NARRATIVE STRUCTURES CONSTRUCTED AROUND "RETURNING HOME": THE CASE OF REFUGEES (ORUCHINGA VALLEY) AND RETURNEE COMMUNITIES (GULU) IN UGANDA

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Research Interest, Discourse Analysis, Gender, Peace & Conflict

ABSTRACT

A comparative qualitative study was conducted on Identity, Culture and Conflict in refugee (Oruchinga Valley Western Uganda) and returnee communities (Gulu, Northern Uganda) in 2009/10. This was an in- depth investigation into the "returning home process" using personal narratives of respondents to scan the socio-economic conditions of refugees and returnees and analyse their struggle with issues of identity reconstruction within the transitory post conflict period. The study was aimed at comparing the cross-border refugee and internally displaced returnees' identity perspectives. It was to confirm whether the socio-economic measures taken to settle returnees are adequate and inducing peace or inadequate and tipping power relations in the community and increasing the risk of re-kindling hostilities. The study therefore traced the social implications of "returning home" and the patterns of adaptation, re-integration and rejection in the host community. Most interesting is the study's linguistic analysis of the refugees and returnees conflict narrative structures using Reissman's analysis of their discourse system.

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Keywords: Cross-border refugees, Returnees, Returning home process, Host community, Narrative structures.

Contribution/ Originality

This study contributes to the existing literature on returnee/refugee identity, their policies and language. It applies Reissman Kohler's methodology of Discourse System Analysis on returnee/refugee narratives. It is one of very few studies which have investigated resettlement policies from the perspectives of the returnees/refugees themselves. The paper contributes an African based logical analysis of narrative structures that are constructed around peace and conflict. Its primary contribution is the finding that many respondents, among the returnees in Uganda and Rwanda, have not yet found their destination of choice, so they have restarted the migratory circle

once again; their "return" to a refugee-like life resumes the cyclic nature of the conflict, thus endangering peace dividends.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article is an extract of a comparative study on Identity, Culture and Conflict in refugee Oruchinga Valley Western Uganda and returnee communities Gulu, Northern Uganda[1]. Given the socio-linguistic and political   nature of the topic, this study was designed as a qualitative in- depth investigation into the "returning home process" of refugees and returnees, by using their personal narratives not just to scan the physical conditions they were living in but even to gauge their behaviour and reactions to processes of reconstruction within the transitory post conflict period. The study therefore wanted to confirm whether the socio-economic measures taken to settle returnees are adequate or not; whether they are affecting power relations in the community thereby increasing the risk of re-kindling hostilities. The study traces patterns of adaptation, re-integration or rejection in the host community.

The study confirms that indeed, large numbers of ex- Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), also known as "returnees", are trying to relocate themselves to what may have grown into unfamiliar geographical, cultural and political settings where they may not "feel at home" and are "not made welcome" Weiss Fagen (1996). Indeed, economists have noted that in areas that have been recently torn by war, with "sharp declines in living standards, loss of political influence, unmet aspirations for forms of cultural expression and recognition of ethnic identity, may create ground for conflict" (Weiss Fagen, 1996). In Gulu, where the war had lasted a long time, it was noted that from 1992-2000, income poverty declined nationally from 56 % to 35%, it remained rather high ,60 -66% .(Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MFPED)).

The patterns of adaptation, re-integration or rejection of returnee populations that were noted in the study are associated with discourse, culture and identity. Comparative lenses were used to gauge the different impacts of "returning home" on the intra-country returnees (former Gulu IDPs) and on the cross-border ex-refugees in and around Oruchinga Valley Refugee Camp.

The study employed mainly qualitative research methods drawn from a conceptual framework of Critical Narrative Analysis (C.N.A) (Barone, 1992; Riessman, 1993). The returnees' personal narratives served as "constructed texts" or   raw research data that was being assessed. According to Reissman Kohler, "narrative analysis takes as its object of investigating the story itself" (Riessman, 1993). C.N.A thus helped us to understand the linguistic and cultural resources the respondents were drawing from and how as individuals they were constructing "past events and actions into personal narratives to claim identities" (Riessman, 1993).

2. MAKING MEANING OF "RETURNING HOME"

Initially, the study focussed on documenting the process of pre-displacement experience and the factors that affect adaptation upon "returning home" but in this article, we focus on the factors

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that contribute to the refugee/ returnee's attitude towards returning home. From the findings, it was clear that for the Oruchinga refugees, issues of peace and security weighed heavily on their attitude towards returning to their country of origin. The findings also reveal that they have a lot of concern for the safety of their property and their own human security. Due to their adaptation to identity and cultural changes at the time of migration, very few respondents expressed a completely positive attitude towards returning to Rwanda. It is only a young female refugee who actually manifests this positive attitude towards returning to Rwanda: "my cousins on my mother's side went back. When they got home, the Government built a house for them. They did not get any political problems linked to genocide; and are working now" (Natukunda, Narrator 3, Kifunjo Zone). Apart from this young lady, who expresses enthusiasm and hope towards going back to Rwanda, getting a shelter and a job on return, all the rest seem to hold pessimistic views on the topic.

The first lot of the pessimists is those who fear that they will not repossess their land and properties on returning home:

> "You know I came here just last year in 2009. During the war of 1994, I went into exile in Congo and I returned home in 2008. When I reached there, I found everything of mine had been taken. I was hurt so much because I had big land and a forest and everything was gone. I didn't ask anything because when you ask, you may be killed or imprisoned by the leaders who are responsible for the loss of your things. (Here she almost cries, holding on the head while insisting on the loss of her things). So, you see how Rwanda is not as secure as Uganda. I didn't have anything to do, and yet I was not secure. I decided to run away from them and come here" (Galimaka; Narrator 1, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga Valley).

Another narrator also pegs her returning home to the conditionality of availability of land for settlement: "I don't envision going back to Rwanda owing to the fact that my husband was killed in broad day light and this makes me develop a lot of fear. There is no option but being a refugee. If Government wants me to leave this camp, I wish they relocate me somewhere else but not in Rwanda. The conditions of living in Rwanda are not good with people living in camps with no land to cultivate" (Ngoya.; Narrator 1, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga Valley).

These two samples of narratives illustrate the scepticism and reticence that the idea of returning home generates from some quarters. On one hand, the scepticism is linked to the property lost and uncertainty of getting its ownership reinstalled. On the other hand, the reticence to return to the country of origin is linked to the fear of a perpetual living in camps with no "home" or "land" to "settle" into what is "your" "homeland". The irony of the language chosen by this narrator is that every word that she uses negates the usual meaning of "a home", makes a mockery of it and thereby creating a sense of rejection of the interlocutor.

The second group of the pessimists towards returning to Rwanda are those who have no family to return to in Rwanda. This elderly person who was living alone in the camp stated:

> "Never! Will I be going to see my child or my husband? I can never go back to Rwanda. If I die, I will be buried here" (Natukunda; Narrator 1, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga Valley).

The same feeling is shared by another female narrator who confides: "At the death of my aunt in 2003, I was assisted by the local people and fellow refugees. Since I don't know any other

person there, I don't wish to go to Rwanda." (Ngoya.; Narrator 1, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga Valley). Part of this group that has no longer any sense of identification with family ties in Rwanda, are those who have been born and bred in Uganda. These proclaim to have no strong identity link with the country of origin:

> "Since 1994, I don't know where my mother and father are. I don't know whether they are still alive… and yet I didn't bury them. I am still discouraged. I don't have future plans of going back because I don't know if my parents are alive or dead" (Natukunda; narrator 6, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga).

A similar feeling is expressed through the narrative that affirms:

> "I feel here is my home because that is where I grew. I know how things are done here and how people behave….many of my friends are Banyankole….I have decided to stay in one place. I am tired of running around (Natukunda; Narrator 7, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga).

The two narrators of 20-24 years old, have grown in Uganda and responded in Runyankole, the local language. There are feelings of "home" have somewhat shifted. Home is no longer Rwanda because what they have now reconstructed as "family" and "friends" are in Uganda. Clearly for the younger generation, their strategy is looking towards securing their new Ugandan identity and not returning to a vague picture from the past. The last group of pessimists towards "returning home" to Rwanda is the ones feeling insecure and persecuted. They claim they have been receiving bad news from their country of origin as one female narrator states:

> "I continue to receive information from Rwanda that the conditions are still terrible and I am going to remain here as a refugee. However many things have changed, I won't go back to Rwanda (Ngoya.; Narrator 5, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga).

The "bad news" is reiterated by another narrator who states: "All my parents and relatives were killed and I cannot go back because our land was occupied by Tutsis. If they see me, they can kill me. So, here I am more comfortable than I would be in Rwanda because I am safe though poor" (Karemera.; narrator 6, Kifunjo Zone, Oruchinga).

The fear to return home in these two narratives weighs much heavier than the preceding cases; it is more than a discomfort with a past identity or property ownership. There is here an added element of fear for personal security which seems to suppress the emotional or cultural attachment to the past identity. Another level of concern for human security is expressed by narrators who refuse to return home based on the fear of false accusations and imprisonment or target killing. The narratives below, are all from middle aged males who illustrate these fears:

> "All my relatives are in exile and the current regime in Rwanda put many cases against them and they cannot go back. Recently, I tried to go back to see some relatives because, having left Rwanda when I was young, I thought I was safe. When I reached there, I was made subject of many investigations. I was tipped and escaped during the night because I had been told that the next day; I was going to be arrested. This scares me and all my relatives from going back" (Karemera; Key Informant 2, Kisoro village).

The same fear was expressed by another refugee who was shot at when he returned to Rwanda but survived. He states: "Even if I am forced to go back, I would rather be killed here and be taken dead." (Karemera.; Narrator 4, Kazinga Zone, Oruchinga).

Basically, the fear of accusations, imprisonment and persecution, fifteen years after 1994, still looms so heavily over these narrators. They seemed to link their fears to return home to their ethnic origins in or political affiliation. They in turn blame the new regime in power (the Tutsis) for their negativity towards returning home.

The study team noted that at their peak, the accusations being traded were turning very bitter, terse and ethnic; this female middle aged narrator was openly placing the debate under ethnic victimization:

> "The Ugandan Government should leave those who do not want to return to Rwanda alone instead of forcing us to return. People end up killing themselves, drowning in rivers or lakes because they are afraid. The Rwandan Government is deceiving us that there is peace for all, yet there is only peace for Tutsis. The Hutus are being killed. Privileges such as scholarships and Government aid are only available for the Tutsis. We have refused to return to Rwanda" (C.A; narrator 6, Kazinga Zone, Oruchinga).

The discussion at this extremity of verbal tension is charged with undertones of ethnic hatred. The threat of violent suicidal reactions on the part of refugees is calculated to match the fear of repatriation. In retaliation to the alleged impartiality of the Government of origin, the narrator is ready to counter with a refusal to return home. Whereas in the case of the returnees of Gulu access to resources and services were seen to be the root causes of the discourse of conflict, here it is the extreme fear of ethnic reappraisals that seems to be pushing the refugees of Oruchinga to undermining efforts of "returning home". Under this perspective, on either side of the process of returning home, the narrator perceives death and chooses to opt for the more dignified way of exit. In the "refusal to return to Rwanda" we see the subject's refusal to submit to the Rwandan identity.

3. THE PROSPECTS OF "RETURNING HOME" FROM THE EX- IDP PERSPECTIVE

The ex-IDPs of Gulu, or "returnees" in this study, had their own interpretation of "returning home". Several narrators gave us their home definition as: "A place where there is happiness, peace, and God is able to help you to continue living in peace" (Ngoya.; Narrator 1, Bura village).It was seen as: "A place where you are free to work without curfews" (Ngoya.; Narrator 1, Paduny, Payara). It was also defined as a place: "With abundant fresh air, with nobody bothering me and the ability to decide to go to the garden without being inhibited" Ngoya.; Narrator 2, Bura village). It was also projected as the place where: "You feel secure, and your animals can graze freely on communal land… The huts are spread out, unlike the congested camps… and you can receive help from other relatives" (C.A.; Narrator 5, Pageya). It can be observed that unlike the Oruchinga case where the majority of the people associated homecoming to returning to hurtful memories, here "home" carries connotations of peace, freedom and security. One can also note that whereas "digging" evokes subjugation and exploitation for the Oruchinga narrators who are obliged to do

cultivation for survival, here the "garden" is associated with family reunion and communal values. Included in the returnees' definition of "home," is also the divine intervention in sustaining peace.

This strong attachment to the divine power, whether in the Christian or the traditional African sense, has been documented as characteristics of the post-conflict community response in Gulu (Natukunda-Togboa, 2008). In a way, therefore, whereas the Oruchinga refugees & returnees focus on the process of return, the Gulu population brings in the dimension of the destination, the home or the community where the process will end. Understandably, the Oruchinga valley respondents were still anxious and uncertain of the end of their migration.

The process of "returning home" amongst the returnees of Gulu, evokes "the feeling of ability to carry out one's own activities without being coerced to do so" (JBN Narrator 4, Paibona). The process is also "embodied in the ability of families to nurture their children in a peaceful environment that permits engagement in productive activities like agricultural production uninhibited" (Ngoya; Narrator, 6, Pageya). This concern for freedom, non coercion and non inhibition, runs throughout the elders perception of returning home. As one lady narrator puts it:

> "the beauty of returning home entails…….the ability to take care of the disabled, the responsibility of elders, the freedom to interact with others without being suspected of being a rebel collaborator, abundant security for life and property….. [this] makes me hate the thought of the congested camp life where neighbours quarrelled over encroaching onto each others' compounds" (JBN Narrator 1, Paduny).

In this context, return to normal life means getting back to accepting the traditional collective responsibility of catering for the vulnerable within the community and interacting with "the others" to keep the community networks alive. The freedom of association, movement and speech are all included in this concept of returning home to the traditional values. Consolidating peace in this environment is tantamount to retrieving the broken strings that weave together the old Acholi's social fabric. In the elder's concept of returning home, we perceive a complete turnaround from the camp life of conflict to a community aspiring for durable peace.

4. POLICY ISSUES CONSTRUED FROM REFUGEE/RETURNEE NARRATIVES ON PEACE & CONFLICT

Although factors affecting the displacement and adaptation of refugees and returnees were observed to be generic in this study, the reactions of the persons affected were noted to be unique and this helps us to gauge the efficiency of policies that are being used to handle refugees and returnee issues. The added value of this study is to weigh these policy/strategic arrangements basing on refugee/returnee's narratives. From the onset, one could observe the refugees/returnees distinction of discourse mood towards "returning home". The Oruchinga refugees reasoned that not all refugees think the same way about the conditions of their return to the country of origin. Some were clearly opposing "returning home":

> "I would plead with the (Ugandan) Government not to force people to return home but instead, help those who want to return willingly" (Galimaka, Narrator 4, Kazinga zone).

This is a clear appeal for support to reject the process of returning home (logistics, locating family etc). The appeal for restraining from the use of force was reiterated:

> "Repatriation should be voluntary. We are forced to sell everything and are too scared to return to Rwanda. It is like we are being sent for our death. We feel like we have to choose between killing ourselves or returning to Rwanda, to start a fresh in a new place" (C.A; Narrator 5, Kazinga).

Emphasis was put on leaving alone those who are not willing to return :

> "The (Ugandan) government should leave those who do not want to return to Rwanda alone instead of forcing us to return. People end up killing themselves, drowning in rivers or lakes because they are afraid" (C.A; Narrator 6, Kazinga).

The proposal was to leave the option of refugee extension open to those who are too scared to return midst reports that the "Minister of Disaster Preparedness had announced that" those refugees who were not safe could come back" (Ngoya; Narrator 1, Kafunjo). If this was a policy announced by the line Ministry, then the government of Uganda should honour its policy statement.

Indeed, the earlier ministerial announcement had created extreme panic amongst those who felt that the threat which had caused their flight from Rwanda is still hanging dangerously over their heads:

> " I don't think of returning home amidst all deadlines given over the radio because the security situation is still not very certain as I continue to hear stories of massive killings in Rwanda" (Ngoya; Narrator 3, Kafunjo).

There was also a request for an independent assessment of the diplomatic statements of the Rwandan government on the "return to peace" in this country. Such an independent report would clear uncertainty and alley fears of insecurity.

The same fear seemed to hang over the Rwandan government promises:

> "We were given limited time to leave even though we did not want to leave. I chose to stay. We were sensitized about repatriation but when my colleagues reached Rwanda, none of the promises we were told, were true. Life in Rwanda was hard. Those who were patient remained in camps. Some were taken to prison and others came back from Rwanda" (C.A; Narrator 2, Kafunjo zone).

There seems to be a big gap between the Rwandan government promises and the welcome actually accorded to returnees. These claims of unfulfilled Rwandan government promises point to the need of an independent probing to ascertain the real conditions of "returning home." The condition of what the refugees describe as "isolation camps" need to be analyzed to confirm that they are not synonymous with the infamous "concentration camps".The Oruchinga camp was rife with allegations of violation of property rights back home in Rwanda:

> "Our property in Rwanda was taken. There is no way of finding this property when we return; we are put in an isolation camp. If you try to claim anything, you are taken to prison" (C.A; Narrator 2, Kafunjo zone).

The claims of violation of property rights, especially land, by "big people in power" need proper investigation so that such allegations can be empirically confirmed or refuted.

There are refugees who are determined to stay in Uganda, who proposed to be relocated to areas away from the camp for permanent settlement: "The refugees should be given a portion of

land in Uganda for permanent settlement since their former land in Rwanda has been occupied by other people after a struggle ensued among those who had remained" (Ngoya; Narrator 4, Kazinga zone) Furthermore, those who chose to stay proposed "free access for the youth up to secondary education and vocational skills like sewing, knitting, carpentry; to avoid degenerating into security threats" (ENT: Narrator 4, Kafunjo zone). Access to microfinance loans for small business ventures, including land, was also one idea that was reiterated by many (ENT: Narrator 5, Kazinga zone).

5. NARRATIVE STRUCTURES CONSTRUCTED AROUND CONFLICT AND PEACE

In her approach, Riessman Kohler offers a model for analyzing narrative stretches in research interviews. It entails "reducing a long response into lines, stanzas and parts, examining its organizing metaphor and creating a schematic to display the structure" (Riessman, 1993). In a demonstration of her approach, she applies it to narratives on role conflicts of a mother on welfare who has to go for a job training that will end prematurely her undergraduate studies. Cindy the narrator reveals the role conflict of being a parent to her 5 year old son, and the hypothetical events she wishes to happen if she got someone to nurture him.

Riessman's analysis of Cindy's role overload is summarized in a schematic to display the discordance "juxtaposing the non-narrative and the narrative, the story and the dream" (Riessman, 1993):

Figure-1. Schematic displaying narrative analysis
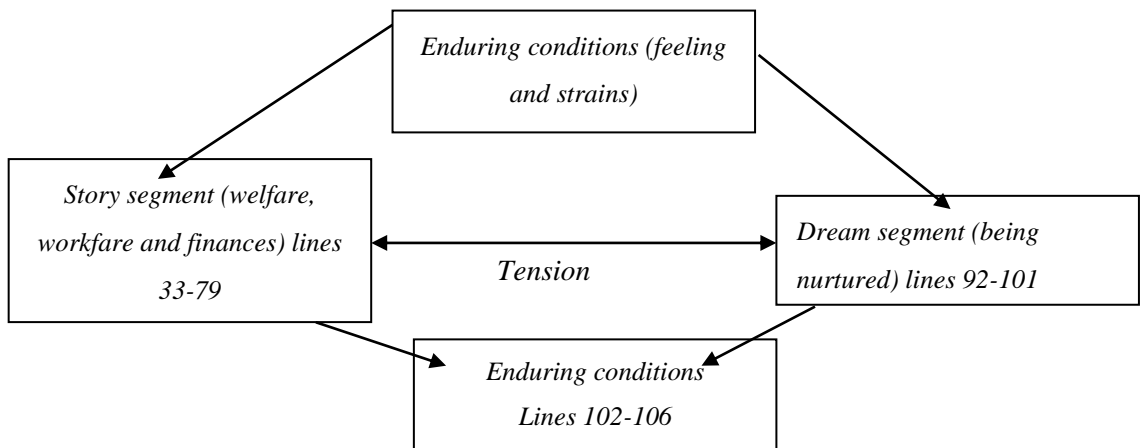
Source: (Riessman, 1993)

Drawing from Reissman's analysis of the discourse system basing on lines, stanzas and parts that constitute a representation of talk, we tried to examine two extended stretches of talk. These two seemed to have similar characteristics as Reissman's sample in order to balance the comparison. One sample was picked from the Oruchinga narratives and the other from Gulu.

Box-1.Joanita. Narrative from Kazinga zone, Oruchinga

(Joanita is a changed name)

I went to Rwanda but returned. I left Rwanda when I was 8 years old and returned when I was 24 years. I was eager to return to see relatives who I had not seen for a while. When I returned I was welcomed, was given beans, maize and a lot more food. Later, each person was told to go to his or her former village.

I went with my mother (her mother also returned to Uganda). We went to my maternal uncle's home. They did not have enough food; for example at times we ate only beans. The government limited the type of food we could grow. My father did not have land in Rwanda and I was not able to stay at my uncle's home for long. I decided to return to Uganda with my children. My request isto stay in Uganda because it was more favourable to us.

Box-2. Margaret Narrative from Ongur, Gulu (Margaret is achanged name)

When we went to the camps (Awer), it was like a surprise; the area we were living in was called Awilobi) because, we heard over the radio that within 24 hours, we were to vacate our homes and leave for the camps. Before my husband was captured and taken to Sudan; it so happened that he died there. So life in the camp was not easy for me. Then in 2003, I left for Karuma. I have six children. By the time I went to Karuma, I had five children. When I was in Karuma, life seemed to be moving on well, because at least I would get something to eat but with time, it became a little difficult because gardens were hired or you would rent a garden for some time. Like for you, you could hire just for a single season and feed on that yield for the next season. So with such difficulties, I heard that there was a little peace, so I came back with my children in 2008 and I spent a little time in Awach camp in 2009. After spending some time in Awach camp, I could not go back to Awilobi because I had been taken there by my husband. Since he was no more, there was no one to welcome me (ENT: Narrator2,Ongur).

In the very first instance, we note that the two narratives were picked by interlocutors facing a dilemma of priorities. A table of the subjects & verbs could help us to discern that dilemma reflected through the narrative structure.

From the table, we can deduce that the first person singular "I" dominates both narratives. Think this is a personal stance seen against government and other public representation of "we." The "government" whether in Rwanda or in Uganda, uses the impersonal or the imperative (had to go, told to) impose restrictions, gives matching orders, cold and detached from the rest of the audience. This brings out the image of competing narratives where the main collective story has now an emerging sub-story.

Figure-2. Narrative analysis of talk representations

| Joanita (Oruchinga)		Margaret (Gulu)	
Subject	**Verbs**	**Subject**	**Verbs**
I	Went	We	Went
But I	Returned	We	Heard
I	Left	We	Had to vacate
I	Returned	We	Had to leave

Continue

I	was eager to return	He	Had been captured
When I	Returned	He	Died
I	was welcomed	I	Left
I	Was given	I	Was
Each person	Was told to go	I	would get
I	Went with my mother	It	Seemed
They	Did not have	You	Could hire
We	Ate only beans	You	Could rent
The Government	limited	I	Heard
My father	Did not have	I	Came back
I	Was not able to stay	I	Spent
I	decided to return	I	Could not go back
We	stay	He	Was no more
It	Is more favourable	There	was no one

Source: Study findings, 2010

The story, as narrated by both Joanita and Margaret, has a lot of repetition and re-winding. "Returned" is repeated six times, "went" 3 times, and 'stay' twice. In both cases of Joanita and Margaret, the reader meanders between "going" and "returning" without getting stationed in any of the alternative postures. This contributes to making the narrative un-focussed, with no linear sense of direction. The plot of the narratives expands from being circular to being cyclic beyond the initial location. ("went", "returned", "went", "returned", "went"…..) It feels like these mainly motion verbs have lost their mobility. In the slow mode of the textual structure growth, one can detect Margaret's meandering in search of a place of abode like a person sleeping the narrator turns and twists listlessly failing to rest in any one position.

Overall, when both speech performances are compared and the metaphoric "tossing about" of the narrators is accounted for, one is tempted to link it to the context of conflict and peace. Following the Riessman model of the talk structure, one can say that this elaborate the narrator's metaphoric search for a sense of direction in their meandering towards the various peace & conflict postures. In brief, the schematic shows that under conditions of conflict, refugees and IDPs lived with the violence until it escalated beyond tolerable levels. Then, they found it "hard to" move or migrate in search of a peaceful host community. Whether they ended up in a camp or village of a relative, they "spent" there sometime. When conditions changed or improved, they were either "told to" go by government or they "decided" to move on. This could be the time peace was ushered in and they started "returning home". On return, they either found the environment conducive or were staying in a transit arrangement or they had returned to their original home.

Figure-3. Schematic of conflict & peace postures
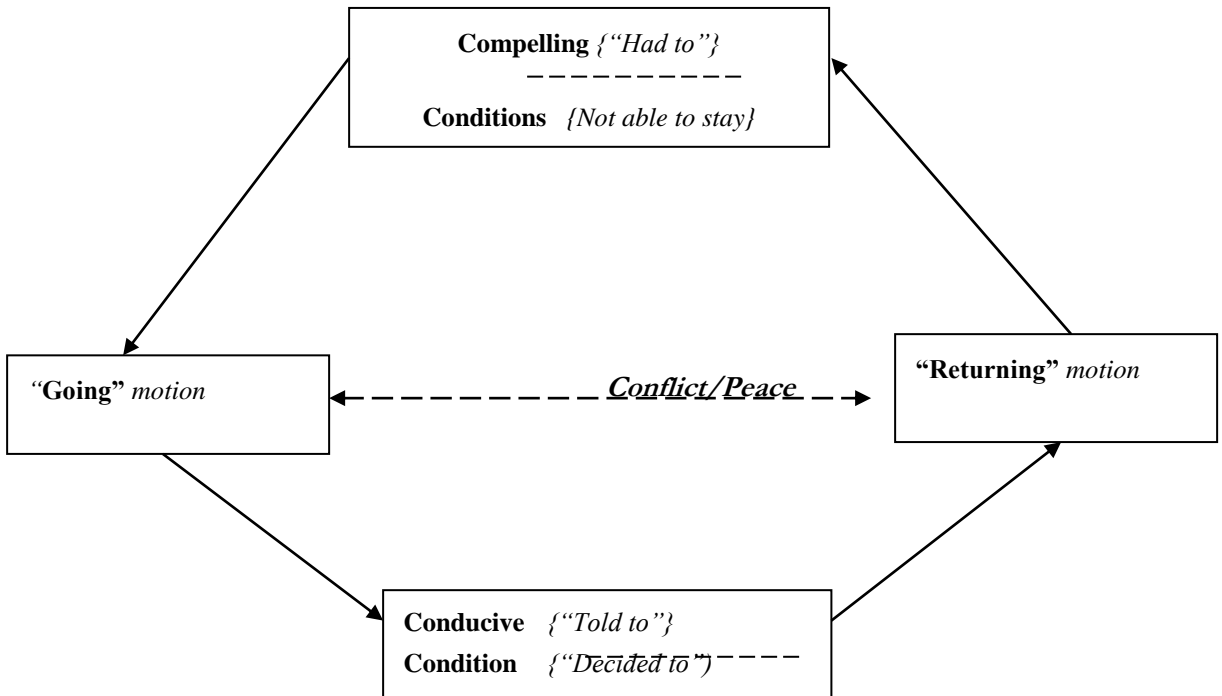
In the study however, it is noted that many among the returnees, had not yet found their destination of choice. They therefore esteemed that they were harassed and were "not able to stay," so they restarted the migratory circle once again! Their "returning" into displacement or refugee-like life, would resume the cyclic nature of the conflict and peace tensions which kept the vicious cycle reproducing itself.

6. CONCLUSION

The findings above focused on the meaning and implications of "returning home" first from the perspective of the Oruchinga valley refugees/ returnees and secondly from the perspective of the ex IDPs of Gulu, currently returnees in Awach Sub-county. They also focused on the discourse of peace and conflict structured around the narratives of "returning home". Among the refugees, the research noted that the fear to return home in the narratives was weighing much heavier than the simple discomfort with a past identity or property ownership that is with time losing its meaning. There is indeed an added element of fear for personal security that appears to suppress the emotional or cultural attachment to "returning home". At another level, the narratives reflect a concern for human security through the narrators who express their refusal to return home based on the fear of false accusations and imprisonment or target killings. When it comes to analysing the narratives using Reissman's model, the data shows that the textual structure growth of the corpus from both the refugees and the returnees, is "meandering", "turning" and "twisting" listlessly and failing to repose in any one direction. Overall, when both speech performances are compared and the metaphoric "tossing about" of the narrators is accounted for, one is tempted to link the discursive stagnation   to the socially fractured context of conflict. Both refugee and returnee narrators seem to be metaphorically searching for a sense of direction in their meandering towards

the various peace and conflict postures. This framework of narrative analysis could be useful in projecting the reactions and behaviour of refugees and returnees faced with the process and preparations of "returning home" within a given context. This is because in the study, it is noted that many respondents, among the returnees, have not yet found their destination of choice. They therefore esteem that they are harassed and are "not able to stay" and so they have restarted the migratory circle once again. Their "returning" into displacement or refugee-like life, would resume the cyclic nature of the conflict, thus endangering peace dividends.

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