



War and community disorganisation: a case study of the impact of the Rwandan crisis, 1990-2000, on the family structure and stability among Rwandese in exile in Nairobi

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Bibiane Nyiramana. War and community disorganisation: a case study of the impact of the Rwandan crisis, 1990-2000, on the family structure and stability among Rwandese in exile in Nairobi. Sociology. 2002. dumas-01267395

HAL Id: dumas-01267395

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War and Community disorganisation!
A case Study of the impact of the Rwanda
crisis 1990-2000 on the family Structure
and stability among Rwandese in exile in
Nairobi

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
FACULTY OF ARTS
SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

WAR AND COMMUNITY DISORGANISATION: A case study of the impact of the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000 on the family structure and stability among Rwandese in exile in Nairobi.

A PROJECT PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS, SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR M.A DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY (RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT).

BY

BIBIANE NYIRAMANA

NAIROBI, 2002

IFRA



IFRA003040

01/09/03

NYI 301.6334



DECLARATION PAGE

I Bibiane Nyiramana, declare that this project is my work and has never been presented anywhere for any academic purposes. I also declare that this project is based on my personal research. All sources have been fully acknowledged.

Signed:

Date:

APPROVAL PAGE

Approved by my supervisors:

Dr. Ocharo

9

Miss Lillian Owiti

DEDICATION

To my parents, Marcella Zaninka and Jean-Baptiste Ugirashebuja, whose impartiality and wisdom are important to my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

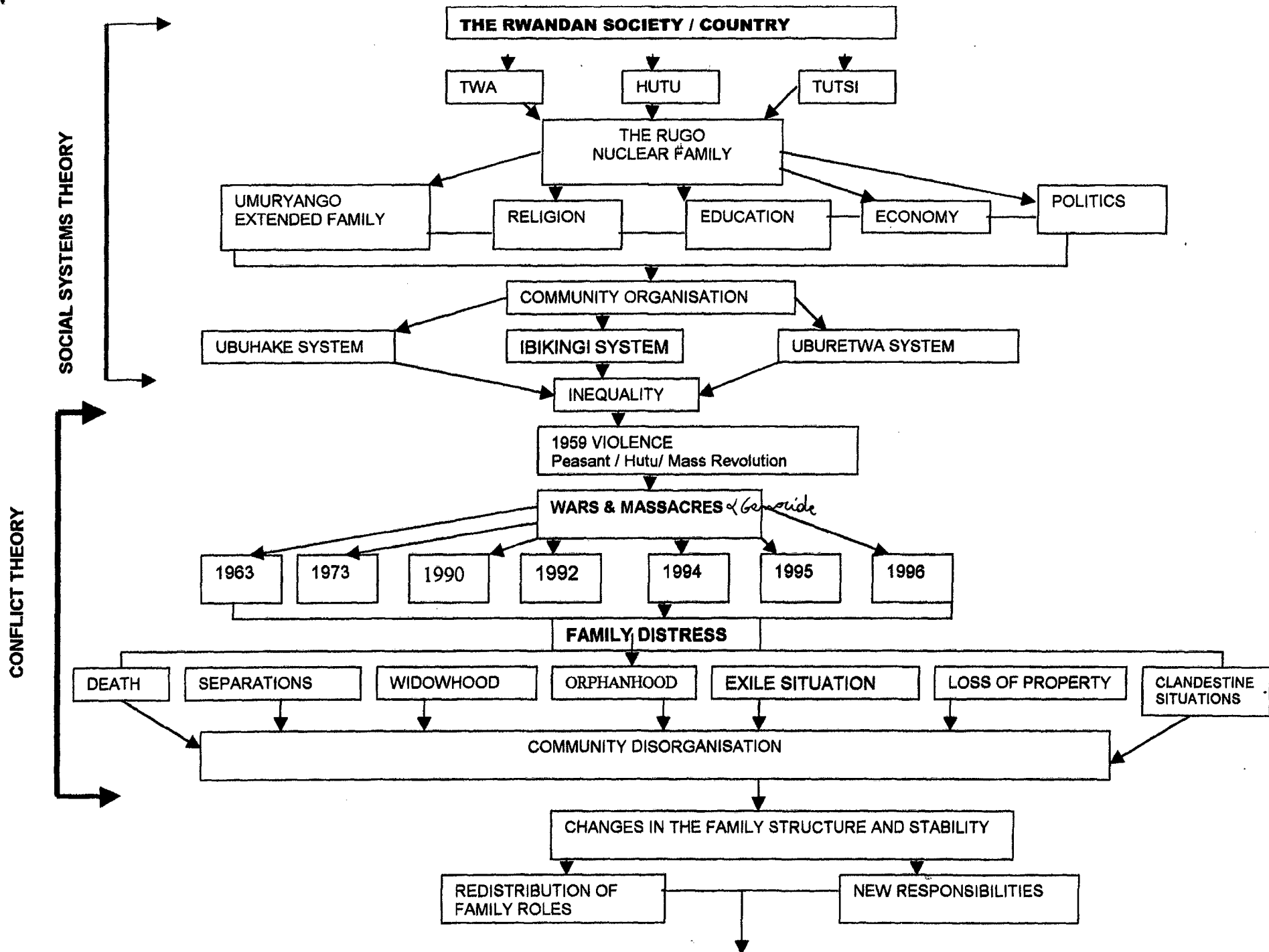
The following are to be thanked for their financial, material and moral support during my M.A studies:

My husband Francis Mwangi Kamau, my daughter Sylvia Wairimu Mahoro, Fr.Klinger Ingbert, Fr.Martel and the Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Mr.Gikonyo Mbiri, Mrs Mbogo, my sisters and brothers especially Hillarie and Zacharie and all other friends who assisted me in various ways.

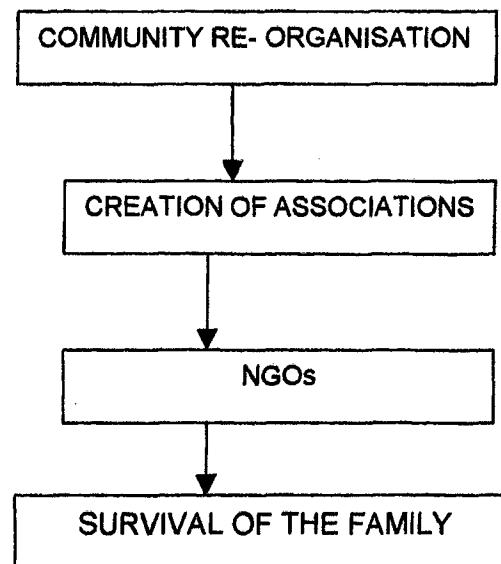
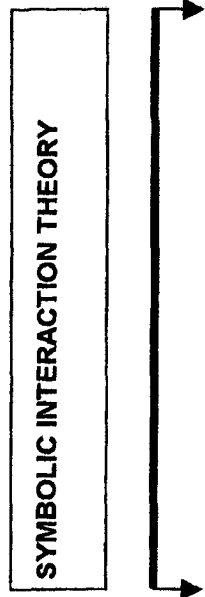
I would like to thank in a special way my supervisors Dr.Ocharo and Miss Lillian Owiti for their good advice.

My thanks to Mr.and Mrs BARDOUX who assisted me with their computer, good ideas and company. Thanks to the Director and the Manager of ICG in Nairobi.

To all these and others who helped me during my studies and my research work, I sincerely express my appreciation.



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GLOSSARY

FAR: Rwandese Armed Forces (Forces Armées Rwandaises).

GUFATA IGIHE: Working the land of a chief for sometime without going home..

ICYIHUTURE: A Hutu endowed with cattle and moved from the peasant class to the high class of Tutsi.

IBIKINGI: Large tracts of land for grazing.

IKIBOKO: A whip.

IMANA: God.

INKA: Cattle (cows)

INGABO: Army.

INTERAHAMWE: Self-defence groups. Togetherness.

KWUBAKA INKIKE: Maintaining the chief's enclosure

NYAGASANI: Lord

RPA: Rwandan Patriotic Army.

RPF: Rwandan Patriotic Front.

SHEBUJA: Patron

UBUHAKE: Lord-client system

UBURETWA: Forced labour

UBUSHUMBA BW, INKA: Minding the cattle

UBUTAKA: Land

UMUGARAGU: Client. In plural abagaragu

UMULYANGO: Extended family. In plural imilyango

UMUSOGONGERO: From the verb gusogongera meaning to taste

UMUSOZI: A hill. In plural imisozi

UMUTWARE: A chief. In plural abatware

UMUTWARE W, INZU or UMUTWARE W, URUGO: The chief of the family.

URUGO: Nuclear family. In plural ingo

URUTETE: Grain.

ABSTRACT

This project is an exploratory study on family changes resulting from the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000. It focuses on changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family in order to discover new responsibilities associated to this role in the families of Rwandese in exile in Nairobi. In this vein, it facilitates analysis of the challenges related to these changes and the new responsibilities of the head of the family. Again, it addresses the coping mechanisms and problems resulting therefrom.

This study describes what happens when the family is cut off from its community system and subsystems and finds itself dislocated in the system of a different community in a foreign country. It also describes how the family in the above situation tries to survive while faced with the structural changes and difficulties of integrating itself in the host community.

Various methods and tools of data collection have been used, namely questionnaires, interviews and focused group discussions. Findings have been analysed using descriptive data analysis methods.

The study is guided by the systems theory and symbolic interaction theory in order to apprehend the importance of the equilibrium built around the family structures. Conflict theory has been used to help understand the influence of the above-mentioned equilibrium on the health of the whole community. It also helps to notice not only the

importance of this equilibrium but above all, its fragility during the economic hardships resulting from wars.

This study is built on assumptions and opens a debate on the cancer of the Rwandese family that ignited genocide and now blocks any efforts of reconciliation. The Rwandan war and genocide caused family separations and created an exile situation. Exile families in Nairobi are former Rwandese elites. The war has deprived these rich families of all their property. In this clandestine situation they can not get jobs and hence do not meet their basic needs. All these create a major crisis in the family. Changes are observed in the family structure and stability. The man is not in a position to assume his responsibilities as the head of the family, either because he is dead or he is alive but jobless. The wife or even children are forced to take over the role of the head of the family. The family faces a lot of challenges and in order to survive recreates a new community organization based on associations and craftwork. Widows and orphans are faced with double responsibility. For children heads of the family, these responsibility interfere with their education, deny them the chance to grow, and become a very painful experience. By becoming the sole breadwinners, women also become the family's decision makers. This renders the men powerless and they loose authority before their wives and children.

In Nairobi, exile Rwandese are faced with confusion, anxiety and unhappiness. The family process is experiencing a lot of problems and challenges. Before the war and the genocide the Rwandese family process was a flow of family experience in the course of which family members developed aspirations and expectations, at the same time acquired their various roles. One of the consequences of the Rwandan crisis is the disruption of the family process. Death and separation have interrupted the successive family drama. Exile Rwandese family in Nairobi instead of developing aspirations and expectations are forced to adjust to sudden changes in the family structure and stability. Roles are not adjusted with the influence from the past, rather forced by the exile situation dominated by scarcity, differences, clash of motives and cultural inconsistency.

As exile Rwandese women become heads of their families their husbands who lost their role become frustrated and feel less obliged to commit themselves to familial or parental responsibilities. Consequently, exile Rwandese women confront the burdens of the double responsibility.

Before the Rwandan war and genocide the marital commitment was as a product of the extended family networks and structures. The family structures determined family roles and provided mutual help. In Nairobi due to changes in the family structure the marital commitment is as means of survival.

Changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family among Rwandese in Nairobi have severely disrupted domestic tranquility. Yet, only few divorce cases have been observed. This is because exile Rwandese in Nairobi have been forced to adjust to family conflicts mostly through avoidance reactions.

Changes in the redistribution of the role of the head of the family among exile Rwandese in Nairobi have also created maladjustment for children who became heads of their families. New responsibilities, economic hardship, family crisis and a multi-cultural environment interfered with their growing and educational process. Children who live with their parents suffer from the consequences of their parents' behaviour in regard to crises such as drunkenness, desertion, extra-marital behaviour, quarrels among others. Children are also faced with problems of insecurity, conflicting loyalties, inconsistent discipline, and unbalanced identification.

Among exile Rwandese families in Nairobi there is also "clash of inferiority complexes". Some parents feel inferior because their children cope well with new cultures and languages. The parents attitude that their greatest responsibility exists just before their children is being challenged. Children also feel inferior due to their parents' status namely a father without job, a mother who engages in extra-marital relations for the survival of the family, etc.

The Rwandan war and the genocide have created one-parent situations through death and family separations. Children from these families suffer all of the disadvantages of having one parent. This situation yield a special danger of excessive intimacy with one parent, rather than proper balance in love and identification with parents of the same and opposite sex.

Rwandese orphans in Nairobi suffer most, especially, when they are forced to live with people they do not know. In same cases they suffer rejection, jealousy, discrimination and unbalanced identification. "To be loved and then rejected may be worse than never to be loved at all".(Kirkpatrick,1963:214)

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

1.1. BACKGROUND

Today, the whole world still remembers the 1994 Rwandan genocide that took away the lives of an estimated 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu in only 100 days. This was as a result of the fighting between RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army) and the F.A.R (Forces Armées Rwandaises) since 1990 and the plane crash that killed President Habyarimana of Rwanda and Ntaryamira of Burundi on 6 April 1994 in Kigali. Many people all over the world still asking themselves how a genocide happened in such a small country.

Rwanda is one of Africa's smallest and most densely populated countries. It is situated in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa. It is inhabited by three ethnic groups, the Hutu (85%), the Tutsi (14%), and the Twa (1%). (De Hertefet, 1971)

The Hutu and the Tutsi relationship has been marked by a history of inequality and violence. This inequality has been based on their mode of production. Hutu have been

defined as farmers and Tutsi as pastoralists. Pastoralism happened to be more valued than farming.

During the pre-colonial period both modes of production coexisted without any problem. The land was enough for both agriculture and pastoralism. Hutu and Tutsi families established a kind of exchange, which was not very strong. But progressively as the farmer population grew and the number of cattle increased the exchange relation between the Hutu and the Tutsi became a contract, which was later transformed into a system of inequality called *ubuhake*. It was a kind of informal community organisation but later changed into a formal organisation. It remained a locally based organisation until the colonial period.

During the pre-colonial period the Rwandan community organisation was very unique in the region because Rwanda had isolated itself from the dynamic Central and East African commercial and political activities. Consequently, Rwanda was not affected by external aggression, the pre-colonial trade of Africans, and epidemics of 1850,s which ravaged central Africa (Willame, 1995:39)

One of the consequences of this isolation was a rapid population growth ,which challenged the clan and territorial communities. The lieage frame could no longer manage and control its population. This lineage break up reinforced the elementary familial system and a domestic economy centred exclusively on the *ruko*(the nuclear family).

In order to survive pressure from a combination of the rapid demographic growth of farmers (Hutu) and the rapid increase of the cattle, the monarchy formalised the *ubuhake* system¹. This created a situation of dependency that engendered the necessity and need of protection. " A muhutu had no rights at all except as client of a mututsi"(Mair: 1962).

¹ The UBUIAKE word is from the verb *guhakwa* meaning to pay one's respects to a superiour at his court to beg for protection. The UBUIAKE system was the "lord- client" relationship. For more information see Jan Vansina, 2001, Le Rwanda ancien: Le royaume *nyiginya*. KARTHALA: Paris, pp.65-67.

Every family client had obligations and taxes to pay to its lord. In addition to these, every family had to give a piece of their land for *ibikingi*². Hence, the *ubuhake* and *ibikingi* systems enriched the ruling class families while impoverishing the peasant families.

These types of inequality led to the 1959 violence between Hutu and Tutsi. The 1959 was called the peasant /Hutu revolution which was aimed at equal redistribution of land and cattle. This marked the beginning of endless violence between Hutu and Tutsi. Willame (1995) identified massacres of 1963, 1973, 1990, 1992 and the 1994 genocide. During the genocide, not just an estimated 150,000 families, each averaging 6 persons, were exterminated but about 400,000 families left all their properties and fled to neighbouring countries. (UNHCR, March 1996:3-12). In all these Rwandan conflicts the family became simultaneously the main actor and the victim.

The family is a central unit of the community. It is the first socialisation agent from which everyone gets the basic information about knowledge, religion, spiritual values, economy, politics and culture. Therefore, the family can produce conformists or deviants depending on how it socialises its members, where the socialisation takes place and who socialises those members. Emile Durkheim (1897) and Robert Merton (1949) have shown that deviants and rebels are more likely to be from families in anomic situations where the means to reach needs such as income, education, employment, health facilities, among others, are blocked. Deviants and rebels involved in conflicts are members of a family and so are individuals affected by those conflicts.

This study emphasises changes in the family structures which resulted from the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000 .The focus is on the changing role and the manifestation of the head of the family among Rwandese living in exile in Nairobi and its implications on family structure.

² *IBIKINGI* were large tracts of land for grazing acquired for the herds of the ruling class.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The first model of monarchy in Rwanda was the one of the family chief or of the small-scale patriarchal lineage, whose authority dwelt on about a dozen families. Such a chief usually succeeded a patriarch-chief of the eldest family or its branch. The patriarch could be the young brother of the deceased, the son or the grandson appointed by the deceased or elected by the family council in cases where the chief of the lineage had not appointed his successor before death. In kinyarwanda he carried the title of "umutware w'inzu or umutware w'urugo". This custom was still there before the 1990 war.

Before colonialism, the family chief exercised political, administrative and judiciary powers on the rest of the community. He was the representative of his family among the third parties, including all other politico-administrative authorities that existed. In addition to that, the political, military and other high personalities passed their orders to the people through him. He was the organiser of all community activities at the local and national level. Since he was also in- charge of justice and equity for needy members of his family, there were no such things as abandoned orphans or widows.

All the family chiefs formed what can be considered as the senate or parliament of the locality. It was by them that the country was governed and its security and defence ensured. At the lower level of the Rwandan community organisation, the father in a family was in charge of his inzu (house). He was the obliged intermediary of whoever wanted to negotiate with his people.

Compared to an organism, the family was composed of the head-(the father/husband)-who was the coordinator of all activities and in charge of the welfare of the family; the heart-(the mother/wife)-who was in charge of the health of the family; and the arms-

(children)-who were the labour force of the family. This is the reason why children were highly valued in the Rwandan community.

Since the 1980s the young population increased rapidly. This rapid growth became the root cause of poverty and unemployment/idleness among the youth. Consequently, the number of tramps, an available manpower ready for any kind of activity, increased rapidly in towns. It was from these desperate young tramps that extremist politicians recruited the interahamwe used to kill Tutsi and moderate Hutu during the 1994 genocide.

The 1960 exiled Rwandese families continued to socialise their members on the basis of the community organisation centred on family structures. Children were taught to keep their culture, especially those who stayed in camps, mainly in Uganda. "Although they had tried to work hard to survive using many ways, one should point out that many people remained in precarious social and economic situations." (Guichaoua, 1992:20)

It was from these impoverished families that Museveni recruited fighters who helped him to take over power in 1986. It is the same Rwandese fighters who invaded Rwanda in 1990 in order to help RPF take over power and change the politico-economic systems they believed were not democratic.

Many writers like Braeckman (1994), Verdier (1995), Decaux (1995), Chrétien (1997), McCullum (1994), Prunier (1995), Keane (1995), de Dorlodot (1996), Nkunuzwami (1996), Destexhe (1995), Dupaquier (1996), Willame (1995), among others wrote on the Rwandan crisis from historical and political approaches. Their analysis is great and carefully done at the macro level. It gives a general and wide view, which is important as a stepping stone for more specific studies on the Rwandan crisis. UNHCR, Red Cross, Médecins sans Frontières, Human Rights Movements, Save the Children Funds and many other NGOs addressed the Rwandan crisis from humanitarian approaches most of the time emphasising on children and women. The family needs to be studied as a whole

institution in order to address the impact of the Rwandan crisis on the family structure and stability.

Therefore, the proposed study on the impact of the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000 on the family structure and stability answers the following questions:

1. How is the role of the head of the family redistributed among Rwandese families in exile in Nairobi after the 1994 genocide?
2. What are the new responsibilities associated with the role of the head of the family ?
3. What are the challenges associated with the new responsibilities of the head of the family, the actual copying mechanisms and problems related to these copying mechanisms ?
4. How does the situation of women and children heads of families affects the Rwandese community organisation in Nairobi?
5. What is the impact of the above situation on the Rwandese living conditions in Nairobi?

1.3. GAOLS AND OBJECTIVES STUDY

This study sought to find out changes in the Rwandan family structure and stability, as a result of the 1990 war and the 1994 genocide, by doing the following:

1. Investigate the impact of the Rwandan war and genocide on the family structure and stability of exile Rwandese in Nairobi.
2. Investigate the redistribution of the role of the head of the family among exile Rwandese in Nairobi.
3. Investigate new responsibilities associated to the role of the head of the family.
4. Investigate challenges and copying mechanisms to new responsibilities.
5. Investigate the effects of the situation of women and children heads of the families on the Rwandese living conditions and their community organisation in Nairobi.

1.4. THE RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

This study is justified by a number of factors namely:

Firstly, the Rwandan crisis has not been addressed exhaustively. From the pre-colonial period up to the post-colonial period, the family has been the centre of all systems that became the root cause of the violence that has characterised the Rwandan history. Yet past studies have not given it enough attention in the analysis of the Rwandan crisis. This study seeks to show that for a more candid conceptualisation of the Rwandan situation and solutions drawn therefrom, the family dynamics need to be addressed.

Secondly, historical and political theories have failed to give a proper understanding of the Rwandan crisis. This is because these theories base their analysis on information from the first explorers and missionaries' writings with all their biases and distorted knowledge about Hutu and Tutsi. Therefore, this study gives fundamental information to build on when studying complicated situations such as the Rwandan crisis. It is a contribution to data in areas of community development, family and conflict studies.

Thirdly, the study is a contribution to similar studies in other parts of the world where there have been internal conflicts and wars, for instance, Burundi, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kosovo, Israel, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Liberia, among others.

And finally, the findings of this study may bring basis for working out interventions for refugees and displaced people.

1.5. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

For this study the following are the major terms that require defining:

- A community

The concept community has been defined differently by various scholars. This study is more interested in institutional and social systems perspectives of a community.

The institutional perspective views the community as a locality or a whole but described in terms of its major institutions.

The social systems perspective sees a community as a combination of social units and systems, which perform major functions for a locality. Therefore, a community refers to activities organised in such a way as to help people access to goods and services that are necessary in their day-to-day lives.

- Community organisation

A community organisation is formed by individuals who mutually agree to work together in order to meet their needs. These include informal groups such as self-help groups, beer parties, etc., and formal groups such as women's associations, artists associations, and other associations and cooperatives.

- The family

It is commonly assumed that the family is universal. The American sociologist George Murdock claimed that some form of the family exists in every society (Murdock,1967)He defines the family as a social group containing sexually cohabiting,

economically co-operating adults(male and female)with one or more children. This definition seems to exclude many groupings. For instance, it does not accommodate single-parent families.

For the purpose of this study, all types of single-parent families are included in our family definition. These are families of widows, divorced, separated, and non-married single-mothers. Children living alone and sharing family responsibilities such as caring for the younger ones, looking for food, shelter, clothing and other family activities performed by adults in normal circumstances are also seen as comprising a family.

-Family stability

In this study, family stability means the family intactness, which can be observed in the "intact homes" as opposed to "broken homes". In the intact homes there have been no divorces, no separation nor desertion. Both parents are alive, live together and support their children. The family is tied together by norms, values, beliefs, prohibitions and taboos.

- The family structure

Apart from the extended and the nuclear family structures, this study considers the organisation and ordering of everyday behaviour and relationships within the family as part of the family structure. Basic elements of the family structure, which are focused on in this study, are norms, values, status, roles, power relations, leadership, interactions, organisations, etc.

1.6. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The Rwandese community situation is critical and sensitive. There are very few Rwandese who agree to discuss it openly. As a researcher from the Rwandese community, one is first judged according to his/her physical appearance and the part of Rwanda one comes from. This judgement determines the kind of information one is given and the number of genuine respondents one gets. One is forced to use research assistants for some cases. Consequently, one spends more money on the study and in some cases one gets inadequate and/or incomplete information difficult to objectively analyse. For example answers like personal, only God knows, it is just terrible, why are you asking this, etc

CHAPTER II:

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1. Introduction.

There has been a cycle of conflicts in Rwanda since the pre-colonial period to-date. These conflicts have taken away lives of many Rwandese and forced many others to migrate to neighbouring countries; hence, affecting not only the Rwandan society as a whole, but also the family at the micro level.

In any society, conflict may occur between two or more people, social movements, interest groups, classes, genders, organizations, political parties, and ethnic, racial or religious collectivities. It often arises because of competition over access to, or control of, scarce resources or opportunities (M. Abraham 1993; 106).

There are various definitions of conflict. For example conflict is defined as "... interaction in which one party intends to deprive, control, injure or eliminate another, against the will of that other" (H. Turner 1978:182). Coser (1960) defines conflict as "struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resource in which the aims of the opponents are to centralize, injure or eliminate their rivals". And according to Bouldin (1962) conflict is "a situation of competition in which parts are aware of the incompatibility of the potential future positions and in which each part wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of others".

Given the Rwandan situation conflict may be defined as Hutu-Tutsi fighting over scarce resources, statuses and power. Their aims are to dominate, exploit and eliminate one another. To reach their objectives they use wars, massacres, genocide, nepotism, tribalism and regionalism.

Sociologists have identified two broad categories of conflict: (1) those from within a society - endogenous conflicts - and (2) those from without or between systems - exogenous conflicts.

Conflicts from within a society can be caused by change, which is seen by functionalists as a deviation from the normal. But from the conflict theorists point of view, change is an essential condition of social order at all times.

Conflicts from without or between systems consist of wars, cultural invasion and conflict of ideology. (M. Abraham 1993; 108-109).

The Rwandan crisis covers almost all the above-mentioned types of conflict. This study will only focus on the 1990 war and the 1994 genocide, especially their impact (negative and positive) on the family structure and stability.

A review of the Rwandan situation in pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods may help understand some root causes of the 1990 - 2000 Rwandan crisis, which are very important to this study.

2.1.2. Conflicts in the pre-colonial Rwanda.

The pre-colonial Rwanda was an aristocratic kingdom where the minority Tutsi dominated the majority Hutu. This kind of authority structure, as observed by Dahrendorf, is the primary source of conflict. (Turner, 1978:126).

The King (Umwami) was at the top of political, cultural and economic relationships. According to de Lacger (1959), the King was:

The father and the patriarch of his people, given to them by Imana (God). He is the providence of Rwanda, the Messiah and Savior. When he exercises his authority, he is impeccable, infallible. His decisions cannot be questioned. The parents of a victim he has unjustly struck bring him presents so that he does not resent them for having been forced to cause them affliction. They still trust him, because his judgments are always just. Whatever happens, he remains Nyagasani, the only Lord, superb and magnificent. (Prunier, 1995:10).

Under the King were the chiefs namely (1) chief of land (Umutware w'ubutaka), (2) chief of armies (Umutware w'ingabo); (3) chief of cattle (umutware w'inka). The chief of land took care of tributes from agricultural production, whereas the chief of armies was in charge of recruiting fighters and the chief of cattle ruled over the grazing lands. The three functions could be given to a single person and most of chiefs were Tutsi. (Prunier 1995:27).

Kagame (1952) observed that the army chiefs appointed those responsible for Ibikingi, which were patches of land for the Mwami's (King) cattle. The same army chiefs had to defend their subjects, advice them, and impose the respect of their rights at the royal court. The cattle chiefs collected taxes and presented them to the royal court.

In the pre-colonial Rwanda, cattle were a sign of wealth, power and good breeding. In theory Hutu (85%) and Twa (1%) were not allowed to have cattle. Only through the ubuhake system - Lord - Client system - Hutu could get cattle from Tutsi as an economic gift, a form of upward social mobility and security (Jan Vansina, 2001:65-67).

Maquet (1961) argued that "by the Ubuhake agreement almost any muhutu was linked to a mututsi and partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group". Prunier (1995) also observed that depending on the patron a Hutu endowed with cattle would become icyihuture, meaning that he would no longer be counted among peasants (Hutu) but rather among the high class Tutsi. And this would apply to his family.

Similarly, a very poor Tutsi who had lost all his cattle and had to cultivate land would be counted among peasants (Hutu). Marriage tended to reinforce the trend, the children of the successful Hutu marrying into a Tutsi lineage and the children of the impoverished Tutsi marrying into a Hutu family. Prunier added that some patrons were very mean and despite many social and economic obligations of the client towards his patron, the poor mugaragu (client) would never get anywhere at all. (see also Vidal 1971:533).

De Heusch (1966) observed that the ubuhake system created a situation of dependency, which engendered the necessity and need for protection. "A muhutu had no rights at all except as a client of a Mututsi who would assert his own rights in protecting Bahutu", Mair (1962) observed.

To Vansina (1962), the Ubuhake system never established close social relations between Bahutu and Batutsi. This was also noted by Luc de Heusch (1966) when he observed that the latent socio-economic violence of Ubuhake, which enriched the Tutsi aristocracy and moved it far away from all agricultural servitudes, alerted war.

2.1.3. Conflicts in Colonial Rwanda (1896 - 1962).

During the colonial period, Belgians not only tightened up the Ubuhake system but also introduced forced labor called Uburetwa. Newbury (1981) observed that the Uburetwa system introduced by the Belgians in the late nineteenth century was "a compulsory work of 'public interest' where every single male (and when needed, women and children) had to go and perform the corvée". Corvée is a French word meaning drudgery. This was unlike Ubuhake where the family could make its own arrangements to satisfy the government's demands as observed by Maquet (1961)

The Belgians favoured Batutsi and helped them extend their domination over Bahutu by eliminating the remaining Hutu principalities. Chrétien observed that "by the end of the Belgians presence in Rwanda in 1959, forty-three chiefs out of forty-five were Tutsi as well as 549 sub-chiefs out of 559. (Prunier 1995. 27).

The Kiboko system was also introduced - where peasants were beaten using a whip to force them to work harder and obey colonizers and the ruling class. As Baributsa (1991) observed" ... of every 250 peasants only 2 could say that they were not beaten. The exploitation and human rights abuse of Ubuhake, Ibikingi and Uburetwa systems became the source of the 1959 violence, which split the Rwandese into mutually hostile Tutsi and Hutu groups. (Willame 1995:46-63). The 1959 violence, also called the 'peasants (Hutu) revolution' erupted as a result of the accumulated bitterness of peasants. This was a combination of conflict of authority, between individuals and society, conflict of values, and conflict over the distribution of resources, power and prestige. (M. Abraham, 1993).

2.1.4. Conflicts in the post-independence Rwanda (1962-2000).

Shillington (1989) observed that at independence in 1962, the long-oppressed Hutu subjects overthrew the monarchy, massacred thousands of the Tutsi and drove tens of thousands into exile. Jean-Claude Willame and many other writers have identified massacres of 1963, 1973, 1990, and 1992 and the 1994 genocide. During this period (post-independence), the hatred between Hutu and Tutsi, even though latent, continued to be transmitted from one generation to the other through all agents of socialization. For example, like the colonial system, the post-independence systems utilized an identity card in which the ethnic group was mentioned in order to categorize Rwandese. The same identity card was used for recruitment into the army, employment and admission in colleges and university in what was called ethnic equilibrium. (Willame 1995:44).

The 1990 invasion of exiled Tutsi in northern Rwanda awoke the latent Hutu-Tutsi hatred and prepared a terrain for the 1994 genocide. Propaganda and deliberate disinformation through radios and political party meetings were used as a weapon against the Tutsi enemy. Peasants were reminded their oppression by the Tutsi before and during the colonial period. All these generated a lot of fear in the population. Also the culture inherited from the colonial period (that "when the ruler gives an order, he must be obeyed, not because his order falls into the sphere over which he has authority, but simply because he is the ruler"), played a tragic and absolutely central role in the unfolding of the 1994 genocide (Prunier 1995:57). This fact explains the involvement of peasants and Christians in the killing of their Tutsi and moderate Hutu neighbours.

The misconception on the Rwandese situations and gaps in the writings of the first explorers played a major role in the Rwandan crisis. As observed by Prunier (1995) "this type of writing is of utmost importance for several reasons. First, it deeply and durably conditioned the views and attitudes of the Europeans regarding the Rwandese social groups they were dealing with. Secondly, it became a kind of unquestioned "scientific canon" which actually governed the decisions made by German and even more so later by the Belgian colonial authorities. Thirdly, it had a massive impact on the natives themselves. The result of this heavy bombardment with highly value - laden stereotypes for some sixty years ended by inflation of Tutsi cultural ego inordinately and crushing of Hutu feelings until they coalesced into an aggressively resentful inferiority complex".

The 1990 Rwandan war and the 1994 genocide put many families into misery. Many Rwandese died, families destroyed, others displaced, and many children lost their parents. The genocide alone took away lives of between 500,000 and 800,000 people mainly Tutsi and moderate Hutu. The same genocide forced about half of the nation's 7.1 million population from their home and some 2.4 million Rwandan refugees flooded into neighbouring countries. (UNHCR Information Bulletin, March 1996:3-10)

In 1995 some Rwandese refugees began returning to Rwanda voluntarily in small numbers from Burundi, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These were mostly women and elderly people. (Amnesty International, February, 1996:5)

In late 1996 more than one million Rwandan refugees were out of Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. October 1996 Rwandese refugee camps in the Democratic Republic of Congo were attacked by the AFDLC (Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo), who bombarded refugee camps indiscriminately and committed several massacres. By November 1996 refugees were caught between vicious fighting, starvation and cut off all support. Some were killed, others hid in the dense forests where many died from hunger and diseases. About 600,000 refugees went back to Rwanda and others escaped to neighbouring countries such as Congo Brazzaville, Kenya, Central Africa, among others. (Amnesty International June 1997:22)

The period of 1997-2000 was marked by fear and insecurity among Rwandese inside and outside the country. Some returned refugees were forced back outside the country. (Seed Magazine April 1997, vol.9 no.4:29-33).

In 1999, Francois Muserere reported about his visit to Rwanda and wrote in the New People Magazine no 59 March-April 1999:4-6 that "in the country, the level of violence remained extremely high ... hundreds, may be thousands of persons have been abducted, killed or disappeared either in the hands of the rebels or the Rwandese military". He added that "over 130,000 prisoners, suspects of having participated in the 1994 genocide, still await trials, in appalling conditions. Some of them don't even have a case". In April 1998 out of 125,000 suspects who were held in overcrowded jails on suspicion of taking part in the genocide 22 were convicted and executed in public by firing squads. (The Daily Nation, April 8, 1999:8)

In 1999, more than 2300 prisoners have been freed because there was insufficient evidence to bring them to trial. (The Daily Nation, June 8, 1999:8)

There have been also the problem of revenge and victimisation. By April 1999 at least 40 of 1500 suspects freed due to old age, illness or young age, were lynched by the survivors and relatives of those murdered in 1994. (The New People Magazine no. 59 March-April 1999)

In general the period of 1990-2000 has been marked by total insecurity for all Rwandese families despite the government's good will and efforts to bring peace in the country.

2.1.5. Impact of conflicts on the family structure.

The single most important stress factor in a refugee and asylum seekers' experience is to be alone in a strange country, anxious about family left behind or to be worrying about elderly parents left without means of support. (Miserez 1991:78).

The transition from the extended family situation of the country of origin where grandparents, aunts, and uncles or other relatives were an important part of daily life, to life as a nuclear family in exile, may be very stressful, Lindberg and Miserez added.

It has been noted that political repression, arrests, torture, war and religious persecution affect a whole society, causing widespread social crisis. This crisis disrupts normal social networks and results in a situation of disequilibrium inside the family. This disequilibrium in the family is caused by changes in roles. Lindberg and Miserez (1991) observed that parents may be deprived of their role by circumstances, such as being humiliated, possibly beaten up, and virtually immobilized so that they cannot protect their children, or having spent long periods in camps where officials and social workers try to take over the parental role by telling the parents what to do and how to do it or by providing the child's basic needs of shelter, food and clothing, and so on.

The 1990-2000 Rwandan crisis has placed a greater burden on the family especially on women, who, apart from having a lot of responsibilities are exposed to all sorts of abuses.

Reports indicate that "sexual abuse to women and children refugees is a worldwide social health problem. (African Population Paper no.4 April 1995:21)

- Effects on children and teen-agers

" In any country where there is political instability, social disturbance, or economic depression, children are the first group to be adversely affected. During an armed conflict, a family may face unexpected destruction of its home by the invading army, ... sudden evacuation or displacement to a strange environment devoid of shelter and food (ANPPCAN 1988).

As observed by Rosenblatt (1984) a child is a very self-interested creature and wants cohesion. During wars, families are separated; kids are transported to other areas with or without their parents or relatives. Rosenblatt believes that there is nothing more devastating for a child than to watch these separations.

Some children witness the killing of their parents and relatives while some others are forced to kill. UNCF, 1989, has observed that more than 80 percent of the direct and indirect victims of military action are children and women.

Dr. Jorge Barudy, a child psychiatrist and family therapist, has spoken of children being victims of forces which have traumatized their existence, compelled them to witness the break-up of their familiar environment and driven them into exile. Such a child is affected in both positive and negative manner, not only by his / her personal history but also by that of the family, the community, the culture, and the society to which he / she belongs.

- Women and men

"At the very time when families are suffering the effects of strife, mothers face the prospect of being unable to fulfill their role as providers of food security. The interruption of food production is just one of the traumas which assail the mother-centered family, the basic unit on which children depend on for their physical and psychological development. This is the meaning of warfare and destabilization at the micro-level". (UNCF, 1989:12).

Mrs. Helga Jockenhvel - Schiecke, of the International Social Service, Frankfurt, outlined many of the problems refugee women face in Europe in a talk she gave at an international seminar in the Netherlands in 1985. She identified the specific problems of women which are caused by the destruction of the family structure during conflicts as:

Overwhelming domestic and child care responsibilities;

Fragmentation of the family;

Dependency (e.g., on relatives, institutions);

Marriage and generation - gap conflicts;

Identity and role problems;

Loss of orientation...

Speaking of refugee women not accompanied by a male head of the household, she said,

“For a single-parent mother, the problems multiply; a strange country without an adult partner, the responsibility for safeguarding her own and her children's existence, the children's upbringing in a bicultural situation and having to face the resultant cultural and generation conflicts alone. Added to that are all practical demands of everyday life. One cannot adequately describe the physical and emotional burdens produced by these tasks for the mother in her situation of cultural change, completely isolated from contact with other adults. The single - parent mother, finds herself in a situation, which seldom arises in her home country”.

2.1.6. Impact of conflicts on the family stability

Mary Farmer (1979) observed that the stability of marriage, and hence that of the family, depends on the primary relationships within the extended family; legal or religious prohibition on divorce; and traditional bond such as property.

Literature on the Second World War shows that "many survivors lost their partners and children during the war period. After the war, they felt that they must remarry and start a new family in order to survive their loss. Many survivors married young to replace the vanished family".

Since 1990 the primary relationships within the extended family in Rwanda have been disrupted by the war. During and after the genocide many Rwandese families suffered the loss of their members due to property."Killings have occurred following property

disputes where the legal owner of the house may have been trying to repossess property occupied by military officials or by their relatives or friends".(Amnesty International,20 February 1996:19). Some other Rwandese families who came from outside grabbed whatever dwellings were "available" and at times evicted at gunpoint when the property they wanted was occupied (Prunier,1995:301)

"There have also been cases where people have deliberately engineered the arrest of specific individuals so that they cannot reclaim their property". All these affected the Rwandese family structure and stability.

Due to family conflicts that arise from the strains of adjusting to new roles and a new environment it has been observed that divorce is very common among refugees. (Lindberg and Miserez 1991)

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is dealing with a complex situation which links a community identified as genocider and the fact that it does not represent the whole Rwandese community.

The same study links the family structures and consequences of the 1990-2000 Rwandan crisis. This is the reason why a combination of different theories was used.

2.2.1. The social systems perspective views the family as one of the sub-systems in a community's system. The sub-systems are institutions that meet the needs of their members. The underlying argument of the social systems perspective is that the institutions or sets of social relationships exist at a state of equilibrium and that change

in one leads to gradual change in others until an equilibrium is re-established. In the Rwandese case, community changes in the family have always affected other institutions such as the government, the economy, education, religion, among others. Therefore, it is very important to address the Rwandan crisis from the social systems approach using the Rwandan community as a system and the family as a subsystem linked only with the community organisation because other subsystems in the Rwandan system such as government, the economy, and education among others are no longer existing for Rwandese in exile. They may depend only on the subsystems of the Kenyan community.

Talcott Parsons examined social systems in terms of interrelated areas of activities and their functions for the whole. The interrelated parts of the society are the major sectors of social life and these are economics, politics, religion, education and family. They can be analysed in terms of the tasks performed for the society as a whole and for the other parts.

As an example of functional relationships between system parts, the links between family and religion, family and economics, family and politics, family and education can be examined.

A group or a society is kept together not only by the functioning relationships between the various parts, but also by value consensus among members of the group. Value consensus refers to a general agreement among group members regarding goals and the means of achieving them.

A social system is a system of action which includes a process of interaction, goals to be pursued and means for the accomplishment of goals. Parsons outlines four fundamental functions which every functional system must perform:

1. The function of adaptation –to produce and allocate fluidly disposable resources.
2. The function of goal –attainment -to maximise the capacity of the society to attain collective goals.

3.The function of integration –to bring together motivational and cultural or symbolic elements in a certain kind of ordered system.

4.The function of pattern maintenance and tension-management -to maintain adequate motivation to conform with cultural values, to reward conformity and to check disruptive behaviour”.(M.Abraham,1993:56)

2.2.2. *The conflict perspective* is a reaction to the argument of the social systems theory. Conflict theorists noted that even though institutions exist at a state of equilibrium in a social system like a community, there is a multiplicity of groups and each pursues its own interests, which may be opposed to those of the others and this creates conflict among those groups. As a result, some groups break up while others are strengthened or new ones emerge. This is to say that, due to continuous conflict in a community, social change is always taking place.

Conflict can bring negative as well as positive changes. It can help to clear misunderstandings, it can bring unity in a group or it can help correct some mistakes. However, a destructive conflict like war and genocide may not help achieve desired changes in a community. The 1990 Rwandan war and the 1994 genocide created disunity, mistrust, hatred, fear, and despair in the Rwandese community. But in trying to re-build and adapt to new situations, Rwandese in Nairobi have created groups and associations .

It has been observed that after a war there is too much conflict within families. This is mainly due to conflicts that arise from the strain of adjusting to the new role distribution within the family.

Parsons (1971) notes that when the family has reached the state of disorganisation, practically all mutual activities outside the home and with non-members of the family cease. Even satisfying relations within the home reduce to a minimum. The children are

disciplined chiefly now by power authority. Both father and mother become dogmatic in their orders and seek arbitrary control to obtain obedience, which would not ordinarily be given to them on the basis of the natural respect the children have for their parents. There is practically no sharing of activities between children and their parents, and indeed among all the children except the very young ones any activity is almost completely individualistic. Very few symbols of the family unity remain to give even a superficial indication of family integration.

2.2.3. *The symbolic interaction perspective* centres on the self that can emerge in the context of family interaction in roles. The extent to which an individual identifies with a role affects the performance of that role. Farmer (1979) observed that in the family, how partners perceive their roles and their degree of commitment to these roles affects the course and the outcome of the marriage. This is to say that changes in the family structure can cause stability or instability depending on how members of the family adjust to new roles.

Society consists of individuals acting in certain regular patterns through interaction. However, no interaction is possible unless the two individuals are aware of the other's intentions. Therefore, each individual must have the ability to "take the role of the other". (Moore, 1995:380)

Individuals engage in the interaction assume that they share common symbols and that they are able to place themselves in the position of the other. The easiest interaction is with members of a family because they know each other well.

Interaction is not trouble-free. People are constantly engaged in modifying their perceptions of each other, and indeed themselves. The individual is not a bundle of attitudes but a dynamic and changing actor. Our social milieu keeps changing and the interaction process influences and shapes us. However, in our families many of our interactions are fairly routine and guided by our awareness of how the other individual

ought to behave. The individual is an aspect of social process that arises in the course of social experience and activity. (M.Abraham,1993:209)

The world is created through the interaction of individuals who shape their awareness of themselves and their situations. In the symbolic interaction perspective ,social organisation is achieved through negociation and is always somewhat uncertain and temporary. (B.Hess,1982:16). This perspective also applies to the creation of the family structure and stability.

2.3. For the purpose of this study the assumptions are:

-That families in exile in Nairobi are faced with problems of adjusting to new roles. For example ,a wife may suceed in finding work while the man does not and this creates a reversal of the former roles when the man was the sole breadwinner. The children who get to learn new languages find themselves having to interpret for their parents not only the language but also the customs and laws of the country.

-That single-parents (mothers as well as fathers) are forced to assume alone responsibilities of safeguarding their own and their children's existence and the children's upbringing in a new culture and environment. Due to many responsibilities, getting a job becomes impossible. Unaccompanied older children and orphans are forced to assume adult roles such as taking care of younger children.

-That to be alone in strange a country, anxious about family left behind, or to be worrying about elderly parents left without means of support is the most important cause of stress among refugees.

-That due to the loss of property families in exile are in a state of poverty and in order to overcome challenges of poverty they work together in various groupings.

2.4. SUMMARY

In this study the observation made was that after the war, the family was cut off from the normal Rwandan system, which was composed of various subsystems namely, the family, education, economy, politics, religion, etc. In exile, the family subsystem finds itself dislocated and out of the system. This is because the Rwandese migration to Nairobi is progressively made by individuals or by isolated nuclear families. In order to survive, families create a new community organisation, which becomes a second subsystem. It is between these two subsystems that the equilibrium in the Rwandan community system in exile can be re-established. But this is not always the case because the community continues to be affected by the Rwandan crisis, which destroys the equilibrium between the family and the community organisation. In order to regain an equilibrium the Rwandese community is forced to integrate in other available systems, which can offer sufficient solutions to problems caused by sudden changes in the family structure more so in the distribution of the role of the head of the family.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

3.1. THE SITE AND UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The site of this study is Nairobi because the city hosts a considerable number of Rwandese who are within easy reach. According to the UNHCR Global Report 2000-Kenya (1June 2001,UNHCR Fundraising Report, PDF)-151 the total number of

Rwandese refugees in Kenya is 2700 .Since Nairobi is a modernised and industrialised city, it is the best site for social and cultural change studies. The Rwandese refugees in Nairobi are concentrated in Kayole, Kabiria (Riruta-Satellite, Waithaka, Muthama and Mithonge), Kangemi, Hurlingham and Kawangware.

The unit of analysis is changes in the redistribution of the role of the head of the family. The unit of observation is the Rwandese households in Nairobi.

3.2. SAMPLING METHODS

The sampling frame of the Rwandese households in Nairobi was constructed using the snowball methods in order to count the Rwandese households and a proportionate sampling method was used to select 100 respondents. The sampling frame was based on the variable marital status, which was supported by the variable sex. Seven strata were established using the proportionate sampling method . The counted total households are 911. Out of these 374 are complete families. Within the half of these 21 wives have been selected to be interviewed and from the other half 20 husbands were selected. $374:2=187$

$\frac{187 \times 100}{911} = 20.5$ One wife was taken by chance to combine the two halves.

911

Widows were selected as follows:

$\frac{105 \times 100}{911} = 12$

911

The same method was applied to the rest of the strata in order to obtain 100 respondents.

THE SAMPLING FRAMEWORK OF RWANDESE HOUSEHOLDS IN NAIROBI

Strata	Counted households	Proportionate sample
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Principal variable: Marital Status

Sub-variable: Sex

Complete families (husband, wife, children)

374	41%	Women	187	20.5%
		Men	187	20.5%
Widows		Women	105	12%
137	16%	Men	32	4%
Divorced		Women	8	1%
19	2%	Men	11	1%
Separated		Women	63	7%
103	11%	Men	40	4%
Orphans		Girls	58	6%
96	10%	Boys	38	4%
Never-married single-mothers			26	3%
26	3%			
Singles		Women	47	5%
156	17%	Men	109	12%
		TOTAL	911	100%

3.3. DATA COLLECTION TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

This exercise was carried out between December 2001 and January 2002.

For the study, quantitative and qualitative data was collected. A questionnaire of 25 questions was distributed among 100 respondents. Research assistants trained by the researcher herself distributed and collected the questionnaire forms in two weeks. One

research assistant was posted to Kayole, another to Kawangware and Hurlingham, another to Kabiria (Riruta-Satelite, Waithaka, Muthama and Mithongi), and another to Kangemi.

Group discussions were also conducted and the targets were individuals, groupings and associations made up by Rwandese in Nairobi. Some key informants from NGOs and churches that assist Rwandese in Nairobi were also interviewed. During the interviews and group discussions, a tape recorder was used and photos taken for those who accepted. For those who refused, the researcher took only notes. The exercises took one week.

Various libraries and web sites were used to collect secondary data. Hekima College was the main library, which has enough and current material on the Rwandan crisis .

This exercise took two weeks.

CHAPTER IV: DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive and cultural data analysis techniques have been used with the aid of the SPSS(Statistics Package for Social Sciences). Tables have been described, analysed and compared in order to give the characteristics of the studied population and show the relationship between their descriptive elements such as age, sex, marital status, level of education and occupation before and after the war.

The cross tabulations are used to compare and explain variables in relation to the study's assumptions.

The analysis is divided into four parts in order to allow a better understanding of:

(1) The characteristics of the Rwandan community. (2) The Rwandese living conditions in Nairobi. (3) The family situation in terms of changes and challenges (4) The solutions to these challenges.

All the above aim at showing how the Rwandan crisis has destroyed the family structure and how Rwandese in exile in Nairobi are trying to create a kind of community organisation based on associations and supported by NGOs.

4.1. THE OVERVIEW OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RWANDAN COMMUNITY

This section describes the Rwandese in exile in Nairobi using descriptive variables such as age, sex, marital status, level of education and occupation before the crisis. The aim

of this section is to give a clear description of the characteristics of the Rwandan community in exile in Nairobi.

4.1.1.

Table 1: The sex of the respondents

1. Male	4
2. Female	51
Total	100

It is important to remember that the proportionate sample of the respondents' sex could have been 45.5 males and 54.5 females if there had not been an error in the distribution of the questionnaire.

According to a study undertaken in 1980 by ONAPO (Office National de la Population) the number of females equalled the number of males in Rwanda. But in 1997 during his investigation on Rwandese refugees in Nairobi Cambrézy observed that there were a high percentage of female widows, which was still the case up to the time this research was being conducted .

4.1.2.

Table 2: Marital status of the respondents

1. Married	41
2. Single	17
3. Divorced	2

4. Separated in family breakdown	4
5. Widowed	16
6. Separated by war	7
7. Never-married single-mothers	3
8. Orphans	10
Total	100

From the above table ,we observe that even after all difficulties caused by the war and the genocide, the ideal Rwandese family structure still exists among Rwandese refugees in Nairobi. This is justified by the fact that cases of family breakdown (4%), divorce (2%) and non-married single-mothers (3%) are minimal compared to intact families (41%).

4.1.3.

Table 3: The age of the respondents

1.10-20	20
2.20-30	33
3.30-40	29
4.40-50	13
5.50-60	3
6.60-70	1
7.70-80	1
Total	100

Young Rwandese between 10 and 30 years of age are the dominant group in the Rwandese community in Nairobi. This may be explained by the fact that even before the Rwandan crisis, the number of the youth was higher than that of older people. According to a study by ONAPO (1980), the ratio of children to adults was 1:2 in Rwanda but in industrialized countries, it was 1:2:3. (Willame,1995:128) .This is to say that in 1980 in

Rwanda one child was counted for two adults whereas in industrialised countries one child was counted for two to three adults.

4.1.4.

Table 4: The level of education of the respondents

1. Primary	57
2. Secondary	36
3. University	4
4. Personal	3
Total	100

The Rwandan educational system has never been able to accommodate all bright pupils to secondary schools. This is the reason why there are very few Rwandese refugees who have reached the university level. But this is a common phenomenon in all third world countries. For example in Kenya the “education pyramid shows the benefits of free primary education with 6m or 80 + % of primary school age children in school. However, one in 2.2 gets a secondary school seat ...while one in 14 gets a university seat leaving many schoolleavers without further education/ training”. (Kenya Factbook 2000 2001, 16Edition p.119)

The level of education of Rwandese refugees in Nairobi compared to age shows that Rwandese of 20 to 30 years old have no access to university studies. This is mainly because public universities are few and the private ones are very expensive. NGOs and other benefactors that assist Rwandese do not cater for university studies.

4.1.5

Table 5 :The occupation of the respondents before the war

1. Farmer 9

2. Government employee 16
3. Army 2
4. Student 47
5. Business 14
6. Housewife 6
7. Craft 4
8. Personal 2

Total 100

Students and housewives represent the status of their fathers or husbands. In his study, Luc Cambrézy, observed that among Rwandese who arrived in Nairobi between July 1994 and January 1997 (the date of his investigation), 53% were from Kigali the capital of Rwanda, 12% were from Butare the second town after Kigali, 7% were from Gisenyi and Gitarama and 3% from the rest of the Rwandan towns. Therefore, this study dealt mostly with members of the old elite families.

4.1.6. SUMMARY

The study findings show direct impact on variable sex. Females are more than males, and widows are more than widowers, which contradicts the Rwandese situation before the war. Studies show that before the war the number of Rwandese females equalled the number of males.

A direct impact of the Rwandan crisis on the former elite families is observed through the high number of the youth and students, whereas the effect of the crisis is not visible on the married couples because cases of divorce are minimal.

4.2. LIVING CONDITIONS OF RWANDESE IN NAIROBI

A direct impact of the Rwandan crisis on the former elite families is observed through the high number of the youth and students ,whereas the effect of the crisis is not visible on the married couples because cases of divorce are minimal.

4.2. LIVING CONDITIONS OF RWANDESE IN NAIROBI

The living conditions of Rwandese in Nairobi have remarkably changed in comparison to their living conditions before the war and the genocide. They live in poor areas, in simple and small houses. They eat poor food and depend on assistance from NGOs and churches. This is mainly due to the loss of their property, farms, jobs and members of their families.

4.2.1.

Table 6: The occupation of the respondents in Nairobi

1. Business	1
2. Student	28
3. Housewife	8
4. Craftwork	7
5. Hawker	5
6. Teacher	5
7. Personal	2
8. Other	14
9. None	30
Total	100

Other includes watchmen,mechanicians,cooks,constructors and housegirls.

There have been changes in the respondents occupation .All lost the jobs they had in Rwanda and many can not get new jobs in Nairobi due to lack of working permits.

The cross-tabulation between occupation before the war and occupation in Nairobi shows that out of 47% of those who were students 19% did not manage to continue with their studies in Nairobi among whom a half managed to get an occupation and the other half remain jobless .

Another observation is that those who were government employees before the war find it easy to get jobs in Nairobi (from the total of 17 government employees before the war, only 4 are jobless). This may be because of their experience or their economic situation on their arrival in Nairobi which helped them access job opportunities.

The most vulnerable group is the one with low level of education. Before the war, this group depended on land and the extended family support. In Nairobi they only depend on begging.

4.2.2.

Table 7: The respondents' family size in Nairobi

1. 1-5 persons	75
2. 5-10 persons	25
Total	100

Majority of Rwandese families in Nairobi are made up of young couples with one or two children and incomplete families caused by separation when running away. The cross tabulation of sex and actual respondent's family size reveals that a high percentage of females (43 out of 75) live in families of 1-5 persons.

4.2.3,4,5.

Table 8: The actual respondents' house size

1. One room (bed sitter)	88	
2. Two rooms (a bed room and a seating room)		12
Total	100	

Table 9: The material the house is made of

1. Mabati (roof and walls)	80
2. Stones	20
Total	100

Table 10: House rent in Kenyan shillings per month

1.500-1000	43
2.1100-2000	25
3.2100-3000	20
4.3100-4000	12
Total	100

From tables 8,9 and 10 it is clear that the size of the house is determined by the amount of money earned per month. In Nairobi, a large percentage of Rwandese families are located in cheap neighbourhoods such as Kabiria, Kawangware, Kangemi, Kayole, etc. Very few live in one-room flats. To have a bigger house, one would have to move to cheaper areas with *mabati* houses. Those in Hurlingham are single mothers and orphans. They stay in St Monica hostel for free. Their basic needs are catered for by the management of the Hostel under the supervision of a Jesuit priest. This shows the state of poverty among Rwandese in Nairobi.

4.2.6.

Table 11: Equipment and other material in the house

	Have	Have not	Total
1. Beds	28	72	100
2. Mattresses	85	15	100
3. Chairs&tables	35	65	100
4. Kitchen utensils	100	0	100

All respondents have kitchen utensils such as pots, stoves, buckets, plates, spoons, cups, etc. although not as many as they had in Rwanda. The number differs from family to family. Another observation is that due to the size of the house, there may not be space for beds, tables, chairs, etc.

4.2.7.

Table 12: Available food for the family

	Ugali	Vegetables	Beans	Rice	Meat	Eggs	Fruits
1.Always	100	100	12	0	0	0	0
2.Rarely	0	0	68	19	13	7	32
3.Not at all	0	0	20	81	87	93	68
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Exile Rwandese in Nairobi are forced to eat ugali and vegetables because they cannot afford their staple food which is sweet potatoes, bananas and beans.

The consumer price index in Nairobi is high both for residents and refugees. The only affordable food for poor people is *ugali* and vegetables.

4.2.8.

Table 13: The family income in Kenyan shillings and sources

	500-2000	2100-3500	3600-5000	above 5000	Total
1.Begging	22	0	0	0	22
2.Job	0	0	2	3	5

3.JRS	0	1	1	0	2
4.Craft work	20	2	0	0	22
5.A combination	0	4	40	5	49
Total	42	7	43	8	100

Exile Rwandese do not get working permits because most of them live in Nairobi illegally. According to Kenyan legislations all refugees should be in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. Exceptions to stay in Nairobi are provided for those with well founded reasons such as health, security and studies.

Due to lack of working permits Rwandese refugees do not get jobs and therefore survive on combining many activities .The money they get determines where they live, the food they eat, what they have in the house and the size of the house. The refugees who are not able to combine more than one activity are the poorest and money they get is only for rent and *ugali* and *sukuma wiki*. They cannot even afford education for their children.

4.2.9. SUMMARY

The occupation of Rwandese refugees determines their living conditions in Nairobi. There is a general decline in their living conditions, because activities available for the majority are different and less lucrative as compared to their conditions before they left their country. They have become low class family in Nairobi as opposed to what they were in Rwanda - high class and elite families. This economic change has had repercussions on the family situation.

4.3.THE FAMILY SITUATION: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES

This section shows how changes in the Rwandese family structures have caused family instability and how members of the family try to adapt to these changes for the survival of the family through community organization. Death and family separation are the main causes of changes in the family structure and hence the cause of changes in the role of the head of the family. It is different for complete families because even though there is no change in the family structure, there is change in the role of the head of the family caused by economic hardship and lack of jobs for men.

4.3.1.

Table 15:The head of the Rwandese family before the war

1.Man	100
2.Woman	0
Total	100

Before the war, the Rwandese family structure was that the man was the head of the family, the wife was the heart whereas the children were the arms of the family. This meant that the man was in charge of wealth , the woman was in charge of the health of the family and children were the family work force.

4.3.2.

Table 16: The head of the Rwandese family in Nairobi

1. Man	25
2. Woman	54
3. Children	11
4. Other	10
Total	100

Other represents institutions that take care of orphans and very destitute Rwandese.

In Nairobi, changes in the Rwandese family role distribution are not intentional. They are rather conditioned by many factors mainly economic and the loss of family members. This is shown clearly in the next table. Among the 54 women who became the heads of their families, 27 are married and live with their husbands as shown by the cross tabulation between marital status and the head of family. This shows that the biggest consequence of the Rwandan crisis on the family structure and stability is the reverse role allocation and role loss. Majority of complete families are headed by wives.

The cross tabulation between head of the family in Nairobi and occupation in Nairobi shows that where we have housewives, there is no role change, whereas in cases of craft workers, hawkers, teachers and other activities the role of the family head is in the hands of women.

4.3.3.

Table 17: Reasons for changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family

1.Death	26
2.Separation	30
3.Unemployment	4
4.Income earning	28
5.Institutions	10
6.Difficult to tell	2
Total	100

Death and separation are the main causes of change in the family role distribution among Rwandese families in general. The cross tabulation between marital status and reasons for the head role change shows that the change is mainly caused by death in the families of widows and orphans, whereas the cause of this change among Rwandese in complete families depends on who is the breadwinner. This implies that economic factors also play a significant role in the change of the role of the head of the family among Rwandese in Nairobi. It is observed that Rwandese women in Nairobi are economically better off than men. This is because NGOs, churches and other benefactors give priority to women and children when it comes to the assistance process. This is because of the observation that when men were given money, they were more likely to spend it on other activities instead of using it on family improvement unlike women ,who,given their nurturing role,spend it on the family. Consequently, the women are forced to take over the role of the head of the

family in order to manage the economy of the family. This creates instability in the family as shown by the next table.

4.3.4.

Table 18: Problems related to new responsibilities of the head of the family

1.Prostitution	39
2.Stress	55
3.Divorce	2
4.Separation	4
Total	100

Majority of Rwandese in Nairobi show symptoms of stress. They drink too much alcohol, majority have sleeping problems, they feel sad, helpless, worthless or less respected than other people and they are constantly worried. As observed above many women heads of the family are forced to practice prostitution in order to support their families. This creates tension among members of the family. The observation shows that the consequences of changes in the family structure are too severe in the complete families because the men who lost their role feel powerless and seek consolation in alcohol, whereas women who took over the role of the head of the family are overwhelmed by their new responsibilities and in some cases, they are not ready to assume those responsibilities. Others do not have means of meeting their family needs. All these affect the stability of the family. All the above have created an inferiority complex among the exile Rwandese men in Nairobi. They lost authority before their wives and children. They seek arbitrary control to obtain

obedience. Consequently, there are a lot of quarrels, lack of trust, individualism, frustration, confusion, anxiety and unhappiness among members of the family.

Frustrated husbands and /or fathers feel less obliged to commit themselves to familial or parental responsibilities. They seek refuge in alcohol. They desert their homes during the day and go back only late in the night to sleep. Due to lack of jobs they have become idle and most of the time stressed. They spend most of their time in small groups talking about politics and war.

Due to their abilities to accept submissive activities, Rwandese women in Nairobi have become the sole breadwinners. Consequently, they have become the heads of their families and decision makers. These additional responsibilities to the children rearing have overwhelmed exile Rwandese women heads of the families. They try various activities such as knitting, embroidery, making table clothes, decorating calabashes, among others. However, they do not get enough money to meet their family needs. In some cases they are forced to engage in extra marital relations for the survival of the family.

In order to deal with stress exile Rwandese in Nairobi have started associations and income generating groupings. Some of their associations are St Antoine, St Joseph, HOZA, APROFEMME, APAROFE, among others. Through these associations exile Rwandese participate in economic and cultural activities. It is through these associations that families are easily connected to NGOs which assist them by financing income generating small projects.

4.3.5.

Table 19: Problems related to the family separation

1.Prostitution	20
2.Early pregnancies	3
3.Abortion	4
4.Drunkadness	31
5.Stress	29
6.Early marriages	9
7.Singleness	4
Total	100

Rwandese in exile in Nairobi experience enormous amounts of stress, which makes them to engage in drinking too much alcohol. This may be because they do not know what happened to other members of their families or because family members who were very important to the survival of the family were separated from them. This is one of the reasons why many women are forced to engage in prostitution. Another factor is that social control based on the extended family has been broken down, thus creating family disequilibrium, socially and economically.

4.3.6.

Table 20: Reasons for family breakdown among Rwandese in Nairobi

1. Extra-marital relations	16
2. Drunkardness quarrels	9
3. Unemployment	3
4. Normless situations	16
5. Do not know	55
6. Other	1
Total	100

The findings on table 20 refute Miserez's theory (1991), according to which divorce is very common among refugees due to family conflicts that arise from the strains of adjusting to new roles and new environments. Table 2 shows that there are only 2% divorces and 4% separations among Rwandese families in Nairobi. What may be said to be family breakdown among Rwandese in Nairobi is the state of disorganisation and desertion caused by extra-marital relations.

4.3.7.

Table 21: Factors that contribute to the state of poverty among Rwandese in Nairobi

1. Loss of property, farms, jobs	68
2. Loss of partner	22
3. Loss of parents	10
Total	100

It is very difficult not only for Rwandese but also for Kenyans to survive in Nairobi without property and jobs. It becomes even more difficult for those who lost their partners and children who lost their parents.

4.3.8

Table 22: Other obstacles to the welfare of Rwandese families in Nairobi

1. Lack of proper food	75%
2. Insecurity	90%
3. Unemployment	73%
4. Lack of parents' care for children	95%
5. Lack of proper health facilities	93%

These obstacles are created by the state of poverty and lack of living and working papers, which would help Rwandese get jobs and have security in order to improve their family's economic state and therefore be able to take care of all Rwandese children in exile in Nairobi .

The poverty situation is common for a large number of Kenyans in Nairobi especially those in slums but the Rwandese situation is quite difficult and different from the one of Kenyans because almost all Rwandese families in Nairobi were among the elite and now find themselves among low class Kenyans. It is very difficult for them to adapt to this situation. For Kenyans, it has been a gradual situation created by the country's economic hardship whereas for the Rwandese, it is a situation created by the Rwandan war and genocide.

4.3.9. SUMMARY

From the living conditions of Rwandese in Nairobi, the observation is that changes in the family have created various problems for the members of the family in general. The main problem is related to the changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family. Majority of women are forced to take over the role of the head of the family by the direct effects of the crisis (death of their partners or family separations) while others are forced to do so by economic conditions (these are married women still living with husbands who lost their jobs and other sources of income). These women are not prepared for the new responsibilities and the actual conditions are not favourable to help them assume these responsibilities. Therefore, they are forced to adopt means usually not accepted in their culture, such as prostitution and drunkardness. This affects not just married women and mothers but also their daughters as a result of the extended family breakdown which has created a lack of social control based on the family solidarity and the family network.

Changes in the family structures have not only affected Rwandese females but also males who lost their social positions. Due to economic hardships, these men find themselves in a situation of powerlessness, which forces them into drunkardness as symptom of stress. Both men and women who are faced with all those problems have no other alternative but to stay together, because without property and other means of income, they have nowhere else to go. This is the reason why there are very few cases of divorce and/or other types of family breakdown.

Although the Rwandese families in Nairobi can be identified with the low class Kenyan families with regard to their state of poverty, their situation is completely different in the sense that the Rwandese families in Nairobi no longer have the support of the extended

family and the community's social facilities. They have also experienced sudden decline from high class to low class, which created changes in the family structure and stability. Due to their poverty state and lack of jobs they only depend on the community organization based on NGOs and Associations. Hence, it is not possible to study Rwandese families in Nairobi without linking them to the community organization. This community organization offers Rwandese families solutions and in some cases creates new problems for example females who are forced to sleep with their benefactors in order to be assured of continuous assistance. This psychologically affects married men who are forced by their economic circumstances to accept the situation and also single men who find it difficult to marry their country mates but who cannot afford to marry Kenyans. The Rwandan crisis has not only affected female and male adults but also children who are left alone and forced to assume adults responsibilities.

4.4. FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS: RWANDESE COMMUNITY ORGANISATION IN NAIROBI

This section describes some Rwandese groupings and associations in Nairobi. Some case studies and key informant interviews are used to analyse problems within these groupings and associations and to give recommendations.

4.4.1.

Table 23: Actual mechanisms to adapt to new conditions

1. Assistance from NGOs, churches and individual benefactors	100%
2. Self-help groupings and associations	80%
3. Working individually	20%

Like all refugees, Rwandese are assisted by NGOs, churches and other benefactors. However, this help is usually not enough to solve problems of Rwandese families who, in order to improve their economic, social and psychological situations, work together in self-help groups and associations. Unfortunately, these do not always offer positive solutions .

4.4.2. Saint Antoine Association

This group is situated in Kayole and is coordinated by the Kayole Parish. It was founded in 1995 by Rwandese who lived in Kayole. The aim was to facilitate activities related to the assistance of refugees from the Great Lakes Region.

- Historical Overview

The first Rwandese arrived in Nairobi towards the end of 1994 from Goma and Bukavu in the DRC-Zaire at that time. These were rich families, mainly politicians and business people, who had fled with a lot of money. At the beginning, they survived on the money they had while trying business here and there. But it did not take long for their business to collapse because they had to bribe local authorities and police due to their lack of proper papers to stay and work in Kenya. Apart from bribes and living expensively in hotels and areas of the rich in Nairobi, their money was also spent on attempts to go to America and European countries using fake papers. Most of them were arrested and in addition the money they had paid to buy those fake papers, they had to pay for their release. They therefore began to live in simple areas mostly Kayole. After their money was completely finished, they asked for assistance from Kayole parish. The parish priest, father Hermann, assisted them with money for rent, food and other needs. Towards the end of 1995, the number of Rwandese in Kayole had remarkably increased and to be able to assist them father Hermann obliged them to form associations. They began with the one they called Saint Antoine.

Its objective was to present the community's global needs to the parish priest in order to simplify and better organise the management of the Rwandese community needs. After the priest had collected enough funds from charities, he then asked Rwandese to propose projects for financing. Attention was put mainly on food, health facilities and education. Like any other formal group, Saint Antoine association created a Committee composed of

a Chairperson and 4 secretaries. One was in charge of social affairs, another information, another liturgy, and the other one of education. The chairperson was the Coordinator of all activities. The secretary of social affairs was in charge of the distribution of food and aid to sick people. The secretary of education was in charge of searching for schools, drawing a list of pupils, and paying the school fees for each child when the Association managed to get legal authority to place Rwandese children in Kenyan public schools.

4.4.3. *Saint- Monica*

This is a kind of hostel situated at Hurlingham, founded in 2000 by a Jesuit priest in order to assist non-married single mothers without families or whose families were not in a position to help accommodate them. The centre offers them accommodation, food, post secondary training especially secretarial training and 500 Kenyan shillings pocket money every month. The women are managed by the priest in charge and they have strict regulations such as being inside the centre by 6.30 p.m, no visits by outsiders except on visiting days and they follow all the rules and regulations established by the priest in charge.

Even though the priest in charge is catholic mothers of all religions are accepted as long as there is a vacancy and there is proof that the girl seeking help is really a needy case. At the hostel, there are not just Rwandese (Hutu and Tutsi) but also Congolese and Burundians. The major problem for those with children is that the centre does not offer school facilities and mothers have to find ways of educating their children in the various schools they can afford.

4.4.4. *APROFFEMME*(Association pour la promotion de la femme)

The association was founded in 1997 by Rwandese women living in Kayole. Due to lack of proper papers, jobs and knowledge of the new languages, Rwandese women felt lonely

in their homes. They came together and founded the association in order to break their isolation and do some activities, which would help them improve their economic situations.

The main activities of the association are knitting and embroidery. They got a classroom in the Kayole parish compound and have two knitting machines. At the beginning they received a loan from AMECEA (Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa), which they paid after two months at a rate of 1/10 per month.

The actual members are about 30 Rwandese women. Their number keeps changing due to those who leave Kenya and new comers. They hold a general meeting once a month. Apart from knitting, which is always done in the class- room at the parish other activities such as embroidery, table clothes, are done either at home or at the parish depending on the availability of the members. Everyday, there must be at least one woman at the parish. These women can not be at the parish every day due to other family responsibilities and the association alone cannot meet all their needs, therefore, they engage in other activities outside their association.

The main benefit from the association is the moral and psychological support they offer to each other and sometimes, they help each other financially through *Harambees*.

4.4.5. *AMIS DES JEUNES and L'UNITE SCOUT* are associations for the youth. Their main activities are organisation and participation in seminars, charity activities such as visiting sick people, participation in prayer groups, involvement in the preparation of masses, cultural and refugee days and other activities at their parishes.

4.4.6. *St JOSEPH Association* organises funerals for refugee. The idea came about when one of the Rwandese refugee (a single man who lived alone) died in his house and was

only found after his body had began to decompose and smell .Every member contribute some money monthly. There is a management committee in charge of organising funerals and deciding on how to use the available funds.

4.4.7. *St ANTOINE Association* has more than 400 members who have membership cards .It is organised in such a way that there is a coordinator ,an assistant and 6 commissioners. The first commissioner is in charge of social affairs ,the second one in charge of scholarship ,the third in charge of liturgy ,the fourth in charge of information ,the fifth in charge of comptability and the sixth in charge of the secretariat .

Each commission has well defined activities .The commission of social affairs establishes projects for vulnerable refugees from the Great Lakes region and then uses these projects to solicit funds .The commission for scholarship identifies all children of school going age ,prepares their files ,presents them to AMESEA(Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa) representatives and then makes follow- ups in schools .

The liturgy commission maintains a good relation between refugees and the Kayole parish by participating in the parish activities .There is usually a mass once a month specifically for refugees from the Great Lake region .According to the St Antoine association coordinator, refugees try to keep the family alive through sacraments. For example in august 2001 they celebrated four marriages ,baptism of children ,first communion and confirmation .

This shows that even though the family has undergone a lot of changes and challenges, it is still struggling to survive.

The information commission looks for all kinds of information concerning refugees and then distributes it among refugees through their zone and sub-zone's representatives.

The accounts commission manages refugee funds from contributions and projects whereas the secretariat commission writes reports of St Antoine's activities.

As observed by the coordinator of Rwandese associations in Nairobi, majority of members of associations are females and this reveals the female's economic responsibility.

4.4.8. Key informants: JRS, UNHCR

Interview with the JRS representative (Jesuit refugee services) at MIKONO centre.

The office of JRS at MIKONO centre has two main programmes .The first is the emergency programme ,whose main aim is to assist asylum seekers .Both asylum seekers and those denied asylum are people with problems of integration because most of them are new in Nairobi and do not have any means for survival .Through this programme ,JRS gives food ,some money for rent ,medical assistance and offers counselling .This is done by social workers through 9 catholic parishes.

The other programme is the income-generating project. It assists those with protection letters, that is, refugees recognised by UNHCR for some special reasons such as education, medical problems ,among others ,who are given the permission to live in Nairobi instead of living in Kakuma refugee camp .Among these are those sponsored by JRS for education and income generating projects .

Under the emergency and income generating programmes, JRS has already assisted an estimated 250-270 Rwandese households.

Changes in the family role of the head have been noticed and have brought about identity conflict among members of the Rwandese families in Nairobi. A man who lost his role feels powerless, whereas some women who become the breadwinners are not ready to assume the responsibilities of being the heads of their families, while others are not able

due to lack of means to meet their families needs. These are mostly widows , single-mothers ,divorced and separated women. These women are forced to become beggars and prostitutes for the survival of their families .She also observed that not only are these mothers forced to become prostitutes but their daughters as well.

It has also been noticed that stress is the main consequence of changes in the role of the head of the family among Rwandese. This is the reason why a counselling programme exists at JRS.

While assisting Rwandese refugees in Nairobi JRS also noticed cases of children who are forced to assume adult responsibilities .She gave an example of a 12 year old girl whose mother had died and who took care of her father when he was dying of AIDS and now she is in charge of the other 3 children; the last one being HIV positive. The children were however taken to city council schools by JRS .The new responsibilities of the head of the family for this 12 year old girl obviously interfere with her studies.

In trying to assist Rwandese families in Nairobi, JRS has identified the main problems faced by these families as:

- (1)The struggle for the survival of the members of the family. That is, trying to meet their basic needs of food ,shelter and clothing .
- (2)Education for children and training the youth.
- (3) Lack of medical facilities.

All these problems are bigger for single-parents families, those headed by children, those of AIDS patients and young adults who live alone .Due to absence of the family unit support, young adults miss education and become delinquents.

Rwandese try to keep their families and their culture through solidarity groupings and associations. However, she observes that even though helpful, this isolates them from the local people and creates mistrust between Rwandese and Kenyans which does not facilitate the integration process.

The conclusion is that the Rwandan crisis has remarkably affected the family structure in that it has broken not only the extended family links but it has also interfered with the distribution of the role of the head of the family, which has brought in new responsibilities and challenges. Changes in the family structure have affected the family stability in that, cases of extra-marital relations and delinquent behaviour have increased. Whenever Rwandese families are visited the impression is that apart from the negative challenges brought about by changes in the family structure, there are some positive aspects of these changes. For example, she sees the extended family getting larger to embrace a region or an ethnic group in terms of solidarity.

Interview with the representative of UNHCR Mr. Olivier Beer, the Protection Officer.

"It is very important to know and understand the definition of the term refugee before doing any study on any group of refugee", Mr. Beer said. According to OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa,

1. the term "refugee" shall mean every person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
2. The term "refugee" shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

3. In the case of a person who has several nationalities, the term "a country of which he is a national" shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of which he is a national if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of the countries of which he is a national.

Africa member States of the OAU are supposed to do their best in order to receive refugees and to secure settlement for those who, for well-founded reasons, are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or nationality. This should be a peaceful and humanitarian act. Where a member State finds difficulty in granting asylum to refugees, it seeks help from other member States of the OAU. Where these member States are not able to help, then they call the UNHCR to intervene. This is what has happened in Kenya. According to Kenyan legislations all refugees should be in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps. UNHCR helps in the local integration, repatriation and resettlement of refugees. .

Rwandese in Nairobi are treated like other refugees. After going through the normal process of interview they are given a protection or a rejection letter depending on how they meet the prerequisite requirements for refugee in Kenya. The protection letter acts as a refugee travel document from Nairobi to the camp. Exceptions to stay in Nairobi are provided for those with well-founded reasons such as health, security and studies. Usually health, security and educational services are offered in camps but for those who get private sponsorship in Nairobi they are given a protection letter that allows them to live in Nairobi. It is in this angle that JRS, AMESEA, St. Monica, Churches and other NGOs are allowed by the Kenyan government to assist Rwandese refugees living in Nairobi.

4.5. CASE STUDIES: PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY RWANDESE ASSOCIATIONS IN NAIROBI

These problems were explained by individuals interviewed during the case studies. The respondents left associations to work on their own. The main problem which forced them to leave the associations and start working on their own was that the associations were not meeting their basic needs namely food, shelter, clothing, and security.

Case 1: A young Rwandese who lives in Kangemi started making Mandazis and distributing them to Kenyans in 1998. He presented his proposal to Monica (the representative of AMESEA in charge of refugees from the Great Lake region in Nairobi) and was given a loan of 7650 Kenyan shillings. After repaying this loan, he presented another proposal to open a small shop. In the year 2000, Monica gave him another loan of 7600 Kenya shillings. After repaying the whole loan, he asked for yet another loan of 7500 Kenyan shillings in order to stock his shop. By the time of the interview in January 2002, he had refunded 2500 of the 7500 ksh loan. He hopes to refund the rest (5000ksh) as soon as possible. In order to get a loan from Monica; one has to prove to be credit worthy. The major problem he faces is lack of working permit. Although he works very hard, a lot of his money goes to the police for lack of working papers.

Case 2: A hawker who started selling second hand shoes in town in 1998. Started with 8 000 Ksh which he was given by his wife who braids hairs. He had presented his project proposal to Monica, but it was turned down.

He buys second hand shoes at Gikomba market and sells them in town. He has no fixed customers and therefore moves from place to place looking for customers like other

hawkers in town. He gets more customers during the weekends, end of the month, before schools open, and public holidays such as Christmas, Easter, and the New Year.

The main problems that he faces are the lack of papers and getting a loan so as to expand his capital base. The UNHCR has refused to give him the protection letter and police in town always disturb him.

Case 3: She decorates calabashes with beads since 1999. Sometimes she does embroidery when she gets orders. She started with 1200 Ksh which she got from embroidery. She bought twenty calabashes at 10 Ksh each (200 Ksh), the beads at 800 Ksh and needles plus thread at 200 Ksh. According to her, it is better to have something to do on her own rather than begging because sometime one wastes a lot time begging and there is no body who is ready to give. She has no particular market and therefore sells to anybody. Most of the time, her customers are Kenyans Rwandeses or other people who want to give presents to their friends. Her main problems are the lack of market, low prices and the lack of an appropriate working place. This is because she lives in a small house and she has to bear with a stubborn child.

Case 4: She was in the HOZA group but left because of the mismanagement of funds. "At the beginning they had told us that they will be giving us money monthly, but we were only given food once in five month. The management committee pocketed all the money" she said. According to her, there was no need of continuing to waste her time spending all her energy dancing for nothing. This is the reason why she decided to do her own project of cooking chips and githeli. She started at the beginning of the year 2000 near a primary school in Kayole. It is working well since pupils buy lunch from her. Sometimes during holidays, she plaits hair. She started the business with two thousand Kenyan Shillings she got from plaiting hair. Her main problem is lack of papers. This is a big issue because she is forced to bribe the police. Another problem she has is that when she requested for a loan, her proposal was rejected. In her opinion, those who work with Monica serve better those whom they know. She would like to buy a sewing machine because she things she can get more money by making clothes.

Case 5: She works at her house in Soweto. She started decorating calabashes with beads in the year 2000. She did not join any association because of a bad experience with some managers who left Nairobi carrying all the association's money.

She started with Ksh 1 000. The money was given by her husband who is a hawker in town and who got a loan of Ksh 5 000 from Monica. Her major problem is the lack of market.

Case 6: she started decorating calabashes with beads in March 2001. Her project was accepted by Monica who gave her a loan of Ksh 5 000. She works with her husband at their house in Kayole and everything seems to be fine. She has a Kenyan friend who helps her to sell in town. Their problem are lack of papers and market.

Case 7: She started decorating calabashes with beads in September 2001. She chose to do that because when she arrived in Nairobi, all her neighbours were doing this. Her husband, who sells second hand shoes in town gave her 500 Ksh to begin with. She taught herself by observing others for two weeks. She works and sells at her house, which is near the road. She has no particular market or customers. Her problems are market and lack of papers.

Case 8: She is a member of APROFEMME since March 1999 although at the same time does individual craft activities. This is because she has realized that APROFEMME association does not have enough equipment to allow all members to be productive neither do they have market for their embroidery products. She has time for the association and time for individual activities of decorating calabashes with beads. She works in her house in Soweto. She has chosen to decorate calabashes because she gets clients easily and she can do many calabashes in a short time. The association, APROFEMME helps members who want to do individual activities by giving them a loan of Ksh 500. Her customers include Kenyans, Rwandese and others who buy those calabashes as present for their

friends. The best time for selling is Easter, Christmas, New Year and other holidays. The problems she faces are lack of market and materials.

4.6. SUMMARY

Majority of members of associations are women and the youth, men participate only in administration. This shows the economic responsibility of women in order to meet their families' needs. Since majority of men have lost their position of head of the family, they fight for the administrative positions in the associations to compensate their loss. In order to revive the community, families come together and create associations and solidarity groups. Through them families are easily connected to NGOs, which assist them by financing their projects. The family is reactivated by these projects, which allow members of the family to participate in productive activities such as craft works and at the same time regain their identity through cultural activities. The family is also redefining itself by moving away from the extended family links and enlarging itself in order to embrace wider areas such as region and ethnic group solidarity.

CHAPTERV: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.THE CHAIN OF IMPACT OF THE RWANDAN CRISIS 1994-2002 ON THE FAMILY

The traditional Rwandese family was the centre of the community system and it always interacted with the other community subsystems (extended family, religion, education, economy, politics, etc)



The Rwandan war and genocide caused family separations and created an exile situation. Families that arrived in Nairobi have been affected directly by either the loss of their important elements or by the loss of their community system. These created a situation of isolated nuclear families. After 7 years of exile a Rwandese community has been formed in Nairobi based on the family and community organisation

The crisis has created a considerable number of widows and orphans, who form familial units. Even though a lot has changed in the family structure, the basic family unit has kept its major place. It is young and it comes from the former Rwandese elite.

The war has deprived these rich families from all their properties and the situation of clandestinity they find themselves in forces them in an extreme life condition where they do not get jobs and hence do not meet their basic needs.

All the above create a major crisis in the family. First of all, the man is not in a position of assuming his responsibilities as the head of the family either because he is dead or he is alive but jobless. The wife or even children are forced to take over the role of the head of the family. This implies that she should cater for the family's financial needs. She therefore, initiates activities for the survival such as craftwork. But these are not sufficiently productive to cover all the family's needs. Therefore, she is forced to beg for money from various organisations and churches. In order to gain a strong relationship with her benefactors and hence be ensured of an assistance for a long time, the woman in some cases is forced in extramarital relationships which not only affect herself and her husband but also their children above all their daughters who follow the example of the mother. In order to survive the stress caused by such a situation, the man takes refuge in alcohol or deserts from the family during the day. The woman becomes also stressed by the overwhelming responsibilities she is not prepared for, the lack of facilities and looking after children

Faced by this crisis the family recreates a community with emphasis on the survival.

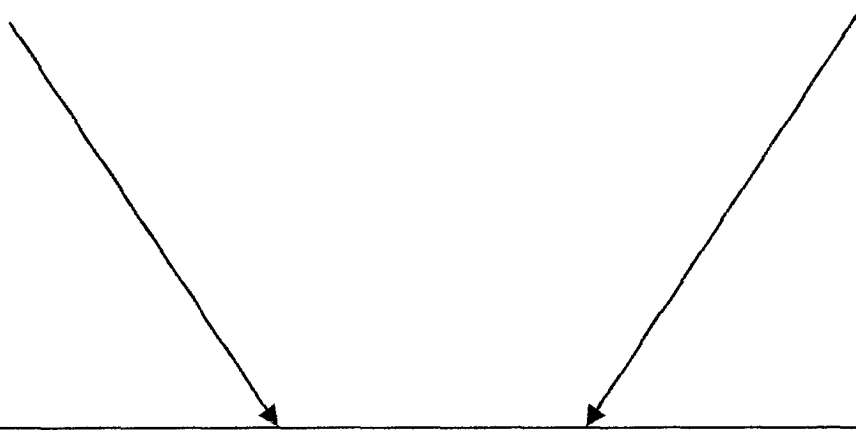
The formation of associations with three objectives:

- To serve as intermediary between the family and assistance organisms.
- To bring financial support.
- To recreate a unit of identity through cultural activities

The associations do not get financial capacity to develop activities that are capable of benefiting the family. The family is left to confront alone its needs and hence it is forced to link itself to NGOs the only organisation

To appeal to NGOs, which provide individual assistance essentially contributing to the survival of the whole family but at the same time causing family alienation and women's prostitution.

By treating Rwandese cases individually, NGOs define only this community around its families and hence failing to integrate them in the Kenyan community. They only keep in a state of survival the families that are going to provide unstable and



Seven years after the genocide the family in exile is not yet able to pull itself from the crisis caused by the war. The community that the family tries to create in Nairobi has no sense and power in that it is only the coordination cell for the Rwandese principal activity in Nairobi of begging money from NGOs and churches, which remains the only option until the clandestinity of these families in Kenya is solved. In order to assume the role of the head of the family, the woman is forced to engage in extramarital relations putting the man in a lethargic situation. The analysis of the impact of war on the family structure allows us to apprehend the importance of the equilibrium built around the family. It also allows us to understand that this equilibrium is fragile and influences the health of the society. Therefore, this project opens a debate on the Rwandese family's cancer that generated genocide and blocks any reconciliation.

5.2. CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed at investigating changes in the Rwandese family structure and the stability of those living in exile in Nairobi after the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The study's focus has been; first, the redistribution of the role of the head of the family; second, the responsibilities and challenges associated with the actual role of the head of the family and third, the mechanisms of solving actual family problems associated with the actual role of the head of the family. The study's assumptions were, that: (a) the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000 has caused changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family; (b) changes in the distribution of the role of the head of the family have created new responsibilities; (c) new responsibilities of the head of the family are the root cause of instability in the family. These assumptions have been supported in the study's findings as shown by the data analysis section.

Therefore, the conclusions of this study are as follows include the following;

A direct impact of the Rwandan crisis is observed in families of widows and orphans. In these families, there is not only change of the head of the family but also double responsibility for the actual head of the family, who assumes the responsibility of an economic supporter and being at the same time the house keeper and children's rearer. For children heads of the family, these responsibilities interfere with their education and become a very painful experience.

The Rwandan crisis has also indirectly affected complete families that are in Nairobi. These families have been cut off from their community system, which was providing them with properties, jobs and social security. This has put the man (husband and father) in a situation of clandestinity and economic crisis, which do not allow him to assume his responsibility as the head of the family, the major family economic supporter and the sole breadwinner. The only means for meeting the basic needs of members of these families in

clandestinity is to beg NGOs and churches for money, food, clothing, health facilities and children's schooling. The Rwandese community system has not prepared men for this kind of submissive activity since only women were socialised to submit to men's authority. Consequently, Rwandese men in Nairobi are forced to give up their role of the head of the family to women, who have more ability to submit to others' control and authority and to compromise their egos. By becoming the sole breadwinners, women also become the family's decision makers. This renders the men powerless and they lose authority before their wives and children. They are idle and stressed and whatever money they get is spent mostly on alcohol. The overwhelmed women also become stressed and this creates disunity in the family creating at the same time individualism among members of the family. The woman tries various activities through associations or individually. She does not, however, get enough money to meet her family's needs and she is forced to engage in prostitution, which affects the whole family by creating a state of family disorganisation.

Even though the Rwandese families in Nairobi are faced with a lot of changes that affect the family stability, cases of family breakdown are minimal. This is mainly because members of the family who wish to divorce or separate have no means to start another home. Therefore, they have come to accept their family situation, which gives the family unit a chance to survive in a complex situation.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The world should not underestimate the role played by the Rwandese family in the Rwandan war and genocide. Literature available shows that those who rebelled and invaded their country in 1990 grew up in families that had been deprived of their citizenship and their national rights to enjoy goods and services of their native country. Outside their country, they faced a lot of challenges caused by changes in their family structure and problems originating from the community organisation that was trying to solve their problems.

During the 1994 genocide those who engaged in killings were mostly motivated by the state of poverty their families were in. War and massacre became the means to meet the families' basic needs that they were lacking. And for once in their lives, they were given the opportunity by those in power to kill and amass as much wealth as they could in order to pull their families from poverty. Hence giving the poor men an important position in their families as expected by the community that had been socialising men to be heads of their families by providing basic needs to all members.

In the Rwandan community property, land and housing, more than everything determines the position of a man in his family and in the entire community. The frustration of not having property may push him to do anything including killing.

The Rwandan crisis has created another big problem by transforming the elite families into low class families. This was as a very sudden change whose consequences continue to worry the entire Rwandan society and the international community. Therefore, in order to prevent similar catastrophes in the future, the following recommendations should be considered:

1. The community organisation should be given facilities to provide men with activities that alleviate their economic hardship in order to avoid a creation of a group of desperate powerless men deprived of their role and authority in their families, a situation that can push them to look for power and authority in fighting. These will help them reintegrate in their families and reduce their stress. Once they get busy developing their families, they will socially and psychologically feel secure, which will help them to think of other solutions to the Rwandan crisis than fighting.

This will bring back unity in the family and will reduce prostitution among married women.

2. In order to provide solutions to the family problems, and hence prevent more damages to the entire community, dialogue should be initiated between Rwandese families in Nairobi and the Rwandan Embassy in order to start the process of removing them from the clandestinity situation and create an avenue of returning back to their homes in Rwanda. This is the only durable solution to family problems in Nairobi because it is the only way of getting back their properties, be reintegrated in their extended family system and hence regain their social solidarity and social control, necessary in taking care of widows, orphans and other family problems.

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INDEX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
FACULTY OF ARTS
SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Dear, Sir/Madam,

I am a M.A student at the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out research on the implications of the Rwandan crisis 1990-2000 on the family structure and stability.

The aim of this study is to know more about changes in the distribution of the head of the family among Rwandese families living in Nairobi after the genocide, new responsibilities, challenges and coping mechanisms.

The information you provide will be of great use to NGOs, churches, governments, and other benefactors interested in solving the Rwandese problems especially those interested in Rwandese refugees in Nairobi.

It is therefore very important that you feel free to give out your answers and ideas. This will not have any negative consequences either on you or on your family because this questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1. What is your gender (sex)?

2. What is your marital status?

4. What is your age?

What is your level of education?

5. What was your occupation before the war?

6. What is your occupation in Nairobi?

7. Are you with your family?

8. How many people do you live with?

9. Who was the head of the family before the war?

10. Who is the head of the family in Nairobi?

11. If there has been change in the role of the head of the family in some Rwandese families in exile, what do you think are the causes of this change?

12. What are the challenges related to these changes?

13. What are the problems related to family separations?

14. What are the causes of the family breakdown among Rwandese in Nairobi? And what are the types of family breakdown experienced by Rwandese in Nairobi?

15. What are the factors that contribute to the state of poverty among Rwandese families in Nairobi?

16. How big is your house in Nairobi?

17. What kind of material is it made up of?

18. What is your rent per month in Kenya shillings?

19. What kind of furniture and other material do you have in your house in Nairobi?

20. What kind of food do you eat (1) always (2) rarely (3) not at all?

21. How do you get money to survive in Nairobi?

22. How much money do you get per month in Kenyan shillings?

23. What are the obstacles to the welfare of members of your family?
24. What do you do to solve these problems?
25. What are your other suggestions?

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS

Key informants (NGOs and churches)

1. How long have you been helping Rwandese in Nairobi?
2. What are their major problems?
3. How do you go about solving them?
4. What challenges do you face while trying to help Rwandese?

Case studies

1. When did you arrive in Nairobi?
2. Were you alone? Did you know somebody in Nairobi?
3. What were the first problems you faced when you arrived in Nairobi?
4. How did you survive those first days?
5. What are your major problems now?
6. How do you go about solving them?
7. What are your other suggestions?

Group discussions

- Changes in the family structure: who does what
- Problems related to changes in the family structure
- Groupings and associations: names, objectives, activities, membership, and sources of the capital, market, benefits, and challenges.
- Suggestions.

_ The word ubuhake is from the verb guhakwa meaning to pay one's respects to a superior at his court to beg for protection. For more information see Jan Vansina, 2001, *Le Rwanda ancien : Le royaume nyiginya*. KARTHALA : Paris , pp. 65-67.

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_ Temporal structures made from iron sheets.

_ Cooked paste made from ground maize flour.