

**GENDER ROLES IN REFUGEE CAMPS**  
**THE LASTING IMPACT OF REFUGEE INTERVENTIONS IN TANZANIA**

Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis

**Submitted by Gordon Kempert Brown**

May 2006

© 2006 Gordon Kempert Brown

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu>



THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	3
Chapter I: Conflict and the Refugee Experience.....	5
Background.....	5
Chapter II: Gender, Refugees and Repatriation.....	9
Gender in Traditional Burundian Society.....	9
Displacement as an Opportunity for Change.....	10
Gender Programming in the Refugee Camp Setting.....	11
Chapter III: Hypothesis .....	18
Chapter IV: Methodological Approach.....	19
Sites and Sources.....	19
Unit of Analysis and the Demographic Sample Population .....	20
Interagency Cooperation and Assistance .....	21
Conduct of Interviews.....	23
Challenges and Constraints.....	24
Chapter V: Findings .....	28
Background .....	28
Themes .....	29
Chapter VI: Conclusions .....	35
The Refugee Camp Experience .....	36
Policy Implications and Recommendations .....	38
Reference List.....	41
Appendix A: Map of Burundian provinces of Return.....	43
Appendix B: Individual Interview Questions.....	44
Appendix C: Focus Group Questions.....	45
Appendix D: Research Participants .....	46
Appendix E: Map of Ruyigi Province .....	48
Appendix F: Official Letter of Authorization .....	49

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere appreciation to Professor Marc Sommers for his assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. In addition special thanks to Professors Shirley Hunter and Peter Uvin for their unwavering support. Thanks also go out to Denis Hynes, the Country Director of Africare Burundi, Blaise Nsengiyumva, Africare's Offices in Washington and Burundi, UNHCR Burundi, The Government of Burundi, Ligue Iteka, PADCO and the Burundian returnee community of Ruyigi for their collaboration and valuable input.

## *Introduction*

The foundation of the African household lies in the relationship between men and women. This thesis explores how this fundamental relationship is affected by humanitarian assistance in refugee camps that promotes gender equality. The analysis of returnees' perceptions of gender relations suggests that changes engendered by the promotion of gender equality in refugee camps are not permanent. However, it is possible that the exposure to the idea of gender equality may contribute to the overall presence of these ideas in the minds of Burundians. Thus in the long term, interventions may in fact contribute to changes in Burundian gender roles and its development. Protracted civil war in Burundi has prolonged the Burundian refugee crisis.

This thesis is based on a month of fieldwork in Ruyigi Province in Eastern Burundi. At the time of the fieldwork (2005) about 89,000 of the 450,000 Hutu refugees who fled to Tanzania had returned home (UNHCR 2005: 131). Ruyigi has the largest concentration of returned refugees in Burundi (OCHA Provincial Profile 2004: 1). Many of the returnees had lived in refugee camps in North Western Tanzania. My experience managing one of the camps (Mtabila) inspired this research endeavor, because a component of my work was to incorporate practices and messages promoting changes in gender relations among refugees. It is the intention of this thesis to explore what happens to a community and its traditional gender relationships

after living in refugee camps, where they have received ideas which lie in fundamental opposition to them.

## *Chapter 1: Conflict and the Refugee Experience*

### **Background**

Since attaining independence from Belgium in 1962, Burundi has been the scene of a complex ethnic conflict between two of its three ethnic groups; the Hutu and the Tutsi. Targeted killings, reprisals and state-sanctioned violence against civilians characterize the Burundian struggle. The loss of life due to violence has been conservatively estimated at 100,000 to 200,000 people (Lemarchand 1994: 7). Mass killings in 1972, subsequent reprisals, and the outbreak of full-scale civil war in 1993 caused the displacement of an estimated 570,000 refugees (UNHCR 2005: 217). Over 450,000 of these refugees fled to neighboring Tanzania and the vast majority of them resided in refugee camps located on Tanzania's western border with Burundi (UNHCR 2005: 216). The Arusha Peace Accords were signed in 2002 between warring Burundian factions establishing an inclusive transitional government and formalizing the process of reconciliation. In some areas of the country, small -scale fighting continues, however since the signing of the peace accord, over 89,000 refugees have returned home to Burundi (UNHCR 2005: 131).

Burundi is a nation of the global south and its' struggle with war reflects global trends in conflict. Despite the end of the cold war and the removal of superpower support for "proxy wars" in the global south, the last three decades have seen an increase in

violence and political instability (Duffield 2002: 5). Conflict and terrorist violence is a continuing part of the global political landscape (Duffield 2002: 5). Indeed, Joana Macrae argues that the withdrawal of superpower support for conflict has actually given way for new conflicts to emerge (Macrae quoted in von der Heijden 1997: 1).

In the Burundian civil war, rebel groups conducted a sustained insurgency against Burundian government forces. Their ability to provision themselves and the threat that their continued insurgency posed to lasting peace were an impetus for their inclusion in the Arusha Peace Talks. Addressing their demands was an important part of the effort to resolve the Burundian conflict. Globally, the influence of non-state actors like the Burundian rebel groups and their ability to prolong conflict by independently accessing resources is a growing concern for the international community.

Conflict analysts have noted that advances in technology and communication present new opportunities for non-state actors to conduct and prolong conflict. Non-state actors are increasingly able to exploit the interconnectedness of the global/information economy (Duffield 2002: 5). Non-state actors in settings as diverse as Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Columbia are able to link local resources, such as alluvial diamonds and tropical hardwoods, or the derivatives of coca and poppy production, both illegally and legally to global markets (Duffield, 2002: 5). The proceeds of economic

participation can be used by non-state actors to sustain protracted and effective insurgencies.

Conflict in the future will more closely resemble the Burundian conflict. The self-provisioning nature of non-state actors and the continued support and incentive for conflict spurs the displacement of increasing numbers of civilians. Gil Loescher observed that:

The future is likely to represent a period of massive displacement in which most regions of the world will experience forced population movements. Armed conflict is no longer always identified with a clash of armies across borders but often with the assault by a government and its military on its own population or by rebel forces terrorizing their own society. While the crises with which the world has had to deal in recent years are not new, conflict does seem to be increasingly brutal, endangering more civilians and aid workers than ever before (Loescher 2002: 3).

Similar to Burundi, most refugee-producing conflicts have involved independent states and have been based on issues of internal nation-building, revolutionary change, and/or conflicts with neighbors (Stein 1994: 1). Conflict in Mali, Burundi, Colombia, Guatemala and the Democratic Republic of Congo are evidence of this dynamic. Populations caught in the middle of conflicts, are displaced within the country to produce Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and across international borders to produce refugees. As conflicts drag on, the number of displaced continues to increase. Jacobsen notes that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, well over 30 million people have been displaced by conflict and violence in their home countries (Jacobsen

2005: 1). Refugee flows bring major political, economic, social, cultural and personal consequences across all continents (Ager 1999: 1).

Solutions to long-standing conflict are not easily created. The number of chronic conflicts which show little potential for resolution has increased (Gantzel quoted in Duffield 1994: 1). Intractable conflict and the chronic and stagnating refugee crises that it creates are a growing challenge for the international community (UNHCR 2005: 108). The removal of economic support and incentives for conflict must be coupled with an exercise of international political will. However, the frequency and protracted nature of many current conflicts demonstrates the inadequacy of the international community's efforts to address it (Loescher 2001: 2).

The prevalence of conflict and the potential for future increases in the number of refugees are the impetus for researching and examining the impact of refugee assistance policies. Large refugee populations are the target of interventions which address their basic needs and also often seek to change refugee behaviors and attitudes for example encouraging gender equality and discouraging discrimination against the disabled. If these interventions can effect lasting change in the mentality of refugee populations, it is possible that the return and reinsertion of refugees into their countries of origin post-conflict can also affect the attitudes and behavior of individuals who never left. Thus, the impact of refugee assistance must be studied and the content and objectives of these interventions must be carefully developed.

## *Chapter 2: Gender, Refugees and Repatriation*

### **Gender in traditional Burundian Society**

The power structures or “hierarchies of status, decision-making, rule making and enforcement, resource access and control and gender relationships”, of Burundian society are patriarchal and patrilineal. (McKay 2004:6) McKay observed that:

[Burundian culture] supports gender discrimination... and creates, reinforces and maintain girls' and women's human insecurity. Girls and women have little influence in decision making about their own lives. They cannot own property or the land they work, nor can they inherit their husband's property. Their education levels are lower than men's, and they have limited ability to make decisions about their sexual health, family planning, and access to health care; abortion is illegal. Abortion is illegal despite an increase of sexual violence and accompanying threats of contracting sexually-transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS. Police and magistrates have humiliated women when they reported rape, and women have seldom been successful in bringing perpetrators to justice. (McKay 2004:155)

The relationship between Burundian men and women is informed by both economic and political power. Within Burundian society, men ultimately have a great deal of latitude and ability to assert control over the lives of their families and women. McLean argues that “patriarchal ideology shapes the identity of both sexes and institutionalizes values and the power relations between them both in the public and private realms” (McLean 1999: 6). This pattern of male dominance is entrenched within Burundian society and is informed by the division of labor, cultural norms and external pressures the division of labor, cultural norms and external pressures (McKay 2004: 155).

## **Displacement as an Opportunity for Change**

As deeply rooted and entrenched as Burundian cultural norms, gender dynamics and power structures are, there is room for change. Crises including conflict and displacement can cause both women and men to assume new roles and tasks out of necessity. In the particular case of refugees, communities bring their cultures with them into the camp setting. However, in Heather McLean's investigation and analysis of gender and power structures in refugee camps, she found that "displacement definitely creates a space for fundamental changes in these existing power structures" (McLean 1999: 6).

McLean goes on to argue that the:

...traditional social and cultural fabric of life is rent apart in unpredictable ways [and often]...takes away the assumed permanence of the social relationships between men and women. There is, therefore, the likely consequence of a shift in the previously experienced and expected power hierarchy and power differentials (McSpadden and Moussa quoted in McLean 1999: 6)

Displacement causes social upheaval. The consequences of exile reach deep into the structure of society and families. Flight is a time of rapid change when livelihoods are lost and families are split. Refugee flight is a harrowing experience yet also a moment of possibility for refugee communities. Mclean argues that in the context of the refugee camp:

The hierarchies, power structures and gender dynamics that refugee communities arrive with are not static and will invariably change because of crisis situations, such as refugee exoduses (McLean 1999:6).

## **Gender programming in the Refugee camp Setting**

As indicated, the social upheaval of displacement creates an opportunity to change power structures. Interventions designed to address the vulnerability of women to sexual violence exploit this opportunity. Their objectives are to change the basic way that men and women interact in order to bring parity or at least greater security to women. In refugee camps, incidents of sexual and gender based violence are a frequent and prevalent fact of life. El Bushra and Fish noted that:

Gender based violence is widespread in displaced communities and takes many forms including domestic violence, trafficking, enforced prostitution and sexual violence. (El Bushra and Fish 2004: 8)

Incidents of sexual and gender based violence are common among Burundian refugee communities. Studies of Burundian refugee camps have also documented this phenomenon. Research by Nduna and Goodyear conducted in 1997 noted that:

Among Burundian refugees in Tanzania 26% of the 3,083 women in the Kanembwa camp setting had been subjected to sexual violence since becoming refugees. (El Bushra and Fish 2004: 8)

When displaced communities migrate, women are particularly vulnerable (El Bushra and Fish 2004: 8). The necessities and conditions of camp life exacerbate their vulnerability. Women are attacked in areas outside the camp while collecting firewood and the daily conditions of high frustration, unemployment and alcohol abuse create an environment which fosters sexual and gender based violence.

The international community, through its arm the UNHCR and its implementing partners, recognizes the increased vulnerability of women and made efforts to address this phenomenon. Indeed, women's issues in general are increasingly garnering more attention among refugee policy makers and practitioners. Simon Turner noted that, over the last 15 years, women's issues have become increasingly central in UNHCR's policies (Turner 2000: 8).

On the ground, efforts to manage sexual and gender based violence have taken the form of prevention, the provision of psychological counseling and treatment, case management and legal assistance. Community-wide interventions focus on awareness raising, focus group discussions and encouraging the reporting of incidents.

Efforts to address sexual and gender based violence often overlap with community wide interventions designed to encourage women's agency and to promote their participation in projects and political life.

UNHCR is very concerned with the question of agency, and empowering women and getting them to participate in camp activities have become central aspects in the policies of UNHCR and other relief agencies. (Turner 2000: 8)

Ongoing community activities within the camp encourage women's equality and their participation in camp governance. In his discussion of interventions with Burundian refugees in Tanzania, Simon Turner asserted that gender equality was an explicit aim of the relief operation (Turner 1999: 2). Women are often placed into decision making

positions at the neighborhood and community level. Indeed, in the very sensitive areas of food distribution, women are often the heads of camp level committees and are encouraged to be the decision makers for food use and allocation at the household level.

The idea of general equality is alien and antithetical to established Burundian societal norms, but it is encouraged. Simon Turner observed:

In the camp, food and other resources are distributed on the basis of all people being equal and having equal rights. This policy of equality is further promoted by programmes for women and other disadvantaged groups (Turner 1999:2).

Societal norms within the camp are in a state of flux. Assumptions of hierarchy, status and responsibility are often put aside in order to cope with the realities and uncertainty of displacement. Turner points out that:

There is no doubt that the structural conditions for the family unit have changed drastically since leaving Burundi. With these changes the family as it (ideally) was is threatened, and this threat is felt very strongly by the refugees... [There is a] general felling of loss; loss of certainty, of absolutes, of taken for granted structures of authority... (Turner 1999: 5)

Refugee assistance policymakers and actors recognize the inherent uncertainty of displacement. Often it is this uncertainty that is the greatest source of vulnerability for refugee women. The promotion of gender equality and women's participation is a strategy for addressing women's vulnerability.

Women's lack of participation in the decision-making process translates into women's lack of access to power, creating economic and health related vulnerability (McLean 1999: 10).

Changing traditional gender relationships and practices as a means of addressing sexual and gender based violence is a stated policy of UNHCR.

The causes of sexual and gender based violence are rooted in socio-cultural norms of gender inequality and discrimination. Preventing sexual and gender based violence thus requires changes in gender relations within the community-that is, the socially prescribed roles, responsibilities, expectations, limitations, opportunities and privileges assigned to persons in the community based on their sex (UNHCR 2003: 35).

UNHCR's efforts to promote gender equality in the camps are multifaceted. Activities to accomplish this end include both Behavior Change Communication (BCC) and Information Education and Communication (IEC) activities. Mtabila refugee settlement is an example of how these interventions are implemented. In Mtabila interventions are managed by professional expatriate management and host country national staffers. Expatriate professional staffers are usually senior managers with advanced training in the management of humanitarian interventions. National staffers often received training on the national and regional level from UNHCR itself.

Host country national staff members are responsible for much of the day-to-day outreach and the promotion of gender equality. Their work is part of a larger framework of Community Service interventions designed to meet the psychosocial needs of refugees. These interventions include the care and integration of the disabled, formal and non-formal education, income generation groups, the management of sexual and gender based violence, adolescent and youth activities and cultural activities.

BCC activities implemented by host country nationals are focused on affecting change in refugee behavior by educating refugees. BCC activities are the primary activity of staffers promoting the education of girls, gender equality, HIV/AIDS, and the prevention of domestic and sexual and gender based violence incidents. Each of these areas is managed by a host country national staffer supported by counselors from the refugee community. These counselors are also employees of the NGOs. They are usually selected because of the past experience in counseling or other expertise in community mobilization. Their efficacy is measured against indicators of the number of individuals trained, number of focus groups held and the number of sexual and gender based violence cases managed.

Focus group discussions are mixed male and female groups of 10-15 individuals held on the 10 household block and community levels. These discussions are led by NGO staffers on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. Discussions focus on shared decision making at the household level, strategies for eliminating domestic violence and household conflict management. Trainings are also held for rotating sections of the camp on a monthly basis. Usually 20-30 participants are brought into a central training point for a two or three day seminar addressing a particular issue.

Awareness raising campaigns include rallies and the production of publicity materials like signs and T-shirts. T-shirts, banners and signs are produced by adolescents, children and adults. These public displays are part of the IEC strategy. IEC makes the

ideas of gender equality and other interventions prevalent in the physical background of the camp setting. These materials are a reminder and reinforcement of the ideas presented in awareness raising campaigns and trainings.

Commemorative days are also celebrated in the camp. These days are all-day celebrations designed to draw together the camp population around a single issue and are held in conjunction with world wide and global refugee community-wide events. Commemorative days include World AIDS DAY, World Environment Day, Day of the African Child, International Women's Day and World Refugee Day. These commemorative days are often the culmination of awareness raising campaigns in neighborhoods and schools leading up to the event. Promotional materials are produced by the children, drama, songs and dances are performed by adults. All of the activities focus on the topic being commemorated. Dignitaries from surrounding communities are invited, and often senior managers from the NGOs speak.

In addition to educational activities, women are encouraged to participate equally in the mechanisms of camp governance. In Mtabila, Women are often included in "gender balanced" camp governance structures and food committees which oversee food distribution. Additionally, in camps like the Mtabila refugee settlement women have been given ration cards granting them the right to receive food rations on behalf of their families. This has been done to avoid men's tendency to sell food rations intended for family use in order to have cash income.

Despite its goals, the potential impact of these initiatives on gender roles within camp resident Burundian households and the residual impact on returnee Burundian households are great.

### *Chapter 3: Hypothesis*

This research hypothesizes that extended exile in refugee camps will alter gender roles in Burundian communities. It is the stated policy and practice of the UNHCR and its implementing partners to promote gender equality within refugee camps. Burundian refugee communities have existed in the camps of Western Tanzania since the outbreak of the Burundian civil war in 1993. The idea of gender equality lies in stark opposition to Burundian traditional culture. The research will test whether prolonged exposure to the idea of gender equality, its promotion, and the inclusion of women in camp governance structures successfully engenders the adoption of practices demonstrating gender equality among former refugee households. The field research will explore if returned Burundian refugee communities will indicate that ideas of gender equality promoted in refugee camps were incorporated into refugee families, such as whether female Burundian refugee returnees have additional decision making power within their households.

Additionally, the changes in traditional patterns of gender relations which take place in the camps are permanent. Burundians who never left Burundi will notice the difference in returnees. Initially these changes will be a source of tension between these two communities; however in time those Burundians who never left will adopt the practices of those returning from exile.

## *Chapter 4: Methodological Approach*

### **Sites and Sources**

Field research was conducted in one trip to Burundi in August of 2005. The trip included individual interviews with 56 returned refugees in Ruyigi, Province Burundi. Ruyigi Province is the easternmost province of Burundi which borders Tanzania. It has been the site of return for over 50,000 Burundian refugees since 2002 (UNHCR 2005: 1). The interpreter, Mr. Blaise Nsengiyumva and I, as Principal Investigator, made up the research team. Blaise is a graduate of the University of Burundi in Bujumbura. He holds both undergraduate and graduate degrees in English literature. During the duration of the project Blaise translated between English and Kirundi languages. Although many respondents have had significant exposure to Swahili from their stay in Tanzania, Kirundi remains Burundi's first language.

Originally, during the preparation and initial planning stages of the research project, discussions were held with NGO representatives and officials within the United States Agency for International Development (USAID REDSO) in Nairobi, Kenya. These were to gather background information on the current Burundian political situation and to establish contacts in Burundi. Phone and email communication was also established with representatives of UNHCR Burundi.

Ruyigi is one of 16 Burundian provinces with a population of 304,567 people and an area of 903 square kilometers. (Statoids 2006) The province is divided into Butezi, Ruyigi, Butaganzwa, Nyabitsinda, Kinyinya, Gisuru and Bweru Communes. Ruyigi is a rural area in which the vast majority of residents are pursuing subsistence farming as their main livelihood. Ruyigi Province has the highest concentration of returned refugees in the country. Since 2002, over 50,000 Burundian refugees have returned to Ruyigi from Tanzania (OCHA Provincial Profile 2004: 1). There are a number of national and international NGOs working with returned refugee populations in the area. These organizations could later be called on for logistical and background support. Ruyigi also has the benefit of being highly accessible.

### **Unit of Analysis and the Demographic Sample Population**

The individual is the unit of analysis for this research project. The targeted respondents of the research were men and women over the age of 18. All of the participants had returned from refugee camps in Tanzania. As part of the survey questionnaire, participants were asked to identify the refugee camp where they were residents in Tanzania. The duration of their stay in Tanzania ranged from 8 months to 25 years.

## **Interagency Cooperation and Assistance**

The research was conducted under the supervision and logistical support of Africare Burundi. I previously worked for Africare in their Washington headquarters and in several African countries including my two and half year tenure as the manager of the Mtabila Refugee Camp in Tanzania. It was my experience as a manager and policy maker that was the impetus for this research. Mtabila is host to over 62,000 Burundian refugees. Mtabila residents fled from Burundi after 1993. Africare provided logistical support and contacts throughout my stay in Burundi.

In the Burundian capital Bujumbura, prior to the conduct of the interviews, meetings were held with several organizations directly involved in assisting and reintegrating returned refugees. These organizations include the UNHCR Burundi, the US Office of Transitional Initiatives, Ligue Iteka, a Burundian human rights organization, CNRS, the Burundian government agency responsible for reintegration, and Africare. These meetings held at the national headquarters level were an integral part of preparing to conduct the research. NGO representatives and government officials offered advice on approaching potential respondents and meeting the team's logistical needs which were very helpful in the completion of the research project.

The assistance and support of the both National and International NGOs was essential in identifying respondents. Two organizations, PADCO, an American and

Canadian led International Development Agency and Ligue Iteka, a Burundian Human Rights agency were instrumental in this effort. Both PADCO and Ligue Iteka are headquartered in Bujumbura and have offices, personnel and ongoing programs in Ruyigi Province.

PADCO is an American and Canadian led international development agency. PADCO is engaged as an implementing partner of the US Government's Office of Transitional Initiatives in Ruyigi Province. Their main programs are the training of civil society leaders and supporting income generation programs for groups of returnees. My initial contact with PADCO was in Bujumbura and their assistance was instrumental in the completion of the research because it provided essential logistical support.

In Ruyigi, PADCO provided office space and transport for the research team. PADCO travels daily to the field on routine monitoring and follow-up missions in support of its programming within Ruyigi. The research team often traveled with PADCO staffers to central areas in Gisuru, Nyabitsinda and Butaganzwa communes. Upon arriving at a central point within a Commune, the team separated from PADCO and conducted its research at separate locations.

Ligue Iteka is a Burundian National NGO. Its programming focus is human rights advocacy. Ligue Iteka is engaged in Ruyigi by the UNHCR to monitor returnee

assistance programs. During meetings with Ligue Iteka's Director in Bujumbura, the team was connected to Ligue Iteka's field officers stationed in each commune within the Ruyigi Province. In each province where research was conducted, attempts were made to contact the Ligue Iteka representative in that area. The team was able to meet and work with Ligue Iteka representatives in Ruyigi town and Gisuru Commune.

### **Conduct of Interviews**

As noted in the research protocol submitted to and approved by the Tufts University Institutional Review Board, each respondent was read a translated consent form and a research narrative detailing the purposes of the research and the voluntary nature of participation at the beginning of the interview.

During the research period, the research team conducted interviews with respondents throughout Ruyigi Province in Nyabitsinda, Butaganzwa and Gisuru communes.

Due to limited information about the precise location of potential respondents, the research team often traveled to central community areas including taxi stands and market squares to identify respondents. Due to the prevalence of returned refugees within Ruyigi, the research team was able to approach potential respondents in these public spaces.

## **Challenges and constraints**

The limited time-frame and resources of the research were a considerable constraint to definitively answering all questions about the retention of changes in gender roles which take place in a refugee camp. The aim of the project was to test methods of inquiry into the research question and indicate future areas of investigation.

Personal interviews conducted with Burundi scholars and NGO representatives in March and April prior to the initiation of the project indicated that due to both Burundian culture and recent history, Burundian citizens are often reluctant to speak openly with authority or officials. Burundi has undergone a prolonged civil war and a past in which government-sanctioned violence has been carried out against individuals officially identified by their ethnic affiliation, addresses and political allegiances.

Taking the fragile post-conflict political situation in Burundi and Burundian hesitancy to communicate with official figures, the research team endeavored to create an interview atmosphere in which respondents would feel comfortable. However, as the interview process began, it was noted that respondents showed some hesitancy to discuss their personal family situations or their involvement in camp activities.

Initial one-on-one interviews were conducted during the first days of the project. The team noted that interviews were conducted in former government offices which may

have an unknown significance to respondents. The physical environment itself may have been a source of discomfort to the participants. The team concluded that the interview process was being perceived as a very invasive, impersonal interrogation. Respondents were not comfortable enough to give open answers or enter into discussion because of the sheer formality of this process.

Based on this observation, it was decided that a group setting would be more comfortable. Group interviews included 6-9 individuals of mixed gender. Group interview questions were refined based on the reactions of individual interview respondents. The group setting yielded much richer responses than individual interviews due to the increased comfort level of the respondents. This method was utilized during the remainder of the research project in Butaganzwa and Nyabitsinda communes.

Since the beginning of the Burundian civil war in 1993, the levels of violence throughout the country have waxed and waned with the presence of rebel and government military forces. At any given time, provinces or other large parts of the country are stable while neighboring areas remain insecure. The security situation is typically very fluid. Since the signing of the Arusha Peace Accord in 2002, security around the country has generally improved. In 2002, UNHCR made the determination that some areas of Burundi, including Gitega and Ruyigi Provinces and the capital city Bujumbura, were safe and began to facilitate repatriation to those areas. The research

team limited its travel to areas of Ruyigi deemed safe by international and national NGOs.

The most significant challenges the project faced were logistical. The majority of Ruyigi Province is only accessible by very difficult roads. PADCO's four-wheel drive vehicles were often the only means of reaching target communities. However, as a working development agency, PADCO has its own geographical and timing objectives. Due to the unavailability of other suitable transport, the research team adjusted its schedule to PADCO's. In some instances, this limited the time in available in which to conduct interviews.

Prior to initiating the research project, discussions were held with CNRS, the Burundian government agency responsible for returned refugees in Bujumbura. At the central level the Burundian government recognized and authorized this research project. However, during the team's second visit to Nyabitsinda commune, work was stopped by the local municipal administrator. The team was summoned to his office where discussions were held regarding the nature of research and our authorization to conduct it. The administrator demanded that the work cease and that the team obtain a letter of official authorization from the regional authority in Ruyigi Province.

Nyabitsinda was a site of interest where returned refugee women were working together in income generating projects. The team also felt that the lack of documented

clearance may become an issue in other Communes, and it was to decided to return to Bujumbura and to Ruyigi town to obtain the necessary written clearances to conduct the research. [Please see Appendix E] This process took 4 days. The team returned to Nyabitsinda and continued to conduct interviews until the end of the research period.

## *Chapter 5: Findings*

### **BACKGROUND**

In August of 2005, data for this research was collected in Ruyigi, Burundi. The research team, consisting of the Principal Investigator and Translator, conducted 6 individual interviews and 7 group interviews. The team met with a total of 56 respondents from 3 communes in Ruyigi Province.

The research targeted returned Burundian refugees, who were married, over the age of 18, and had lived in Burundian refugee camps in Tanzania. The survey questionnaire was designed to establish that respondents met the research criteria and to elicit responses regarding any changes in gender relations that may have taken place in their homes prior to repatriating to Burundi and after their return.

Respondents had varying times of residence in refugee camps ranging from 1 to 25 years. An analysis of respondents is attached in Appendix D. Of the 56 respondents, there were 34 from Butaganzwa (61%), 17 from Nyabitsinda (30%) and 5 from Gisuru (9%). All of the respondents were over 18 years of age. Fifty-one of the respondents (93%) were married. Four individuals (7%) were single and 1 individual (2%) was separated. Twenty-nine respondents were females (52%) and 27 were male (48%). Ninety-nine percent of the respondents lived in refugee camps in Tanzania.

## **THEMES**

The findings and results derived from individual and group interviews are grouped into major themes. It is important to note that despite Burundi's fragile post-conflict political environment in which discussions of political issues are difficult; returnees were often very open and enthusiastic about discussing gender roles and relations.

### **Theme #1 UNHCR Interventions are a Threat to Masculine Roles**

Interviewees were questioned about the division of labor in refugee households in order to open discussions about the transforming influence of life in the camp. Men and women were asked about acquiring food and water in the camp and how they perceived their roles and responsibilities as changed because of the realities of camp life. The overwhelming majority of responses from both men and women indicated that consistent with Burundian life in Burundi, the man has the main responsibility for food and the women and children mainly responsible for getting water.

These responses are consistent with the idea that the basic division of labor and responsibility in Burundian refugee households is not changed by camp life. Divisions of labor follow time-honored patterns. However, the most striking theme to arise from these discussions was the idea that men's role is threatened by UNHCR interventions. As refugees affirmed that the man has the main responsibility for food,

many men also indicated that the camp is a difficult place in which to fulfill this responsibility.

In the camp, UNHCR and its NGO partners, distributed food and clothing to refugee families. In a non-refugee Burundian family setting, the provision of such support for the family is the responsibility of the husband. UNHCR replaces men as the providers in refugee families and this is perceived as an affront to the husband's traditional role. Responses suggest that the husband's ability to provide for the family is an important fixture in Burundian family life. The loss of his ability to fulfill that role is part of the process which slowly unravels the social fabric. Simon Turner calls this process "moral decay" (Turner 2000: 9).

Men lose respect and ultimately power because of the loss of the provider function. One male respondent noted that the inability of men to provide leaves a man unable "to exercise his superiority to the woman". The prevalence of this attitude among Burundian refugees is supported by the research of Simon Turner, who conducted research with Burundian refugees in Lukole, a Burundian refugee camp in western Tanzania. As Turner noted:

A general theme in most interviews was that women no longer respected their husbands. If I enquired more about this, the answer was quite clear: "Women find UNHCR a better husband". (Turner 2000: 9)

Through sharing stories and examples of families that they have encountered or heard of in the camps, many men lamented their loss of authority. A male respondent shared:

As far as I am concerned nothing has changed, all the decisions that I took before were the same, even in the camp. But there are some other families where I observed changes. For instance there are men who try to give orders to their wives in vain. The women say I am no longer under your orders, I depend on the UN.

Male respondents also indicated that alcohol use exacerbates the loss of authority. Men and a few women commented on alcohol as the source of behavior which deviates from accepted norms. Their responses suggested that men no longer have the authority to control such behavior. As one male respondent observed:

It depends on the hardness or softness of women, one by one, many are good, not all change but some change because of drunkenness.

Men's responses suggested that in general they are resigned to their loss of authority and legitimacy within the camp setting. The alternative to relinquishing the provider role to UNHCR for many means going without sustenance at all. Additionally, as women gain the power to refuse the authority of men, men also have the power to choose other women. Three of the female respondents mentioned that men are free to choose new partners in the camp setting. Their responses indicated that men become frustrated with their marital relationships and simply opt out.

**Theme #2 Efforts to Promote Gender Equality do not cause a permanent change**

When questioned about camp activities and the ideas that are promoted by the UNHCR and NGOs, returnees almost unanimously remember the promotion of gender equality.

A female respondent noted:

We the elite, when we reached the camp they taught us that men and women may live in understanding we are grateful for those.

Despite the efficacy of promotional activities and trainings within the camp, respondents were split on how effectively this idea is incorporated into refugee households. About 50% of respondents indicated that gender equality is a lesson that *should* be learned and incorporated into family life.

When questioned about the application of gender equality in daily life, the majority of respondents indicated that exposure and attempts to incorporate those ideas do not change habit and tradition. Twenty-five percent of the respondents suggested that there are households which attempt to incorporate the ideas of gender equality into their everyday functioning. In one focus group in particular, 8 individuals indicated their own willingness and efforts to incorporate gender equality against the tide of tradition.

Respondents were asked about their involvement in NGO activities. Often refugees are employed by NGOs as carpenters, teachers and counselors. Refugees also participate in camp governance structures and committees. Entering into the research it was thought that refugee involvement in NGO activities would bring them closer to the ideas of gender equality. I thought that involvement in camp governance or activities would cause refugees to be more intimately involved in promoting gender equality and thus more likely to incorporate it into their own lives.

Many of the respondents indicated that they did have some involvement with activities within the camp. However, despite refugee participation in a myriad of activities, there was no indication that involvement in governance mechanisms or NGO activities has any additional effect on the incorporation of gender equality into the family unit. Most of the respondents who mentioned participating in NGO activities recalled important lessons they learned as a result of their participation which lie outside the scope of this research. This includes skills in carpentry and knowledge of the recognition of diseases like meningitis.

### **Theme #3 The Return Home is a Return to Tradition**

Repatriation and the process of returning home is about rebuilding and reestablishing relationships and patterns of everyday life. Changes that may have been engendered by life in the camp are reversed by the return home. Less than 10% of respondents

indicated any residual effects of the ideas promoted in the camp. One female respondent noted:

I find a big advantage from the messages I received in the camp but it's not true that there can be equality between men and women because saying that means that women will be superior to the man. But I remember those messages were advantageous because for instance in the camp the man could get the food and sell it all then the money is all spent in alcohol. But after we received those messages women couldn't accept a behavior it was somehow stopped... now that we are back this kind of misbehavior does not happen.

However, 90% of respondents indicated that the return home means returning to the structures and ways of relating that the left behind. A returnee respondent noted that:

When we were in the camp we tried to follow those instructions about equality. Back home it is hard to follow. The man is always the man. When he orders you have to do it.

Her response typifies the attitudes of both male and female respondents. Even the most optimistic respondents noted that male dominance is a resilient fact of Burundian life that is reestablished by the return home. As indicated there is a minority of refugee families who did employ the ideas of gender equality in their own lives. They conceded that the road to long-lasting change is difficult. However, for Burundian society as a whole, changes in the ways in which men and women relating are happening. Many respondents pointed to the fact that positive changes in women's voice and roles are happening on a national level. An example of this phenomenon is the introduction of a woman speaker of parliament and women members of parliament. As one returnee suggested life in the refugee camp is not the only place where gender equality is promoted. He observed:

It's true, I see people who fled as well as people who haven't fled, they have all received those messages, all of them... they communicate. People who stayed were getting the messages.

Burundi is not an island isolated from the rest of the world. Returnee's responses indicate that their society is also responsive to global trends of women's empowerment and inclusion.

## *Chapter 6: Conclusions*

In a world increasingly threatened by protracted internal conflicts it is necessary to document and understand the effects of international relief programs on populations displaced by war. Burundi is an example of a society which has endured the social upheaval of internal conflict and mass displacement. In the refugee camps where many of Burundi's displaced resided, international assistance sought to fundamentally alter the male dominated social order of Burundians in order to address the vulnerability of women to sexual and gender based violence. It is this moment of opportunity which exists between the harsh realities of displacement and programming which seeks to alter traditional gender roles which is the subject of this research. The findings and recommendations of this research can give direction to more in-depth study of this relationship.

### **The Refugee Camp Experience**

Responses of Burundian returnees suggest that Burundian refugee camps are not static communities of individuals. The refugee camp itself is alive; its members are active and able to form rational and conscious decisions about their lives. Burundians arrive in the camp grounded in their traditional approaches and structure in gender relationships. However, in the camp, activities which promote gender equality and the inclusion of women in camp governance structures do not go unnoticed. All of the

respondents who lived in camps for longer than a year recall the promotion of these ideas. This suggests that current attempts to reach Burundians have been successful in reaching their target audience.

For the Burundian refugee communities, exposure to ideas and their incorporation into daily life are two separate issues. A minority of returnee respondents indicated their willingness and past attempts to act on the idea of gender equality on a personal and family level. This low rate of change may be attributed to the diversity of cultural attitudes that typifies any community. Among Burundian refugees there are individuals with very rigid, conservative approaches to their culture and there are those who are progressive and look forward to change.

Displacement and refugee life itself are a source of tension and change at the household level. Poverty and the coping strategies employed by refugees can be a cause for change. In addition, alcoholism can change behavior and cause individuals to deviate from social norms. The interventions of the UNHCR and its NGO partners are not the only influences on families and gender relations in the camp. With or without assistance or promotional activities lives and relationships can be profoundly changed by displacement.

In the refugee camp, assistance provided by the UNHCR itself is perceived as a threat to male masculinity. Male and female respondents lamented the loss of male

leadership within the family due to his loss of the role as a sole providing husband. Thus, refugee assistance both assists and harms by providing sustenance while supplanting the role of the husband. Women sense this loss and recounted the disarray experienced by families where the husband is weak.

Changes in gender relations engendered by UNHCR's promotional activities seemed to be relegated to camp life. As many respondents noted, new customs and new ways of relating are adopted and relinquished when refugees return home. Responses suggest that the traditional culture of Burundians is not easily broken. However, returnees noted that there is a rising tide of change taking place in Burundi itself. Women and men pointed to the inclusion of women in parliament and their ascendance to leadership roles within the government as indications of change. While the struggle for equality is fought on the personal level and often lost, Burundian society is slowly shifting into a new direction which may bring women up from the exclusively subordinate space that they now occupy.

### **Policy Implications and Recommendations**

This research suggests that the objective of addressing the vulnerability of refugee women through the promotion of gender equity in refugee camps is a well-intentioned and ambitious policy. Women are undoubtedly threatened by the increased vulnerability of displacement and their membership in a society steeped in patriarchy

and sexual discrimination. Promoting the inclusion of women in decision making and elevating their status in society is an appropriate approach to the problem.

Despite the international community's best efforts to promote gender equality, this change cannot be forced on refugee populations. However, making these ideas available and introducing gender balanced mechanisms of camp governance leave an undeniable impression on refugees. The exchange of ideas may seem like a small consolation for the loss that Burundians have endured, yet these ideas can be the seeds for later change and development in Burundi.

This thesis is a real-time monitoring document which examines the impact of UNHCR policy and implementation. As respondents have noted, current activities in the camps have been effective in capturing the ear of refugee communities. Awareness campaigns, trainings and focus group discussions should continue. However, the slow rate of incorporation of the ideas of gender equality indicates the need to find incentives for the adoption of new practices.

**Recommendation #1: Communities should be made aware of the benefits of a gender equal society.**

Additional research should focus on the economic, political and personal advantages that communities can derive from gender equality. It is possible that the idea of gender equality can be repackaged in a way that appeals to the short term or individual

interests of refugee community members. Interventions must bridge the gap between awareness and adaptation of gender equality by creating incentives. The motivation to change to change gender relations is not yet enough to overcome inertia of entrenched cultural practices.

**Recommendation #2: Interventions must focus on the perspectives of both men and women**

Returnee men and to a lesser extent women, lamented men's loss of power in the camp. This suggests that both groups are uneasy with the loss of the familiar patterns of responsibility and decision making. However, their reasons may differ greatly. Men lose the control that they have become accustomed to and women lose the security of a familiar pattern of relating in which they are in a subordinate but stable position. Despite the decidedly one sided balance of power in existing Burundian gender relationships there is an existing internal symmetry. This symmetry has kept Burundian gender relations out of a state of constant turmoil and kept Burundian gender relations difficult to change. This suggests that completely overturning male dominance immediately is neither feasible nor desirable. Perhaps new forms or models of shared decision making which act as an intermediary stage between patriarchy and full equality must be promoted. These models will have to be developed through further policy research.

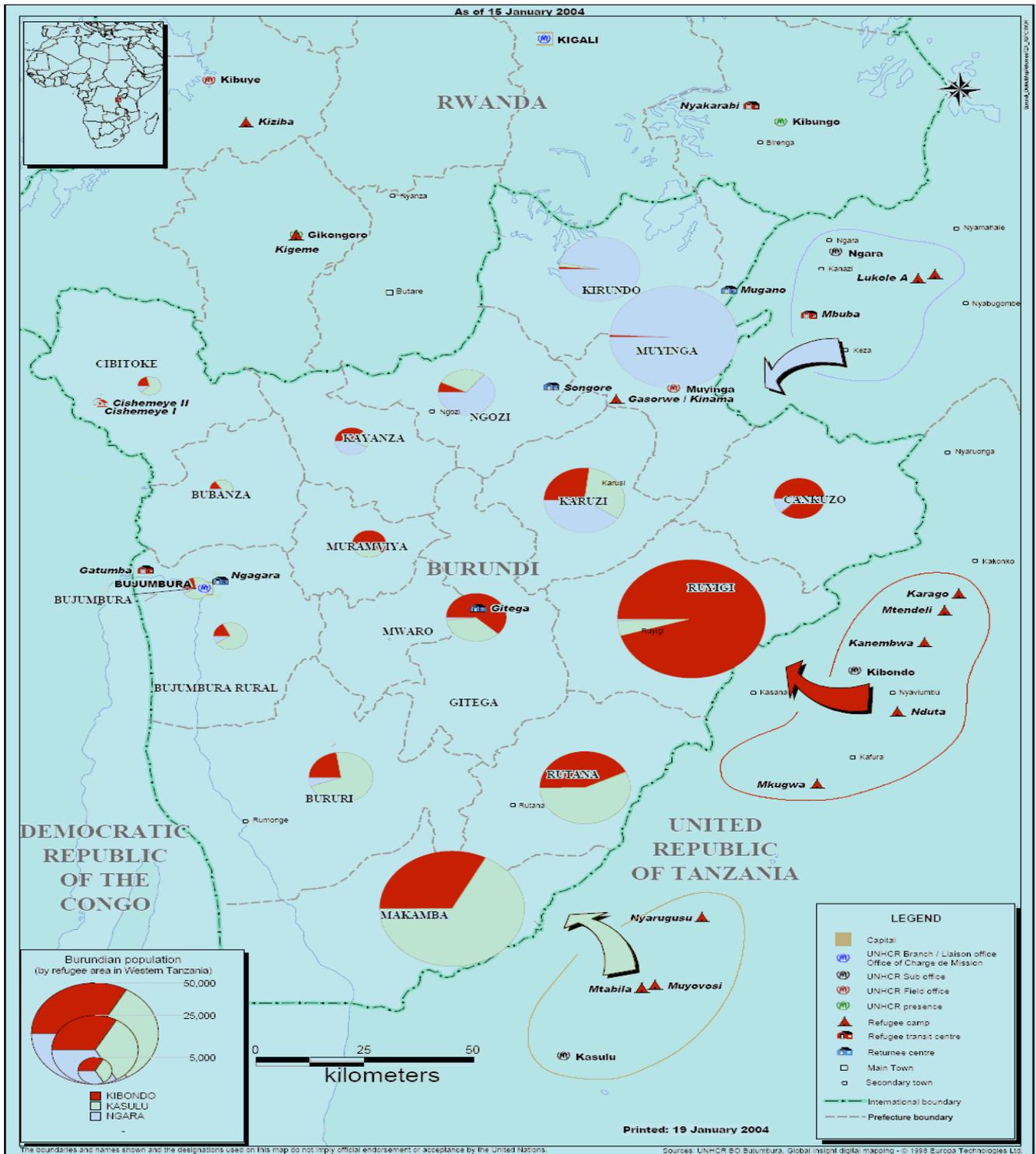
## Reference List

- Azevedo, Mario. 2002. *Tragedy and Triumph Mozambique Refugees in Southern Africa, 1977-2002*. New Hampshire. Heinemann.
- El-Bushra, Judy and Fish, Kelly. 2004. Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action, 1-17*. London, UK; Washington, DC: International Alert, Women Waging Peace.
- Duffield, Mark. 2002. War as a Network Enterprise. *Cultural Values* 6, no. 1&2:153-165
- Jacobsen, Karen. 2005. *The Economic Life of Refugees*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Jamal, Arafat. 2000. Minimum Standards and Essential Needs in a Protracted Refugee Situation a Review of the UNHCR Programme in Kakuma, Kenya. Evaluation Policy Analysis Unit, UNHCR.
- Lemarchand, René: *Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice*. Cambridge, UK; New York, NY; Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Loescher, Gil. 2001. *The UNHCR and World Politics*. Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford.
- McKay, Susan. 2004. Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A feminist Analysis. *IPSHU English Research Report Series, Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-Building*, no. 19
- McLean, Heather. 1999. Gender and power-structures in refugee camps: social changes following refugee movements. *Asia Pacific School of Economics Working Papers*, CEM99-9.
- OCHA Burundi Provincial Profile. Accessed June 25, 2005. Available from [http://www.reliefweb.int./ochaburundi/coordi\\_prov.html](http://www.reliefweb.int./ochaburundi/coordi_prov.html)
- Sexual and Gender-Based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons*. 2003. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- Statoids. Accessed June 25, 2005. Available from <http://statoids.com>

- Stein, Barry. 1994. Regional Efforts to Address Refugee Problems in the Development World: From Exile and Settlement to Return. *Paper prepared for the Department of Political Science, Michigan State University.*
- Turner, Simon. 1999. Angry young men in camps: gender, age and class relations among Burundian refugees in Tanzania. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No.9.
- Turner, Simon. 2000. Vindicating Masculinity: the Fate of Promoting Gender Equality. *Forced Migration Review*, no.9. 8-9
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *The State of the World's Refugees*. 2006. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *The State of the World's Refugees*. 1997. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Zetter, Roger. 1999. International Perspectives on Refugee Assistance in *Refugees Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration*, ed. Alastair Ager, 46-82. London, UK: Cassell.

# Annex A

## Map of the Provinces of return of Burundian Refugees in Tanzania



**Annex B**  
**Individual Interview Questions for Burundian Refugee Returnees**

1. Where are you from in Burundi?
2. Did you attend school?
3. What is your occupation? What kind of activities do you do to get money and food?
4. Are you married or single?
5. Do you have children? If so how old are they?
6. When did you flee Burundi? Did your children live in the camp with you?
7. Did you live in a refugee camp?
8. What is the name of the refugee camp?
9. Can you remember any of the NGO names that worked in the camp?
10. How long were you a refugee?
11. How long did you live in a refugee camp?
12. What was the most difficult aspect of camp life?
13. Who in your family was responsible for food?
14. Who in your family was responsible for water?
15. What type of assistance was provided to you by the NGOs and the International Community in the camp?
16. What activities were you involved in the camp?
17. How did you get money? Were you able to pursue your job in the camp?
18. In what ways was your life different in the camp from Burundi?
19. Who is the lead decision maker in your household? Has that person always been the leader?
20. Did you perceive any changes in the way that your family makes decisions during your time in the refugee camp?
21. Did you return to the same area that you are from?
22. How has the relationship between you and your family and community members who didn't leave/Burundians who never left?
23. Overall how have you been affected by your time in the refugee camp?
24. Was there anything positive about the refugee camp experience?
25. What is your age?

**Appendix C**  
**Focus Group Questions for Refugee Returnees**

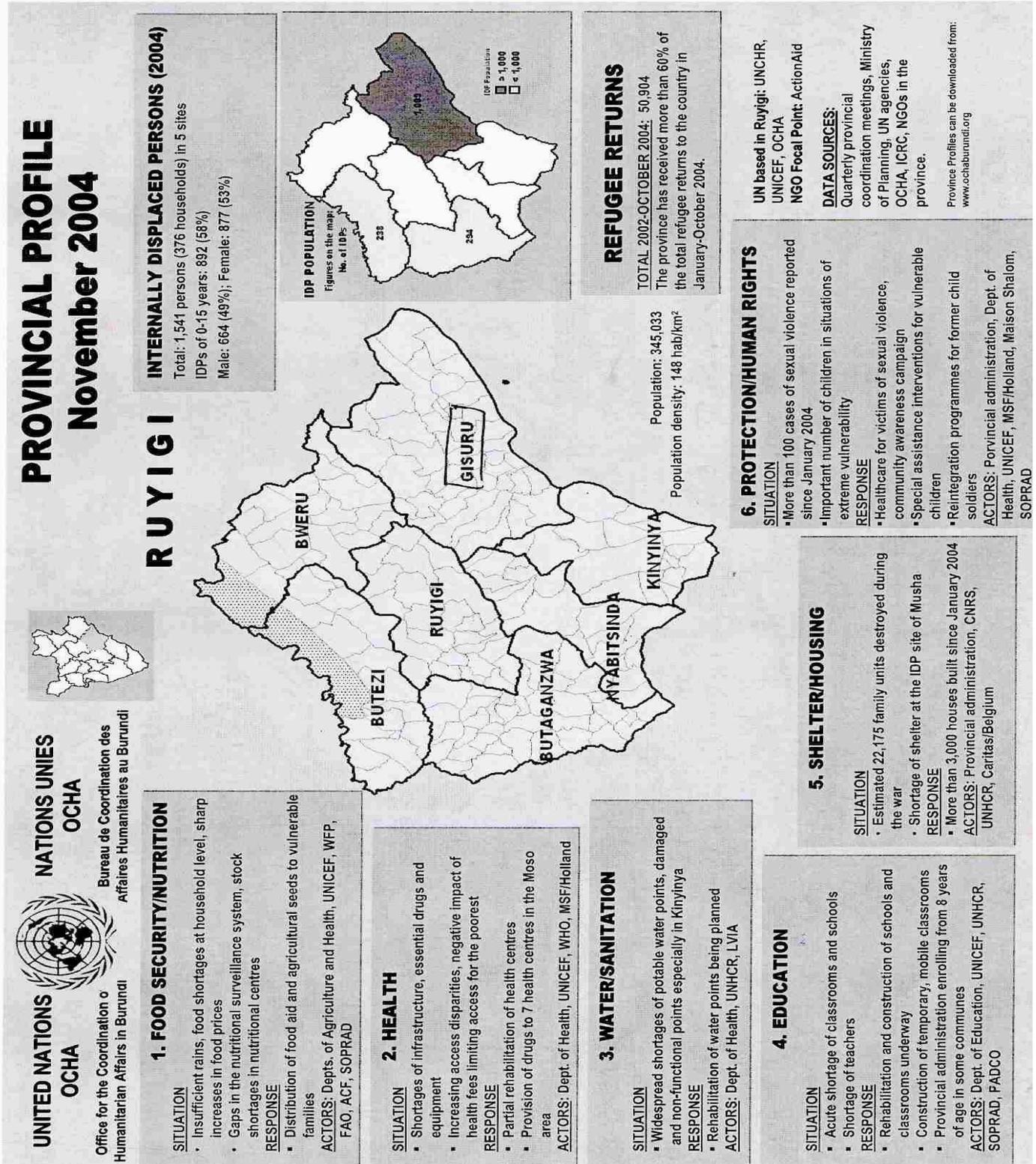
1. Where are you from
2. Where did you flee to? Which camps?
3. How long did you live there?
4. Do you remember the NGO's in the camp?
5. Do you remember any of the messages in the camp or commemorative days environment, African child, aids etc?
6. Did you work with any NGOs in the camp?
7. Did refugees have any messages about male/female relationships?
8. Do you see any difference between those that stayed and those that left?
9. Is there any difference between the male female marriage relationships from when you left?
10. How has is the relationship changed between you self and your family and community members who didn't leave?
11. [optional] You have a women's group has that made any difference?
12. If there have been changes in Burundi [indicated by some groups] do you feel that refugees contributed to these changes?

**Annex D: Participants in Burundi Research August 2005**

Gender	Age	Refugee Camp	Origin	Dates	Years in Exile	Gender
Female	18+	Karago	Butaganzwa	2000-2004	4	Female
Female	37	Karago	Butaganzwa	2000-2001	1	Female
Female	50	Nduta	Butaganzwa	1999-2004	5	Female
Male	61	Nduta	Butaganzwa	2001-2004	3	Male
Male	36	Karago	Butaganzwa	1993-2004	11	Male
Male	39	Karago	Butaganzwa	2000-2004	4	Male
Male	40	Karago	Butaganzwa	2001-2003	2	Male
Female	50		Butaganzwa	1993-1995	2	Female
Male	46		Butaganzwa	1994-2003	9	Male
Female	30	Muyovosi	Butaganzwa	1996-2004	8	Female
Female	30	Mtendeli	Butaganzwa	1996-2005	9	Female
Female	34	Mtabila	Butaganzwa	1997-2004	7	Female
Female	30	Muyovosi	Butaganzwa	1996-2004	8	Female
Male	32	Karago	Butaganzwa	1994-1999	5	Male
Male	20	Muyovosi	Butaganzwa	1999-2004	5	Male
Male	18+		Nyabitsinda			Male
Male	50	Kanembwa	Nyabitsinda	1993-2005	12	Male
Male	18		Nyabitsinda	1993-2004	11	Male
Female	35	Mtendeli	Nyabitsinda	1993-1993	1	Female
Female	42	Kanembwa	Nyabitsinda	1993-2005	12	Female
Female	35		Nyabitsinda	4 months	<1	Female
Female	35		Nyabitsinda	1996-2004	8	Female
Female	26	Mtendeli	Nyabitsinda	1999-2004	5	Female
Female	27	Mtendeli	Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Female	25		Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Female	45	IDP	Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Female	49		Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Female	41		Nyabitsinda	1996-1999	3	Female
Female	48	Mtendeli-Karogo	Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Female	35		Nyabitsinda	1996-2004	8	Female
Female	25		Nyabitsinda		>1	Female
Male	18+	Muyanaza	Butaganzwa	1972-1997	25	Male
Male	18+	Mtendeli	Butaganzwa	1977-1986	9	Male
Male	18+	Mtendeli	Butaganzwa	1998-2002	4	Male
Female	18+	Karago	Butaganzwa	2000-2003	3	Female
Female	18+	Karago	Butaganzwa	2002-2003	1	Female
Male	18+	Kigoma	Butaganzwa	1993-1998	5	Male
Male	18+	Nduta	Butaganzwa	1997-1999	2	Male
Male	18+	Nduta	Butaganzwa	1993-2004	11	Male
Male	36	Kanembawa	Butaganzwa	1996-2005	9	Male
Female	23	Mtabila	Butaganzwa	1993-1994	1	Female
Female	39	Mtabila	Butaganzwa		>1	Female
Male	25	Mtendeli	Butaganzwa	1996-2005	9	Male
Male	24	Mtabila/Muyovosi	Butaganzwa	1996-2005	9	Male
Female	35		Butaganzwa	8 Months	1	Female

Male	18+		Butaganzwa		>1	Male
Female	18+		Butaganzwa		>1	Female
Female	18+	Muyovosi	Butaganzwa		>1	Female
Male	18+	Mtendeli	Butaganzwa	1996-1998	2	Male
Male	18+	Muyovosi	Butaganzwa		>1	Male
Female	20	Mtendeli	Nyabitsinda	1996-2004	8	Female
Male	51	Karago	Gisuru	2000-2004	4	Male
Male	33	Karago	Gisuru	1999-2004	5	Male
Male	33	Karago	Gisuru	2000-2004	4	Male
Male	37	Karago	Gisuru	1999-2001	2	Male
Male	27	Nduta	Gisuru	1999-1999	1	Male

## Appendix E: Map of Ruyigi Province



## Appendix F: Official Letter of Authorization to conduct Field Research



AFRICARE/BURUNDI

*Accord favorable*  
*Vue par le conseiller Principal du Gouverneur de province Ruyigi*  
*Buzaya Elie*

Bujumbura, le 22 août 2005

A Monsieur le Gouverneur de la Province de Ruyigi  
à RUYIGI

**Objet : Travail de recherche de Monsieur Gordon Brown sur la Réinsertion des rapatriés**

Monsieur le Gouverneur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer que Monsieur Gordon Brown, chercheur de l'Université américaine de Tufts, est au Burundi pour mener une étude sur les effets de la vie dans les camps des réfugiés sur la vie des ménages rapatriés. Dans le passé, Monsieur G. Brown a dirigé le camp des réfugiés burundais de Mtabila dans le cadre d'un projet d'assistance d'Africare. Le travail effectué par Monsieur Brown vise à appuyer le travail d'assistance à la réinsertion des rapatriés.

L'objet de la présente correspondance est de demander pour Monsieur G. Brown l'autorisation de s'entretenir avec un échantillon choisi de rapatriés de votre province pour pouvoir éclairer son travail de recherche.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Gouverneur, les assurances de ma très haute considération.

Denis J. Hynes

Représentant Résident  
Africare/Burundi



Sous couvert de  
*[Signature]*  
Monsieur le Président de la CNRS  
à BUJUMBURA

*Africare s'efforce d'améliorer la qualité de vie en Afrique, en menant des programmes dans les domaines de l'agriculture, de la mise en valeur des ressources en eau, de la gestion des ressources naturelles, des soins de santé, des secours d'urgence, du développement du secteur privé et de la gouvernance.*