from the moment of immediate return to the present. The factors through which integration is operationalized, presented in the previous section, will be accounted for. This subsection will be divided on first, physical integration (legal status, housing and land ownership, education, labor market and income sources), and second, on emotional integration (language, perceptions on Rwanda, perceptions on national identity and self, family, and personal and professional relationships).

6.1 Conditions Previous to Return

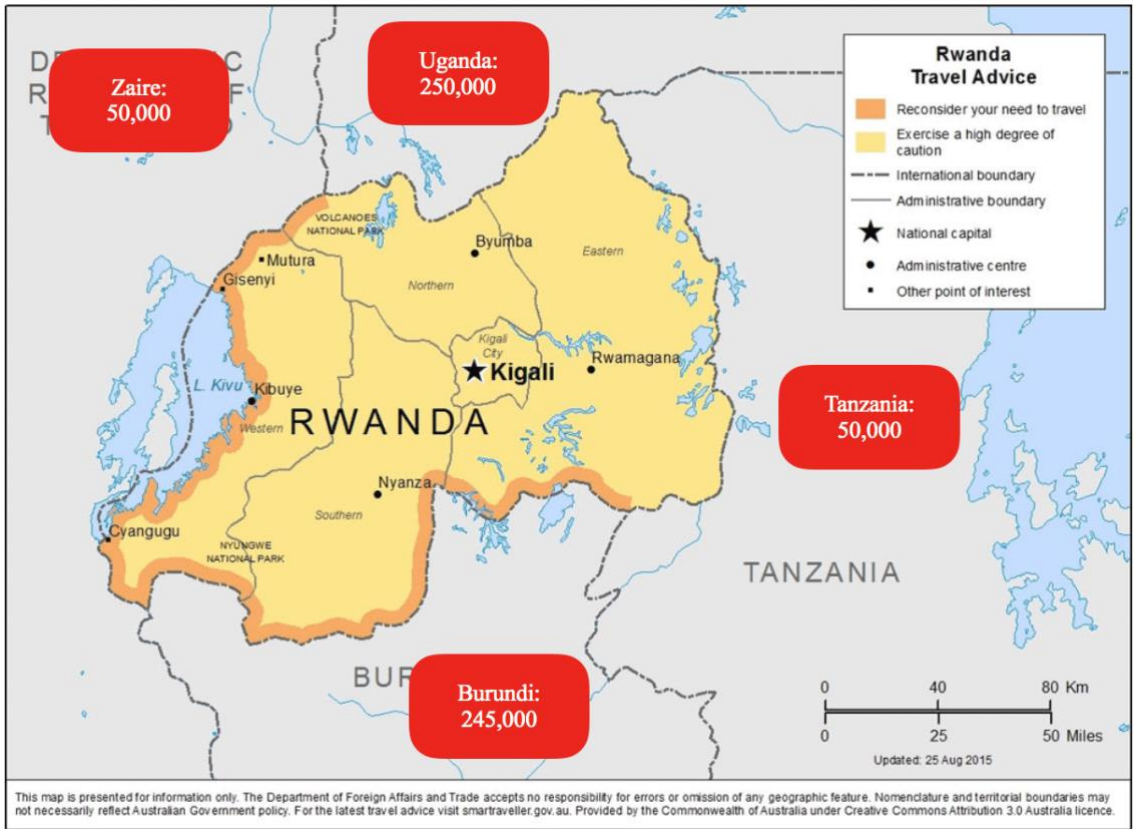


Image 1: Rwandan Refugee Approximate Statistics as of March 1994

Source: United States Department of State Rwanda Refugee Fact Sheet[44]

As Image 1 shows above, the statistics on Rwandan refugees varied greatly from country to country before the mass return after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The refugee figures in this graphic represent mostly refugees that fled in 1959 and the aftermath of the 'social revolution,' along with certain members of their families.[45] As shown, Burundi and Uganda hosted the great majority of Rwandan refugees, although this does not mean that they were home to the greatest number of Rwandans. As explained in the next sections, Rwandans in Tanzania and DRC had easy access to citizenship in their host countries, thus not counting in the refugee statistics.

[44] The officicial unclassified documents can be found released in full in Scalzo Kristin, "The Rwandan Refugee Crisis: Before the Genocide," The National Security Archive, March 31, 2014, https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB464/.Kristin, "The Rwandan Refugee Crisis: Before the Genocide."

[45] Kristin.

6.1.1 Uganda

Families that fled Rwanda in 1959 enjoyed different legal status in the asylum country depending on the character of the country itself, as well as intermarriage, and families' own efforts for integration. Rwandans that fled to Uganda formed two very distinct groups: refugees, and immigrants that eventually turned into Ugandans or enjoyed the same rights as the nationals.[46] Depending on which group returnees belonged to, the physical and emotional conditions changed notably.

The first group of Rwandans in Uganda, refugees, enjoyed refugee rights but were often more discriminated by Ugandan policies than the second group. The Rwandan refugees in Uganda lived in *refugee settlements*, from which the main ones were Nakivale, Oruchiga, Kyaka II, and Kyangwali.[47] In the refugee settlements, Rwandans were given a small plot of land by the Ugandan government, where refugees could cultivate or keep cattle. The living conditions in the camp were hard, given that there were limited resources and refugees would build their own houses inside their assigned plots of land. In addition, refugees could not access other land, this is, they could not own land outside of the settlement and their mobility was very limited. Furthermore, their refugee status impeded them to register for ownership of property outside of the settlement.[48]

In the grounds of education, the refugee settlements often offered primary education, but not secondary schools. There was an important problem of education among the refugee communities, given that most were incentivized to stop school after primary. Most of the interviewees expressed that they experienced difficulties in attending to school, and that that discrimination in applying to secondary education was notable towards refugees. In addition, school fees for secondary and higher education were high, often out of the refugees' reach. Some former refugees explained that Rwandans applying to secondary school or university would often change their names or register as Ugandans in order to avoid institutional discrimination and to be eligible for scholarships.[49] In addition, the UNHCR occasionally offered scholarships for secondary

[46] Newbury, "Returning Refugees."
[47] Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwandan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."
[48] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda, November 14, 2018, 2; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda, November 20, 2018.
[49] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda, December 11, 2018; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda, November 14, 2018.

school, but these were rare and only reserved for the best students in primary school. One of my interviewees received one of these scholarships in Uganda while living at Nakivale, and went to a Ugandan public school in an urban area. He was the only student in his grade that got it and the process of integration in the new school was very hard. [50]

Regarding the income sources of these families, they were very limited due to the restricted labor market. As the refugees could not move out of the settlement, their main economy was that of subsistence and survival. With the help of the World Food Programme many families received supplementary food, alongside very limited aid from the UNHCR. All the interviewees that were former refugees in Uganda and lived in settlements had a negative memory of the life they lived in Uganda, given that they were restricted in most aspects of life.[51] For this reason, the Tutsi refugee intelligentsia in Uganda set up the region's first political refugee organization, the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), to discuss a possible return to Rwanda. This organization was composed by many Rwandans that had military training, because they participated in the Ugandan Army. RANU evolved into the RPA, which demanded the repatriation of refugees primarily, and attracted many refugees from other countries to participate in the cause, finally invading Rwanda and starting the civil war in 1990.[52]

Furthermore, refugees enjoyed a very low level of socio-economic integration with the rest of Ugandans. Rwandans living in the settlements still spoke Kinyarwanda, and lived close to one another in the same areas. They still listened to Rwandan radio, sang traditional songs, and celebrate their culture. In this context, Rwandan refugees that were born and raised in settlements Uganda were informed about their country, spoke the language, and felt Rwandan. Some of these refugees came to construct an idealized vision of home which diverged from the experiences of those who had stayed behind. Many of the interviewees that lived in refugee situations imagined Rwanda as a country of "Milk and Honey,"[53] and could not wait to get back to it after prosecution against the Tutsi was over. The internal politics in Uganda and the anti-Tutsi policies in Rwanda pushed the

[50] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda.
[51] Informant 2; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda.
[52] Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Kristin, "The Rwandan Refugee Crisis: Before the Genocide"; Suhrke and Adelman, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*; Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa"; Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."
[53] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania, November 19, 2018.

Tutsi to be more militant in their pursuit of return, especially since being called *munyarwanda* was associated in Uganda with suspicion, prejudice, discrimination, ridicule, hatred, and even persecution.[54] 95 percent of the Tutsi refugees as well as other Kinyarwanda did nor could not become citizens during all their time in Uganda.[55]

The second group of Rwandan exiles were much more integrated in Ugandan society, at the expense of giving up most of their Rwandan identity features.[56] These group of exiles that fled Rwanda in most cases left the country in the years previous the big wave of refugees in 1959. They left in the late 1940s or the 1950s, as a reaction against the violence and animosity of the Hutu groups and the late colonial figures towards the Tutsi minority in Rwanda. In Uganda, this group seeked permanent resettlement as a solution for survival, given that the violence towards the Tutsi escalated in Rwanda and there were very limited prospects of peace in the foreseeable future. These Rwandans lived mostly in villages and their descendants, in urban areas, where they could reach a greater level of socio-economic integration. Many of them would try to fake their legal status saying they were Ugandans or trying to obtain legal papers that gave them nationality. Intermarriages between Ugandans and Rwandans from this group was common, for which children born and raised in this conditions often enjoyed a Ugandan citizenship, alongside citizen rights.[57]

Rwandans born in Uganda pertaining to this group went to public schools and were free to move in the country. Although legally they were Ugandan, discrimination and mockery against Rwandans or those of Rwandan descent persisted. The interviewees that were part of this group all expressed certain animosity or rivalry between Ugandans and Rwandans in school, and mockery based on recognition of names, last names, and facial features, being called *munyarwanda*.[58] To avoid or mitigate this, Rwandan families

[54] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Adelman, "The Right of Repatriation-Canadian Refugee Policy."
[55] Adelman and Barkan, *No Return, No Refuge*.
[56] Tumwebaze, "History of Rwandan Refugees"; Newbury, "Returning Refugees."
[57] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda, November 22, 2018.
[58] Howard Adelman and Elazar Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa," in *No Return, No Refuge* (Columbia University Press, 2011), 138.Howard Adelman and Elazar Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa," in *No Return, No Refuge* (Columbia University Press, 2011), 138, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/adel15336.9.Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa," 138.

often changed their names or last names, or adopted the Ugandan one of a result of intermarriage, in exchange for Ugandan ones. [59]

This group dedicated to a greater variety of economic activities, ranging from agriculture to small businesses and international companies. Some even joined the Ugandan National Army and helped the current president, Museveni, to overthrow the former, Milton Obote.[60] However, they did not enjoy any aid from the government nor from the UNHCR or other NGOs. Their life was very similar to the one of any common Ugandan.[61]

Regarding identity, this group of Rwandans had mixed feelings. Some of my interviewees, especially from this group, did not think of themselves as "exiles" or "away from home" while they were in Uganda. Home for them was where they were born and raised, lived, studied, worked and knew the people, thus they felt Ugandan. This, in most part, was a result of growing up in out of the country, never having experienced life in their parents' homeland.[62] In addition, many families that denied their Rwandan identity to avoid discrimination stopped speaking Kinyarwanda in the house, in exchange for the local languages. The new generation that was raised speaking the local languages felt more connected to Uganda than Rwanda generally. Yet, it was sometimes those raised in a culture different from that of their parents who felt an intense nostalgia for an imagined homeland.[63] Two interviewees from Uganda that were born and raised in urban areas, in mixed families, expressed the curiosity and attraction to learn more about Rwanda, although they felt Ugandan as well.

6.1.2 Tanzania

In Tanzania, or former Tanganyika, Rwandans that had fled the country in the 1959 wave and their families were closer to each other and more integrated in comparison to Uganda. This was, in part, because numerous Rwandans were able to acquire Tanzanian citizenship after independence in 1961. The new Tanzanian citizenship law, implemented in 1961 and amended in 1964, stated three ways of acquiring citizenship: (1)By birth; "any child born within the borders of the United Republic of Tanzania,"

[59] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda.
[60] Adelman and Barkan, "Force and Repatriation in Africa: The Right of Return in Africa."
[61] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda.
[62] Informant 1.
[63] Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda.

(2)By descent; a person that has "at least one parent [that] is a Tanzanian citizen by birth or naturalization, and (3)By naturalization; any foreign national with no ancestry or birth ties with Tanzania applying for citizenship.[64] The last method had few requirements and through the process of application, many Rwandan refugees were able to acquire citizenship.

Rwandans that fled in 1959 to Tanganyika started off as refugees, living in both refugee camps and refugee settlements close to the Rwandan border. Until they began to acquire citizenship years later, they lived close to each other and kept their language and traditions. After the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar following independence in 1961, many Rwandans became Tanzanians, and started forming villages close to the former refugee camps, that had a great concentration of Rwandans. For this reason, many of the cultural features and language were conserved during all the years in exile until their return. These exiles participated in many economic activities such as agriculture or business, and enjoyed the same amount of privileges as the locals. They could have land and house ownership, and the children could go to school like any other Tanzanian. However, although most were not discriminated by the law, the fact that they were not refugees implied that they did not have aid, which often made it hard for families to start over in a new country.[65]

Regarding identity, many Rwandans born and raised in Tanzania grew up feeling Rwandan, and missing their homeland. As mentioned, most Rwandans that were former refugees formed villages where they lived together and celebrated national traditions, music, and other cultural rituals. They were also in tight communication with other families that lived on exile in other countries or that remained in Rwanda, as well as listened to Rwandan media channels such as the radio. In these villages, Rwandan exiles spoke Kinyarwanda, as they learned the local languages such as Kiswahili in school and society simultaneously. The interviewees expressed that sometimes they faced discrimination for being Rwandan, but it was rare and generally, they felt comfortable, integrated, and safe in Tanzania, given that they felt "a part of home" in their host country.

[64] United Republic of Tanzania, "Tanzania Citizenship Act, 1995," Refworld, accessed November 27, 2018, https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b5734.html.
[65] Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania, November 22, 2018, 7.

As refugees living in settlements in Uganda, many of Rwandans in Tanzania thought of Rwandan as "a country of milk and honey," and a homeland that they would return to. [66]

6.1.3 Democratic Republic of Congo

The conditions of Rwandans living in DRC were perhaps the most complicated and changing ones in comparison to Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi, given the constant political instability, conflict in various parts of the country, size of the country, and nature of the Congolese government. Rwandans that fled to DRC had very dissimilar experiences depending on the group and region they stayed at. While some were refugees, others were able to buy the Congolese nationality from the authorities and enjoy the public services. Rwandans that had a high economic status were able to afford buying these documents, alongside certain privileges or jobs. Regarding land, DRC did not have land registration laws or permits. Therefore, many Rwandans that fled in 1959 with their families just established themselves in a plot of land and started cultivating or keeping cattle. Many returnees were able to bring their cattle by foot when they crossed the border between Rwanda and DRC. The quality of education Rwandans in DRC received also depended on the economic power of the families. Those who could afford it, would send their children to international schools or private schools. However, the majority, that attended to refugee schools or public schools, received low levels of education, which negatively affected they return to Rwanda.[67]

6.1.4 Burundi

The grand majority Tutsi exiles in Burundi never integrated in society and faced notable discrimination in most aspects of life. Burundi, bordering Rwanda in the South, had long-lasting ethnic tensions between the Tutsi and Hutu groups, similarly to Rwanda but with difference power balances. For this reason, there was notable suspicion towards the Rwandan populations that fled the country since the 1959 exile wave. Most Rwandans that were hosted in Burundi were refugees, and they live in camps and settlements that almost were exclusive to Rwandan populations. In addition, they often suffered the ethnic violence present in Burundi between the Hutu and the Tutsi, which reached their peak in 1972 and 1993, the latter roughly a year before the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

[66] Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania.
[67] Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC, November 21, 2018; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC, November 22, 2018.

In Burundi, Rwandan refugees were not eligible for citizenship, which highly restrained their job and educational opportunities. For instance, Rwandans were not allowed to acquire state jobs and experienced prejudice in the workspace. Concerning housing, refugees in Burundi lived in very similar conditions as refugees in the countries neighboring Rwanda; with limited resources, low-quality education opportunities, and mobility constraints.[68]

Given that many Rwandans lived together, close to each other, in Burundi, many conserved their national identity and spoke the same language, celebrating the same culture. In addition, it was easy to navigate Burundi just speaking Kinyarwanda, which exiles in other countries were not able to do. In Burundi, many refugees were closely following the situation between the Tutsi and the Hutu in both Rwanda and Burundi, and many urged for the repatriation of Rwandans into their homeland. From the refugees living in Burundi, many joined the RPA in Uganda to fight for the repatriation of refugees. One of the interviewees was in secondary school in Burundi when he decided to travel to Uganda to join the liberation movement. He explain that in the Burundian camps, there were many incentives and efforts to do the same.[69]

6.2 Return Process

6.2.1 Statistics on Returnees

Asylum Country	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	Total	%
DRC	1,421,425	107,201	42,231	1,570,857	47%
TANZANIA	847,127	44,565	16,501	908,193	27%
BURUNDI	534,485	867	17,698	553,050	16%
UGANDA	333,755	629	7,184	341,568	10%
TOTAL CIVILIANS	3,136,792	153,262	83,614	3,373,668	100%

Table 1: Rwandan Returnees from 1994 to 2008

Source: Ministry of Disaster and Refugee Affairs of the Government of Rwanda (MIDIMAR)[70]

[68] Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi, November 20, 2018.
[69] Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[70] Republic of Rwanda, "Data: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management."

Table 1 above shows the statistics of Rwandan returnee waves during the first periods after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. As shown, the majority of individuals in numbers returned in the emergency period, from 1994 to 1998. In this phase, the country was destroyed, socially and economically; lacking all types of infrastructure or a formed, stable government. These were not only returnees pertaining to the group of exiles fled in 1959, but also those that fled during the civil war that started in 1990 and the genocide in 1994. However, these figures are noteworthy, given that they reflect the tendency of returnees depending on their country of asylum. Immediate voluntary repatriation of return in a period of complete emergency, such as the one of the years after the genocide in Rwanda, is rare following the UNHCR conditions.[71] In these cases, it is more important to consider the 'push' factors that incentivized Rwandans that had been in exile for decades, or that were born and raised in foreign soil, to return to the existing conditions of post-genocide Rwanda. The vast majority of returnees (roughly 47%) during the first fifteen years after the genocide came from DRC, given the living conditions and security threats of Rwandans in Congolese soil, explained in the next section.

Asylum Country	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	%
DRC	14,785	9,849	7,416	10,500	6,998	5,225	54,773	71%
TANZANIA	0	1	0	0	14,461	0	14,462	18%
BURUNDI	9	6	4	0	49	0	68	0%
UGANDA	5,583	1,762	53	382	446	44	8,270	11%
TOTAL CIVILIANS	20,377	11,618	7,473	10,882	21,954	5,269	77,573	100%

Table 2: Rwandan Returnees from 2009 to 2014

Source: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management of the Government of Rwanda (MINEMA)[72]

The statistics in Table 2 show the numbers and percentages of returnees in respect to their country of origin between the years of 2009 and 2014. During these years, Rwanda had grown and reached a considerable level of post-genocide reconstruction and

[71] Gorman, "Refugee Repatriation in Africa."
[72] Republic of Rwanda, "Data: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management."

peacebuilding, and was no longer in an emergency state. In addition, new economic opportunities were arising and the country began to become attractive in socio-economic terms, especially in comparison with the neighboring countries of the Great Lakes region. In this period, both 'pull' and 'push' factors are important to explain returnees' decision making. The main ones will be explained in the following sections. Lastly, these figures represent a large number of returnees that fled Rwanda long before the genocide, alongside their families. Many Rwandans that fled the country during the genocide or the civil war years returned almost immediately in big waves. Thus, these statistics represent in a more clear way the voluntary repatriation wave of those born and raised on exile.

COUNTRY	Total 1994-2014	Total %
DRC	1,625,869	47%
TANZANIA	922,655	27%
BURUNDI	553,118	16%
UGANDA	349,838	10%

Table 3: Rwandan Returnees Total from 1994 to 2014

Source: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management of the Government of Rwanda (MINEMA)[73]

6.2.2 Immediate Return and the DRC Situation

When the Genocide against the Tutsi ended, many Rwandans immediately returned from the neighboring countries. As Table 1 shows, the grand majority of returnees of 1994 came from DRC. The decision of immediately return to Rwanda, especially for the Tutsi population, was not only informed by the "pull" factors of a change of situation. In fact, in 1994, the country was completely destroyed. There was no infrastructure, stable government, economic opportunities, or even education. Instead, the "push" factors that informed returning were more important to the DRC refugees and Rwandans living on exile since violence wave against the Tutsi group in 1959. After the RPA took control over Rwanda and stopped the genocide, many Hutus that were linked to the genocide or were directly *génocidaires* themselves fled to DRC, protected by the French government and the Turquoise operation in the Western province of Rwanda.

[73] Republic of Rwanda.

These refugees remained in camps, and often threated to "come back and finish the genocide" and kill Tutsis that were living in DRC.[74] Violence from Rwanda transferred to the Eastern part of DRC, causing thousands of Rwandans that had fled the country in 1959 to return immediately to Rwanda, leaving all their possessions behind.[75]

Differently, other Rwandan refugees returned right before the genocide in the years of the civil war through the RPA, which was formed by Rwandan refugees. As the RPA advanced in Rwandan soil, many refugee soldiers returned, along with Ugandan families that crossed the borders and returned to RPA-controlled zones. Simultaneously, Rwandans living in Burundi, especially Tutsi, returned as a result of the violence of the Burundian Civil war.[76] The civil war was the result of the long standing ethnic divisions between the Hutu and the Tutsi, and began in 1993, resulting in approximately 300,000 deaths until 2005.[77] The Burundian civil war was a great 'push' factor that motivated Rwandans to return immediately, regardless of the conditions of the country.[78]

6.2.3 Sensitization Campaigns and *Go and See, Come and Tell* Visits

The government of Rwanda started using sensitization campaigns as early as 1995. These were part of the government's strategy to promote Rwandans' repatriation and return. These campaigns targeted Rwandan refugees, and consisted on sensitization visits to the refugee settlements in which Rwandans were being hosted. They were implemented in most of the countries in the Great Lakes region, which hosted the majority of Rwandan refugees. These campaigns had the goal of encouraging refugees to return, providing information on the repatriation process, conditions, and integration in Rwanda, as well as distributing print and electronic media that informed about the political and socio-economic progress of the country.[79] In Uganda, for instance, visits were conducted by the delegations of Rwanda, Uganda, and UNHCR officials. The same was the case of

[74] Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Lemarchand, "Genocide in the Great Lakes"; Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*.
[75] Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC.
[76] Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi; Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*.
[77] Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*.
[78] Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[79] Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."

Tanzania, where the officials from Rwanda, Tanzania, and the UNHCR conducted these campaigns. [80]

Another strategy used for promoting return and repatriation was the "Go and See, Come and Tell" visits; programs where refugee groups were taken to see for themselves the living conditions of Rwanda. After they could choose whether to return or not, and regardless of their decisions, they were required to come back to their refugee settlements to share the experience and their impressions. These campaigns were especially promoted in Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi. In Uganda, for instance, several refugee delegations were accompanied by the OPM and the UNHCR officials to go to Uganda.[81]

Five of my interviewees were exposed to these campaigns and visits and found them successful in changing the perceptions about security of the Tutsi in Rwanda and the overall conditions, becoming a 'pull' factor that incentivized refugees' return. From them three from Uganda, one from Burundi, and one from Tanzania. However, official government reports and academic studies reflect that refugees that participated in the campaigns were taken to selected areas in Rwanda. Ahimbisibwe concludes that "They were not given a chance of visiting areas of their choice. These visits were state managed aimed at painting a good picture of Rwanda. They pointed out that they were not exposed to the other side of Rwanda which is dangerous and full of insecurity." [82]

6.2.4 Tripartite Agreements and Policies

As more Rwandans began to return and the situation in the country bettered, several countries of asylum, alongside the Rwandan government and the UNHCR, began to implement policies to repatriate more Rwandans.

On June 30, 2013 the implementation of the Cessation Clause for Rwandan refugees came into effect as recommended by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This recommendation applies to Rwandan refugees who fled the country between 1959 and December 31, 1998. The Cessation Clause for Rwandan refugees was invoked after the UNHCR and the international community realized that

[80] Ahimbisibwe.
[81] Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi; Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."
[82] Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."Ahimbisibwe, "'Voluntary' Repatriation of Rwan- Dan Refugees in Uganda: Between Law and Practice-Views from Below."

fundamental changes had taken place in Rwanda, and that all circumstances that led to massive exile of Rwandans had ceased to exist.[83] Thus, Rwanda and host countries were requested to start implementing all aspects of that clause, including the promotion of voluntary repatriation and reintegration of Rwandan refugees, local integration or alternative legal status in countries of asylum, continuing to meet the needs of those individuals unable to return to Rwanda for protection-related reasons and elaborating a common schedule leading to the cessation of refugee status. In this regards, the Government of Rwanda established sustainable programs and mechanisms for effective repatriation and reintegration of Rwandan refugees. In addition, since the cessation clause, Uganda, Tanzania, DRC, and Burundi have signed triparty agreements with the UNHCR and the Government of Rwanda to assure a safe repatriation.[84]

Since 2013, UNHCR has supported the initial socio-economic reintegration of 14,028 returnees into their communities in Rwanda.[85] Those Rwandan returnees who return to Rwanda after living for years as refugees in DRC are received by UNHCR and its partners in two transit centers in western Rwanda, where UNHCR provides them with transitional shelter, health services and basic assistance, before transporting them to their districts of origin. UNHCR also registers returnees upon their arrival, which is a key element of their protection and lays the groundwork for returnees to reestablish their lives by accessing key documentation. UNHCR provides returnees with essential household items such as blankets, plastic mat, jerrycans, soap and kitchen sets. Once returnees have been registered and received their basic assistance package, UNHCR transports returnees to their districts of origin where their reintegration begins. UNHCR monitors the socio-economic reintegration of returnees into their communities, by visiting returnee families and holding focus group discussions to understand and address challenges in reintegration. [86]

[83] Republic of Rwanda, "Cessation Clause: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management," MINEMA: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management, accessed November 29, 2018, http://midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=7.
[84] Republic of Rwanda; Tumwebaze, "History of Rwandan Refugees"; Government of Rwanda, "Rwandan Refugees Encouraged to Repatriate before the Coming into Effect of the Cessation Clause - Rwanda," 12 2017, https://reliefweb.int/report/rwanda/rwandan-refugees-encouraged-repatriate-coming-effect-cessation-clause.
[85] "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda."
[86] Republic of Rwanda, "Projects: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management," MINEMA: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management, accessed November 29, 2018, http://midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=70; "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda."

6.3 Post-Return Integration

This section presents the data and findings on the integration of returnees born and raised on exile once they already returned to Rwanda. First, the physical process is presented, and then, the identity transformation and emotional integration.

6.3.1 Physical

6.3.1.1 Housing and Land Ownership

As explained previously in the background of the study, Rwandans that fled the country during the 1959 violence wave were mostly Tutsi cattle keepers connected to the previous regime of the Tutsi-controlled monarchy. For this reason, many of them owned land in Rwanda alongside livestock. When they fled the country, many of their properties were occupied by other populations that remained living in Rwanda, which caused numerous challenges when the former owners returned to the country after the genocide.[87] The land problem seemed to have no feasible solution at the beginning, since returnees from the 1959 wave and their children claimed ownership of their formerly owned territories, and Rwandans that occupied them afterwards held registration titles and numerous had been living and farming there for decades. In this sense, there was no immediate solution that could successfully respond to the demands of both parties.[88]

The government of Rwanda then proposed two different solutions to the land problem, implementing both depending on the case and preferences of the parties. The first solution that the Government of National Unity encouraged was land sharing. Both the former and latter owners had to reconcile and arrive to a consensus, sharing or dividing the land. In this way, returnees and Rwandans that had lived in the country had to dialogue, cooperate with the government and with each other, and work together in sharing their land. This was a solution that some Rwandans followed. However, many families had challenges to prove that was their former land, especially those who returned that were born and raised on exile and did not know people in the region or had any family

[87] Mamdani, "The 'Social Revolution' of 1959"; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*; Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*; Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*; Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise*.

[88] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.

left in Rwanda. Others were not content with enjoying just a portion of the land, and seeked for other solutions.[89]

The second alternative to the land problem the government offered was a new plot of land in Rwanda. Given that Rwanda is small in regards to territory, and there were large numbers of returning Rwandans, the government decided to divide the Akagera National Park, located in the Northeast of the country into two parts. The eastern half would stop being part of the national park, while the western would be what today is Akagera National Park. In the Eastern half, returnees were given a portion of land to farm or to keep cattle, along with a small plot to build a house.[90] There were also the creation of linear cities or *mudugudu*, where returnees lived in communities in houses close to each other, and their plot of land for farming and other academic activities were somewhere further.[91]

Nevertheless, the land problem was not as notifiable in second and third generation returnees, those born and raised outside of Rwanda. This was a young generation that seeked education and economic opportunities in the city, specifically in Kigali. Many of these returnees chose to return to Kigali, even if their parents were returning to their former land or a new plot in Akagera. Most of my interviewees expressed that their parents and grandparents went back to the villages or did not return at the same time as them, while they consciously chose to move to Kigali instead.[92] Furthermore, some returnees that came back to Rwanda after the country was reconstructed expressed that the growing job opportunities in Kigali were their main reason to return, especially those that were struggling with unemployment in Uganda, DRC, Tanzania, or Burundi.[93] Other group of returnees, those that fought with the RPA in the liberation of Rwanda, also moved to Kigali, given that they were given many job and educational opportunities by the new RPF-led government.[94]

[89] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[90] Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda, 3; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda.
[91] Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda.
[92] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 8; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC.
[93] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda, 1; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC.
[94] Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.

In Kigali, the aid towards housing was limited. Most returnees that resettled in the city seeked help from family and friends, staying with them or sharing houses.[95]

6.3.1.2 Education

Regarding education, there are two main groups of returnees that experienced dissimilar opportunities depending on their time of return. The ones that returned immediately in 1994 encountered a country without any functioning systems or infrastructure. Rwanda lacked teachers and professors, and all schools and universities were closed until mid-1995. The immediate returnees that seeked to continue their education in Rwanda resumed their studies on the years after the genocide. This education was overcrowded; classes had too many children and adults in both school and universities, and there was a significant lack of teachers. Furthermore, those who returned that had been born and raised on exile, faced many additional challenges of integration in schools, given the occasional language barriers, cultural differences, and atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion and trauma between Rwandans.[96]

On the other hand, Rwandans that voluntarily returned in the years after the emergency state and the immediate reconstruction of the country enjoyed a wider range of education opportunities. The ministry of education and the UNHCR developed many programs specially for returnees, where they got some basic Kinyarwanda lessons.[97] In addition, two interviewees described that certain schools were more attractive for those who returned and had never been in the country before, given that they had a higher concentration of returnees from certain countries. These schools had a high concentration of Ugandans, Burundians, Congolese, or Tanzanian. In these schools, returnees from the same origins were with other students which with they shared many identity, language, and experience characteristics. “We became a support group with each other,”[98] said Phionah, a Rwandan returnee born and raised in Uganda.

[95] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[96] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[97] Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda.
[98] Informant 3.

6.3.1.3 Income Sources and Labor Market

Returnees that resettled in Kigali that were born and raised on exile formed a young generation of multi-cultural backgrounds. The types of jobs that they obtained once they arrived to Kigali highly depended on their time of return, as well as their education background in their host countries. Returnees that arrived immediately, after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, faced many challenges in finding well-payed jobs and in starting new businesses. The country's main task at that time was that of reconstruction and infrastructure building. Thus, there was a notable NGO presence in Rwanda during the first years after the genocide, helping the government in these efforts. Some immediate returnees were able to find jobs in these NGOs, conducting numerous tasks that ranged from driving, to physical building and managing. However, it was these same returnees that most time needed the assistance from the government and the NGOs, and they were not able to work in these organizations due to the need of immediate assistance, poor education background, or language barriers.[99]

Those who returned after the emergency state, when Rwanda was in a period of strong and fast development, had many labor opportunities in Kigali. As a growing developing economy, the business, investment, and construction sectors in the city were quickly taking off, offering multiple positions to nationals as well as returnees. Many found jobs, and, furthermore, some of my interviewees expressed that the main reason for which they were attracted to return was the growing economy and job opportunities they could not find in the surrounding countries.[100]

In addition, through the One UN Sustainable Return and Reintegration joint program with the Rwandan government, led by UNHCR, UN agencies supported and continue to support the Government of Rwanda in the process of receiving all returnees when they arrived in the country, and provided them with assistance to return to their places of origin and reintegrate into the local communities. UNHCR works alongside MIDIMAR as well as WFP, FAO, UNDP, UNICEF, UN-Habitat, and IOM in order to assist returnees to settle in their districts of origin. assisting them with food and essential

[99] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[100] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC.

non-food items upon arrival, access to land for their durable self-reliance, access to education and vocational training.[101]

6.3.2 Emotional

6.3.2.1 Language

Depending on the previous conditions of returnees in their host countries, and the way they were born and raised while on exile, highly conditioned the emotional integration of second generation returnees. In this regard, language was one of the main identity features that conditioned the speed of integration, as well as the nature of it. Returnees that spoke Kinyarwanda as they grew up in their host countries had a significantly faster process in socially integrating themselves with fellow Rwandans. When they returned, they could easily communicate with any Rwandan and were more accepted.[102]

Those that were born and raised on exile without speaking Kinyarwanda, mostly in Uganda, where many families tried to hide away from their identity, language was a main problem in the reintegration process. Returnees that didn't speak Kinyarwanda were marginalized and treated as 'foreigners' by many that had lived in Rwanda for a longer time, or that spoke the language themselves. In addition, there was mockery and mistrust towards these returnees, accentuated in the years immediately after the genocide, when the population was highly traumatized and there was an overall atmosphere of suspicion.[103] Even today, returnees that were not born and raised speaking Kinyarwanda are not fully integrated in Rwandan society, especially those that have foreign names and last names. Even if most of the returnees learned Kinyarwanda in one way or another have accents marked by their country of origin, resulting in distance with other citizens.[104]

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[101] Mutuli, "UNHCR - UNHCR Promotes Return of Rwandan Refugees in Tanzania"; "Returnees - UNHCR Rwanda"; "SUCCESS STORIES UNDER THE SUSTAINABLE RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF RWANDAN RETURNEES PROJECT," accessed November 21, 2018, http://midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=45&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=154&cHash=5cf25b21b301bc29752bcb2282acb56e; Republic of Rwanda and MIDIMAR, "REPATRIATION AND REINTEGRATION PROGRAMS FOR RWANDAN REFUGEES & AN OVERVIEW ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN RWANDA," 2014, http://www.midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=2.

[102] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.

[103] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 5, Interview 05 Uganda; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania.

[104] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda.

Language was, and still is, a major problem when it comes to the repatriation process as a whole. Many Rwandans that fled in the 1959 wave, along with their families, were exposed to many foreign languages in their host countries, including French, English, and other national and local languages. This is a major concern in regards to the education system, which now is conducted in English and Kinyarwanda. Those who grew up exposed to neither of these languages cannot continue their studies in Rwandan public institutions. In addition, there is a deficit of teachers and professors that can efficiently instruct in English or other foreign languages.

Lastly, the colonial language spoken in the host country of returnees has caused rivalry between different groups of returnees depending on their origin. The francophone and anglophone countries had colonial-rooted rivalry, which often was manifest when populations from both origins came together.[105]

6.3.2.2 Perceptions of Rwanda and Self

When Rwandans returned in the years following the genocide, most were often euphoric to "come back to their homeland," encouraged and welcomed by a government brought to power by armed struggle, and one seeking allies and an internal political base in a country full of fear. They were "coming home," after thirty years or more on exile. However, the reality of the country was different. While those born and raised on exile thought as Rwanda as the "land of milk and honey," they returned to a country that had been through a trauma beyond description, in which roughly a million people had been killed in a hundred days and in which the population within had been utterly traumatized. Furthermore, they had "returned" to a country emptied of people (through death or flight), with a sizable portion of its population either internally displaced or on exile, and whose infrastructure was in a shambles. Finally, they entered country whose government, and an influential segment of its "new" population was formed of people who in many cases had not been in the country for many years; for those arrivals less than thirty years old, it was often their first arrival ever.[106]

In these circumstances the concept of "home" had a particularly problematic, and constructed, dimension. More than that, there existed tensions between those "coming

[105] Informant 1; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda.
[106] Newbury, "Returning Refugees."

home" and the Tutsi who had survived the genocide within the country. In short, for all the returnees, but particularly for those outside the political elite, jubilation at their return quickly became dampened by the conditions they encountered a scene very different from "the home" they had imagined. While for some, the destruction of the country signified an instant bond with other Rwandans in reconstructing the country, others felt much less 'Rwandan' once they interacted with the citizens that had lived in the country in the years leading to the genocide, or throughout all 1994. [107]

However, those who arrived to Rwanda in the post-reconstruction years had other impressions. The country was developing quickly and many justice programs and reconciliation efforts were fostered by the government, giving many opportunities of all types to the returnees. However, many of my interviews reflected that Rwandans that had lived the genocide from exile were very surprised to find the facts and scale of the destruction and trauma that this event caused in the country. "Not until I visited the memorials and lived my first April in Rwanda I realized the scale of the genocide and the atrocities committed by my own people," [108] commented a Rwandan-Ugandan that returned in 2013. Some that returned at this time felt disconnected from the population, given that they had arrived after the struggle and the worst period of Rwanda.

All my interviewees admitted their identity, especially national identity, changed when they returned to Rwanda for several reasons. For some returnees, their Rwandan identity was reinforced and they felt euphoric for "not ever again being a refugee"[109] and "being, at last, in their homeland."[110] Some interviewees expressed that "exile is the worst thing that can ever happen to a human being." [111] However, for others, their return signified realizing the magnitude of influence that their uprising in foreign countries had exerted on their identity. Some found that certain cultural features and traditions were different, and were also part of their being and of themselves. Certain returnees often talk about "a double home," which goes beyond nationality.[112]

[107] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda; Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania; Informant 8, Interview 08 DRC; Informant 9, Interview 09 DRC; Informant 10, Interview 10 Burundi.
[108] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda.
[109] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda.
[110] Informant 4, Interview 04 Uganda.
[111] Informant 2, Interview 02 Uganda.
[112] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda; Informant 3, Interview 03 Uganda; Informant 7, Interview 07 Tanzania; Informant 6, Interview 06 Tanzania.

6.3.2.3 Personal and Professional Relationships

At the immediate moment of return, all Rwandans interviewees born and raised on exile expressed difficulties regarding their relationships with other Rwandans. In Kigali, there were many born and raised in Uganda that had taken over the country with the RPA, as well as citizens that had lived and survived through the genocide and the previous violence leading to it. This caused, as described in the previous section, certain discomfort in some, that did not feel connected to returnees born and raised on exile, given that they did not share the same history, and even in some cases culture and language. This social difference was manifest at all levels of socialization; at schools, at work, in neighborhoods, and in regular tasks of life. Suspicion and mistrust also translated into tensions in the labor market in form of jealousy. For instance, returnees from Uganda that had the opportunity to attend all levels of school and complete higher education in a main city in Uganda had a very high language of training, as well as of English language skills. "Rwandans looked at returnees from Uganda as if we were going to steal their jobs,"[113] one of the informants remembered. Even today, this is still a challenge for integration of certain returnees, especially those with high qualifications.

To feel more welcome in their return, Rwandans born and raised on exile often found themselves searching and socializing with those with the same characteristics. All my interviewees expressed that they were close to the returnee communities from the same country as them, and those from Tanzania and DRC expressed sympathy towards the overall returnee community. Given that the different groups often shared common features within each other, it was easier for them to relate to each other. However, some interviewees expressed certain feelings of animosity initially between groups that arrived from different countries. The Anglo-Saxon and francophone divide of host countries, especially, played a big role in this tensions.

[113] Informant 1, Interview 01 Uganda.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

As shown in this study, the repatriation process is neither a fast or easy task. While populations can flee in a relatively short period of time due to conflicts and political turmoil, it takes more than strength to abandon everything that a citizen owns, including his or her own country. Furthermore, starting a new life, and even a family, on exile, presents many challenges and problems both physically and mentally. The Rwandan case is an example of a long-term exile, regarding the waves of violence, especially against the Tutsi ethnic group, present in Rwanda during almost the entirety of the second half of the twentieth century. The ongoing violence, ethnic clash, and discriminatory policies caused over hundreds of thousands Rwandans to exile from the 1950s to the end of the century, in many waves and sizes. This population is very diverse in nature, and acquired many characteristics from their host country.

As this project explains, the return of thousands of exiles after 1994 was not a homogeneous process. There are many factors that conditioned the incentives to return, as well as the integration and resettlement in Rwanda. To understand in depth the dynamics of repatriation, it is crucial to drag attention to the past; the reasons of fleeing in the first place, and the living conditions in a host country in the second. On the one hand, the reasons of leaving the country reflect the vulnerability of this group of exiles, alongside their fears and security threats. On the other, their situation and experience outside of Rwanda highly shapes a part of their identity, expectations, perceptions, and needs. As presented in this study, the previous conditions in which second and third generation exiles lived highly influenced their motives of return, time of return, and capacity of integration once in Rwanda.

Furthermore, it is important to highlight the phenomena of dependence of the past in shaping the future. The more exiles were integrated in their host countries, the less incentives they had to return, and the harder the resettlement was. In this way, the socio-economic position of individuals shaped the perceptions and expectations on the country their families left. When they encountered better opportunities and achieved a level of life that surpassed the one of Rwanda, the concept of 'home' and comfort became more grounded on the host country. On the contrary, those that lived low standards of life in comparison to Rwanda organized themselves to push for a return to their homeland.

This study also shows the multidimensional character of repatriation of exiles after the cessation of a conflict. The process is not just a one, or two way street. Rather, many actors need to be involved, including returnees themselves, along with their host country, their communities, numerous governments, and other organizations such as the UN and NGOs. Efforts from just one party can never fruitfully produce the successful voluntary repatriation of thousands, even millions of citizens. In Rwanda, as argued, the government and the UNHCR played a decisive role in offering the channels for repatriation. However, it was ultimately the voluntary decision of Rwandans to go back and participate in the reconstruction of a destroyed, post-genocide country and society. The receiving Rwandan communities also play a decisive role in the integration of returnees, being the main actors of interaction between the new communities and the old ones.

Rwandan repatriation since the end of the twentieth century reflects many achievements, as well as reveals remaining challenges for total integration of Rwandan returnees born and raised on exile. Most clear achievements of integration are manifest in the economic and material grounds. Thanks to government programs, sometimes joint with the UNHCR, returnees obtain immediate assistance as well as vocational training and other ways of aid to start a new life and personal economy in Rwanda. However, on the emotional and social grounds, returnees continue to be treated as 'foreigners,' or 'less Rwandan' in many cases and on numerous grounds of social interaction. Problems of socialization that involve cultural differences as well as language barriers have, since the first waves of returnees of the 1959 wave, slowed down or even impede the complete emotional integration of this young generation.

Moving forward, to be able to advance in towards the full socio-economic integration of returnees, both new-comers and others that already returned, I recommend the implementation of social programs that connect Rwandan communities that have lived in the country for the majority of the recent history with those that were born and raised on exile. These should have a strong component of history teaching, an exchange, between both communities that have lived the Rwandan struggle in dissimilar ways. In addition, intensive, available, and affordable Kinyarwanda intensive courses should be offered, implemented, and encouraged by the government of Rwanda, to reach a faster and smoother acceptance and integration of returnees that have been raised around foreign languages.

8. References

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Informant 3. Interview 03 Uganda, November 14, 2018.
Informant 4. Interview 04 Uganda, November 20, 2018.
Informant 5. Interview 05 Uganda, November 22, 2018.
Informant 6. Interview 06 Tanzania, November 19, 2018.
Informant 7. Interview 07 Tanzania, November 22, 2018.
Informant 8. Interview 08 DRC, November 21, 2018.
Informant 9. Interview 09 DRC, November 22, 2018.
Informant 10. Interview 10 Burundi, November 20, 2018.

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9. Appendix

Document 1

UNHCR Voluntary Repatriation Clause[114]

Voluntary Repatriation
No. 40 (XXXVI) - 1985

Executive Committee 36th session. Contained in United Nations General Assembly Document No. 12A (A/40/12/Add.1). Conclusion endorsed by the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme upon the recommendation of the Sub-Committee of the Whole on International Protection of Refugees.

By Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme | 18 October 1985

The Executive Committee,

Reaffirming the significance of its 1980 conclusion on voluntary repatriation as reflecting basic principles of international law and practice, adopted the following further conclusions on this matter:

(a) The basic rights of persons to return voluntarily to the country of origin is reaffirmed and it is urged that international co-operation be aimed at achieving this solution and should be further developed;

(b) The repatriation of refugees should only take place at their freely expressed wish; the voluntary and individual character of repatriation of refugees and the need for it to be carried out under conditions of absolute safety, preferably to the place of residence of the refugee in his country of origin, should always be respected;

(c) The aspect of causes is critical to the issue of solution and international efforts should also be directed to the removal of the causes of refugee movements. Further attention should be given to the causes and prevention of such movements, including the co-ordination of efforts currently being pursued by the international community and in particular within the United Nations. An essential condition for the prevention of refugee flows is sufficient political will by the States directly concerned to address the causes which are at the origin of refugee movements;

(d) The responsibilities of States towards their nationals and the obligations of other States to promote voluntary repatriation must be upheld by the international community. International action in favour of voluntary repatriation, whether at the universal or regional level, should receive the full support and co-operation of all States directly concerned. Promotion of voluntary repatriation as a solution to refugee problems similarly requires the political will of States directly concerned to create conditions conducive to this solution. This is the primary responsibility of States;

[114] Refugees, "Voluntary Repatriation."

(e) The existing mandate of the High Commissioner is sufficient to allow him to promote voluntary repatriation by taking initiatives to this end, promoting dialogue between all the main parties, facilitating communication between them, and by acting as an intermediary or channel of communication. ln is important that he establishes, whenever possible, contact with all the main parties and acquaints himself with their points of view. From the outset of a refugee situation, the High Commissioner should at all times keep the possibility of voluntary repatriation for all or for part of a group under active review and the High Commissioner, whenever he deems that the prevailing circumstances are appropriate, should actively pursue the promotion of this solution;

(f) The humanitarian concerns of the High Commissioner should be recognized and respected by all parties and he should receive full support in his efforts to carry out his humanitarian mandate in providing international protection to refugees and in seeking a solution to refugee problems;

(g) On all occasions the High Commissioner should be fully involved from the outset in assessing the feasibility and, thereafter, in both the planning and implementation stages of repatriation;

(h) The importance of spontaneous return to the country of origin is recognized and it is considered that action to promote organized voluntary repatriation should not create obstacles to the spontaneous return of refugees. Interested States should make all efforts, including the provision of assistance in the country of origin, to encourage this movement whenever it is deemed to be in the interests of the refugees concerned;

(i) When, in the opinion of the High Commissioner, a serious problem exists in the promotion of voluntary repatriation of a particular refugee group, he may consider for that particular problem the establishment of an informal ad hoc consultative group which would be appointed by him in consultation with the Chairman and the other members of the Bureau of his Executive Committee. Such a group may, if necessary, include States which are not members of the Executive Committee and should in principle include the countries directly concerned. The High Commissioner may also consider invoking the assistance of other competent United Nations organs;

(j) The practice of establishing tripartite commissions is well adapted to facilitate voluntary repatriation. The tripartite commission, which should consist of the countries of origin and of asylum and UNHCR, could concern itself with both the joint planning and the implementation of a repatriation programme. ln is also an effective means of securing consultations between the main parties concerned on any problems that might subsequently arise;

(k) International action to promote voluntary repatriation requires consideration of the situation within the country of origin as well as within the receiving country. Assistance for the reintegration of returnees provided by the international community in the country of origin is recognized as an important factor in promoting repatriation. To this end, UNHCR and other United Nations agencies as appropriate, should have funds readily

available to assist returnees in the various stages of their integration and rehabilitation in their country of origin;

(l) The High Commissioner should be recognized as having a legitimate concern for the consequences of return, particularly where such return has been brought about as a result of an amnesty or other form of guarantee. The High Commissioner must be regarded as entitled to insist on his legitimate concern over the outcome of any return that he has assisted. Within the framework of close consultations with the State concerned, he should be given direct and unhindered access to returnees so that he is in a position to monitor fulfilment of the amnesties, guarantees or assurances on the basis of which the refugees have returned. This should be considered as inherent in his mandate;

(m) Consideration should be given to the further elaboration of an instrument reflecting all existing principles and guidelines relating to voluntary repatriation for acceptance by the international community as a whole.

Document 2

Picture of March of Rwandan Returnees[115]



[115] "Sign the Petition," Change.org, accessed November 29, 2018, https://www.change.org/p/unhcr-and-countries-that-host-rwandans-refugees-unhcr-and-host-countries-stop-sending-rwandan-refugees-back-until-it-is-safe-to-return.

Document 3

Extended Table of Returnee Statistics[116]

Rwandan returnees' statistics from 1994 to 2014

Asylums Countries	1994-1998	1999-2003	2004-2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Total	%
RDC	1421425	107201	42231	14785	9849	7416	10500	6998	5225	1,625,869	47%
TANZANIA	847127	44565	16501	0	1	0	0	14,461	0	922,655	27%
BURUNDI	534485	867	17698	9	6	4	0	49	0	553,118	16%
UGANDA	333755	629	7184	5583	1762	53	382	446	44	349,838	10%
CONGO BRAZZA	1216	67	82	24	49	56	44	96	25	1,659	0%
GABON	1131	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,155	0%
MALAWI	54	11	77	37	27	43	32	32	0	313	0%
ZAMBIA	0	71	28	18	6	74	45	0	0	242	0%
KENYA	32	47	7	0	1	3	10	0	1	101	0%
RCA	12	0	1	0	0	0	6	25	0	44	0%
CAMEROUN	0	0	1	0	2	9	5	10	0	27	0%
SOUTH AFRICA	0	0	5	1	5	5	0	3	0	19	0%
MOZAMBIQUE	0	3	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	10	0%
Others	21	910	331	10	1	14	7	30	55	1,379	0%
Total Civilians	3139258	154395	84146	20470	11709	7681	11031	22150	5350	3,456,429	100%

[116] Republic of Rwanda, "Data: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management."

Document 4

Government Detailed Brochure on the Repatriation Program[117]

Page 1



INTRODUCTION

In response to the recommendation of December 31, 2011, to declare the cessation clause for Rwandan refugees, and in an effort to ensure sustained return and reintegration opportunities for Rwandan returnees "the Sustainable Return and Reintegration of Rwandan Returnees was launched on the 29th November 2012".

Through coordinated efforts, the Government of Rwanda through the overall coordination of the Ministry of Disaster Management and Refugee MIDIMAR and the One UN in Rwanda developed a three year Joint Program to address specific needs of Rwandan returnees.

On ground activities started in March 2013. Different activities summarized in five pillars were conducted through phases (Phase I, Phase II, and phase III). Phasing was based on districts identified to have more returnees than others.

The project was operating in ten districts with two sectors per each. The Districts are: Rubavu, Rusizi, Nyamasheke, Karongi, Ngororero, Nyabihu and Rutsiro in Western Province, Burera and Gakenke in Northern Province, Nyaruguru in Southern. The project is funded by ONE UN and UNHCR ensure the coordination on behalf of UN agencies.

2 *Returnees in a vocational training centre in Nyamagabe District*

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

It has as goal to support the reintegration of Rwandan returnees

It aims at ensuring the peaceful, safe and sustainable reintegration of men, women, boys and girls into their communities and their access to basic amenities and national documentation.

FUNDS

The project is funded by ONE UN and UNHCR is ensuring the coordination on the side of UN agencies

PROJECT ACHIEVEMENTS

1. **With a project staff on field at District level, returnees were facilitated to be legally engaged (civil marriage) and to get all necessary civil documents**

- Two sensitization meetings on civil documentation were held in Kivuruga and Nemba Sectors of Gakenke District.
- All the six families in Kivuruga sector identified as non-legally married agreed to legalize their marriage by August this year 2017.
- In Nyaruguru district, 14 families in Ngera sector were sensitized on civil marriage and promised that they are going to start the process.

This came out as a result from regular sensitization by the field reintegration officer in collaboration with local authorities at District and Sector level.

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2. Shelter

Under shelter's provision initiative, two activities have been done as far as the Financial Year (2016/2017) is concerned:

a. Provision of iron sheets

- 16200 iron sheets and 3645 Kgs of nails were provided to enable 10 districts to build houses for the returnees.

Returnees in Nyamyumba Sector, Rubavu District, getting iron sheets for a proper reintegration in Rwandan community

- With the above materials 745 households have been supported with construction material (Iron sheets and nails).
- Those districts are: Ngororero Nyamasheke, Rusizi, Rutsiro, Karongi, Rubavu, Rusizi, Nyabihu, Nyaruguru and Burera

Returnees in Karongi District have been supported by fully furnished houses for a proper reintegration

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[117] Republic of Rwanda, "Projects: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management," MINEMA: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management, accessed November 29, 2018, http://midimar.gov.rw/index.php?id=70.Republic of Rwanda, "Projects: Ministry in Charge of Emergency Management."

3. Provision of houses to most vulnerable returnees

The total number of houses handed over to beneficiaries this year is fifty two (52), located in seven Districts namely Bugesera, Nyamagabe, Rusizi, Musanze, Rubavu, Ngororero, and Nyamasheke.

4. Rwandan returnees sensitized for a peaceful co-existence in the community

Rwandan refugees sensitized towards returning from exile.

Sensitization campaign were carried out through talk shows, Go and See visits and different meetings



Returnees have been sensitized to peacefully cohabitated with the host Rwandan community

5. Support to Rwandan returnees with small livestock

- The activity to provide small livestock to Rwandan returnees was implemented by MIDIMAR in January 2017. It started by procurement process to identify supplies and then small livestock were supplied to 10 concerned Districts where MIDIMAR was represented by Field Reintegration Officers.
- 1049 live stocks including goats, sheep and pigs were provided to the returnees
- 1716 houses holds with more than 6989 individuals were assisted in Agricultural inputs (seeds, hoes, and fertilizers)

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6. Vocational Training

780 Rwandan returnees were trained to get vocational skills (vocational training) in 2015. At the end of the Program, beneficiaries were given start up kits (machines and accessories), and s small startup capital of US$100 per individual. They have been trained in different trades like: tailoring, mechanics, welding, carpentry, masonry, hairdressing, knitting and shoemaking.



Returnees who got start up kits in a show rooom to expose what they have done

7. Health

The expected result from health pillar is to have health practices and quality of health services for returnees improved.

To achieve this, the project provides financial support to Rwandan returnees for their enrolment in health insurance and it is done upon request by districts.

- 5038 beneficiaries were assisted with health insurance in Nyamagabe, Nyabihu, Karongi, Rutsiro, Bugesera, Musanze, Nyabihu, Ngororero, and Rubavu Districts.
- 5221 returnees were provided with one year registration fees for health insurance to be expired in June 2018.
- 1951 Rwandan returnees who returned received ID cards.

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MIDIMAR



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