

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**DIPLOMACY OF THE DIASPORA: HARNESSING THE DIASPORA IN POST-
CONFLICT SOCIETY IN RWANDA**

BY

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22nd MAY, 2013

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work is my original work. It has never been presented in any institution for academic awards. Sources of information used have been acknowledged accordingly.

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....

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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signature.....

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Date.....

DEDICATION

To my wife Niyibizi Verene: Your love, support and encouragement knows no boundaries. I can only express my gratitude through exerting extra hard work.

To my son Mukiza Olivier Tresor and my daughters Mukeshimana Aurore and Niyonkuru Marie Merci Merveille: May this work challenge you to excel.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated diplomacy of the diaspora: harnessing the diaspora in a post conflict society in Rwanda. The study identified various initiatives by the government of Rwanda to reach out to the diaspora population, it also looked at the impact of the Rwanda diaspora community on public diplomacy and finally the challenges and opportunities that exist in harnessing the diplomacy of diaspora in post conflict Rwanda. From the literature reviewed it is quite evident that there has been effort to by the government to integrate the diaspora in the development agenda of the country.

The target population of the study consisted of diaspora living in Kenya, stratified sampling was used to ensure good representation .The study used survey design, data was collected using three instruments: questionnaire, interview guides and document analysis, data were analyzed based on the research questions. Qualitative data was analyzed by organizing, editing and coding the data into related themes. It was then presented in narratives and interpretive assertion. The finding of the study established that the diaspora community is contributing to development of Rwanda through Foreign Direct Investments, remittances, promotion of trade, public diplomacy and culture, technology and skills transfer, philanthropic activities, peace building and national reconciliation.

The need for a multi-stakeholder partnership and shared responsibility between all parties involved in international migration i.e. migrants, host country and origin country cannot be over emphasized. Recommendations were made to the government on the need to take the lead in consultation with other stakeholders in designing appropriate policies to ensure that the benefits from international migration are shared by all.

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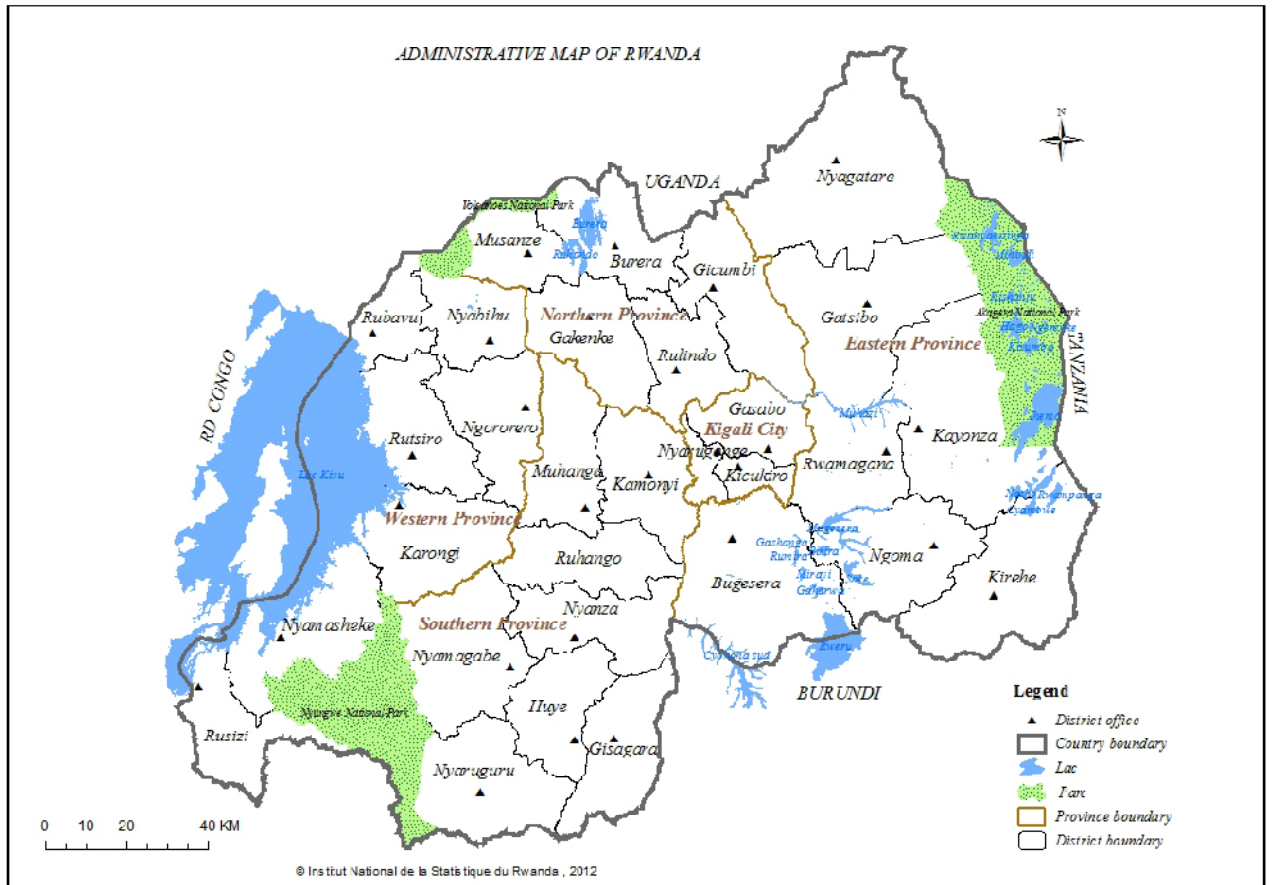
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Figure 1: Map of Rwanda



ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CIDA	Canada's International Development Agency
CFO	Commission of Filipinos Overseas
DFID	Department for International Development
DGD	Directorate General Diaspora
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IME	Institute of Mexican
IOM	International organization for Migration
KIE	Kigali Institute of Education
KHI	Kigali Health Institute
KIST	Kigali Science and Technology
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MDG's	Millennium Development Goals
NGO's	Non-governmental Organizations

TIS	Tuition Insurance Scheme
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals
TRQN	Temporary Return Qualified National
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
US	United States
OFW	Overseas Filipino Works
RCA	Rwandese Community Association
RDGN	Rwanda Diaspora Global Network
RDMF	Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

International migration in the 21st century is attracting a lot of attention from policy makers due to its global impact and increased linkages to development in an era of increased cooperation and interdependence between countries (Lyndsay, 2004). As the pace of globalization increases due to significant advances in technology, so has the movement of people across national borders in search of opportunities for better livelihoods. In Rwanda like many other countries, emigration of nationals has been on the increase and can be attributed to a variety of factors both voluntary and involuntary. Some of the involuntary factors include political and economic exclusion, wars and conflicts while on the other hand some of the voluntary factors include employment, trade, studies, tourism and marriage among others (Briquet *et al*, 1997). Nevertheless, migrants maintain connections back home.

Since 1994, the post-genocide Rwandese government has embarked on a process of reaching out to its population living outside its borders. To show how serious it is, several ministries within the government of Rwanda have undertaken various activities targeting the Diaspora (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006). The ministry of foreign affairs, for example, has a department to the level of directorate that focuses on diaspora (www.minaffet.gov.rw). Many of the activities, initiatives and programs aim at post-genocide reconstruction and reconciliation.

Rwanda is not the only country that engages its diaspora, many African countries, realizing that remittances from diaspora groups, particularly those living in wealthy countries, form a significant economic contribution have embarked on courting them (Omeje,2007). They have been encouraged to participate in political and economic processes in their countries of origins (Omeje, 2007). In the case of Rwanda, its diaspora is encouraged to engage in economic and social cohesion and harmony.

It is interesting to find out how Rwanda is practicing its public diplomacy vis-à-vis diaspora and how the latter are contributing to post-genocide development in Rwanda. Furthermore, any curious person will be interested to know what opportunities and challenges exist to engage diaspora in development efforts, and draw lessons. Reflecting on Mwagiru's suggestions on ways in which foreign diasporas can be harnessed; he suggests that this harnessing is part of a negotiation process, and argues that the best approach to those negotiations is through an integrative framework (Mwagiru,2005). The purpose of this study is to compile and analyze existing qualitative studies vis-à-vis good practices relevant to harnessing the diplomacy of diaspora in post-conflict Rwanda and to identify gaps for achieving a negotiated and integrative approach. Moreover, part of this research will be to look at the participation of diaspora groups into the Rwandese Diplomacy of Diaspora.

1.1.1 Definition of key concepts

Diplomacy - Diplomacy is considered primarily as a political activity, whose key objective is to promote a state's foreign policy in a manner that will not require the intervention of the law, force or propaganda. The entering into negotiations and all the business thereof is the function of diplomacy.

Diplomatic relations- refer to the links between states that enable them to conduct business in international arena through diplomacy.

Diaspora - The term "diaspora" is defined differently by migration scholars. In this research the term 'diasporas' conveys the idea of transnational populations, living in one place, while still maintaining relations with their homelands, being both "here" and "there".

Conflict - A conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something.

Development - is sustainable economic growth, social advancement, human empowerment and equity. Some scholars assert that development is much more than the expansion of income and wealth.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Rwanda is among the underdeveloped states in Africa that have been mired by political crises leading to waves of emigrations (Roth, Kenneth, 2009, p. 3 - 6), a large population

lives outside Rwanda. The skill base is weak and was severely damaged by the 1994 genocide.

Attention by scholars on Rwanda and its diaspora has focused on the political motivations among Rwandese diasporas that led to the massive return after the war and genocide of 1994. Pitsch contends that, “the desire to be home and patriotism saw big number of Rwandese back home after the war and genocide of 1994” (Pitsch, 2003: 2). Also, on small scale there are studies that are beginning to focus on remittances of diaspora in Rwanda (e.g. Mbabazi, 2008), thus showing the economic impact of diaspora in Rwanda as a country of origin. Although such studies have been conducted none of these have focused on diplomacy of the diaspora at length. Therefore this study sought to investigate diplomacy of the diaspora and how to harness the diaspora in a post conflict society in Rwanda. The study was guided by the following research questions:

What are the various initiatives the Rwanda government is employing to reach out to its diaspora?

In which ways has Rwanda diaspora community impacted on public diplomacy and national development?

What are some of the challenges and opportunities that exist in harnessing the diplomacy of diaspora in a post conflict Rwanda?

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General objective

To investigate ways of harnessing diplomacy of diaspora in post - conflict society in Rwanda.

1.3.2 Specific Objective

1. To identify various initiatives by Government of Rwanda to reach out to its Diaspora population.
2. To assess the impact of the Rwanda Diaspora community on public diplomacy; and national development.
3. To investigate the challenges and opportunities that exist in harnessing the diplomacy of diaspora in post - conflict Rwanda.

1.4 Justification of the Study

International migration in the 21st century is attracting a lot of attention from policy makers due to its global impact and increased linkages to development in an era of increased cooperation and interdependence between countries. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to the body of knowledge on diplomacy of diaspora. The study will be helpful in increasing knowledge about the activities and role of Rwanda diaspora communities in development of their country of origin and propose appropriate policies to Rwanda government on more effective ways of engaging its diaspora. The findings of this study too can be used to inform tailoring of policies, programs and interventions on effective diaspora diplomacy.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The diaspora groups are so many and spread across continents and countries. They are varied and can offer different perspectives that can be useful to this study. Though this is acknowledged, this study was limited to diaspora groups living in Kenya. However, due to the connectedness of diaspora groups in Kenya, to those in Asia, Europe and North America, relevant information related to diplomacy of the diaspora, activities taking place by Rwandese diaspora living outside Kenya was substantially captured.

Rwanda being a closed society (Lyndsay, 2004) and with a population that has had an experience with the genocide, the study acknowledges that there is a limit as to the information respondents can provide, depending on how they judge it sensitive and/ or how it makes them feel insecure.

Resources were limited. There were no direct contacts with diaspora groups living in many countries except Kenya.

The time that the diaspora groups captured in the study have lived abroad is primarily between 1994 - 2012. The study acknowledges that there are other groups that fall outside this timeframe. Nevertheless, some of the findings can be applied to groups that fall outside this study.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Introduction

This section presents a review of studies and works the researcher consulted in order to investigate and understand the research problem. The researcher critically examined books, journals and any other scholarly articles which were relevant to the topic under study. The literature reviewed did open with a perspective on the diplomacy of diaspora and the contributions they make to their countries of origin. This was followed by exploring the African diaspora. A special focus was given on the case of Rwanda, as a context in which the diaspora under this study emanated. Further, the literature reviewed here exposed the existing literature on interactions between diaspora groups, their host countries as well as countries of origin.

1.6.2 A Perspective on the Diplomacy of Diaspora

Diaspora can be described as “individuals originating from one country, living outside their country, irrespective of their citizenship or nationality, who, individually or collectively, are or could be willing to contribute to the development of their country” (Gordon and Anderson, 1999: 282 – 296). Descendants of these individuals can also be included in this definition. Globally, the diaspora numbers have reached a critical stage that ignoring them is no longer tenable.

Since the late twentieth century, the term diaspora has describes people or ethnic groups who have left their traditional ethnic homelands by force and have scattered all over the world. Originally, the term Diaspora referred to the populations of Jews exiled from Judea in 586 BC by the Babylonians and in AD 135 by the Romans (Crémieux, 2008). Today 'diaspora' refers to, among others, the Jewish diaspora in the modern sense (Jews who live outside Israel), Armenian diaspora (the dispersal of Armenians after the genocide in 1915-16), the South East Asian Diaspora (the scattered refugees from South East Asia due to several wars such as World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War), (Gordon and Anderson, 1999: 282 – 296), many African countries, Rwanda included have had their people emigrate to other continents as well within Africa and become part of the world-wide diaspora.

The diplomacy of the diaspora is not the normal state-centric diplomacy (Constantinou & Der Derian 2010). The essence of the diplomacy of the diaspora is to enhance and maintain the linkages between members of the diaspora and citizens in the home state, and especially to encourage the diaspora to participate in economic and political processes in the home country. In the context of an individual state, diplomacy of the diaspora will constitute, as Cross (2010:205) puts it, a dialogue among citizens that transcends national borders, leading to stronger societal interdependence, and eventually some sense of common identity. This happens through creating policy incentives for the diaspora, and loosening bureaucratic hurdles to their participation, both politically and economically. It is also done through establishing structures specifically meant to address

diaspora issues, such as diaspora departments in ministries of foreign affairs (such as in Rwanda) and organs like a ministry of the diaspora relations (as exists in Ghana).

The latest wave of scholarship on Diasporas has been spurred by recognition of the central role of people on the move in reflecting and enhancing the quickening pace of globalization. More than that, there has been recognition of the role of diaspora in remittances as the major flow of economic resources from the developed to the developing world (Bowring, 2005). The opening up of the diplomatic space for the diaspora leads to the realization of another political role for the diaspora. It is hoped that diaspora can be engaged in development, peace-building, politics among others.

1.6.3 Impact of Diaspora Community on Public Diplomacy and National Development

1.6.3.1 Diaspora in Peace-Building and Politics

Diasporas can have either negative or positive effects on peace processes and politics in the home state (Conciliation Resources, 2002, p. 62 – 63). It is common for diaspora groups to perpetuate conflicts, through funding and unwillingness to compromise to reach a settlement, despite the desire of those in the country to compromise and end the conflict (Crush & McDonald, 2000, p. 1-19). For example, in the case of Somalia, different groups of diaspora supported different clans with funding that was funneled through civil society organizations to purchase weapons (Conciliation Resources, 2002, p. 62 – 63).

This connects to the notion that those outside of the country tend to have a more idealized view of “home” than do those who live there.

On the more positive side, Margaret Purdy considers that because they are “removed from the frontline of conflict”, diasporas may “have a wider and more objective perspective, less influenced by raw emotion and anger. In their new homeland, they may have access to a wider variety of information sources, such as those provided by social and employment contacts, media reporting and internet communications” (Byman et al., 2001, pp. 41-60). Indeed, the experience of being a migrant / refugee may bring them into contact with others from the region with different perspectives.

In the case of Uganda, members of the Acholi diaspora, particularly those living in London, have worked to bring together representatives from the Government of Uganda, the Government of Sudan, the Lords Resistance Army (the rebel group) and other groups with a stake in the conflict. The diaspora has organized a series of conferences designed to be open forums for dialogue between the parties, with the aim of promoting a negotiated solution to the conflict (see Byman et al., 2001, pp. 41-60).

On the side of politics, diaspora can play important roles in electoral politics in their home countries. For example, the Croatian diaspora was reported as providing \$4 million in contributions to the electoral campaign of Franjo Tudjman and was rewarded with 12 of the 120 parliamentary seats in recognition of their role (Al-Ali, Black & Koser, p. 617). Furthermore, the fact that some groups – such as Cuban-Americans - choose to

regard themselves as diaspora and not just immigrants (indicating that they do not want to completely assimilate and signal an intention to return “home”), has great significance for their relationship with their host state.

1.6.3.2 Socio-Cultural Roles

The majority of those who define themselves as diaspora invest time and money in maintaining contacts with family and friends, and particularly, if the situation allows, by visiting their home countries. A 1999 study of Bosnian Diaspora in Britain noted that despite the various obstacles to return, Bosnian refugees had increasingly sought links and contacts with their country of origin, and were attempting to get involved in ongoing developments within Bosnia, (Al-Ali, Black & Koser, p. 617). In Somalia they actually talk about the “Diaspora season” when many return home to visit. Also during this time they make financial remittances, organize cultural and social events, and visit friends and family.

The diaspora also maintains their socio-cultural identities by supporting artists, musicians and writers from their home countries touring in their host countries. Levitt has defined as “social remittances” the ideas, values and cultural artifacts that travel between countries. In terms of the Bosnian diaspora community, a number with creative

backgrounds (artists, musicians, journalists etc.) continued to work creatively with the aim of sharing the products with both the home and the host country (Al-Ali, Black & Koser, p. 617).

Language is an important connection to the home country – and often to a particular region – and many parents fear that their children will lose their mother tongue. In Britain the diaspora's response to this fear was to initiate Bosnian supplemental weekend schools. The Bosnian Embassy provided an official curriculum that covered Bosnian language, history, geography, music and art (Al-Ali, Black & Koser, p. 617). Qualified volunteers do most of the teaching. In the case of the Sri Lankan diaspora, school and university alumni associations have become an important political space for the exchanging information.

1.6.3.3 Diaspora and Development

Diaspora's development potential is closely linked to the evolution of globalization. Recent revolutions in transport and communication, for instance, have brought societies and economies closer to each other. As a result, there has been a growing awareness over the last decade within the international community of the potential complementary role that diaspora can play in development efforts (Crush & Williams, 2001, pp.9-11).

Diaspora's development impact on home countries can take different forms: voluntary or involuntary; intellectual, economic, social or cultural (Ionesco, 2006, pp. 2-7). Manuel

Orozco, for instance, characterizes these impacts as the “five Ts”: money transfers, tourism, transportation, telecommunication, and “nostalgic trade”. Another categorization was given in a report by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe under the rubric of “social remittances” (as distinct from financial remittances) which were defined as “ideas, practices, mind-sets, world views, values and attitude, norms of behavior and social capital (knowledge, experience, expertise) that the diasporas mediate and consciously or unconsciously transfer from host to home countries” (Crush & Williams, 2001, pp.9-11). In the Philippines, for instance, there is growing interest in the “strategic philanthropy” of diaspora, which is described as the “investments that fund longer-term and sustainable solutions and social change in home countries, as opposed to charitable giving that addresses immediate needs, and beyond remittance transfers that fulfill familial obligations” (Ionesco, 2006, pp. 2-7).

Discussions on the financial contribution of migrants and the diaspora to development in their home country have traditionally confined themselves to “remittances”, even though the technical definition of this concept is slightly different. Indeed, in the development debate, “remittances” refer to three types of transactions: individual (mostly small and regular) financial transfers sent by diaspora to support relatives back home; money sent to finance small-scale business investments; and individual or collective philanthropic support to development projects. In practice, however, these flows may be difficult to disaggregate, leaving some aspects unaccounted for, such as money transferred to re-pay loans taken out to facilitate migration (Jazayery, 2002, p. 242).

Migrants and diaspora often also “remit” in-kind gifts or goods to be re-sold in the recipient country. Even though they will not be addressed as such in this research, domestic financial transfers, particularly in the case of internal migration, and financial flows from developing to developed economies are also important features of the remittance dynamic. Remittances are the second largest source of external finance for developing countries -estimated by the World Bank to have reached \$240 billion in 2007, just behind foreign direct investment (\$460 billion) and twice as large as official aid (\$104 billion). Unrecorded remittance flows are estimated to add 50% to this figure (Jazayery, 2002, p. 242). The impacts can be different from country to country depending on a number of factors.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

In trying to explain diplomacy of the diaspora a number of formulations have been designed in an attempt to account for this.

This study will use the migration theory. To stress the push and pull factors of migration: certain reasons push a migrant out of his or her country, while other reasons pull a migrant from his or her country, e.g. a migrant would be pushed from his or her home country because there are no job opportunities there, and would be pulled to a host country based on the opportunities offered there. These factors have often been framed as economic decisions, whether on the micro or macro level. However, as de Haas (2010) has highlighted, an improved theoretical perspective on migration and development has

to be able to account for the role of structure (the constraining or enabling), general political, institutional, economic, social and cultural context in which migration takes place as well as agency -the limited but real capacity of individuals to overcome constraints and potentially reshape structure. Furthermore, the relationship between migration and development must also be scrutinized as a field of struggle where different actors are involved in trying to establish their visions of development and change. This perspective would account for both micro and macro level factors, both of which impact migration.

The New Economics of Migration theory seeks to integrate both levels, as it places migrants in a larger societal context, taking into account family or community strategies for risk sharing and a variety of markets. Stark and Bloom (1985) especially pioneered this theory, framing migration decisions as a way to diversify risk at the meso level: neither as an individual decision nor as a result of market trends, but at the community level, between the two. Network theory also brings together the micro and the macro levels. Tilly (1990) has defined networks as —neither individuals nor households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship and work experience. These networks link populations in home countries and host countries across time and space. This theory, extensively elaborated by Massey, posits that networks increase the chance for migration.

Migration costs and risks are reduced and benefits increase if potential migrants have a network abroad, as this network can serve as a support structure, establishing a migrant socially and economically in the new country. Migrant networks can make migration

seem more appealing to those in the home country by easing the job search, establishment of connections to others and integration into the host country.

Massey et al. have argued that at a certain point migration —becomes self-perpetuating because each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it. The first migrant establishes a network by connecting him or herself with persons in the home country, and thus improves the chances for others in the home country to migrate. Myrdal and Massey have called this process cumulative causation, as each individual migration makes it more likely for others in the home society to migrate. Network theory has also called attention to the inequalities created within networks, based on social relations: —social ties in pre-migration networks are related to factors affecting which people migrate, the means of migration, the destination (including locality, accommodation and often specific job) and future prospects for physical and occupational mobility. If networks perpetuate migration, it stands to reason that migration would be encouraged primarily in specific sections of the home and host society, where the network operates.

Harnessing the diaspora seems to be fueled by many factors , the migratory theories and new economic theory outlines how to harness the diaspora especially in a post conflict society like Rwanda. And this study is pegged on these two sets of theories.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 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 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 describe, explore and are widely used in researches in the field of social science (Mugenda, 2008). This method was appropriate because the researcher dealt with matter under 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 vast population, survey was found the most appropriate. A sample of the population was studied and the finding of the sample used to generalize the characteristic of the entire population. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected and analyzed.

1.8.2 Study Population

The study population included the Rwandese diaspora living in Kenya. The Rwanda diaspora in Kenya is involved in various activities aimed at promoting the Rwanda culture and contributing to the development of their motherland. Organizing committees have been set up both in Nairobi and Mombasa. An Annual cultural festival (Umunsi w'Umuco) has become a big attraction of both Rwandese and friends of Rwanda to meet and celebrate the rich Rwandese culture portrayed in songs, dance, imivugo etc. Rwanda Night is another event that is organized from time to time. Some members of the

Rwandese Diaspora are part of the Rwanda-Kenya Business Association. This association aims at promoting Trade and Investments between Kenya and Rwanda (<http://www.kenya.embassy.gov.rw/index.php?id=391>, Accessed on 19 April 2013). It was also acknowledged that the Rwandese diaspora in Kenya is connected to the Rwandese diaspora living in Asia (particularly India), Europe and North America, as most of them indicated that they had close relations in those places.

1.8.3 Sampling and Sampling Procedures

Participants to this study were individuals who are engaged in diaspora activities, both as government staff or members of the Rwanda Diaspora Group (RDG) in Kenya; a body that brings together Rwandese living in Kenya. 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 diaspora of the Rwandese government.

A total of 20 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 stratified 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. Stratifying the sample according to

locally relevant socioeconomic characteristics allowed the researcher to examine similarities and differences across various individuals engaged in the diplomacy of diaspora.

1.8.4 Data collection techniques

1.8.4.1 Key informant interviews

Interviews were preferred because they are believed to be an effective data collection tool in social sciences. This is validated by Selltiz 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,” (Selltiz et al 1965:236). Selltiz and Johoda (Selltiz et al 1965:236) 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, 1997:355). This gives the research a sensual/human feeling of the respondent. This technique also permits for 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, 2004:79). 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 kind 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 questions is also useful for exploring new areas in which the researcher has limited knowledge.

1.8.4.2 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 more appropriate method compared to focus groups.

1.8.5 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 reviewed.

1.8.6 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 views 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 was no remunerations in participating in the research however, their contributions was to be highly regarded and was only to be used in purpose the study.

Confidentiality is another feature of ethical research. The researcher ensured the confidential nature of the information provided by informants. The researcher assured the informants that their names and identities would remain anonymous; under no circumstances would informants' names or identities be disclosed to anyone after the interview/survey is complete.

Accuracy and integrity of the data: all the sources used in the research are duly acknowledged

CHAPTER TWO: GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF RWANDA

2.1 Rwanda: The Country and the People

2.1.1 Geography of Rwanda

Rwanda is a landlocked country in the East Central Africa with a total area of 26,338 square kilometers and a population density of 328 persons per Square kilometer (UNCTAD, 2006:7), about 90% of the population live in the rural areas and are into subsistence agriculture. Rwanda is bordered by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The population is young and predominantly rural, with a density among the highest in Africa. The national language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda, English and French (Shyaka, 2012).

2.1.2 Politics and government

The Republic of Rwanda is headed by a President who is elected by popular vote every seven years, and appoints the Prime Minister and all other members of Cabinet. The current constitution was adopted following a national referendum in 2003, replacing the transitional constitution which had been in place since 1994. Four amendments to the constitution have been made four times, the latest being in 2010. The constitution

mandates a multi-party system of government, with politics based on democracy and elections (Mbabazi, 2008).

The Parliament consists of two chambers. The lower chamber is the Chamber of Deputies, which has 80 members serving five-year terms. Twenty-four of these seats are reserved for women, elected through a joint assembly of local government officials; another three seats are reserved for youth (2) and disabled members (1); the remaining 53 are elected by universal suffrage under a proportional representation system. The upper chamber is the 26-seat Senate. A mandatory minimum of 30 per cent of the senators are women. Senators serve eight-year terms (Shyaka, 2012).

Rwanda is a member of the United Nations, African Union, Francophonie, East African Community, and the Commonwealth of Nations. For many years before 1994, the country maintained close ties with France, as well as Belgium, the former colonial power. But recently, Rwanda has sought closer ties with neighboring countries in East Africa and with the English-speaking world (Mbabazi, 2008).

2.1.3 Administrative divisions

The current constitution divides Rwanda into provinces (*intara*), districts (*uturere*), sectors (*imirenge*), cells (*utugari*), and villages (*imidugudu*) (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006).

The provinces act as intermediaries between the national government and their constituent districts to ensure that national policies are implemented at the district level. The "Rwanda Decentralisation Strategic Framework" developed by the Ministry of Local Government assigns to provinces the responsibility for "coordinating governance issues in the Province, as well as monitoring and evaluation." Each province is headed by a governor. The districts are responsible for coordinating public service delivery and economic development. They are divided into sectors, which are responsible for the delivery of public services as mandated by the districts. Districts and sectors have directly elected councils, and are run by an executive committee selected by that council. The cells and villages are the smallest political units, providing a link between the people and the sectors. All adult resident citizens are members of their local cell council, from which an executive committee is elected. The city of Kigali is a provincial-level authority, which coordinates urban planning within the city (Shyaka, 2012).

2.1.4 Economy

Rwanda is a developing country with about 35% of the population living below the poverty line that is living on less than a dollar per day. The rate of unemployment is high and similarly there is a significant number of those under employed. In addition, over half of the population is under the age of 15 years, this has led to a high dependency ratio and put a strain on utilization of natural resources and provision of social services (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (II), 2011).

Rwanda is a country of few natural resources, and the economy is based mostly on subsistence agriculture by local farmers using simple tools. An estimated 90% of the working population farms, and agriculture comprised of an estimated 42.1% of GDP in 2010. Despite Rwanda's fertile ecosystem, food production often does not keep pace with population growth, and food imports are required.

Crops grown in the country include coffee, tea, pyrethrum, bananas, beans, sorghum and potatoes. Coffee and tea are the major cash crops for export, with the high altitudes, steep slopes and volcanic soils providing favorable conditions. Animals raised in Rwanda include cows, goats, sheep, pigs, chicken, and rabbits, with geographical variation in the numbers of each. Production systems are mostly traditional, although there are a few intensive dairy farms (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006).

The industrial sector is small, contributing 14.3% of GDP in 2010. Products manufactured include cement, agricultural products, small-scale beverages, soap, furniture, shoes, plastic goods, textiles and cigarettes. Rwanda's mining industry is an important contributor, generating US\$93 million in 2008. Minerals mined include cassiterite, wolframite, gold, and coltan, which is used in the manufacture of electronic and communication devices such as mobile phones (Mbabazi, 2008).

Rwanda's service sector suffered during the late-2000s recession as banks reduced lending and foreign aid projects and investment were reduced. The sector rebounded in 2010, becoming the country's largest sector by economic output and contributing 43.6%

of the country's GDP. Key tertiary contributors include banking and finance, wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, transport, storage, communication, insurance, real estate, business services and public administration including education and health. Tourism is one of the fastest-growing economic resources and became the country's leading foreign exchange earner in 2011 (Shyaka, 2012).

2.1.5 Infrastructure

The Rwandese government prioritized funding of water supply development during the 2000s, significantly increasing its share of the national budget. This funding, along with donor support, caused a rapid increase in access to safe drinking water; in 2008, 73% of the population had access to safe water, up from about 55% in 2005. Rwanda's electricity supply was, until the early 2000s, generated almost entirely from hydroelectric sources.

The transport system centres primarily around the road network, with paved roads between Kigali and most other major cities and towns in the country (UNDP, 2012). Rwanda is linked by road to other countries in East Africa, such as Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Kenya, as well as to the eastern Congolese cities of Goma and Bukavu. The country's most important trade route is the road to the port of Mombasa via Kampala and Nairobi. The country has no railways, although funding has been secured for a feasibility study into extending the Tanzanian Central Line into Rwanda.

2.1.6 Demographics

In 2012, estimates place Rwanda's population at 11,689,696. The population is young: an estimated 42.7% are under the age of 15, and 97.5% are under 65. The annual birth rate is estimated at 40.2 births per 1,000 inhabitants, and the death rate at 14.9. The life expectancy is 58.02 years (59.52 years for females and 56.57 years for males). At 408 inhabitants per square kilometre (1,060 /sq mi), Rwanda's population density is amongst the highest in Africa (UNDP, 2012).

2.1.7 Culture

Music and dance are an integral part of Rwandese ceremonies, festivals, social gatherings and storytelling. Traditionally, music is transmitted orally, with styles varying between the social groups. Drums are of great importance. Drummers play together in groups of varying sizes, usually between seven and nine in number. The country has a growing popular music industry, influenced by East African, Congolese, and American music (Rwanda Development Gateway, 2012).

Traditional arts and crafts are produced throughout the country, although most originated as functional items rather than purely for decoration. Woven baskets and bowls are especially common. Other crafts include pottery and wood carving. Traditional housing styles make use of locally available materials; circular or rectangular mud homes with grass-thatched roofs.

Rwanda does not have a long history of written literature, but there is a strong oral tradition ranging from poetry to folk stories. Many of the country's moral values and

details of history have been passed down through the generations (Rwanda Development Gateway, 2012).

2.1.8 Education and health

Predominantly, there are state-run schools. There are also private schools across the country, some run by the church (UNDP, 2011). A very small number offer international qualifications. The country has a number of institutions of tertiary education, with the National University of Rwanda (UNR), Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), and Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) being the most prominent.

The quality of healthcare is generally low, but improving. 87% have access to healthcare. The government is seeking to improve the situation as part of the Vision 2020 development program. In 2008, the government spent 9.7% of national expenditure on healthcare, compared with 3.2% in 1996. It also set up training institutes including the Kigali Health Institute (KHI). Health insurance became mandatory for all individuals in 2008; in 2010 over 90% of the population was covered. Prevalence of some diseases is declining, including the elimination of maternal and neonatal tetanus and a sharp reduction in malaria morbidity and mortality rate (UNDP, 2011).

2.1.9 Emergence of the Nation

Rwanda traces its origins to one of the many small kingdoms that emerged in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa beginning five hundred years ago (Des Forges, 1999). Land pressures throughout the densely populated region encouraged increasing political centralization, particularly among cattle-raising people, who feared the loss of pasture land to encroaching cultivation. The kingdom of Rwanda was founded in the sixteenth century in what is today eastern Rwanda, then moved west to modern central Rwanda, where it developed a unifying social system and a strong army and began to expand, incorporating neighboring kingdoms and chieftaincies through conquest or alliance (Newbury & Newbury, 2000). A complex system emerged, based on political and economic ties rather than shared cultural identity. In the central kingdom, power was centralized and an ethnic division between Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa became well developed. A system of cattle vassalage bound local communities together and tied them to the monarchy. Areas outside the central kingdom retained their distinct political and social organizations to varying degrees, with some chieftaincies merely paying tribute to the Rwandese king, but remaining otherwise autonomous.

2.1.10 National Identity

Colonial rule, which began in 1895, was the primary force leading to the emergence of the Rwandese national identity (Des Forges, 1999). German colonial authorities and the Belgians who replaced them in 1916 actually regarded the Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa as three distinct national groups, but colonial policies led to a greater identification with the Rwandese national state for all groups, even as they also created greater ethnic

identification and polarization. The colonial overlords helped the Rwandese monarchy to centralize its control and extend its social system throughout the territory that is contemporary Rwanda, eliminating the local social and political variations that had existed in the precolonial period (van't Spijker, 1990). By establishing modern state institutions in Rwanda, the colonial administrators also imported the ideas of nationality associated with the modern nation-state. Subsequent social and political conflicts have revolved around how exactly Rwandese nationality should be defined rather than over the validity of Rwandese as a national identity, as in many African states.

2.1.11 Ethnic Relations

The three ethnic groups in Rwanda emerged through a complex process of immigration and social and economic differentiation that took place over several centuries. Tradition holds that Twa were the original inhabitants; Hutu came second in a wave of migration from the west, and Tutsi came much later from the northeast. Archeological and anthropological research, however, indicates that in fact patterns of migration were much more complex, as populations moved into Rwanda over many centuries (Newbury & Newbury, 2000). Each new group of migrants adopted the local language and most local customs, although they also added some of their own beliefs and practices to the local culture. Modern ethnic identities emerged fairly recently and therefore could not derive primarily from migration. In fact, the differentiation throughout the region into three fully

distinct ethnic groups occurred only during the colonial period and grew much more from European ideas about race and identity than from historic cultural patterns (van't Spijker, 1990).

German and Belgian policies were based on the concept of indirect rule which sought to administer colonies through existing structures of power (Des Forges, 1999). Colonial administrators mistakenly believed power in Rwanda to be organized primarily along ethnic lines, and thus they instituted policies that subjugated the Hutu and favored the Tutsi, whom they saw as the natural rulers. The colonial rulers did not, in fact, maintain local power structures unchanged but centralized the political system, eliminating local political variations, including abolishing autonomous Hutu chieftaincies. In strengthening the rule of the Rwandese monarch throughout the territory, the colonials and their Tutsi allies in the royal court helped to extend the culture of central Rwanda to the rest of the territory (Vidal, 1991, 32). Many of the myths, practices, and beliefs of central Rwanda were spread to the rest of the territory, as were the system of cattle vassalage and the clear distinction between Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. The northern region of the country, which was least integrated into pre-colonial Rwanda, has remained somewhat politically distinct from the rest of the country, and competition between the north and the rest of the country has remained an important political factor (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

With the establishment of colonial borders, some Kinyarwanda-speaking people were situated outside Rwanda. The Rwandese populations of Bufumbira in southwest Uganda and the border regions of North Kivu, as well as the Banyamulenge population in South

Kivu, had little connection to the Rwandese court even before colonial rule (Vidal, 1991). Under separate colonial authorities, these groups developed distinctive cultural identities, even as the populations of Uganda and Congo associated them with Rwanda (Des Forges, 1999). Meanwhile, thousands of Rwandese migrated to Congo and Uganda for economic purposes, creating large Rwandese communities with a stronger identification with Rwanda in places such as Masisi in North Kivu. In the Rwandese community outside Rwanda, the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi remained less significant than it became within Rwanda, as most Kinyarwanda-speakers were collectively known as Banyarwanda.

Within Rwanda the myth that Tutsi were a distinct race that arrived recently and established its dominance over Hutu and Tutsi through conquest came to be embraced by most of the population. It served the interests of the Tutsi elite who used it to reinforce German and Belgian prejudice that regarded Tutsi as natural rulers (Vidal, 1991). During the colonial period, Rwanda was administered jointly with its neighbor to the south, Burundi, which had a closely related language and a similar social structure. With Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa in Burundi as well, the ethnic politics in the two countries tended to develop in tandem, with events in one country inspiring a response in the other.

In the 1950s, as independence approached, a movement of Hutu ethno-nationalism arose in response to the growing impoverishment of Hutu and the dominance of Tutsi (Vansina, 1999). The Hutu ethno-nationalists claimed that Hutu were the true Rwandese and that Tutsi were foreign interlopers. A peasant uprising in 1959 drove Tutsi chiefs from office

and led thousands of Tutsi to flee the country, most of them to Uganda, Congo, and Burundi. Anti-Hutu violence in 1972 in Burundi, where Tutsi remained in charge, inspired anti-Tutsi violence in Rwanda in 1973 and led thousands more Tutsi to flee into exile. Hutu ethno-nationalism remained an important ideology in Rwanda and ultimately Hutu leaders used the idea that Tutsi were not "true" Rwandese to inspire Hutu soldiers and militia to slaughter the country's Tutsi population in 1994 along with moderate Hutu who challenged the exclusivist national ideology (Vansina, 1999).

In 1990, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), formed initially by a group of refugees based in Uganda, attacked Rwanda to attempt to force the government to allow refugees to return to Rwanda. RPF sought to promote a more inclusive conception of national identity that regards Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa as one nationality. In 1994, the RPF took control of the country. The current government now promotes a multi-ethnic idea of Rwandese national identity (Des Forges, 1999).

2.2 Short History of the People of Rwanda

2.2.1 Pre-colonial Rwanda

It is not known when the country was first inhabited, but it is thought that humans moved into the area shortly after that ice age, either in the Neolithic period, around ten thousand

years ago, or in the long humid period which followed, up to around 3000 BC (Reyntjens, 1994). The earliest known inhabitants of the region are generally thought to have been the Twa, a group of Pygmy forest hunters and gatherers, whose descendants still live in Rwanda today. Archaeological excavations conducted from the 1950s onwards have revealed evidence of sparse settlement by hunter gatherers in the late Stone Age (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

In the 19th century, the state became far more centralized. Expansion reached the shores of Lake Kivu. This expansion was probably less about military conquest and more about a migrating population spreading Rwandese agricultural techniques, social organization, and the extension of a Mwami's political control. Only against other well developed states such as Gisaka, Bugesera, and Burundi was expansion carried out primarily by force of arms (Reyntjens, 1994).

Under the monarchy the economic imbalance between the Hutu and the Tutsi crystallized, and a complex political imbalance emerged as the Tutsi formed into a hierarchy dominated by a Mwami or 'king'. The King was treated as a semi-divine being, responsible for making the country prosper. The symbol of the King was the Kalinga, the sacred drum. All the people of Rwanda were expected to pay tribute to the Mwami (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

A traditional local justice system called Gacaca predominated in much of the region as an institution for resolving conflicts, rendering justice and reconciliation. The king was the

ultimate judge and arbiter for those cases that reached him. Despite the traditional nature of the system, harmony and cohesion had been established among Rwandese and within the kingdom since the beginning of Rwanda (Sirven, 1984).

2.2.2 Colonial Era

Unlike much of Africa, Rwanda and the Great Lakes region was not divided by the 1884 Berlin Conference. Rather the region was divided in an 1890 conference in Brussels. This gave Rwanda and Burundi to the German Empire as colonial spheres of interest in exchange for its renouncing all claims on Uganda (Uvin, 1998).

The first German to visit or explore Rwanda was Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen, who from 1893 to 1894 led an expedition to claim the hinterlands of the Tanganyika colony. Götzen entered Rwanda at Rusumo Falls. With only 2,500 soldiers in East Africa, Germany did little to change social structures in much of the region, especially in Rwanda (Taylor, 1992).

In the early years the Germans had little control in the region and were completely dependent on the indigenous government. The Germans did not encourage modernization and centralization of the regime. They did introduce the collection of cash taxes. The introduction of cash taxes, rather than on agricultural produce was intended to increase cultivation of coffee as a cash crop. This had an impact of the Rwandese economy (Sirven, 1984).

During this period, many Europeans had become obsessed with race, and this had an impact on life in Rwanda. The Germans believed the Tutsi ruling class was a superior racial type who, because of their apparent "Hamitic" origins on the Horn of Africa, were more "European" than the Hutu. Because of their seemingly taller stature, more "honorable and eloquent" personalities, and their willingness to convert to Roman Catholicism, the colonist, including powerful Roman Catholic officials, favored the Tutsis. They were put in charge of the farming Hutus (almost in a feudalistic manner), the newly formed principalities, and were given basic ruling positions. Eventually, these positions would turn into the overall governing body of Rwanda (Prunier, 1995).

The Germans helped the king gain greater nominal control over Rwandese affairs (Des Forges, 1999). But there were forces that entered with the German colonial authority that had the opposite effect. For instance, Tutsi power weakened through the exposure of Rwanda to capitalist European forces (Taylor, 1992). Money came to be seen by many Hutu as a replacement for cattle, in terms of both economic prosperity and for purposes of creating social standing. Another way in which Tutsi power was weakened by Germany was through the introduction of the head-tax on all Rwandese. As some Tutsi had feared, the tax also made the Hutu feel less bonded to their Tutsi patrons and more dependent on the European foreigners. A head-tax implied equality among those being counted. Despite Germany's attempt to uphold traditional Tutsi domination of the Hutu, the Hutu began to shift their ideas (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

2.2.3 Belgian Colonialism

At the end of WWI, Belgium accepted the League of Nations Mandate of 1916 to govern Rwanda as the territory Ruanda-Urundi, along with its existing Congo colony to the west (Prunier, 1995). The Belgian government continued to rely on the Tutsi power structure for administering the country, although they became more directly involved in extending its interests into education and agricultural supervision. The Belgians introduced cassava, maize and the Irish potato, to try to improve food production for subsistence farmers. The Belgians intended the colony to be profitable. They introduced coffee as a commodity crop and used a system of forced labor to have it cultivated. Each peasant was required to devote a certain percentage of their fields to coffee and this was enforced by the Belgians and their local allies. A *corvée* was also introduced, labour that was enforced by the whip (Des Forges, 1999). This forced labour approach to colonization was condemned by many internationally, and was extremely unpopular in Rwanda. Hundreds of thousands of Rwandese immigrated to the British protectorate of Uganda, which was much wealthier and did not have the same policies.

Belgian rule created more of an ethnic divide between the Tutsi and Hutu. The colonial government became concerned with the differences between Hutu and Tutsi. Scientists arrived to measure skull. An ethnic identity was officially mandated and administrative documents systematically detailed each person's "ethnicity". Each Rwandese had an ethnic identity card. From 1935 on, "Tutsi", "Hutu" and "Twa" were indicated on identity cards (Longman, 1999).

2.2.4 Destabilization

Following World War II, Rwanda-Urundi became a United Nations trust territory with Belgium as the administrative authority. Reforms instituted by the Belgians in the 1950s encouraged the growth of democratic political institutions but were resisted by the Tutsi traditionalists, who saw them as a threat to Tutsi rule. The reforms contributed to ethnic tensions. The Belgian institution of ethnic identity cards contributed to the growth of group identities (Longman, 1999).

From the late 1940s, King Rudahigwa took steps to end the destabilization and chaos he saw in the land. Mutara made many changes; in 1954 he shared out the land between the Hutu and the Tutsi, and agreed to abolish the system of indentured servitude (ubuhake and uburetwa) the Tutsi had practised over the Hutu until then (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

2.2.5 Strife and Independence

In the 1950s and early 1960s, a wave of Pan-Africanism swept through Central Africa, expressed by leaders such as Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. Anti-colonial sentiment rose throughout central Africa, and a socialist platform of African unity and equality for all Africans was promoted (Freedman, 1984).

Encouraged by the Pan-Africanists, Hutu resentment of the Tutsi increased. The United Nations mandates, the Tutsi elite class, and the Belgian colonialists added to the growing unrest.

In 1959, Hutus staged a revolt and killed an estimated 20,000 to 100,000 Tutsi; thousands more, including the king, fled to neighboring Uganda (Des Forges, 1999).

The political events of 1959 marked a major change in political life in Rwanda. Some 150,000 Tutsi were exiled to neighboring countries. Tutsi who remained in Rwanda were excluded from political power in a state becoming more centralized under Hutu power (Sirven, 1984).

In 1960, the Belgian government agreed to hold democratic municipal elections in Ruanda-Urundi. The Hutu majority elected Hutu representatives. Such changes ended the Tutsi monarchy, which had existed for centuries. A Belgian effort to create an independent Ruanda-Urundi with Tutsi-Hutu power sharing failed, largely due to escalating violence. At the urging of the UN, the Belgian government divided Ruanda-Urundi into two separate countries, Rwanda and Burundi (Freedman, 1984). On 25 September 1961, a referendum was held to establish whether Rwanda should become a republic or remain a kingdom. Citizens voted for a republic. After parliamentary elections held on the same day, the first Rwandese Republic was declared, with Kayibanda as prime minister. Mbonyumutwa was named the first president of the transitional government (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

On 1 July 1962, Belgium, with UN oversight, granted full independence to the two countries (Linden & Linden, 1977). Rwanda was created as a republic governed by the majority MDR-Parmehutu, which had gained full control of national politics. In 1963, a guerrilla invasion into Rwanda from Burundi unleashed another anti-Tutsi backlash by the Hutu government. The economic union between Rwanda and Burundi was dissolved and tensions between the two countries worsened. Rwanda became a Hutu-dominated one-party state. In excess of 70,000 people had been killed (Sirven, 1984).

Kayibanda became Rwanda's first elected president, leading a government chosen from the membership of the directly elected unicameral National Assembly. He established formal relations with 43 countries, including the United States, in the first ten years. Despite the progress made, inefficiency and corruption developed in government ministries in the mid-1960s. Following more violence in 1964, the government suppressed political opposition. It banned the political parties UNAR and RADER (Des Forges, 1999).

2.2.6 Military Rule

On July 5, 1973, Defence Minister Major General Juvénal Habyarimana overthrew President Gregoire Kayibanda. He suspended the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and imposed a strict ban on all political activity. In 1975, President Habyarimana formed the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND). The movement was organized from the "hillside" to the national level and included elected and appointed officials. Under MRND, a new constitution was formed making the

party a one-party state (Newbury & Newbury, 2000). MRND was approved in a referendum in December 1978. These were shortly followed by presidential elections a few weeks later. Habyarimana, as president of the MRND, was the only candidate on the ballot. He was re-elected in 1983 and again in 1988, each time as sole candidate. Responding to public pressure for political reform, President Habyarimana announced in July 1990 his intention to transform Rwanda's one-party state into a multi-party democracy (Linden & Linden, 1999).

2.2.7 Civil War

On October 1, 1990, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), a guerilla group largely consisting of refugees attacked Rwanda from Uganda. The RPF blamed the government for failing to democratize and resolve the problems of refugees living in diaspora around the world (Des Forges, 1999).

After three years of fighting and multiple prior "cease-fires," the government of Rwanda and the RPF signed a "final" cease-fire agreement in August 1993, known as the Arusha Accords, in order to form a power sharing government, a plan which immediately ran into problems (Linden & Linden, 1999).

2.2.8 The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

On April 6, 1994, the airplane carrying presidents Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi was shot down as it prepared to land at Kigali International Airport. Both presidents were killed when the plane crashed (Newbury &

Newbury, 2000). Military and hutu militia groups began rounding up and killing Tutsi in masses, as well as political moderates irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds. The killing swiftly spread from Kigali to all corners of the country.

2.2.9 Aftermath and Peace

Between July and August 1994, RPF troops first entered Kigali and soon thereafter captured the rest of the country. The RPF rebels defeated the Hutu regime and ended the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, but approximately two million Hutu refugees - some who participated in the genocide - fled to neighboring Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire. This exodus became known as the Great Lakes refugee crisis (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

Following wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a huge movement of refugees began and brought more than 600,000 back to Rwanda in November 1996. This massive repatriation was followed at the end of December 1996 by the return of another 500,000 from Tanzania, again in a huge, spontaneous wave. About 100,000 Rwandese are estimated to remain outside of Rwanda (Newbury, 2002).

The postwar government has placed high priority on development, opening water taps in the most remote areas, providing free and compulsory education, and promulgating

progressive environmental policies. The Vision 2020 has the aim of achieving a service-based society by 2020, with a significant middle class. There is remarkably little corruption in the country (Newbury & Newbury, 2000).

CHAPTER THREE: RISE OF THE RWANDESE DIASPORA

3.1 Background and General Perspective on African Diaspora

It is important to note that 'African diaspora' is a political term originally used to emphasize the experience of African people dispersed by the slave trade. It is also an analytical term permitting discourse about black communities across territorial borders (Patterson and Kelley 2000:14). The African diaspora is very wide. It includes not only those of African origin living outside the continent, but also those who may not even hold the nationality of an African country, but who consider themselves to have an African ancestry (Omeje 2007:95). This diaspora consists of two quite different components. The first consists of those black people who were taken into slavery, ending up in the Americas, Caribbean and other places (Black, 2011). There are those who maintain that the African-American community did not sever its ties with Africa, and that these links can be strengthened further (Veney, 2002). The second component of the African diaspora are those contemporary Africans who have dispersed outside their home countries in the last sixty or so years (Crémieux, 2008). Rwandese diaspora falls, primarily, in the latter category.

3.2 Waves of Rwandese Diaspora

Although in 1994 massive migratory movements of Rwandese into exile, orchestrated by the genocide, struck Rwanda migration patterns (Walker, Robert, 2004, 11), it is important to note

that Rwandese diaspora pre-dates 1994. Migration in Rwanda can be traced to the colonial period when a number of labor migrants left the country to work in the mines of Democratic Republic of Congo and the tea plantations in Kenya around the 1940s (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006).

The political events of 1959 and the independence of 1962 also gave birth to political exiles to neighboring countries, whereas the economic regression of 1980s contributed another batch of economic migrants to the continent and the 1994 war and genocide climaxed the waves of migrations (Ogom, 2009). This validates Madmani's articulation that, "the Rwandese diasporas are a cultural identity who live outside Rwanda and are divided into three groups, nationals, migrants and refugees" (Madmani 2002: 494).

The post independence civil strifes were as a result of the flawed system of governance left behind by the colonialists that empowered some "ethnic" groups at the expense of others that is the divide and rule system (Shyaka, 2012, 9). In addition, there were weak and undeveloped state structures of governance. The result of this was more Rwandese fleeing to live in exile to guarantee their safety (Shyaka, 2012, 9-16).

In modern times, fuelled by the forces of globalization, Rwandese are emigrating mainly for economic reasons to obtain work and enjoy a better standard of living in the more developed countries (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006). While the periods of movements

of Rwandese migrants can be distinguished, the distinction between the political and economic migrants is not so clear.

3.3 Rwandese Diaspora Associations

3.3.1 Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN)

The first Rwandese diaspora Global Convention was held in Kigali, Rwanda, on 26-30 December 2001, established an Association known as The Rwandese Diaspora Global Network. Though the network has its registration and offices in Kigali, Rwanda, the network can open branches in other cities/countries or relocate its main office as may be decided by the Global Convention. It shall be governed by Rwandese Laws. The network has the following objectives:

- To promote solidarity and better communication among Rwandese living in the Diaspora;
- To establish a strong worldwide, broad-based, well organized network, so as to achieve better results in rebuilding Rwanda,
- To maintain and promote the Rwandese culture and values associated with it throughout the network;
- To promote friendship and cooperation in the fields of culture, science, technology and scientific research, unity and reconciliation and socio-economic cooperation among members of the Rwandese Diaspora, between the said members and

communities/countries where they live, and between them/their countries of residence and their motherland Rwanda.

- To provide a forum to the Rwandese Diaspora members, the Republic of Rwanda, as well as various other interested parties-national and international, for the exchange of views and experiences, the promotion of cooperation and coordination of efforts on Diaspora-related issues.
- To work closely with the Government of the Republic of Rwanda, the Rwandese public and private sectors, international organizations-governmental and non-governmental bodies, in order, inter alia, to facilitate the coordination of the RDGN and the running of its socio-economic projects.

3.3.2 Rwandese Diaspora Associations Affiliated to RDGN

There are several Rwandese Diaspora associations in the world. Such associations are coordinated within an umbrella named Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN). The Rwandese Community Association in the United Kingdom is one of the examples.

Rwandese Community Association UK (RCA) is the organization that represents and promotes the interests of Rwandese resident in the United Kingdom. It was founded over 21 years ago by a few Rwandeses who were then living the UK. The Association has since grown strong owing to the increasing number of Rwandese in the UK. The Association is the first contact for Rwandese coming to the United Kingdom, and provides a range of services and support to the Rwandese community including

representations at different forums, advice on education, employment and access to other services, interpretation and translation whenever and wherever needed and support to those who find themselves in difficult situations, be it sickness, death or otherwise. The Association strives to keep the ties between Rwandese at home and those in the Diaspora and to keep the Rwandese culture alive by organizing cultural events for both Rwandese and their friends and by encouraging Rwandese children to learn their language and culture. The Association and its members are also involved in various projects supporting developmental efforts in Rwanda. The Association is determined to continue to seek opportunities for all Rwandese in the UK, and to support development efforts in Rwanda.

3.4 Diaspora Initiatives in Rwanda

3.4.1 Advocacy on Justice

From time to time, some diaspora members express themselves on issues related to justice back home. One of such events was held on November 9, 2010 in Washington DC to call for the United States administration to bring to justice perpetrators of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The protesters gathered in front of the White House and later marched to the State Department to express their anger to the US administration for its inaction in terms of bringing to justice perpetrators of the genocide.

3.4.2 Rwandese Diaspora and Charity

Opportunities existing for Rwandese in diaspora include charitable services. Noteworthy, in October 29, 2010 at Ndera Primary School delegates from Diaspora General Directorate and Rwanda Diaspora Global Network handed, on behalf of Austria-Rwanda Society, different school materials to 51 vulnerable students attending the school. In May 2010, the Austria-Rwanda Society, through its delegation in Rwanda, had expressed its willingness to support education.

Also, Rwandese students in Uganda have launched a scheme that aims at improving the livelihoods of survivors of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The project named Tuition Insurance Scheme (TIS) is run by students of Uganda Christian University under their association Uganda Christian University Banyarwanda Students Association (UCUBASA). According to one of the informants, the idea to support the survivors was mooted after harrowing images of child victims whom he described as still lacking accommodation, representing a harsh reality facing children of victims of the genocide in several parts of the country.

3.4.3 One Dollar Campaign project

The “Diaspora One Dollar Campaign for Genocide Survivors” is a project designed by the Rwandese Diaspora community members living in all corners of the globe and supported by the Diaspora Directorate General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The objective of this project is to mobilize members of the Rwandese

Diaspora (women, men, children, young and old as well as their friends all over the world), to support vulnerable Genocide survivors especially the youth.

3.4.4 Bye Bye Nyakatsi Project

In the framework of participating in Rwanda development process, different projects have been initiated by the Rwandese Diaspora and Bye Bye Nyakatsi (grass thatched houses) is one of them. The project aims at improving the welfare of Vulnerable Rwandese Community.

3.4.5 Rwanda Day Events

Rwanda day are public events that have been held so far in four countries in Europe and North America and bring together Rwandese and friends of Rwanda to reaffirm their core national value, celebrate the country's progress and discuss ways they can best be part of Rwanda's socio-economic transformation. 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;
- Strengthen networks between Rwandese and friends of Rwanda across the world, and

- Present business, investment, career and other opportunities to Rwandese and friends of Rwanda around the world.

The most recent Rwanda Day was held in London on 18 May 2013, under the theme: “Agaciro (self worth): Delivering Prosperity,” and it focused on information and technology. This event was attended by about 3000 people and was graced by President Paul Kagame. He said that Rwanda is not a small country as some people may think because the country’s people are determined to own its development process and choose their destiny. Participants indicated that Information Technology (IT) is an important tool to enhance business efficiency opportunities for upraising young Rwandese. Other similar events have been held as outlined below.

- **Brussels, December 2010**

This first ever, Rwanda Day event, held in Brussels, and attended by 2700. The President of the Rwanda was the guest of honor. President Kagame said that although participants were living outside Rwanda for various reasons, had come at different times and under different circumstances, Rwanda belonged to all of them, and what everyone sought was a Rwanda for all Rwandese, not for Tutsis, or Hutus or Twas or even foreigners. President Kagame also spoke of the values that guide the new Rwanda, particularly the rejection of the culture of corruption, and importance of self worth of every Rwandese saying: “As Rwandese we have to believe in our own worth, and not expect to get this as a gift from someone else. People who do not value themselves cannot achieve development – we have seen this in the past in our country and on our continent”.

During the event President Kagame interacted with participant and responded to numerous questions and proposals on issues ranging from ideas to develop different sectors, cases of injustice, and Rwandese consular services in Europe as well as professional development among diaspora youth.

- **Chicago, June 2011**

The event was themed ‘Agaciro. Our Heritage. Our Future.’ Addressing the participants, President Kagame said that Rwanda’s battle for peace, development and dignity is an ongoing process and that Rwandese are involved and committed: *“The New story of Rwanda is about working to take a country out of a misery that some so easily got used to and are happy to live with. We need to invest in our talent, realize our potential and be ambitious. We should not accept to be victims or take handouts and leftovers”*. Also in attendance were Reverend Jesse Louis Jackson and Mr. Joe Ritchie, a veteran Chicago entrepreneur.

- **Paris, September 2011**

Over 3500 Rwandese and friends of Rwanda attended. President Kagame gave the reason of the meeting as to share news on Rwanda and learn of different roles in rebuilding our country. The questions and answers period was rather a reflection of the commitment of all participants to be part of the solution. Contributions came from the Rwandese women

living in Mali and Benin who expressed their admiration for the role of women in Rwanda to the participant from France who rededicated themselves to Rwanda.

- **Boston, September 2012**

President Kagame and First Lady Jeannette Kagame joined thousands of Rwandese and friends of Rwanda who gathered at the Westin Copley Hotel in Boston to celebrate Rwanda Day 2012 themed ‘Agaciro: The Journey Continues.’ The event which brought together Rwandese from North American Diaspora and Rwanda kicked off on Friday, 21 September with exhibitions by Rwandese institutions, presentations and entertainment. The following is a quote from the President’s speech:

“It should be our pride to live in a dignified country. You must continually tell the story of your country. If you don’t tell the story of your country, someone else will do it the wrong way progress we have made has come devoid of short cuts, lies. Progress invites detractors, but it’s ok. We have the ability, desire and will, to define ourselves. Detractors will do their job, I will do mine, if my progress hurts anyone, it’s not our intention, sorry.” A friend of Rwanda and Honorary Consul to Boston, Bobby Sager said Rwanda was no longer defined by the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

3.4.6 The Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund (RDMF)

The Rwanda Diaspora Mutual Fund (RDMF) is an investment initiative of members of the Rwandese Diaspora. The RDMF idea was mooted in December 2008. Although the initiative was purely from some members of the diaspora, the subscription is fully open to all the Rwandese Diaspora communities, their organisations and networks, friends of Rwanda, Rwandese nationals, and any other interested parties both public and private. The Fund was set up to act as a pool of investments from the Rwandese diaspora and Rwandese nationals and its objective is to mobilise funds to be invested in Rwanda and attract capital growth in the short, medium and long terms, thus contributing to the promotion of the culture of saving in Rwanda.

CHAPTER FOUR: INITIATIVES OF RWANDESE GOVERNMENT AND DIASPORA DIPLOMACY

This chapter emphasizes the following areas: institutional framework, the Rwanda Government diaspora engagement initiatives and opportunities and challenges that exist in harnessing the diaspora in post-conflict Rwanda.

4.1 Institutional Framework

4.1.1 Directorate General of Diaspora

The Diaspora General Directorate (DGD), under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda, was established by the Government to involve its citizens around the world in the national development agenda. The establishment of the DGD was by a cabinet decision of 20th June 2008. The DGD aims to create a conducive environment to enable the Rwandese Diaspora to be a strong cohesive community with a constructive relationship with their of origin and contribute to the national development of Rwanda.

Currently, among others, the DGD offers the following services to the Rwandese Diaspora:

- Information on investment opportunities;
- Information on vacant posts that are in the country especially in public institutions;
- Availing information on unity and reconciliation;

- Passport assistance;
- Criminal record assistance;
- Tax exemption assistance, and Facilitation on acquisition of housing In Rwanda.

4.1.2 National Institute of Civic Education or Itorero

“Itorero”, loosely translated as the National Institute of Civic Education has attracted the participation of the Diaspora. For instance, on September 1-5, 2010 about 100 Rwandese Diaspora youth members living in Europe met in Belgium for a five day “Itorero”. This “Itorero” was for many of them, the first occasion to learn and enjoy the beauty of Rwandese culture through merry making, fun, exciting and educative dialogue. During these 5 days, participants were able to bond, share personal and social experiences via games and sports such as football, basketball and golf to promote socialization and networking.

Another Itorero event was, on 17 – 22 July 2011, convened at St Edmund, Suffolk in London, United Kingdom, to discuss the challenges and share experiences on the Rwanda’s development. Immediately after the conclusion of the youth camp, the Rwanda Diaspora Convention Europe 2011 (RDCE) opened in the same place where different Rwandese in Europe exchanged experiences on the investment opportunities in their country of origin.

Following a request from the Rwandese diaspora members in India, about 500 Rwandese students in India participated in a five day “Itorero” that was meant for merry making, fun and educative dialogue involving a wide range of topics mostly on Rwanda. This event started on 8 February 12, 2010 and lasted for 5 days. The agenda of this civic education, concentrated on youth opportunities and roles in Rwanda's sustainable development and leadership.

4.1.3 Migration for Development for Africa (MIDA)

The concept Migration for Development for Africa (MIDA) seeks to respond to the phenomenon of brain drain in African countries through the creation and strengthening of sustainable links between African Diasporas and their countries of origin. The MIDA Great Lakes programme aims to build the capacity of public and private institutions in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda by mobilizing the Diasporas of the Great Lakes region legally settled abroad. The objective of the Programme is to encourage the mobility of skills and resources of the Diaspora in response to local development needs. The MIDA Great Lakes Programme is implemented by the International Organisation for Migration in close cooperation with the Ministries of Public administration; Labour and Social Security in Burundi, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in DRC and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in Rwanda. The programme is financed by the Belgian Government. Since 2001, it has built the capacity in more than 200 institutions in the Great Lakes Region, thanks to the involvement of more than 400 Diaspora experts.

The fourth phase of the MIDA Great Lakes Programme (2008-2012) is based on the experience gained since 2001 and its capacity building activities for local institutions take place in the framework of a multi-annual project. With this new approach, the MIDA Great Lakes Programme contributes to sustainable capacity building of more than 30 local institutions in Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo by making qualified members of the Diasporas available on a regular basis in the framework of the projects.

Professionals of the Diaspora participating in the MIDA Great Lakes programme are exclusively selected in the framework of the multi-annual projects supported by IOM. In teams of two to five members, sharing their knowledge and practical experience with the beneficiary institutions in the course of short-term voluntary missions. They therefore support local structures during the implementation of selected projects for the period 2010-2012. The programme MIDA Great Lakes supports selected institutions for a period of three years(2010-2012).These beneficiary institutions are public or private structures based in Rwanda, DRC, or Burundi involved in development activities in sectors of education, Health, rural development such as universities, hospital professional training centres, laboratories etc. These institutions requested the assistance of MIDA to build the capacity of their personnel where the local expertise is not available and to better fulfil their mission towards the Burundian, Congolese and Rwandese populations. The professionals of the MIDA Great Lakes Region Programme taking part in the program should be of Rwandese, Burundian, Congolese (DRC) origin, Should be legally and

permanently settled in Europe, Possess qualification and professional experience corresponding to the needs of the beneficiary institutions selected, Should be qualified in one of the three main sectors of activity of the programme (health, education, rural development) and are therefore these professionals should for example be specialised in nursing, human medicine, veterinary medicine, agriculture, Forestry, university teaching,, Laboratory Technology, ITC, Pedagogy , etc.

4.2 The Rwanda Government diaspora engagement initiatives

4.2.1 Outreach by the Government of Rwanda

The government of Rwanda has undertaken outreach programs to the diaspora communities. These include, meetings involving high-ranking officials of the government with groups living in different countries. One of those meetings included the Boston meeting of 22 September 2012- and attended by President Kagame and First Lady Jeannette Kagame. Most of these meetings aimed at encouraging Rwandese to invest back home. For instance during the Boston meeting President Kagame told the gathering that it is every Rwandese responsibility to build their country and not delegate it to anyone else.

Also during these meetings, the theme of being the “diplomats” for Rwanda reoccur very often, for instance during the same Boston meeting President Kagame challenged those in attendance that “It should be our pride to live in a dignified country. You must continually

tell the story of your country. If you don't tell the story of your country, someone else will do it the wrong way" www.presidency.gov.rw/component/content/article/1-latest-news/706-president-kagame-addresses-thousands-of-Rwandeses-at-rwanda-day-in-boston. The same theme appears whenever there are events in Rwanda that involve the diaspora groups. For instance during the closing of the 5th "ITORERO" at Gako Military Academy in Bugesera District, on 11th August, 2012. participants were urged to promote self-dignity and that of their Mother-land in different countries they came from.

It is important to note that in one of the events held in Washington DC, The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Louise Mushikiwabo, urged the Rwandese Diaspora to have pride in their country and speak out on the development achieved. Mushikiwabo made the remarks in Washington DC, USA, during a party to celebrate President Paul Kagame's victory in the recent Presidential elections. "Let us carry the integrity of our country, have pride and continue to spread the good news about what's happening in Rwanda," Mushikiwabo said. She also encouraged members of the Diaspora to come home and observe firsthand, the remarkable progress the country has registered. "You are a reflection of your country while you're here, so you have to speak the truth about Rwanda and continue to advocate for her positive image". She told the community not to be scared of what they see portrayed in some foreign media outlets, and said that it is not the true picture of the current state of affairs in the country.

4.2.2 Inviting Diaspora Groups to visit Rwanda

Itorero is one of the annual events, lasting about two weeks, that bring together Rwanda community living abroad and those in its closed borders to promote solidarity and exchange ideas on matters that shape the future of their country. Issues discussed focus primarily on the country's achievements in terms of development and the way-forward in the path of economic development.

From time to time Rwandese in Diaspora organize Rwanda day in host countries. In such meetings issues such as investment, contribution to government initiatives and other initiatives as well as culture and traditions come to the fore. One of such meetings was held in Chicago, United States of America on 10-11 June 2011 and about 3000 Rwandese from many parts of North America attended. This event was organized by the North American Rwanda Diaspora community. The focus of the meeting was on investment and employment, education and land access opportunities in Rwanda and across East Africa. Notably, one of the guest of honor was President Kagame who spoke with the delegates about how the government is working with Rwandese citizens to transform their country.

Looking outside North America, it is important to highlight the Rwandese diaspora youth living in Europe event who from July 17 – 22 2011 convened at St Edmund, Suffolk in London, United Kingdom, to discuss the challenges and share experiences on the country's development. This was a second national youth camp (Itorero Ry'Igihugu) in Europe. The first took place in 2010 in Belgium and was attended by over 100 youth from across Europe. This event lasted for five days and participants shared their personal and social experiences via games and sports such as football, basketball and golf to

promote socialization and networking through unity. Immediately after the conclusion of the youth camp, the Rwanda Diaspora Convention Europe 2011 (RDCE) opened in the same place where different Rwandese in Europe exchanged experiences on the investment opportunities in their country.

In Asia, about 500 Rwandese students in India participated in a five day “Itorero” that was meant for merry making, fun, exciting and educative dialogue involving a wide range of topics mostly on Rwanda. This event started on 8 February 12, 2010 and lasted for 5 days. This event was presided over by Dr. Habyarimana Jean Baptiste, Executive Secretary of National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, accompanied by Nkuranga Alphonse - Executive Secretary of National Youth Council and in close collaboration with the Rwanda High commission in India. The agenda focused on achievements realized by youth in the past 16 years, opportunities for youth in Rwanda to participate in sustainable development and leadership and awareness on youth’s participation in civic education.

4.2.3 Volunteering Program

Since August 2009, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Diaspora General Directorate launched a Diaspora voluntary project purposing to help both private and public institutions in Rwanda to fortify the capacity of their human resources. This project was developed in close partnership with a non-governmental organization named VSO-Rwanda with the aim of encouraging skilled Rwandese Diaspora members

worldwide to volunteer in Rwanda both for short term and long term. The first volunteer began in October 2010, and spent 3 months to draw up a project proposal on technical Vocational Training, as pilot project, that provides a framework for future diaspora volunteering.

4.2.4 December Retreat

December retreat for the diaspora is one of the activities that can be noted. The idea to have the retreat started in 2010. During the retreat, beside sharing and fun, diaspora individuals do undertake some community activities. For instance in 2009, the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network (RDGN) was allocated land in Bugesera District to build over 500 houses for the district's poor under this campaign dubbed 'Bye Bye Nyakatsi'. Liziyeri Village in Bugesera district is now known as the "Rwanda Diaspora Village".

4.2.5 The Agaciro Development Fund

The Agaciro Development Fund is a solidarity fund initiated by the government of Rwanda with a view to appeal to citizens to donate toward fast-tracking the country's development agenda. "Agaciro" is a Kinyarwanda word which can be loosely translated as "dignity". It is hoped that this will contribute toward improving the level of financial autonomy of Rwanda as a Nation.

Rwandese in the diaspora have started contributing to the fund. Up to end of November 2012, the members of the Rwandese Diaspora had contributed United States of America Dollars 898,583, Euro 140,000 and Rwandese Francs 108,000,000.

4.3 Challenges and opportunities in harnessing the diaspora in post-conflict Rwanda

The presence of diaspora communities has opened up several opportunities as well as challenges as they continue to grow in influence both in their destination countries as well as origin in Rwanda. The Rwanda Diaspora community is the human face or image around which their respective host country nationals form their perceptions and attitudes about Rwanda. Good behavior, achievement and reputation amounts to the benefit of Rwanda's image while bad behavior, crime and negative reputation harms Rwanda's image (Tom de Bruyn and Wets .J, 2006). Therefore an origin country like Rwanda faces a dilemma of how to effectively engage and work with its Diaspora community who are under the jurisdiction of another country and therefore not directly under its control to maximize opportunities and minimize challenges from this important partnership.

The perception in Rwanda about the diaspora communities has evolved overtime from indifference and non-involvement to active engagement and interest. Today the diaspora community is held in high regard due to their contributions to poverty reduction in their families and the national economy through remittances and other investments. Rwanda is a land locked country and therefore suffers the disadvantage of remoteness and limited access to international markets, global trade and investment opportunities. Several efforts to attract foreign direct investment have resulted in minimal impact. The diaspora community provides a good opportunity to increase Rwanda's networking with the international community to promote trade and investment through contacts they make in countries they have settled in.

4.3.1 Opportunities in engaging the diaspora

The Diaspora possesses a wealth of skills and expertise in these areas that can be harnessed through engaging them and creating favorable policies and incentives to promote joint ventures, technical consultations and knowledge exchanges, organizing short-term and longterm return opportunities for Diaspora experts to utilize their acquired skills back home to fill the skills gap.

They need to be given assurance that there is political stability, rule of law and other favorable conditions to convince them to return home. On the other hand, some individuals in the Diaspora are opposed to the government and have been supporting rebel groups seeking to overthrow the government. Reaching out to such groups will be helpful in promoting dialogue to resolve misunderstandings and conflicts hence strengthening National peace and reconciliation.

Rwandese in the diaspora provide a vital link with the outside world that government can utilize through engaging them. Social and business contacts made by the diaspora in their host countries can be helpful if made available to Government in accessing and building external partnerships for development. This would otherwise be a big challenge in the absence of participation and presence of the diaspora. The opportunities that are available to the Rwandese diaspora and the challenges they face are described in the next sections:

4.3.1.1 Role of Diaspora in Transfer of Knowledge, Skills and Technology

The diaspora community through their exposure and experience in the countries they reside constitutes a rich source of knowledge, skills and ideas that are yet to be tapped for the development of Rwanda. The professionals in the Diaspora have also benefited from higher education training, research and development opportunities that are limited or unavailable in Rwanda. This therefore makes the diaspora a vital “skills and knowledge bank” to contribute to the development of Rwanda. The growth and ever improving forms of modern technology have also brought about numerous opportunities for accessing global information, knowledge networks and production techniques.

Numerous skilled Rwandese in Diaspora have established themselves as reputable entrepreneurs, expatriates, academics, civil society leaders, musicians and cultural performers in their host countries.

4.3.1.2 Role of Diaspora in Public Diplomacy and Promotion of Soft Power

Rwandese in Diaspora are increasingly playing an active role in promoting Rwanda’s image abroad and similarly influencing the home public to harness the nation’s soft power and

attractiveness. The use of new information and communications technology (ICT) like the internet has been a principle medium through which the Diaspora community has been able to keep in touch with events at home and also convey their information. The Rwanda diaspora community plays an influential role in the politics and governance of Rwanda. Through various initiatives, Rwandese in diaspora come together and voice their opinions on important issues affecting the governance and development of their origin country

4.3.1.3 Role of Diaspora in Promotion of Culture

Rwandese in the diaspora have played an active role in promoting and providing funding for the tours of local Rwandese musical groups and artists abroad. The Rwandese traditional music, dance and drama is a source of entertainment but also a platform for communicating, advocating and educating the masses about issues that affect day to day life in society.

Rwandese also have a rich collection of traditional crafts and cloth that they carry with them abroad. For instance the art of making bark-cloth and other items like drums, mats, baskets etc. This adds to the beauty and expression of the African traditional art and crafts. Most of these products made locally are then sold as souvenirs. The role played by Rwanda diaspora artists, writers and authors cannot be under estimated. The diaspora artists, writers and authors have made significant contributions to literature and art works on Rwandese culture and society.

4.3.1.4 Role of Diaspora in Peacebuilding and Reconciliation

Generally, the Rwandese in diaspora are playing a proactive role in peace building and national reconciliation of their country of origin. Their efforts to reach out across the different ethnic and tribal groupings in Rwanda as well as networking with partners from their host countries demonstrate their commitment to building relationships and finding common ground for dialogue to bridge differences and come up with peaceful solutions to conflicts.

4.3.2 Challenges in harnessing the diaspora

Rwandese in the diaspora belongs to different social, economic and political groupings. Rwanda government therefore faces a challenge of communicating effectively to its Diaspora bearing in mind all these existing differences. This concern is also pointed out by Newland et al (2004, p.3) as follows; “ generalizations about diaspora are perilous, given the tremendous variation in historical experience, relations with authorities in the home country, levels of prosperity and education, religious background and ethnicity both within and among diaspora communities.” There is therefore need for flexibility to accommodate the needs and issues of each category within the diaspora.

There is also a challenge faced by Rwandese in the diaspora as they seek to donate items in kind to individuals, society and organizations back home. These items are usually subjected to a

stringent taxation system by the Rwandese Revenue Authority. This discourages Rwandese in diaspora from further sending donated items in kind.

There is also a challenge of encouraging Rwandese in diaspora to return home and fill the skills gap because of the very attractive offers and career opportunities that exist in their host countries. Rwanda is a developing country and still evolving in many aspects socially, economically and politically. The longer Rwandans in Diaspora stay in their host countries, the more difficult it becomes for them to return as they lose touch with close relatives and develop stronger attachments to the host country.

There is also a challenge of data collection of Rwandese in the diaspora. Many Rwandese in the diaspora do not bother to register with Rwanda embassies and consulates abroad. This creates an information gap on the actual numbers of Rwandese in the diaspora, their location and activities they are involved in. It is mostly when Rwanda in the diaspora are having difficulties or need consular assistance in their host countries that they approach the Embassy or Consulate nearest to them. Some groups in the Diaspora are openly hostile and engage in destructive activities like supporting rebel groups fighting against the government.

There is a challenge of under developed infrastructure, financial system and institutions. This discourages Rwandese in the diaspora from investing in their country of origin. The absence of a vibrant financial system and institutions reaching out to the most remote areas in the country makes it expensive and inconveniences the Diaspora in sending remittances back home. Similarly this creates a big challenge in accessing credit for investment.

Engaging the diaspora is also a challenge for government due to limited resources and capacity to reach out effectively and provide services to all People in diaspora. There is no specific fund available to offer protection and provide other vital services to Rwandese in the diaspora. All the government institutions involved in engaging the diaspora have to work within very limited resources that are inadequate to effectively engage the diaspora. This causes frustration on the side of Rwandese in the diaspora and resentment towards government.

There is also an attitude problem that Rwandese at home have towards their brothers and sisters in the diaspora. Many of them have taken on a negative attitude of becoming over dependant on remittances and other free handouts from the diaspora. This has made some people lazy, irresponsible and stifled initiative and creativity. This trend also impacts negatively on Rwandese in the Diaspora from returning home because they feel they are being sought after just for their money and material possessions. This negative perception was also re-confirmed when the

Researcher during a discussion with a Senior Official of Rwanda Investment Authority asked why some in the diaspora were reluctant to invest in the country. His response was that some Rwandese in the diaspora were reluctant to invest in their origin country because they feel they are being exploited for their money and that they are not receiving enough support from Rwanda government and their relatives in return.

In conclusion, while government has taken some positive steps in reaching out and engaging the diaspora, there is still need to design and implement appropriate and sustainable policies tailored to suit the needs of the diaspora to maximize the opportunities and minimize the challenges of

engaging them. There is also need to periodically review these policies to assess if they are effective in meeting the desired goals and improvements made where possible.

CHAPTER FIVE: IMPACT OF RWANDESE DIPLOMACY IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

The growing scale of international migration due to increased global trade, investment, employment opportunities and tourism has made States more interdependent than ever before and the need for cooperation inevitable.

The focus in the past regarding diaspora policy was mainly looked at as a responsibility of the host State but now it is increasingly clear that the origin State also has a big role to play. The challenge for policy makers is to design appropriate policies that will enable all parties involved that is migrants, the host state and origin state to achieve maximum benefits from migration.

This chapter discusses the impact of Rwanda diaspora diplomacy, proposes some practical recommendations of policies and initiatives that government of Rwanda and other stakeholders could consider to strengthen the partnership and engagement with Rwanda in the diaspora.

Rwanda diaspora is making significant contributions to the economy through direct investments and have a big potential for growth if given some incentives, a stable political and economic environment. The study has shown that the countries or regions that are main sources of foreign direct investment (FDI) are also host to a significant number of Rwanda in Diaspora. It can therefore be concluded that Rwanda in Diaspora not only contribute directly through investment

but also through their networks and business contacts attract other foreign investors from their host countries to invest in Rwanda. This is clearly confirmed through programs like Rwandese Diaspora Mutual Fund (RDMF). One dollar campaign among others.

The Rwanda in the diaspora is playing an important role in promoting trade between their host and origin countries. It was observed from the study that the volume of trade increased most between Rwanda and her neighbors in the immediate East and Central Africa region due to proximity, historical and cultural links but also this region hosts the largest number of Rwanda in the Diaspora due to regional agreements enabling free movement of people, goods and services. It was also observed that there was increased market access for products both within the immediate region and also other trading partners outside the region that host a significant Rwanda Diaspora population and have bilateral trade agreements with Rwanda.

Rwandese in the diaspora are making an important contribution to Rwanda's economy through remittances sent to their relatives and friends. Through the Agaciro Development fund up to the end of the month of November 2012, the members of Rwanda Diaspora had contributed United States of America Dollars 898,583, Euro 140,000 and Rwandese Francs 108,000,000.

It was observed from the study that the flow of remittances to Rwanda follows a seasonal pattern with the months of January and December recording the highest amounts of remittances received. It was also observed that the most common means of sending remittances is through informal channels by friends and acquaintances followed by money transfer operators like

Western Union and Money Gram. Most of the money remitted is used for household consumption and investment especially in the housing sector.

Remittances from the Diaspora constitute the second largest source of foreign exchange to Rwanda economy after proceeds from exports. It was also observed that remittances have surpassed Official Development Aid (ODA) as a major source of external financial inflows to the economy. The three main sources of remittances from the Diaspora by region are Africa, Europe and North America respectively.

It was observed from the study that Rwandese in the Diaspora actively participates in promoting culture, traditions and public diplomacy of their country of origin. This enhances the image and soft power of the country internationally. From time to time Rwandese in Diaspora organize ‘Rwanda Day’ in such events themes on investment, contribution to government initiatives as well as culture and traditions come to the fore.

It was observed that the use of modern information and communications technologies like the internet, blackberries, I-pods, I-phones etc in addition to the Media are the main means of communication used by the Diaspora community with the communities of both origin and host countries. It was also observed that Rwandese in the Diaspora are promoting their Cultural identity and image or soft power through religious organizations, performing artists, writers & book publishers, art and sports.

It was observed that mainly highly skilled and trained persons in Rwanda have emigrated to developed countries seeking better opportunities. This has caused the “brain-drain” effect and led to critical shortage of vital skills such as Doctors, Nurses, and University Lecturers among others. However, the negative effects of the “brain-drain” are being turned around to “brain gain” by Rwandese in the diaspora contributing through technology transfer, bridging the skills and knowledge gap. It was observed that Rwandese in the Diaspora often share their skills indirectly through internet or virtual means but also directly by organizing exchange visits and capacity building with their counterparts back home to share knowledge, skills and international best practices.

There is a steady growth of lower skilled temporary migrant works in the Diaspora as a result of bilateral agreements with host countries that import external labour. It was observed that most of the temporary migrant workers are based in the Middle East countries like United Arab Emirates, Iraq and Syria. They are mainly employed in the Services sector.

Rwandese in the diaspora are playing an important role as philanthropists. The networks and relationships they have built in the host countries are a vital channel of donations both financial and material to the local communities back home in their country of origin.

It was observed that most of the donations are individual donations with very few group donations. It was observed that most of the causes that required group donations were not followed through due to poor organization, coordination and mistrust in the Diaspora community of the local leaders in the country of origin entrusted to manage the use of the donations. Similarly the ministry of foreign affairs through the Diaspora General Directorate has launched a

Diaspora voluntary program. This is purposed to help both private and public institution in Rwanda to fortify the capacity of their human resources.

Rwandese in the diaspora are active participants in peace building and efforts aimed at national reconciliation in of their country. It was observed from the study that the Diaspora community often convenes meetings involving various stakeholders in Government, Civil Society, Think Tanks, Community leaders and other partners to promote dialogue and advocate for peaceful resolution to conflict in Rwanda. A case in point is the one dollar campaign for the genocide Survivor initiative started by the Diaspora community in London, United Kingdom that has played an important role in sharing information, mediation and promoting dialogue between the Rwanda Government and its diaspora especially the youths who survived the Genocides

It was observed that Rwanda government has taken active steps to engage and work in partnership with its diaspora by sending delegations to participate in diaspora Associations' conventions, meetings and activities.

Rwanda government also in turn hosts an annual Diaspora Summit to encourage the Diaspora community to actively participate in the development of their country of origin. It was observed that Rwanda government has established a diaspora division in the Foreign Ministry to work in partnership with other government and non-government stakeholders to formulate and coordinate the national Diaspora strategy. It was also observed that there is need for regular data collection and establishment of a database of Rwandese in the diaspora. Currently there is insufficient data on Rwandese in the Diaspora.

5.2 Recommendations

Rwanda government needs to work on setting up a data collection mechanism and building up a database for her nationals in the Diaspora. This will help in ascertaining the actual numbers of nationals in the diaspora, their location, skills and activities they are involved in. The data collection needs to involve all stakeholders both government and private.

Regular and efficient data collected will help provide vital information for planning and policy making. In addition to regular and quality data collection on Rwanda in the Diaspora, further research needs to be done especially in setting-up an efficient multi-stakeholder system or structure for better protection and empowerment of the Diaspora community. Lessons and ideas can be drawn from other countries like the Philippines, India, Mexico, Israel and China that have built-up impressive models from their Diaspora engagement strategies. Improvements and adjustments can then be done to fit within locally available resources in order to address the particular issues faced by Rwandese in the Diaspora.

Government needs to provide adequate information and sensitization to migrants, pre-departure, about the conditions, rules and obligations required of them in the host countries, information on how to register and access consular services from Rwanda Embassies and Consulates abroad.

Government can also assist migrants, through bilateral agreements with host countries, in negotiating reasonable employment contracts abroad and protecting them from exploitation.

Rwandese in the Diaspora have goodwill to contribute to the development of Rwanda through direct investments, technology transfer, trade and remittances. Rwanda government needs to support them obtain legal status in their host countries and also pass a law allowing nationals in the Diaspora to hold duo-citizenship. This will free Rwandese in the Diaspora to move freely back and forth between host and origin country. This promotes circular migration that encourages migrants make significant contributions to both host and origin countries.

There is need for increased capacity building within the various Rwanda government institutions and other stakeholders involved in Diaspora policy formulation and implementation. Sharing of knowledge and best practices at bilateral level between host and origin countries and at multilateral level through forums like the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN) will be helpful in improving and enriching Rwanda's Diaspora engagement strategy.

In addition Diaspora Meeting that gives an opportunity for Rwandese in the Diaspora to return home and connect with their country of origin, government should ensure that it is represented and actively participates in other events organized through the Diaspora Associations abroad. Every opportunity should be utilized by government, Civil Society and business leaders to interact, bond and network with Rwandese in the Diaspora.

Rwanda government needs to put in place appropriate economic policies and reforms that will help reduce the cost of sending remittances from nationals in the Diaspora. This may include encouraging and licensing more private financial institutions to provide remittance services,

increase competition and hence lowering of costs. This will also encourage more people to send remittances through formal channels. Currently a large amount of remittances from the Diaspora goes unrecorded because of the preference of sending through informal channels. This distorts data collection and makes it difficult for policy makers to plan appropriately for better management of remittances.

Government needs to offer Rwandese in the diaspora some incentives like provision of land, access to credit from financial institutions and tax holidays among others to encourage them to make direct investments at home. The Diaspora investors are generally more stable and risk averse in regard to their country of origin due to historical links, family ties, patriotic sentiments and generally home bias as compared to other foreign investors.

Government can encourage philanthropy and increase in charitable donations from Rwandese in the Diaspora by removing or significantly lowering the tax charged on donated items. Government can also take the initiative by working with local community leaders to identify community development projects that can be implemented with the support and partnership of Rwandese in the Diaspora. In addition, government needs to put in place and enforce appropriate laws that will curb the vice of corruption in public offices, protect donations, and ensure proper utilization of donated funds and build trust with partners in the Diaspora.

Government needs to support and encourage Rwandese in the Diaspora in their efforts to promote language, culture and public diplomacy. This could be done by providing some financial assistance and networking with both government and private institutions to promote Rwanda's

soft power. The Ministry responsible for Cultural development in partnership with Missions abroad and the Diaspora communities need to utilize all opportunities for cultural promotion and exchanges with the host countries and in so doing promote the image of Rwanda and open doors for cooperation in other sectors mutually beneficial to both countries. Promotion of culture and national image will also help to attract tourists as foreign publics get more interested in experiencing Rwanda's rich cultural heritage.

Rwanda government in partnership with Diaspora Associations and the host countries need to establish a migrant welfare fund to help protect and empower migrants. This fund will be helpful in providing assistance to migrants like providing health care, repatriation in case of death or natural disasters and generally cater for those essential needs that would have been difficult for migrants to provide themselves.

Areas of further research and investigation:

1. Comparative study of diaspora groups from different continents and countries interact with the government of Rwanda with a view to capture comparative opportunities and advantages etc.
2. Comparative country study looking at how various governments interact with their diaspora groups with a view to capture best practices.

3. Studies on diaspora and remittances have been done in Rwanda, and we recommend in-depth studies that could focus on other themes like culture, arts, peace and reconciliations with a view to strengthen policies affecting diaspora groups.

5.3 Conclusion

Rwandans in the Diaspora represent a vital resource that needs to be fully tapped and encouraged to participate in the development of their country of origin. A productive human resource is an important aspect for the development of a country. It is estimated that there are about 2.2% or approximately 660,000 Rwandese in the diaspora. The diaspora community consists of some of the most educated and highly skilled persons that can create a significant impact if they could transfer some of that knowledge and expertise back home to develop Rwanda.

Rwandese in the diaspora are also playing an important role in the development of their country of origin through remittances, foreign direct investment (FDI), philanthropy, trade and culture promotion. Rwanda government increasingly recognizes the contribution they make in poverty alleviation and economic development of their home country and has taken some positive steps to engage the diaspora.

While there are enormous opportunities available as a result of strengthening the partnership with the Diaspora, some challenges are still being faced that need to be addressed taking into consideration the interests of all concerned parties i.e. the migrants, host country and origin country. There is need to emphasize shared responsibility for all stakeholders in protecting

migrants and putting in place favorable policies to ensure that the benefits of migration are also shared.

It is important that governments take the lead but work in partnership with other non-government stakeholders in designing policies of engaging the Diaspora. This is because the process of managing migration involves people crossing State borders to access opportunities that enhance their livelihood. Hence States are in better position to provide protection to migrants.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview Schedule

Diplomacy of the Diaspora: Harnessing the Diaspora in Post-Conflict Society in Rwanda

1. Are there initiatives/ activities you are engaged in back home?
2. Would you like to briefly tell me why you are engaged in those activities?
3. Are there families or friends you are supporting in Rwanda? In which primary initiatives are the funds you send them used for?

4. Could you tell me whether you have any financial commitment or association in Rwanda which you sponsor with your money?
5. Do you participate in some social events back home? Which ones, if any?
6. How often do you communicate with people back home? Which are the most common ways of communication?
7. Are there any difficulties you encounter in as you try to engage communities and initiatives back home? What are they?
8. Do you have any personal business investment in Rwanda?
9. Would you please briefly describe the type of this business? Have you ever sponsored any member of your community or family to start up any income generating project? If yes, what motivated you to provide such a help?
10. Are there initiatives/ projects among Rwandese living in Kenya? Which ones?
11. Do you know any government initiatives targeting people living in diaspora? If yes, how is your participation? What do you see is their usefulness? What challenges do you see in engaging in such initiatives?
12. Do you think that initiatives to engage diaspora in Kenya need to be diversified to include an active role of NGOs and the private sector? Kindly support your response.
13. Do you participate in Government initiatives bringing Rwandese living inside Rwanda and those living outside Rwanda?
14. How often do you visit Rwanda?

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX 2

List of Interviewees

1. Sheila, Director of Studies and Senior Research Fellow, member of Diaspora Association, January 13, 2013.
2. Siracusa, senior official Rwanda Investment Authority, January 15, 2013.

3. Antony, member of the board Agaciro Development Fund January 22, 2013.
4. Vickery, member of the Rwanda investment Authority, January 26, 2013.
5. Ruth , Member of the diaspora Association Group, January 28,2013.
6. Wesley, Executive Director, Agaciro Development Fund, January 30, 2013.
7. Boniface, official Rwanda Diaspora Global Network, February 12, 2013.
8. Celestine , Professor, Department of Media and Communications Studies, Daystar University , Former Diplomat and Rwanda Ambassador, February 15, 2013.
9. Angelica, nationally renowned singer, writer, director, Artistic Director and public advocate of the Arts, March 3, 2013.
10. Lawrence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda, March 10, 2013.
11. Daniel, member of the Rwanda Diaspora Global Network, March 10, 2013.
12. David, Member Rwandese Community Association, March 13, 2013.
13. Louis, Member of Committee for Rwandese Community Association March 16, 2013

14. Lillian, member of Rwanda Diaspora network March 20, 2013.
15. Elizabeth ,officer Migration for Development for Africa March 21, 2013.
16. Sofie, Officer, Migration for Development for Africa(great lake programme),
March 21, 2013.
17. Tom, Student and member of Rwandese Community Association March 24, 2013.
18. Justin, official, Rwandese Community Association March 26, 2013.
19. Confidential Source, Senior RDGN Official, Consular, Public Diplomacy and
Parliamentary Affairs Division, March 27, 2013.
20. Confidential Source, Senior RDGN Official, Consular, Public Diplomacy and
Parliamentary Affairs Division, March 29 2013.