



**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
CENTRE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

**THE ROLE OF RWANDAN DIASPORA IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC  
TRANSFORMATION AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA**

**A thesis submitted to the University of Rwanda in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the Award of a Master degree of Arts in Peace Studies and Conflict Transformation.**

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**KIGALI, April 2021**

**DECLARATION**

I, GATO James, hereby declare that this thesis is my own and original work, that has not been submitted previously for any degree to any other university.

**Signature.....**

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## **DEDICATION**

To the Almighty God,

To my entire family and friends

To those who believes in me and encourages me

I dedicate to you this thesis

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Allow me to extend my sincere unsolicited gratitude to several people and institutions who were part and parcel of this project from the beginning.

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Finally, to the Almighty God who guides and provides, I will forever worship and praise him.

## **LIST FOR ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS**

**ADB:** African Development Bank

**ASBL:** Association sans but lucratif

**AFP:** Agence France-Presse

**BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation

**BNR:** Banque Nationale du Rwanda

**CCM:** Centre for Conflict Management

**CNLG:** Commission Nationale de Lutter contre la Génocide

**DRC:** Democratic Republic of Congo

**EU:** European Union

**ICTR:** International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

**IOM:** International Organization for Migration

**MINAFFET:** Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

**MINALOC:** Ministère de l'Administration Locale

**MINECOFIN:** Ministère des Finances et de la planification économique

**NGOs:** Non-Governmental Organizations

**NST1:** National Strategy for Transformation

**RCA:** Rwanda Communities Abroad

**RDMF:** Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund

**RSE:** Rwanda Stock Exchange

**RPF:** Rwandan Patriotic Front

**UN:** United Nations

**VSO:** Voluntary Service Overseas



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## ABSTRACT

Can Diasporas and its membership aid in renewing and rebuilding governance systems in countries emerging from conflict? Globally, conflicts are many and states are parting away untold sums of money for post-conflict recovery and rehabilitation of deliberated infrastructure and social systems.

Thus, this research set out to provide the reader with a true picture of what the role of the diaspora especially those from Rwanda is and has been in Post-genocide reconstruction, reconciliation, and recovery with a particular focus on the above highlighted two distinct groups of Rwandan nationals.

This study used a qualitative research method, 30 respondents participated in the study, Purposive sampling method was judged to be the best method given the fact that the researcher was interested in people who are part or were once in the diaspora, and those from institutions which interacts on daily basis.

This study found out that indeed the diasporas contribute to the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of the country in both positive and negative ways. On a positive side, the diasporas are involved in sending remittances, investing in the country, doing advocacy and lobbying in countries where they are, for policies which are favorable to the interests of Rwanda, to name a few.

On the other hand, it was revealed that some elements within the diaspora and most especially those who are associated with the leadership of the former genocide government, were a heavily involved in acts which are aimed at maligning the image of Rwanda.

Finally, the study recommended that Rwanda needs to do more to tap into the vast resources possessed by the diaspora and it was also suggested that good-intentioned Rwandan both at home and abroad, should continue to do more in order to counter the negative information spread about the country.

## **CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Introduction**

Can Diaspora and its membership aid in renewing and rebuilding governance systems in countries emerging from conflict? Globally, conflicts are many and states are parting away untold sums of money for post-conflict recovery and rehabilitation of deliberated infrastructure and social systems. The outcomes of such conflicts have mostly been the emergency of refugees who in turn are forced to move creating a stream of unwanted migrations.

Several studies have been undertaken to critically analyze the part played by the organized diaspora in advocating for democracy and transfer of power from person to another and even one system of governance to the other (King and Melvin, 1999,2000; Cohen, 1996). While Collier and Hoeffler (2001) postulated that there is a probability of the resumption of violence in a time frame of five years when the presence of diaspora is considerable.

Other studies like ADB (2011); Mohammed (2003) have rather zeroed on probable positive contributions of diasporas, mainly in the aftermath of a conflict in the area of good governance and reconstruction. The human resource capacity and capabilities of the Diaspora are lauded as the most important, skilled and, technically competent for any post-conflict country's effort in reconstruction and reforms. A well-known phenomenon is that of donor-funded organizations both local and international tapping into the expertise of the diaspora to run their initiatives (Brinkerhoff, 2008).

Aside from usually sending money back home (remittances), some elements within the diaspora fraternity, at times do undertake actions and programs aimed at gaining influence in their countries of origin (Mohamoud, 2003).Such activities may include initiatives aimed at post violence and war reconstruction and reconciliation, judicial advocacy, voluntary acts, acts of gratitude (Brinkerhoff, 2004).

Being one of the current international forces influencing the ways and trends in this era. Thus it is absolutely necessary to build up knowledge and insights about the activities of the diaspora to influence the direction which post-conflict and post-war country takes. The limited studies in place about the diaspora tend to solely focus on the negative effects and the militant limits within

the diaspora at the detriment of the entire activities which at times are beneficial to the homeland.

Research available on the subject is mostly informed by the undertakings especially of the Irish, Sri Lankan Tamils, and Kurds in the diaspora (Mohamoud, 2005; Brinkerhoff, 2004; Fair,2005). There is limited documented knowledge and information about the long-distance activities undertaken by the people of mostly Sub-Saharan Africa and those from Rwanda in particular of their impacts on the course of political events in their respective countries of origin. A few scholarly attempts have been made particularly focusing on Somalia (Horst, 2008). The current thesis addresses this research gap by assessing the contribution of Diaspora to the socio-economic transformation of African countries, Rwanda in particular.

Studying African diaspora is important for several reasons. First, while other countries from other continents have had diaspora since the 1940s, the phenomenon leading to the current African diaspora can be traced in the mid-1980s and 1990s. The emergency of these diasporas can be attributed to the decades of the 1990s where wars and conflict were the orders of the day in virtually all African states (African Development Bank, 2011). The interactions between the Diaspora and the homeland back in Africa are insufficiently explored given the above-cited background. Second, given the fact that the African diaspora is largely recent, there is sparse data and research about them.

Therefore, the above evidence implores us to have much knowledge and a deep understanding in the undertakings of the African diaspora in the EU countries since many of the African and Rwandan diasporas resides there and their role in conflict escalation or transformation in the homeland with a particular focus on the Rwandan Diaspora.

## **1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Post violent conflict and war recovery and reconstruction for any society require massive efforts generated both internally and externally. These efforts and contributions can occur both positively and negatively in the form of skilled manpower to undertake administrative and technical work which are necessary during this period.

Remittances in form of money and other support rendered to family members who remained behind, communal financial remittances which are mostly used to provide social services like the building of hospitals and health facilities, building of schools, community boreholes and tapped drinking water, paying for health insurance for the disadvantaged among others.

However, because of vested interests such as regime change, financial gains, among the different segments of the diasporas, some within diaspora communities are increasingly involved in nefarious schemes to destabilize their countries of origin like Somali's diaspora, through the support of negative/opposing forces who are otherwise involved in activities aimed at undermining post-conflict-war or genocide reconstruction and reconciliations.

Such activities are not limited to actively providing logistics in form of arms to functions hell-bent on destabilizing new political establishments in their countries of origins, lobbying of international support for these elements from powerful individuals and international organizations to provide legitimacy for they otherwise illegal activities, making of individual financial contributions aimed at sustaining the activities of these groups and individual.

The above two roles are mostly not given extensive coverage in academic circles tending to focus on the negative aspect of the diaspora and the mainstream media has religiously followed this carefully scripted notion of the negative contribution of the diaspora especially in developing countries towards post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

The major aim of this research will be to critically look at the contribution of the diaspora in the process of post violent conflict reconstruction, recovery, and reconciliation. The main emphasis will be on Rwanda's diaspora scattered around the world but having a special interest in the diaspora based in Europe because the majority of educated Rwanda's diaspora with technical knowhow and other needed resources resides in Europe.

Jambo ASBL and IBUKA France will be studied and analyzed in this study as these two formations are actively involved in the post-genocide recovery and reconstruction in Rwanda. Both positively and negatively, the former being accused of acting as a destabilizing force aimed at negating and denying the 1994 Genocide committed against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

The organization is also involved in mobilizing both financial and international support for forces associated with genocide and its execution and denial like Judi Rever Charles Onana,

among others who are mostly based in various European countries and the deep forest and jungles of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The latter has been lauded for undertaking extensive effort to highlight the crimes and their grave nature committed to the Tutsi people and the effect in the aftermath of the genocide. The group has also been at the forefront of initiating criminal proceedings against different groups of people who fled Rwanda after committing many heinous crimes. A considerable number of conviction and repatriation has been obtained through their efforts.

Finally, the group has also been involved in social reconciliation processes back home in form of paying health insurance for the vulnerable of the genocide, initiating and supporting housing projects like Rwamagana homes for the orphans and widows of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Thus, this research hopes to provide the reader with a true picture of what the role of the diaspora especially those from Rwanda is and has been in Post-genocide reconstruction, reconciliation, and recovery with a particular focus on the above highlighted two distinct groups of Rwandan nationals.

### **1.3.GENERAL RESEARCH QUESTION**

- ❖ What is the contribution of the Rwandan diaspora in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of Rwanda?

#### **1.3.1 SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS.**

- ❖ What is the role of Ibuka France in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation in Rwanda?
- ❖ What is the role of ASBL Jambo in propagating divisions among Rwandan Diaspora?
- ❖ What are the specific activities undertaken by ASBL Jambo to destabilize Rwanda and slow down the ongoing development and reconciliation processes?

## **1.4.GENERAL RESEARCH OBJECTIVE**

- ❖ To understand the contribution of the Rwandan diaspora in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of Rwanda.

### **1.4.1. SPECIFIC RESEARCH OBJECTIVE**

- ❖ To understand the role of Ibuka France in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation in Rwanda.
- ❖ To understand the role of ASBL Jambo in propagating divisions among Rwandan Diaspora.
- ❖ To understand the specific activities undertaken by ASBL Jambo to destabilize Rwanda and slow down the reconciliation process.

## **1.5.SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The main focus of this study is the Rwandan Diaspora based in Europe but with a particular focus on two groupings, one based in France and another in Belgium because these two groups are very known. One supports Rwanda in her transformation process and the other opposing and doing whatever is necessary and possible to discredit the success of the post-genocide government especially the RPF and the leadership of President Paul Kagame.2009-2019 was particularly chosen as the period of interest to the researcher because the activities of the two groups became more and more pronounced and the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of Rwanda kept growing.

## **1.6. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

The significance of this study lies in the fact that although there are considerable information and knowledge about the diasporas globally there is no much discussion known about the activities of the African diaspora both positive and negative concerning their countries of origin. Yet improvement in transportation and rapid communication, continue to increase both positive and negative influences on the politics and economics of their countries of origin.

Another significance of this study is its timing. This study comes at a time when the influence of the Diaspora keeps on growing. The study gives particular attention to two aspects. One aspect is the support, be it in terms of material, information, or political strategies, that diaspora groupings provide to negative local elements in their respective countries of origin and the negative impacts this could have on the domestic peace process.

The other intention of this research is to inform policy researchers on the prevention of conflict and conflict resolution from a paramount yet less researched viewpoint. This aspect, which is normally forgotten, is the link between diaspora activities and dynamics of conflict in the homeland.

Additionally, it is now an obvious truth that some elements (negative elements) among the diaspora groupings residing in different Western countries do sponsor substantively d insurgencies engaged in subversive activities in the countries of the origin. Thus, it has been suggested that during the Cold War period it was rival superpowers and their allies who bankrolled insurgent groups that waged wars against the sitting government of a given country who was perceived as an enemy. (Bertelsmann, 2009).

Contrary, since the Cold War ended, the financial support from foreign sources to locally operating rebel groups has drastically drained up. It is now becoming evident that some global operating diaspora groups have taken over the function of this destabilizing enterprise.

Another significance of this study is to help the Rwandan government to articulate and enact policies and practices that aim at tapping more into the resources possessed by the diaspora to quicken the desired transformation as articulated in Rwanda vision 2035 and 2050. It is also important to know if certain activities undertaken by the diaspora are promoting peace initiatives on the ground so as to develop policy strategies at the embassies level geared to support and strengthen the process.



## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. INTRODUCTION TO DIASPORA AND AFRICAN DIASPORA**

For the purposes of this research, the explaining of Diaspora is very similar to the definition offered by Scheffer (2003). He defines Diaspora as the "... ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin-their homelands" (Scheffer,2003: p.3). For Shuval (2000), diaspora means migrant communities regardless of their countries of origin.

Oucho (2009) provides a historical trajectory of the African diaspora. He highlights that slavery and imperialism led to the dispersal of Africans to Europe and North America. He notes that Africans were shipped to Europe and North to do slavery and would contribute to future communities of the African diaspora in the West.

Besides, imperialism and colonialism also drove migrations of Africans to the west as students, workers, and a few as politicians. Guest (2010) note that post-independence periods in Africa were characterized by movements of people from African countries to America, Europe, Asia to seek opportunities for themselves and their families. Some came up back to their African countries of origin, and others decided to stay up to now.

Furthermore, political upheavals also led to a surge in migration to Africa and the rest of the world. Collier (2001) note that one-party systems produced hostilities among politicians, religious leaders, businesspeople who advocated for multiparty democracy and were forced to flee their predatory regimes for fear of being persecuted.

With a historical discussion of the African diaspora, Oucho (2009) outlines several distinct features of the African diaspora including that Africans started migrating a definition for the African diaspora. To the author, diaspora means dispersal of people from their homeland; people seeking asylum for work or other ambitions; people with a collective memory of their countries/places of origin regardless of their current places of residence, obsession with the places where they came from; people always having ambitions to return home; having strong ethnic affiliations with their homeland that is long-lasting; having a positive sense of belonging

with the host country(ies); and, cooperating with members of other ethnic groups in the country (Oucho, 2009,p.3).

Diaspora people are considered partners in the development of both host and home countries through communities, networks that are strongly organized with common sentimental and material interests (Ionescu, 2006).

Given the rate at which the world is developing within new scientific innovations like Artificial Intelligence (AI), the need for diasporas to be closer to their homeland has never been intense as it is now. Whereas certain figures with such communities of the diaspora are at the forefront in making/ playing a constructive role in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery, a sizeable number of others are the conduit that facilitates and transact business on behalf of elements hell-bent on causing havoc and destructions in their countries of origin.

## **2.2. RWANDA AND THE ORIGIN OF ITS DIASPORA**

The history of the Rwandan diaspora can be best captured at the pre-independence period when the country was gearing up for its independence in 1962. Political animosities in Rwanda occasioned by the divisive politics of Belgium which pitted the Hutu against the Tutsi (Banyanga, 2019).

The historical problems brought about by Belgian colonial tactics of divide and rule were exploited by a few Hutu elites with the aid of the colonial masters at the time. State instigated targeted killing of the Tutsi by Hutus forced thousands of people to flee to the neighboring countries of Uganda, Burundi, DRC Congo, Zaire at the time, and Tanzania, Others with means fled to countries and Continent as far away as Europe. It can be rightly argued that 1959, was the first time in the history of modern Rwanda for people to flee in big numbers (Mamdani, 2020).

Thus one would be right to posit that Rwanda first gained a considerable number of diasporas albeit for bad reasons and motives in the few years approaching independence. When independence was achieved from the Belgians in 1962, under Hutu leadership, Tutsi's continued to free the country because of political persecutions and the lurking dangers about they live.

Sporadic killings and violence were systematic, widespread, and unabated. Coercive instruments of the state were employed to terrorize the Tutsi and a handful of Hutus who were opposed to the

leadership at the time. These violations of human life and rights were intensive in the early 1960s, mid-1970s, and early 1990s when the regime was being attacked by an army of refugees who assembled in a neighboring country (Davies, 2008).

To run away from this state-sponsored violence, Tutsis in large numbers found routes to the neighboring countries and far away countries. The majority of these Tutsi refugees remained with a deep emotional and spiritual attachment to Rwanda, and the majority of their offspring's mounted a campaign that led to the overthrow of the regime which was in place at the times in 1994 in Rwanda, (Janzen, 2000).

The 1990 Liberation war and the subsequent campaign to stop the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi brought about a new wave of immigrants, those who were fleeing way from the new government after committing atrocities, the population numbering in millions who were held captive by the new former regime which had fled and established bases in the jungles of DRC Congo and a few political and military figures and they families who journeyed mostly to Europe after the RPF captured power in 1994.

The new regime led by RPF made effort to bring back the captured and brainwashed masses who were residing in several refugee camps in the immediate neighboring countries, and to its credit, millions were repatriated and brought back home. Those who committed genocide acts were subjected to indigenous judicial proceedings and those who were innocent were integrated back into society (Marson, 2018).

Currently, the majority of Rwandan diaspora are found in neighboring countries like Uganda, DRC, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, other African countries, and mostly European capital where these people go for employment opportunities and in search of greener pastures (Turner, 2014).

### **2.3. DIASPORA AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION**

The argument world over is that diaspora plays and indeed has a role to play when it comes to the socio-economic transformation of countries of origin, the contribution ranges from monthly upkeep sent to relatives left at home, school dues for their little ones and relatives, and tangible investments in areas of real estate, retail business and others (Lampert, 2012).

The basis of diaspora engagement to home countries is the never-ending attachment and bond one has with his/her country of origin. Such feelings compel one to rotate back and forth both spiritually and physically in the country of origin. Such attachment can be seen in a visit paid to relatives back home, the desire to have tangible documentation which shows that one truly belongs to that country.

Countries with large diaspora presence have made use of them to attract investment, skills, expertise, exposure, and opportunities for people left back home. Other countries like Morocco, Eritrea, and Somalia, the contribution of their diaspora, is so huge to be ignored thus making them constantly engage them with respect and values they deserve (Sahraoui, 2015).

Crush (2011), opined that African countries as a matter of urgency should state tapping to the resources possessed by the continent's large number of diasporas as it argued that these communities are sources of innovation and entrepreneurship two conditions which will be driving the economies of the African countries in this decade, (Crush, 2011).

#### **2.4. DIASPORA AND RECONCILIATION**

Research in the discipline of diaspora studies often neglected other fields in which the diaspora engaged extensively, the contribution of the diaspora in capital formation and accumulation was not an area of concern to researchers, capital mobility and labor mobility as the result of inputs from the diaspora communities was also often underestimated and if not under-reported and researched not until the advent of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, (Brinkerhoff, 2011)

Diaspora studies were predominantly interested and fixed on in conflict-driven agenda of elements within the diaspora and how these people sustain and prolong conflict in the homeland. Thus, the assumption was that the diasporas most especially from the third world countries are greedy and grievance driven which informs their actions in supporting conflicts in the countries of origin (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004).

However, given this renewed interest in other areas in which the diaspora has extensively been engaged like development-oriented initiatives, it has come to the fore that the diaspora communities are not interested in only regime changes as it has been widely believed through the

support of negative elements, and this support which is often generalized, is not a reflection of the entire diaspora (Zunzer, 2004).

The diaspora given the advancement in technology and communication tools, send money daily to families, friends, and relatives. The amount sent is of paramount importance in the aftermath of a war, as such money and other items help individuals, families, and societies to afford and survival the harsh realities of the after-conflict situation (Fair, 2005)

Such resources sent also helps the recipient families to offset and settle daily costs of living like school dues for school-going children, health costs among others, this in the both in the short and long run, helps to bring about normalcy as individuals are assured of the means of survival and living rather than resorting to conflict, (Galipo,2011).

Interaction and contact avenues that come about as a result of shared interest projects financed by the diaspora assists in creating platforms where conflicting parties engage in open and frank discussions as a result of enjoying benefits accrued from such projects such as hospitals and health facilities (Leurs, 2015). It should be worth noting that if benefits accruing from such projects are not enjoyed uniformly, there is a risk of causing a setback in the reconciliation and recovery process.

Soft diplomacy practiced by the diaspora communities on behalf of their countries of origin in times of crisis both political and economic have been cited as a contribution which the diasporas perform, and its impact is enormous. After staying in the host countries for a very long period, diasporas develop networks of influence which they use to raise substantive issues affecting their countries of origin, (Rana, 2009).

The Israel diasporas and they friends better known as the Jewish lobby in the United States of America and many European countries where they have a strong presence, can be cited as an example when it comes to diaspora lobbying because every policy and position taken by the above countries are strongly rejected and fought against both in the media and political circles (Waxman, 2013).

Given the power and the support which this diaspora group enjoys, and the positions occupied its sympathizers, it mostly influences decision making regarding the state of Israel in such countries (Shain, 2002).

The available evidence from studies shows that the relationship between the diaspora, development, and conflict, indicates that the relationship is not a straight forward so that to be able to predict the behaviors of the diaspora in a given cycle be it of development and that of animosities (Galipo, 2011).

State capacity to dictate at will what they diaspora can and cannot do is extremely diminished given this era of science and technology which has made total control of over people far away in different corners of the world, movements, and transactions performed by such people is most of the times elusive to control, however, this does not in any way substitute the subordinate the ability of national states in availing its core mandate and functions (Adamson, 2016).

Diaspora, retain an attachment to the countries of origin however distant this attachment might be, these very sentiments towards the countries origin, is what makes them to actively engage in home countries' affairs up to the extent of wanting to exercise influence on what policy to pass, who to govern, and under what circumstances, (Waite & Cook, 2011).

## **2.5. DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT INITIATIVES IN RWANDA**

Immediately after the genocide committed against the Tutsi, the new government of national unity ahead a lot of issues to deal with. There were pockets of resistance and violence in the Western, Northern, and some parts of Southern Rwanda, (Ansoms, 2011). The economy was badly shattered, the social fabrics which glue together the society, were no longer in place, simply put, Rwanda was at its deathbed.

The process of rebuilding the country required concerted efforts, as such the input of every national was required to help revive the country. The communication infrastructure the little which was in place before the genocide was destroyed by the fighting and as such the only means to reach out to citizens of Rwanda and other nationals living outside Rwanda was through radio. The challenge at the time was, few people owned radio sets.

When the problems of insecurities in some parts of Rwanda caused by insurgents based in DRC Congo started reducing, the leadership of Rwanda at the time, called for national deliberations which were aimed at finding lasting solutions to the problems which had afflicted Rwanda for the last four decades (Loyle, 2018).

Among the things deliberated on, was the model of governance which Rwandans aspired to have, the role Rwandan nationals who are spread the world over would be playing in the new Rwanda. Was it tenable in the long run to continue regarding the Rwandan nationals in the diaspora as enemies or it was rather prudent for the new leadership to court and actively involve them in the transformation agenda which the country envisaged? (Beswick, 2013).

The national conference ended up with the adoption of the 2003 Constitution, the constitution was very explicit in acknowledging the diaspora as part and parcel of Rwanda and that it was necessary to tap into the resources and expertise of this constituent in the socio-economic transformation and the total hearing of Rwanda.

Institutions responsible for diaspora related issues were put in place, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (MINAFFET) created a whole directorate responsible for Rwanda Communities Abroad (RCA). The directorate was/is responsible for registration, identification, and following on issues raised by the diaspora so as to find amicable solutions to them.

Rwanda in the due course formulated its diaspora engagement policy. The policy addressed how the government of Rwanda will engage with its diaspora, what is expected from the diaspora, and how the government will facilitate the diaspora when it comes to issues related to how to invest in Rwanda. The policy includes specific areas where the government wants the diaspora to prioritize when engaging and investing in Rwanda. (Mann & Berry, 2016).

In line with the national strategy for transformation (NST1), the foreign policy of Rwanda will be guided by mainly economic diplomacy and peace diplomacy. To effectively succeed in this project of positioning Rwanda as a country favourable for investment opportunities, the Rwandan diaspora wherever there, they will be required to act as ambassadors of Rwanda in marketing the country to others.

Subsequent government programmes and policies reflected the needs of the Diaspora because the role of Rwanda's diaspora was much pronounced and visible. To sum it up, the engagement of the diaspora currently is profound, today, the Rwandan diasporas are christened as the sixth province of Rwanda given the fact that Rwanda has five provinces and to make the diaspora welcome at home, they were named the sixth province of Rwanda implications being that,

whatever the decided or omitted to do, affected the livelihood of fellow Rwandans in one way or the other. (Minaffet, 2008)

## **2.6. INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT RWANDA**

Different institutions both governmental and non-governmental are involved in diaspora affairs. This involvement is informed by the fact that the attraction and retaining of the diaspora to contribute to Rwanda's recovery journey requires concerted efforts and as such, it requires a multi-stakeholder approach to achieve this.

International non-governmental organizations are involved in this process by the virtual of the fact that these people are exposed and have the required experience in dealing with migrants of different backgrounds. Organizations such IOM interfaces with migrants who turn out to be diasporas on a daily basis, thus it was/is very prudent to bring it on board if this exercise intends to be a success, (Shindo, 2012).

### **2.6.1. STATE INSTITUTIONS**

#### **2.6.1.1 THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

The Ministry is in charge of overall coordination activities targeting the Rwandan Communities Abroad (Diaspora) the Ministry established a directorate headed by a director and given specific functions of overseeing all diaspora related activities (Turner, 2013).

The Ministry has a registry of Rwandan diasporas. The registry does not cover all the diaspora and where there are located, efforts are being put in place to register all members of the Rwandan diaspora globally.

#### **2.6.1.2. MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING.**

The Ministry designs specific programmes tailored for the needs of the diaspora, a special investment vehicle was created through which the diaspora can invest in Rwanda. Such projects and programmes attract lesser taxes and in most cases, tax waivers and holidays are granted as an incentive for the diaspora to invest in big projects, (Kshetri, 2013).



### **2.6.1.3. NATIONAL ITORERO COMMISSION.**

The duty of the National Itorero Commission is to impart Rwandan values to every Rwandan whether in Rwanda or outside. Several Itorero camps and campaigns were organized in Rwanda and abroad. The main target of such campaigns is mainly young people who have to be taught concepts like Ndi Umunyarwanda, the history of the country, and the role of each child of Rwanda in attaining the country they desire to see, (Dahlmanns, 2015).

### **2.6.1.4. THE NATIONAL BANK OF RWANDA (BNR).**

The National Bank of Rwanda being the custodian of all payment systems and transactions in the country was brought on board so as to have financial integration and linkage of the diaspora and the Rwandan financial systems, (Orozco, 2009).

Thus to create a systematic way of involving the diaspora in the financial sector of Rwanda, diasporas are facilitated to buy shares on the Rwanda Stock Exchange (RSE) without having to come to Rwanda. A special investment vehicle called Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund was established to serve the purpose.

## **2.6.2. INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

The Department of Rwanda Communities Abroad (RCA) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation constantly interfaces with other organizations of international outstanding when it comes to dealing with the Diaspora.

Organizations such as the International Organization for Migration, The African Development Bank, World Bank, among others, who are the development partners for Rwanda have provided technical knowledge in the whole process.

### **2.6.3. LOCAL NGOs**

Different local non-governmental organizations which are funded and financed by donors and government are also involved in the affairs of the diaspora, their involvement is due to the fact that the resources required to engage, lobby, and convince the diaspora to take a leading role in

Rwanda's development, they have them in abundance. The finances of the NGOs are obtained through lobbying and negotiations, and as such, these skills are highly needed.

## **2.7. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework**

This part will outline the concept of diasporas and outline the analytical framework that will be applied during the analysis part.

### **2.7.1. The Concept of “Diaspora” and its Development in the Literature**

The concept of diaspora within social science is a relatively young phenomenon which has gone through development during the recent decades (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomé, 2005.). Up to the year of 1993 the dictionary “New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary” defined the term as “...all those Jews who live outside the biblical land of Israel.” But in year, 1993, the dictionary also included the additional text: “...the situation of people living outside their traditional homeland” (Sheffer). The first explanation from the dictionary could be argued to link the diaspora to a religious meaning but the addition of the latter explanation lays the foundation for a more modern definition.

The word “diaspora” has its origins in the Greek vocabulary and the interpretation of the word “Galut”, another word but with roots within the Hebrew language. It is based on both “Speiro” and “Dia”, the former indicating to sow and the latter a preposition meaning over. In ancient Greece, the term indicated both migration, colonization and to some extent destruction. In Hebrew, the term was focusing on the resettlement of Jews outside of Palestine after the Babylonian exile (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomé, 2005, Kenny, 2013, p.2-3, Cohen, 1997, Vertovec, 2005). There exist other historical cases than just the one with the Jews. Armenians migrated on a large scale throughout the history with different reasons and did moreover not enjoy any independent state between the years of 1375 and 1918. This was when the Republic of Armenia was proclaimed (Kenny, 2013). Of this, one can undertake that the history of the term “Diaspora” have existed for an extensive period.

Although, within the social science field of research, both the concept and term is rather new. It is only since around the 1980's the concept has gained ground as a way of describing people dispersed from their homeland. This was an effect of the failing attempts of assimilation theories, during the 1970's, to both explain and be models for the integration of migrants in their new

countries. The view before 1970's was therefore one where migrants were mainly expected to "adapt" to the local culture rather than developing an own community within the host-country (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomi re.).

Instead of the assimilation theories trying to describe the integration of humans into the new host country, the spotlights within social science was directed towards explaining how and why different groups created their own communities that they hold on to even when residing in the new host-country (Ibid).

This marks an initial starting point within the social science field where the concept of diaspora began to be developed. Even though spotlights were directed towards the concept, and the application of it increased, this was considered to expose some weaknesses concerning the concept. This was discussed by Alain Medam (1993) whom pointed out that the content and frameworks of diaspora was getting too large and numerous. Therefore, Medam (1993) states that "...the diaspora's concept – arising mainly from the Jewish experience of the exile and dispersal- has to be actualized and precised." (Medam, 1993).

Medam was not alone in doing this kind of observation about the concept. James Clifford (1994) discussed the different approaches and issues at hand in defining a "traveling term" as he puts it. Moreover, Clifford points out the need of defining the term and insists on that the focus should therefore rightly be here. This because issues exist surrounding what constitutes and is, or should be, included in the concept (Clifford, 1994).

These two authors both point out a need, at the time, in defining the concept properly and precise. This indicated that there existed an issue with the concept. Therefore, an area for investigation was to study and develop the concept to be able to recognize which is the ideas and attributes that constitute a diaspora to separate this from other already existing concepts within the field of social science (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomi re, 2005) This is in line with Robin Cohen's (1997) introduction in his book "Global Diasporas: An Introduction" wherein the recognition is made concerning that the common usage of the concept diaspora is mainly being utilized "casually" and in an "untheorized" or "undertheorized" practice (Cohen, 1997).

Several different concepts of diaspora have been developed since the initial spark, during the late 1970's and start of the 1980's, to an astonishing magnitude (Kenny, 2013, Brubaker, 2005). This

development could be divided into have taken two different courses. One had its focus on the case of the Jews, where a diaspora had attributes and characteristics such as living in exile, migration, holding on to old traditions, language and culture and at the same time having the drive and longing for the return to their homeland. The other course was having its origin in the British cultural studies where the emphasis was rather directed towards identity issues (Dufoix, 2015). These two different courses were opposed to each other, whereas the first one had attributes more leaning towards a territorial centered, with a political angle, perspective of diasporas. The second one leaned more towards an emancipatory, de territorialized and cultural perspective (Ibid).

Consequences of these developments could be seen as having created the possibility to use the concept of diasporas in a whole range of different circumstances by choosing between different meanings of the word, “diaspora”. Different examples of use could therefore be: migrant community, minorities or simply members of any group which are dispersed across territories and space (Dufoix, 2015, Brubaker, 2005) Even though the concept had gone through these developments one area seemed to have been underrepresented within the literature, namely the political dimensions of diasporas (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomière, 2005).

The notions of diasporas differ significantly (Cohen, 1997) and this concludes the complexity surrounding the concept of diaspora. Stéphan Dufoix (2015) words describe this as following: “Within the last century, the old religious sense of “diaspora” was successively supplemented by new layers of meaning. But the latter did not replace the former. Each new layer represented a new opportunity, adding up to the previous one.” (Ibid).

This indicates that the development of the concept “diaspora” since the 1980’s has been characterized of different perspectives leading to people giving the concept different attributes. All different ideas therefore contributed to the whole, giving whomever the opportunity to utilize the concept in whichever way suitable. In some way, this has established the concept of diaspora to consist of almost any kind of migration, not only the most known cases of for example the Jews and the Armenians but also migrating traders, workforces and even colonizers (Kenny, 2013).

It could be an issue if the concept is inflexibly defined but there is also a problem with the concept left to open-ended as this (Ibid). It could be an issue because, being an open-ended

concept is linked to the development of the concept to comprehend more and more. This leads to the concept being stretched out, meaning that it loses its usefulness and power to be able to distinctively tell what a specific diaspora really constitutes of (Brubaker, 2005). With other words, a concept being stretched out may lose its strength in picking out a clear phenomenon as in “This is a diaspora because of these characteristics”. With this said the concept of diaspora seems to have been developed in to encompassing a lot more than previously and could be argued to have traits of being conceptually stretched.

### **2.7.1. The features of a diaspora**

This section will introduce different authors’ explanations of what a diaspora may be constituted of. This could be evidence of both the similarities as well as differences that exist in the literature within diaspora studies. Mainly three authors will be introduced, the objective with this outlining is to be able to establish an analytical framework to be applied to the case of the African and Rwandan Diaspora in particular.

#### **2.7.1.1. Sheffer’s Diaspora**

Lisa Anteby-Yemini and William Berthomière (2005) highlighted Gabriel Sheffer’s focus to develop concept of diaspora to cover more than just the Jewish experience. This because evidence indicated that there could have been cases of similar structure before this (AntebyYemini & Berthomière, 2005). Sheffer later come to develop three criteria that, through his perspective, should be included in a definition concerning a diaspora. These criteria were: That a group develop and maintain a collective identity for all the people of a diaspora, the presence of an internal institution (organisation) that is dissimilar from both the homeland and host country and contact with the homeland through, for example, remittances (Anteby-Yemini & Berthomière, 2005).

From Sheffers work “Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad” (2003) He sets out the following definition of a diaspora: an ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries. Members of such entities maintain regular or occasional contacts with what they regard as their homelands and with individuals and groups of the same background residing in other host

countries. Based on aggregate decisions to settle permanently in host countries, but to maintain a common identity, diasporans identify as such, showing solidarity with their group and their entire nation, and they organize and are active in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres.

Among their various activities, members of such Diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among the diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors.

To summarize the quote from Sheffer (2003) a diaspora is described as containing following traits: I. “Social-political formation” who has migrated by either being pressured or doing it willingly; II. The migrating population resides and lives as a minority within one, or more, host country(ies) with; III. Same or shared ethno-national origin with a common identity, IV; They maintain contact with homeland and V. diaspora members are active in different areas such as cultural, economic, social and political issues (Sheffer, 2003).

#### **2.7.1.2. Michel Bruneau’s Diaspora**

Several other authors have described what characteristics should be included in describing a diaspora, one being Michel Bruneau (2010). In the work “Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods” (2010), edited by Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (2010) Bruneau is included in one chapter called “Diasporas, Transnational Spaces and Communities”. Here, Bruneau discusses the different traits of the concept of diaspora. The author implies here that the most common characteristics of a diaspora proposed by most authors, studying diasporas, could be constructed as following:

I. The population to be called a diaspora has been in pressure, dispersed to several residences beyond the instant, neighborhood of the place of origin;

II. The destination of the migration follows the already established pattern of migration, meaning that those immigrating is linked with people who have already immigrated in to a host country. This, because the people whom are integrated in the host country works as a portal into both the labour market and the new host country in general. The people here, who have already migrated, also have the functions as “guardians” of the ethnic or national culture of the diaspora;

III. The migrating population retains a high degree of shared identity, among its diaspora, even though they are integrated in to the society of the host country. This indicates that they do not assimilate. A strong notion of community among the diaspora is at play;

IV. The group called diaspora moreover also preserve and improve exchange relations with each other, within the diaspora, as well with people from the place of origin;

V. The migrating diaspora has an experience of dispersion in history. Through generations this identity has been transmitted from one to another,

VI. These diaspora groups are tending to be autonomous, social formations and therefore independent from both the host country and homeland. This is the fact because of all the cultural, political and religious associations alive within a diaspora (Bruneau, 2010, p.36-37)

### **2.7.1.3. William Safran's Diaspora**

William Safran (1991) has also contributed to the diaspora studies by proposing six characteristics for a diaspora. In his work "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return" (1991), the author elaborates thoroughly the six characteristics of the diaspora namely:

I; The population in mind have been dispersed from a specific original place to other, peripheral and foreign destinations,

II; The population have and shows a collective memory of the homeland they have been dispersed from,

III; The population have a notion that they will never fully be accepted in the host country they arrive and reside in, therefore they isolate or alienate from it;

IV. The population has the understanding and view that their homeland is the ideal and best home, this is the home which the population eventually will return to;

V. The population have a collective commitment to either maintain or restore their homeland, in the sense of security and prosperity, and

VI. Continued relationship and contact with their homeland (Safran, 1991).

Of all these different examples of characteristics that authors have developed throughout the years, a few will be collected as the most common ones compared to each other. Out of this, an analytical framework will be developed and later utilized in the analysis chapter.

### **2.7.2. Analytical Framework**

This part of the thesis will outline the analytical framework that will be applied in the analysis chapter. Earlier in this chapter different features of a diaspora have already been drawn from different authors. Now the aim is to collect those characteristics that are most common for all the authors in their definitions. The aim with doing this is connected to the earlier parts which described the concept of diasporas to have been conceptually stretched and inflexible. Therefore, this is an effort to simplify the concept and to being able to apply this on the case of the Rwandan Diaspora in Europe

With this analytical framework, the objective is to have narrowed the focus down to certain points (characteristic) that will assist in observing and answering the question concerning whether Rwandan diasporas in Europe can contribute to the socio-economic transformation of the country in the aftermath of the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi.

Firstly, all three different explanations include the notion of a set population being dispersed from one homeland to a new, host land. Moreover, the authors describe these population as ones having the same place of origin. Two out of the three chosen explanations also include here the condition where the population have been pressured or willingly to do this. This will be the first point in this thesis analytical framework:

I. A set population that by pressure or willingly is dispersed from their homeland to a new host land. Secondly, all chosen explanations describes that the population in mind show a shared identity and collective memory of their homeland while residing within the new host land, this indicates, that two of the explanations include, that the population do not assimilate fully with the host land. Therefore, point number two is:

II. The population shows a shared identity and collective memory of their homeland, the population do not fully assimilate with the host land. Thirdly, all explanations include the notion that the population in mind keeps contact and tries to remain connected with the place of origin. This is the third point:



III. The population in mind keeps contact with the place of origin. This is all the characteristics that could be drawn out of the explanations included in this theory chapter which is common for all authors:

- I. A set population that, by pressure or willingly, is dispersed from their homeland to a new host land.

– II. The population show a shared identity and collective memory of their homeland; the population do not fully assimilate with the host land.

- III. The population in mind keeps contact with the place of origin.

In summary, an analytical framework has been established. This analytical framework is comprised of three main points that all the authors included in the theory chapter touch upon and mentions as being characteristic of a diaspora. Therefore, these points, or characteristics, is the most common ones used as an explanation of what constitutes a diaspora at least by the chosen authors.

The above chapter has explained scientifically using a wide range of literature what is the problem, what has been written on it, and where gaps exist which this research will attempt to provide answers. The next chapter will attempt to explain the type of methods and methodology to be used in this study

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. Introduction**

The point of this section is to presents a depiction of the research methodology and methods used in the study. It gives data with respect to the technique that will be utilized to embrace this exploration just as a basis for the utilization of this strategy. The Section likewise presents the different phases of the exploration, which incorporate yet are not constrained to the determination of members, the information assortment process, and the procedure of information investigation.

The Part likewise looks at the job of the researcher in subjective examination comparable to the role of the Diaspora in the socio-economic transformation in Rwanda from 2009-2019. The discussions between the researcher and the respondents took the form of open conversation, (Olson, 1996).

### **3.2. Research design**

This study employed a descriptive survey design. The survey is intended to describe and report incidences, events, and happenings. They are characterized by the systematic collection of data from members of a given population through questionnaires and interviews. The design generated qualitative information. Surveys are designed to collect information that describes, explores, and is widely used in researches in the field of social science (Mugenda, 2008).

This method was appropriate because the researcher dealt with matters of everyday social life. Moreover, survey studies are designed to review characteristic of a large population or group using a sample which is representative (Kerlinger,1998). Since this study dealt with a relatively large population, the survey was found the most appropriate. A sample of the population composed of people who deal with the diasporas on a daily basis was studied and the finding of the sample was used to generalize the characteristic of the entire population. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed.

### **3.2.1 Study Population**

The study population included the Rwandese diaspora living in Belgium and France who at the same time are members of/associated with either Jambo ABL or Ibuka France. These members of the Rwandan diaspora in both countries are involved in various activities aimed at the socio-economic transformation of Rwanda either positively or negatively. Activities like commemoration, Rwanda Day, Agaciro, One-dollar campaign, solidarity matches, giving out health insurance to the people back home, paying school fees for vulnerable children, and building houses for the less fortunate among a host of other activities have been taking place in these countries through the mobilization and financing of these two groups.

### **3.2.2 Sampling and Sampling Procedures**

Participants in this study were individuals who are engaged in diaspora activities, both as government staff or members of the Rwanda Diaspora Group (RDG) who are very conversant with the working of the diaspora in France and Belgium. This group is actively involved in sensitizing Rwandese in the diaspora on developments back home and to participate in the social, economic, and political development of Rwanda, and is linked to other diaspora groups living in other countries. Therefore, the participants were deemed to offer useful information for a study such as this one on how they participate in the diplomacy of the diaspora of the Rwandese government.

Furthermore, former members of ASBL Jambo were interviewed for this research so as to gain an in-depth understanding of what motivates their activities towards Rwanda and to get a balanced view of what Ibuka France does, CNLG was contacted to offer a perspective and people connected to Ibuka France were also contacted to participate in this study.

A total of 35 individuals were recruited for in-depth interviews. A theoretical sampling plan, based on community mapping findings, was used to ensure diversity of respondents.

The sampling plan should be purposive according to all relevant socio-demographic dimensions identified in prior stages of research; this might include ethnicity, age, gender, occupation, socioeconomic status, sexual identity, etc. Purposive sampling allowed the research to choose people who participated based on their relevancy, knowledge, experience, and what the researcher believed will add value to his/her research.

### **3.3 Data collection techniques**

#### **3.3.1 Key informant interviews**

Interviews were preferred because they are believed to be an effective data collection tool in social sciences. This is validated by Selltitz when they point out that, “interviews are a more appropriate technique for revealing information about a complex, emotionally, laden subjects or for probing the sentiments that may under-lie an expressed opinion,” (Selltitz et al 1965). Selltitz and Johoda (Selltitz et al 1965) assert, “If we want to know how people feel; what they experience and what they remember, what their emotions and motives are and the reasons for acting as they do-why not ask them?” Face to face, interviews were conducted using interview schedules and verbal questionnaires as recommended by Neumann, (Neuman, 1997). This gives the research a sensual/human feeling of the respondent. This technique also permits further questioning in cases where further clarity is required. In fact, face-to-face interviews facilitated the research and created a certain affinity between the researcher and the respondents in a way that the first interviewees who took part in the study-inculcated confidence in other participants, which facilitated the field, work exercise and made it possible for the researcher to obtain the necessary information for the study.

Open-ended questions were preferred for this study because of their known advantages that would serve the demands of an exploratory study like this one. As recommended by Bryman, open-ended questions are useful in a qualitative study because they allow unusual responses to be derived and views that the researcher may not contemplate, (Bryman, 2004). In addition, through open-ended questions, respondents could answer in their own terms rather than being forced to answer according to imposed response choices. Furthermore, as viewed by Bryman, open-ended questions do not suggest certain kinds of answers to respondents. It is through open-ended questions that both the respondents’ levels of knowledge and understanding of issues can be tapped and the latter may explore the salience of issues. This type of question is also useful for exploring new areas in which the researcher has limited knowledge.

#### **3.3.2 In-depth interviews**

The purpose of the in-depth interviews was to obtain first-person accounts from individuals engaged in the diplomacy of diaspora. Their first-person stories were analyzed in order to

develop a deeper understanding of the subject at hand and used to create a broad taxonomy of indicators of efficiency and effectiveness in the Rwanda diplomacy of diaspora. Because of the personal and sensitive nature of the information elicited here, in-depth individual interviews were a more appropriate method compared to focus groups.

### **3.3.3 Data Processing and Analysis**

The research purpose and the research question guided the process of analyzing the data. Qualitative data was analyzed manually, a coding system was developed and the data was then categorized into emerging themes. This was then presented in the form of verbatim quotes and was explained in reference to the literature review.

### **3.4. Ethical considerations**

Ethical research practices are fundamental to this study. Conducting work of the highest ethical standards is particularly relevant when we consider the population involved: government officers who would like to be anonymous as well as individuals engaged in the diaspora due to perceptions about their points of view in certain quarters of the diaspora communities. There are several components of research ethics that were considered here: (a) Informed Consent, (b) Participant Confidentiality, (c) Data Accuracy and Integrity.

Informed consent is a basic element of ethical research. Informed consent refers to the practice by which, prior to beginning their involvement in the study, the participant must have full knowledge about the research and his/ her role in it. Information was only gathered from the individuals who agreed to participate in the research, all the informant were informed that there were no remunerations in participating in the research however their contributions was to be highly regarded and were only to be used in purpose the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

### **4.1. Introduction**

The following chapter presents the findings from the study as indicated in the processes that I described in chapter three so as to be able to get a thorough picture of what are the issues at stake. It required a holistic approach to arrive at the findings which are going to be enumerated below.

However, it is extremely important to remind the reader that this research had a noble intention of providing the reader with a true picture of what the role of the diaspora especially those from Rwanda is and has been in Post-genocide reconstruction, reconciliation, and recovery with a particular focus on the above highlighted two distinct groups of Rwandan nationals.

And to arrive at that picture, the following questions were posed to respondents:

- ❖ What is the contribution of the Rwandan diaspora in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of Rwanda?
- ❖ What is the role of Ibuka France in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation in Rwanda?
- ❖ What is the role of ASBL Jambo in propagating divisions among Rwandan Diaspora?
- ❖ What are the specific activities undertaken by ASBL Jambo to destabilize Rwanda and slow down the ongoing development and reconciliation processes?

Thus participants and all sources contacted to take part in this research were expected to be conversant with the subject at hand.

To investigate the contribution of Rwanda's Diaspora in the socio-economic transformation and recovery, interviews were conducted with different people who were once in the Diaspora, those in the diaspora, and selected people from institutions who in the course of their work, they do interface with the Rwandan diaspora. Figures of remittances were extracted from the official government publications and other sources worth trusting.

These figures obtained from the above two institutions and other places provide clarity on the remittances in monetary terms and how they are used. For the interviews, there were conducted for a period of two months where the researcher scheduled an appointment with the interviewee

at places and time of their convenience. 30 people, 15 in person, 12 sent their responses in writing and 3 people were interviewed over the phone.

## **FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWEES**

### **4.2. Do Rwandan diaspora contribute to the socio-economic transformation of their country?**

Respondents and literature consulted affirmed that yes, diasporas do contribute to socio-economic transformation in their home countries. This form of contribution usually varies in monetary terms by sending remittances to their home country, Rwanda. Participants in this study cited the various example of monetary/ financial remittances mostly to family members which in turn helps them for example pay school fees for relatives, health insurance, start small businesses, and build affordable homes for their vulnerable family members such as the elderly parents or young orphans among others.

One of the respondents said that “my two cousins and an elder sister who lives in Belgium are the ones who provide school tuition fee for my three daughters who are currently at the university and since I do not work anymore because of a chronic illness, they send monthly money to cater for the needs of my family and my medication”, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

Another respondent told me that “my son who completed schooling in 2017, his Uncle processed immigration papers for him to go to France and now he is the one educating his siblings and catering for further needs which arises with us as a family”, (Interview, 18<sup>th</sup>, June 2020).

#### **4.2.1. DIASPORA INITIATIVES IN RWANDA**

##### **4.2.1.1. ADVOCACY ON JUSTICE**

Sections of the Rwandan diaspora in both France and Belgium have been at the forefront of issues related to justice at home. Some of such events include demonstration held in Belgium by members of the Rwanda diaspora protesting against the alleged audience given people who are known to harbor ideas which propagate and deny the genocide committed against the Tutsi's in 1994, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

The genocidal government at the time, was led by parents and relatives of these people grouped in an outfit known as Jambo. The protesters marched towards the Belgian parliament and presented their protests and petition to the authorities, (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup>, July 2020)

#### **4.2.1.2. RWANDESE DIASPORA AND PHILANTHROPY**

Rwandan diaspora as part of the bigger Diaspora General Directorate and Rwanda Diaspora Global Network has been involved in charitable endeavors back home. One such event was in 2010 October, where the Diasporas contributed different scholastic materials to primary school-going vulnerable children in Ndera sector (New times, 2010).

In 2018 July, the Diaspora based in France, sent emissaries to Rwanda to deliver support in form of paying for health insurance (mituelle de sante) to 1000 poor people in Nyabihu district (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020). Such initiatives contribute to the country's goal of availing health care to every Rwandan and the ultimate realization of the improved quality of life and increased life expectancy.

#### **4.2.1.3. ONE DOLLAR CAMPAIGN PROJECT**

According to one of the interviewees, Rwandan diaspora especially in Europe, where this study focusses, was on the driver's seat during the One Dollar Campaign, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020). The project is organized by the Diaspora and supported by Minaffet, it is aimed at mobilizing support for the women, men, and children who were left vulnerable by the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi- (Ibid). The project is lauded as a success story and shows the enormous potential of the Diaspora when mobilized for a greater cause.

#### **4.2.1.4. BYE BYE NYAKATSI INITIATIVE**

This initiative was aimed at moving vulnerable families from grass-thatched houses given the dangers which were associated with them. Some dangers included such houses being prone to the destruction caused by weather vagaries like the extreme wind.

The Rwandan Diasporas in the two countries under investigation in this study were very instrumental in mobilizing support so as to lend a hand to those who were less fortunate, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020). As of today, most people in Rwanda abodes in iron sheet roofed houses, and the support of the Diaspora in making this a reality cannot be underestimated, (Minaloc, 2016)

#### **4.2.1.5. RWANDA DAY EVENTS**

Rwanda day are public events that are held annually in different countries and continents bringing together Rwandan nationals and friends of Rwanda to reaffirm their national values,



acknowledge Rwanda's progress whilst taking stock of the challenges, and candidly discuss ways of forging a way forward at an accelerated pace and reminding each one of his/her role in this journey, (Minaffet, 2020).

The main objectives are to:

Learn about Rwanda's progress towards socio-economic transformation and the role of Rwandese Abroad in shaping Rwanda's future and

Strengthen networks between Rwandese and friends of Rwanda across the world (Ibid).

This day includes presenting business, investment, career opportunities, and other prospects for Rwanda. The celebrations have been in different cities like London, Chicago, Atlanta, Quebec, Bonn, and Brussels among others.

However, the one in Brussels attracted a sizeable number from Belgium and those from the neighboring countries like France and the Scandinavian countries. The chief guest is always President Kagame and his main message is to remind the attendants of what the country expects of them, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

According to one of the interviewees who attended the event in Brussels, President Kagame reminded them that although at present, they are residing in different countries for the specific context, the country is for them all because the new Rwanda was a country devoid of ethnicity but a Rwanda which works for everyone and is there to cater for the interest of its nationals and friends, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup>, May 2020).

It is at such events that Rwandan nationals and friends of Rwanda are given unfettered access to interact with the president, asking different questions and raise their grievances to the president. The President usually travels with a host of heads of government institutions and departments, who are tasked with providing solutions and accountability to the issues raised by the participants. Businessmen and other relevant government institutions responsible for attracting businesses to Rwanda do provide business opportunities available in Rwanda.

#### **4.2.1.6. THE RWANDA DIASPORA MUTUAL FUND (RDMF)**

The Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund (RDMF) is an investment vehicle for Rwandese in Diaspora. The Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund was set up in 2008, though membership is upon

subscription, the entrance is open to all people be it foreigners who want to invest in Rwanda and Rwandese residing in Rwanda. The Fund scouts and sound investment opportunities where it invests members' money in profitable ventures, (Minaffet,2020).

The initiative was also mooted so as to act as an idea where Rwandese Diaspora can mobilize funds to be invested in Rwanda and to attract large capital to finance long-term growth objectives and also instill a culture of savings among in Rwanda and its Diaspora

### **4.3. Do the Diaspora impact negatively their home country Rwanda in Post genocide period?**

#### **4.3.1. SUPPORTING CONFLICT/ INSURGENCIES**

Conflict is strongly associated with advanced levels of impoverishment and disruption of public order; growth seldom happens in such situations. It disrupts the normal livelihoods and development and growth processes by leading to wanton damages and destruction, whereas instability and insecurities create a negative economic outlook that scares away investors. (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup> June 2020).

Diasporas mostly lend support financial, manpower, arms, mobilization, international connections, and diplomatic lobbying on behalf of renegades. Some Rwandan living in Belgium grouped in Jambo ASBL, according to one of the interviewee, have been cited by a number of people who were captured trying to fight the sitting government as the people financing them, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup>, May 2020).

He goes ahead to note that, on their social media handles, members of this outfit, are fond of praising those people currently based in the jungles of DRC Congo, as legitimate opposition in need of everyone's support so as topple the current regime, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020)

Diasporas including those from Rwanda, because of being sheltered from the everyday consequences of conflicts, are more likely to take extreme positions and radical than the people who remain in their countries of origin and experiences hardship firsthand, (Interview, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2020).

Violent conflict, it is a guarantee that it will always impact negatively on the economic trajectory of the state both in the far and near future. During one of one of the interviewee, opined that, to some people living abroad, the argument is that development not anchored on democracy and the right to self-determination is no worth having thus ending up supporting negative forces aimed at derailing the development process, (Interview 1<sup>st</sup> June 2020).

The above assumption though Rwanda is not short of democracy both in practice and in theory, is what the members Jambo ASBL, perpetuate eternally that Rwanda's supposed "development" is not sustainable in the wrong run if the aspirations of the "majority" are not incorporated in the development process, thus the need to do all the activities which can put a stop on this, (Interview, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

It was argued that yes, some of them have been actively engaged in activities aimed at derailing the reconciliation and recovery in Rwanda. Some respondents argued that in Rwanda, activities which are of negative consequences have been and continues to be performed at will, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup>, May 2020).

Leave alone the matter of mobilizing money, they also inject and technical knowledge and other skills required to sustain conflicts. More recently, what has generated substantial scholarly debate has been the supposed financial contributions made by diasporas to their homeland (e.g. in the form of remittances), as well as their political connections and influences both in their home and host countries, (Muhammed, 2017).

More specifically, the lack of proper supervision and control over remittances has become a major concern, mainly due to the perceived fact that immigrant remittances could be used for funding wars or even terrorist activities as one of the respondents argued that it has been the case with some members of Rwandan diasporas in Belgium, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

The financial and material contribution of diaspora members to negative and violent opposition groups in Rwanda are significant. Nobody knows the exact amounts the world over, but estimates such as tens of thousands of dollars annually have been thrown, (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup> June 2020).

It has also been claimed that the support of diasporas to insurgencies has probably surpassed that of the state (Adamson 2002,). And in the case of Rwanda, the exact amount provided by the

diaspora groupings such as Jambo ASBL to groups hell-bent on destabilizing Rwanda with operations in neighboring countries is unknown, (Interview, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2020)

One of the respondents argued that, this can be vividly seen in some European countries where diasporas who are keen on mud sliding the leadership of President Kagame enjoys fame, power, money, protection, and exert influence on such governments, (Interview, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2020)

For instance, in Belgium, some who actively are engaged in acts that propagate the denial of the Tutsi genocide, are known to seek political offices and are in academia rooming freely and a case in point is the various members of ASBL Jambo, (Interview, 13<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

#### **4.3.2. MODERATING CONFLICT**

Rwandan Diasporas, some of them in Belgium have proven and acted as mediating and moderating influence conflict and animosities in post-genocide Rwanda. This is done by condemning certain acts undertaken like giving mirage and publicity to negative groups operating and rooming freely in their countries of residency, (Interview, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2020)

The Embassy of Rwandan in Belgium undertook massive mobilization and sensitization campaigns aimed at discouraging Rwandan diaspora based in Belgium from continuing to support both morally and financially to such groups mostly based in DRC Congo, (Interview, 24<sup>th</sup> May 2020)

#### **4.4. The role of Ibuka France in Socio-economic transformation and reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda.**

After the regime change in Rwanda with RPF taking over power in 1994, the old refugees mainly Tutsi who were exiled in the 1959 pogrom and those who followed, could and many returned to Rwanda. Immediately those who were in Rwanda fled in huge numbers to neighboring countries and far away countries. This new diaspora group composed of mainly those people who were sympathetic and supportive of the disposed of the genocidal government, (Betts and Jones, 2016).

Rwanda Patriotic Front led government after stopping the genocide, is characterized by efforts to bring about sustainable peace. Justice and reconciliation have and is still being pursued both locally and in collaboration with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), which tries the masterminds of 1994, Tutsi genocide.

However, its effectiveness is being questioned after only securing limited conviction given the resources at its disposal. The locally instituted Gacaca tried many cases though faced with many constraints, (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup> June 2020).

Remembering the 1994 genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi occupies a forefront position. The day remembers a hundred days through which the Tutsi were slaughtered and butchered and the hardship the survivors had to endure during this period.

The current leadership of Rwanda has and continues to actively court the diaspora in the quest to construct and re-imagine the new Rwanda and continue remembering the Tutsi genocide and its consequences to the Rwandan society, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

#### **4.4.1. COMMEMORATION ACTIVITIES AND THE DIASPORA**

During a media event held to announce the 2016 commemoration planned activities of the genocide committed against the Tutsi, the in-charge minister emphasized the significance of bringing the diasporas on board during these difficult but significant periods of remembering our loved ones, (Interview, 25<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

In Brussels, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, Rwandan nationals and friends of Rwanda showed up massively for a torchlight walk around. On the same day, other members of the Rwandan diaspora were involved in a ceremony held at the EU Parliament, where a moment of silence was observed in honor of those who lost their precious lives in the genocide and calls to never genocide to happen again anywhere, were heard, the present dignitaries committed to the same never to let the genocide to happen again, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020).

The Embassy of Rwanda in Belgium and the association of genocide survivors there were calling for a law that makes it criminal to deny the genocide committed against the Tutsi in 1994.

Genocide denial in Belgium and France has been rife for the past few years and the Rwandan diaspora who are not part of the 1994 Diaspora, have been fighting it, (Waldorf,2011).

#### **4.4.2. SPEAKING THE TRUTH**

The reason as to why the above-narrated instances are important is that memorialization is highly intertwined with the contestation of the truth. The events which transpired in Brussels sent different stories and meaning to people who were listening over them, thus the struggle to over what stories of the past told be told and by who.

In 2014, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) broadcasted a documentary titled “Rwanda, the Untold Story’ the film attempted to offer a different perspective contrary to the official account of what happened in Rwanda before 1994 and its aftermath, the documentary alleged among other things how President Kagame actively shielded himself and RPF commanders from being investigated by ICTR, and that RPF committed atrocities in the genocide and its aftermath when it went to Zaire now DRC Congo.

Most of the people interviewed in the making of this documentary were Rwandan in the diaspora who are known to oppose the Kigali leadership and as such nothing, much was expected of these dissidents. The government in turn banned BBC Kinyarwanda Services from Rwanda. In London, protests were held at the BBC headquarters by diaspora representatives from different European countries to counter this supposedly half-truth spread by self-seeking individuals with ill intentions towards Rwanda and its leadership.

The other segment of the diaspora who wants to hear nothing good coming out of Rwanda, were in agreement with the BBC arguing that it was long of overdue, (Tashobya, 2016).

Ibuka France is part of IBUKA, which is a lobby group with a specific bias of tackling issues affecting the survivors of the 1994 Tutsi genocide. Ibuka actively pursues the interests of its members through advocacy both on national and international levels. The organization has several branches and Ibuka France is part of it, (Interview, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

Respondents argued that Ibuka France Chapter has been at the forefront of pursuing genocide perpetrators who run away from Rwanda after committing genocide in 1994 against the Tutsi

(AFP, 2020). Some of the respondents argued that, some of the arrests have been successfully made partially as a result of the pressure exerted by the group on French authorities and the latest being that of one of the most wanted criminal mastermind of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Felicien Kabuga, (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup> July 2020).

It was also highlighted by the respondents that Ibuka France is heavily involved in fighting against the Tutsi genocide denial, negation, and revisionisms by some elements within the Rwandan diaspora in Europe and most especially in France. who with the aid of their fellow sympathizers have consistently thought to discredit the genocide against the Tutsi and if possible absolve the perpetrators' reasoning that it is a mere witch hunt, (28<sup>th</sup> May 2020).

This is contrary to the UN General Assembly Resolution 74/273 entitled “International Day of Reflection on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda”, adopted by consensus by the General Assembly on 20 April 2020, and resolution 2150 (2014), where the General Secretary called upon States to recommit to prevent and fight against genocide and other serious crimes under international law, (UN, Archives, 2020)

Ibuka France, have petitioned different French authorities, politicians, and various powerful centers of influence seeking to put a stop to blatant criminality like organizing of conferences in a prestigious academic and institutions aimed at denying the Tutsi genocide under the pretext of advancing freedom of speech and human rights, (New Times, 2018)

For example, attempts have also been made to petition the French senate with the aim of stopping known Tutsi genocide deniers a platform to address the French senate as this amounts to endorsing genocide deniers as legitimate human right crusaders much as these are masqueraders, (Interview, 10<sup>th</sup> May 2020).

#### **4.5. The role of Jambo ASBL and its negative contribution to the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of Rwanda.**

According to the organization website, the group calls itself “a human rights association which was created on 11 January 2008, originally under the name “Association of Young People from the Great Lakes Region, abbreviated Jambo” (Jambo, 2020)

It goes ahead to claim that “The purpose of the association is to promote socio-cultural exchanges and to carry out projects aimed at peace, dialogue, justice, cohabitation and sustainable development in Africa’s great lakes and the diaspora” (Ibid)

Contrary to the stated objective, the group has been engaged in activities that can be categorized as hostile to the peace and tranquility of Rwanda and its leadership, (Interview, 1<sup>st</sup> July 2020).

To perfectly define what Jambo ASBL stands for, one of the respondents defined it as a group of genocide fanatics who shares only one common interest which is the hatred of Rwanda and the leadership with the sole aim of refuting the history of what happened in the country, (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020).

To carry out their nefarious activities, the membership operates pseudo and troll accounts on different mediums of communication where they openly broadcast their hatred towards Rwanda and constantly spew venom towards the personality of President Kagame. These people do regularly update their followers of what sinister motives they are up to, (New Times, 2018).

Thus according to respondents “one is absolutely right to argue that Jambo ASBL is an NGO founded by descendants of genocide perpetrators, whom, having grown up in Europe, have missed out on the journey of reconciliation and awareness that Rwandans have been going through since the end of the genocide, under the leadership of the man who led the army that stopped the Genocide”, (10<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

4.6. Tapping into Diaspora’s expertise, talent, and resources: what should Rwanda do? Respondents provided several responses to this question including the following.

Creating an enabling environment: Respondents argued that the government ought to do this in order to create a sense of ownership, belonging, and trust which the government bestows to its nationals. This environment also makes it possible for people to support the government while holding it accountable, (28<sup>th</sup> May 2020).

Furthermore, when the state co-owns the and direct programs aimed at the diasporas, it enhances its legitimacy and high trust. Case in point is involving the Diaspora in the execution and planning of national development programs like NST1, Vision 2050 among others.



## **4.7. Countering negative propaganda from the Diaspora.**

A myriad of activities was suggested in response to this question whereby the following activities of which many are in existence were emphasized to counter negative propaganda from hostile diasporas on destructing and making the reconciliation process look a total failure.

### **4.7.1. THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT INITIATIVES**

#### **4.7.1.1. OUTREACH BY THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA**

The authorities in Rwanda have undertaken outreach programs to the diaspora communities. Programmes involve meetings of who is who in government, such meetings are aimed at solving the problems faced by the diaspora. These meetings are often held at the sidelines of the Rwanda day event as that held on 22 September-2012, (Interview, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

These meetings aimed at presenting investment opportunities available in Rwanda and how to take advantage of them.

Most importantly, it is during such events that the themes of being a diplomat for Rwanda are strongly reminded of every participant. In Boston, President Kagame implored those present that “It gives us the joy to be able to live in an era where the country is respected and we need to repeatedly give the story of Rwanda, and if we desist from doing so, others will distort our story most wrongfully”, Interview, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

#### **4.7.1.2. INVITING DIASPORA GROUPS TO VISIT RWANDA**

The National Itorero Commission organizes annual Itorero specifically targeting the Rwandan Diasporas but specifically the youth. The idea behind this initiative is to teach these people the Rwandan virtues of Ndi Umunyarwanda, what the country has achieved, the past divisive history of the country, the role of colonialists in dividing the Rwandans, Rwanda as it is today, and finally, the Rwanda we want and the role of every participant.

Such events are mainly organized in Rwanda and high ranking government officials are invited to give talks and share experience, sometimes, the President do attend on the closing of the event to encourage the attendants to be good ambassadors of Rwanda, however, sometimes, these events are also held in foreign countries with a considerable presence of Rwandese, (Interview, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2020).

It is worth remembering that Rwandan youth who are residents of Europe converged at St Edmund, Suffolk in London, United Kingdom, July 2011, to chat and share experiences on how they view the country's transformation trajectory and chart a way forward.

In 2010, the first Itorero took place in Belgium and the participants were over 100. Participants bonded through games such as football, volleyball, and basketball, this was aimed at creating avenues for further socialization with the ultimate end of creating unity among Rwandese in the Diaspora. The event one of a kind lasted for five consecutive days, (Minaloc, 2016)

#### **4.7.1.3. VOLUNTEERING PROJECTS**

The Minaffet through the department of Rwanda Community Abroad initiated the Diaspora Voluntary Initiative with the intention of enabling both the private and public sectors to enhance the capacity of their human resources through information sharing and short term placements.

The government of Rwanda in collaboration with an NGO named VSO, birthed this idea with a noble aim of attracting skilled Rwandan Diaspora to come and offer their expertise voluntarily for a few weeks and or a long term period to help improve on the human resource capabilities for Rwandan human resource. The initiative is still ongoing and a considerable number of volunteers who came on this arrangement, elected to stay in Rwanda and contribute to the country's transformation agenda while based here.

#### **4.7.1.4. DECEMBER RETREAT**

The December retreat is organized for the diaspora to come and visit Rwanda, visit relatives, have fun, engage and mingle with the communities. The idea has been in place since 2010 (Interview, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

Aside from having fun, individuals do undertake some activities which leave a positive mark in the lives of people. A case in point is 2009, where 500 houses were built in Liziyeri Sector in Bugesera District in what is today known as the Diaspora village (Ibid).

#### **4.7.1.5. THE AGACIRO DEVELOPMENT FUND**

The Agaciro Development Fund is an initiative birthed by the Government of Rwanda to appeal to Rwandans with means to contribute through donations towards fast-tracking Rwanda's development process, (Minecofin, 2020).

Agaciro loosely translates into Dignity, aims at rallying Rwandan nationals home and abroad to donate towards the development of Rwanda and eventually help Rwanda to achieve financial freedom devoid of developmental assistance and budgetary assistance which comes with conditionality's some of which are alien to the Rwandan culture and core beliefs, (Ibid)

#### **4.7.2. EFFORTS TO ENHANCE UNITY AND RECONCILIATION**

First, Rwanda day: This is an annual event whereby Rwandan diaspora congregates in one place to meet the highest authorities in the country spearheaded by the president of the Republic. The day is organized with an end in mind of presenting to the diaspora the opportunities back home in Rwanda and how the diasporas can benefit from them.

Respondents argued that if such events take place in every single country where there is a considerable number of diasporas, and often frequent, people who are spreading negative propaganda about Rwanda, can gain firsthand information which in turn may help them criticize perhaps with the right information. The event started in 2010 (Interview, 28<sup>th</sup>, May 2020)

Second, *Itorero* for the diaspora. Respondents argued that if *Itorero indangamirwa* is organized more frequently and the number of participants increased considerably, most of the young people who are being brainwashed to supporting subversive activities aimed at destabilizing Rwanda can be taught about the national history of Rwanda, the unity of Rwandans, and help to correct the often negative image of Rwandan leadership propagated by the older generations of the

diasporas who happens to be associated in one way or the other with the atrocities committed in Rwanda.

Among the respondents who attended Itorero from the Diaspora, one had this to say “For me the experience and insight gained from attending Itorero Indangamirwa was life-changing, I decided to stay in Rwanda afterward because the picture I was having in mind of Rwanda, completely changed upon landing and attending, thus I encourage the government to continue doing it more often”, (Interview, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020).

Third, Rwandan embassies and their quality contribution. Rwandan embassies located in countries that contain a considerable number of hostile diasporas like Belgium should continue being facilitated to carry out sensitization activities and other awareness mobilization activities aimed at fighting and converting diasporas who are in the habit of tarnishing the image of their country Rwanda in countries where they reside. Resources should be enough form of increased manpower in such countries and increased budgetary allocation.

#### **4.8. CONCLUSION**

In concluding remarks, most of the respondents and other sources consulted for this study, agreed that Diaspora can have a positive contribution to the socio-economic transformation of Rwanda. These contributions can happen in inform of remittances that are sent by the diaspora to Rwanda, the remittances are helpful to both government and individual families and personnel.

The diaspora resources sent back home help in paying for social needs and services like paying for school fees for relatives, health insurance for family members back home, and sometimes monthly upkeeps.

Other respondents argued that diaspora, especially from Europe with considerable expertise in different fields where have been very instrumental in the recovery and reconstruction journey of Rwanda in the last twenty-five years.

However, it was also found out that some elements within the diaspora groups/networks are hell-bent on destabilizing their homelands and Rwanda has suffered from the same problem. Activities such as financing and recruiting for negative elements in DRC Congo and other areas were cited out by respondents and literature consulted.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

### **5.1. CONCLUSION**

This study has revealed the role of t played by the diaspora in the transformation of post-genocide Rwanda, the role, it was found to be both positive and negative depending on the diaspora grouping one is interested in studying.

The main findings of the research were: Some members of these communities are willing to invest in the country of origin given the right information and they have been doing so through the monthly remittances sent back home for different uses.

It was also found out that they are elements within the diaspora mostly in Belgium and France who have ties with the former leader of the defeated genocidal regime who are today yet to come to term with what Rwanda has achieved in the last 25 years and are fulltime engaged in mud sliding the country and its leadership.

Genocide denial and revisionism are the order of the day among such a group of people. What motivates these fellows in doing so, is the burden of collective guilt. Such crimes of genocide were committed by their parents not these young fellas, however, to whitewash their parents' dark past, coupled with a handful of their sympathizers, they decided to propagate a different narrative that is deceitful.

The government of Rwanda has tried its best to attract and retain the top talents within the diaspora ranks, however much effort ought to be done through mechanisms that are both institutional inspired and individual-focused. For example, giving awards to outstanding members of the diaspora.

Information should be publicized widely enough and in diaspora circles so that investment opportunities which are both available to Rwandan nationals and other foreign is disseminated as far as possible. This will help the diaspora to seize these opportunities and if not able, pass the information to their friends and counterparts.

For further research in this area, scholars ought to study what should be done to change these young people who are being held hostage by the evil deeds of their parents and relatives. Certainly, the country needs them, so studies should explore avenues to bring them back.

Importantly also, is the need to study and research what motivates people to dispute the universally known fact of the genocide which was committed against the Tutsi. This kind of denial and revisionism is worth researching about since it may help unearth new information

Finally, engaging the Diaspora in the transformation agenda should take on a multi-sectoral approach, Different institutions both government-led and those from the private sector, ought to actively get involved in attracting and retaining the services and expertise of the Diasporas. Minaffet in the long run, it is unsustainable being the sole institution in this endeavor.

## **5.2. RECOMMENDATION:**

This part deals with the areas which the Rwandan government can address in order to attract and retain the positive role of its communities and people residing abroad in the socio-economic transformation of their motherland of the homeland.

### **5.2.1. MOTIVATION AND INCENTIVES FOR DIASPORA**

To encourage the Rwandan communities living in other countries to actively get involved in the transformation agenda of the country, several things have to happen first. First and foremost, the political climate has to be favorable, the economy should be flourishing and having possibilities of creating and making profits when one invests, and lastly, the society back homes willing to embrace and receive these returnees with open arms, (Ionescu, 2006).

These create the enabling environment conducive for capital and resource flow from the point they stay to the final destination which is Rwanda. Short of this, the journey of attracting investments from these people, will also always be slow and tedious.

The information ought to be always availed for them to be enabled to participate fully, one invests only when he/she has all the pre-requisite knowledge to do so. Since we exist in a digital

era, information must be availed through platforms accessible to the vast number of people and, in this case, those living outside of Rwanda.

Table1: Elements influencing individual capabilities to take part in the transformation agenda of his/her country

<b>The Economy</b>		<b>Governance</b>	<b>Society</b>
<b>Capacity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Faith in the financial sector</li> <li>• Predictable economy</li> <li>• Infrastructure</li> <li>• Investment opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Independence of the Judiciary</li> <li>• Political pluralism</li> <li>• Democracy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Right to choice</li> <li>• Religious freedom</li> <li>• Cultural tolerance</li> <li>• Diversity</li> </ul>
<b>Desire</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to financing opportunities</li> <li>• Tax holidays/waiver</li> <li>• Free/Market economy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Predictability</li> <li>• Accountable governance</li> <li>• Fairness</li> <li>• Transparency</li> <li>• Right to property</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lesser government</li> <li>• Privacy and acceptance</li> <li>• Freedom of worship</li> </ul>

### 5.2.2. STATE RELATION WITH THE DIASPORA

The state/ country of origin ought to have a very healthy relationship with its communities who resides abroad. The interaction between the two must be guided by mutual respect and definitely, the sense of complementarity rather than competition must prevail in such circumstances. When the spirit of complementarity is heavily entrenched, states and diaspora work to advance a common good contrary to what it is when countries are not completing but rather competing. Countries of origins where these people living overseas may need to partner with in terms of advancing the development agenda and socially, economically, and politically transform the society tend to view the intentions of their nationals residing abroad with great suspicion thinking that, they are just fronted by imperialist who, are in need of wanting to remote control sovereign power state (Kasapović, 2012).

This might serve to explain partly why many living overseas are out rightly denied their constitutional right of being allowed to vote and take part in deciding those who to govern their nations of origin yet they are stakeholders. Members in such scenarios are not allowed to vie for electoral positions as this might in the analysis of the powers that be, compromise state sovereignty, (Gamlen, 2014).

Thus, it is incumbent upon governments of the day in countries of origin to create all humanly possible situations to make the relations/engagements with they global citizens feel part of the agenda and prioritized when making decisions affecting the everyday life situations of the citizens at home since the argument is that to attract and retain the expertise and resources of this people, the relationship ought to be healthy and built on mutual trust for each other.

### **5.2.3. Creating a favorable climate for the diaspora to contribute to the socio-economical transformational of the country.**

The gist of the matter here is the institution and regulatory framework which the state has in place that is much to the benefit and advantageous the interests of the members of the diaspora. The question to ask here are: Do the state have institutions in place to cater for the need of the diaspora, Do the legal regime confer equal benefit and protection to the nationals living abroad, Are the rewards of investment commensurate with entrepreneurship efforts of people, and finally, Are the countries of origin judicial system transparent, fair and can equitably serve justice.

The above questions are on each person's mind who resides elsewhere when it comes to investing his/her hard-earned dime in the homeland. When satisfactory answers are obtained to such probing and critical questions and the conditions in place answers and favors the returnees, there must be no doubt if people will assume leading roles in the development and transformation agenda of the motherland.

#### **5.2.3.1. Government role in creating a favorable condition to retain Diasporas**

State lead institutions should perform the following specific tasks to create an enabling environment for the participation of the diaspora in the journey of recovery and eventual transformation:



Organs of the state should put in place legal instruments protecting and promoting the rights and obligations of each national irrespective of where he/she is based. The principle of equality and fairness must be religiously adhered to.

Publication and spreading of information relevant to the needs of the diaspora must be emphasized. To participate in anything is subject to the availability of information in plenty, as such, the state and its different organs must be willing and always provide information. This very information will enable the diaspora to make informed choices.

Provision and placing incentives like tax holiday, tax waivers, easy accessibility of financing mechanism among others, also must be looked into to create suitable conditions for the returnees to invest. Since the role of government is duty-bound to promote and attract investments, then it is prudent for it to have in place enough carrots to reward those who invest and intend too.

A proactive foreign policy that directs the embassies and other consular offices to be at the disposal of the diaspora whenever and wherever there. This helps to build trust and a sense of belonging which compels the nationals living abroad to state thinking positively about the motherland.

Establishment of tailored-made projects and programmes for the diaspora. Because of the cultural differences which exist between nationals living at home and those overseas, it is incumbent upon different government department to create specific areas which the diasporas can contribute to when it comes to participation. Projects such as real estate, buying stocks on stock markets among others, may serve as an example to these.

Empowering the diaspora to be the ambassadors of Rwanda where they live, this can be done through equipping them by training them about the interests of Rwanda, the visions and goals of the country, the direction the country wishes to take, organizing visits under the sponsorship of the government to come and see and go and tell, organizing special gala's and networking opportunities which in turn provides a sense of ownership and urgency to act. Rwandans living abroad are best placed to market and promote the image of the country than anybody else thus the need to empower them.

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## APPENDICE 1: PLAGIALISM SUMMARY REPORT

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## **APPENDICE 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

- 1) There had been wide spread belief that a country's diaspora can contribute to its socio-economic transformation. Do you share this understanding? Please explain why.
- 2) If your answer is yes, can you please elaborate how they contribute to this transformation?
- 3) Do you believe that Diaspora's can impact their home country negatively in post genocide/violent conflict period? If yes, How?
- 4) Have you ever heard of IBUKA-France? If yes, tell me what do you think has been the contribution (any) of IBUKA France in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of post genocide Rwanda?
- 5) Have you ever heard of JAMBO ASBL? If yes, tell me what do you think has been the contribution (any) of JAMBO ASBL in the socio-economic transformation and reconciliation of post genocide Rwanda?
- 6) In your view, do you believe that the government of Rwanda is doing enough in tapping into the resources and expertise of her diasporas in her post-genocide transformation journey?
- 7) In your view, what should the government of Rwanda do in order to attract and retain the contribution of diaspora in its transformation journey towards vision 2035 and vision 2050?
- 8) What should Rwandan government do to counter negative propagandas and denial of genocide against the Tutsi as propagated by some anti-government Diasporas?
- 9) Any other points or comments you might want to that can enrich this research?

### **APPENDICES 3: CONFIDENTIALITY AND CONSENT FORM**

As an academic inquirer, I might ask you some questions that you may feel uncomfortable to respond to, please feel free to decline answering any question that you may feel uncomfortable. And please, know that you can end this interview at any time if you wish. However, I would like to emphasize that all of your responses will be very useful in helping me to get a thorough picture of “The Role of Rwandan Diaspora in The Socio-Economic Transformation and Reconciliation in Rwanda” so as to complete this important study.

As for the confidentiality, your responses will be completely confidential. If you don't want your name to appear in the final text of this thesis, please let me know and I will comply.

Lastly, your responses will strictly not be associated with your workplace or unit. The interview should last up to 40 minutes or more with your permission and you have given consent to me:

- (a) Record / take notes of this interview.
- (b) Personal information:
- (c) Last name and first name:
- (d) Function:
- (e) Name of the Work Place

Your Full Name, Date and Signature: -----