

Report No 1

**Internally Displaced,  
Refugees and  
Returnees from and in  
Mozambique**

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**STUDIES ON EMERGENCIES AND DISASTER RELIEF**  
**No. 1**

**Internally Displaced, Refugees and Returnees from and in Mozambique**

by

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## a) INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

This review has been commissioned by the Swedish International Development Authority, with the objective of synthesising and evaluating in brief the research undertaken to date on the internally displaced, refugee and **returnee** population movements consequent to the war in Mozambique.

### *The extent of the problem of displacement*

The significance of forced migrations from and within Mozambique is demonstrated by the fact that of its estimated fifteen million people, about two million are estimated to be refugees in neighbouring countries (half of whom are in Malawi), about three million are 'internally displaced', another one million are dwelling temporarily in squatter camps around the main cities, and around one third of a million are already '**returnees**' (mostly having repatriated outside of formal channels, and usually **still** in camps in Mozambique).<sup>1</sup> There are an unknown number of people also displaced within the Renamo-held areas. In fact, in Mozambique even those populations not classified as forced migrants of one kind or another, have been profoundly affected by the disruptions of the war. Quite apart from the human tragedy that this entails, sustaining the displaced populations is absorbing enormous institutional energies and resources across southern **Africa** (especially in Mozambique and Malawi). Even if there is a peace agreement, the facilitation of their return home and re-integration will be a major challenge for governments and aid agencies. Effective assistance to address destruction at such a scale requires **well-grounded conceptions** of the problems and good information, and a constant process of evaluation and review of policies and projects. Academic research could therefore clearly play a key role.

### *The scope of this work*

This review does not attempt to cover all the studies undertaken (but see the appendix of holdings of the Refugee Studies Programme "Documentation Centre"), but rather focuses on the significant themes, approaches and findings. It will include both investigations of the causes and **nature** of the displacement experience and people's own survival strategies, as well as research on the nature and impact of assistance programmes. Both 'Mozambican' and 'refugee' studies are **increasingly healthy** and vigorous fields, but this review will only briefly indicate the **links** between the studies examined here and these wider fields. Finally, the review will suggest priorities for future research and dissemination of findings, and ways in which SIDA and other donors might **positively contribute** to **strengthening** effective and useful scholarship.

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<sup>1</sup> This review will not seek to **establish** the exact numbers of people involved. Kibreab (1991) elaborates a **still** incomplete list of thirteen reasons why African refugee statistics are inevitably flawed.

## 6) A CHANGING CONCEPTION OF THE CAUSE AND THE PROBLEM

### (i) An Overview

#### *The demand for analysis*

This section reviews the changing problematics shaping research on displaced, refugee and **returnee** populations in Mozambique, whilst the actual **findings** are discussed in later sections. A general comment is first in order. Academics are frequently accused of being overly concerned with obtuse theoretical questions far removed from practical realities. Yet in the **case of Mozambique** what is far more in evidence is actually their desire to make a **meaningful contribution** to addressing the misery. This section shows that what they have sought to do reflects changes through time what they perceived would be a useful contribution. Indeed in some ways it is only as the enormity and complexity of Mozambique's problems has become apparent that most researchers have turned to theory and in-depth investigation. Ironically, far from researchers clinging to their 'ivory towers' in fact it has been the Mozambique government and the relief agencies that have led the demand for more penetrating analyses of the problems and more radical potential assistance strategies.

#### *Changing conceptions of the role of research*

The earliest research tended to document forced migration primarily **as a consequence of** Mozambican external destabilisation, in the belief that this would lead to international pressure to halt the war. But despite achieving some reduction in aid to Renamo, the war continued to escalate. And field studies increasingly showed that the causes of flight were more complex than just Renamo **terror**. Research then focused upon the needs of the people fleeing the war to encourage government and international and local agencies to assist them more effectively. After some initial improvements, the scope for improving assistance looked increasingly inadequate given the growing scale of the problem in relation to donor interest and agency capacities, and institutional factors appeared to constrain the recognition of weaknesses in policies and programmes. Research on the relationship between agencies, governments and refugee needs was then begun and was not encouraging. Meanwhile the local hosts, who had in practice been responsible for securing people's survival (despite the high profile formal aid programme), could often no longer cope, their own economies and institutions virtually collapsing under 'structural adjustment'. Virtually nothing had been done to address host population needs, despite **all** the research on possible 'developmental' interventions. With the realisation that **only** peace could secure people a future, and **with** the initiation of negotiations in Rome, research began on **repatriation** and reconstruction. Yet peace did not come, agency plans turned to nought, and **many** refugees returned themselves into war zones, whilst for millions residence in degrading camps became ever more **permanent**. Perhaps because of these failures by the formal institutions, displaced people themselves rose up against the Renamo guerrillas in **important** areas like Zambezia and Nampula and created their own peace zones. Some **researchers** turned to this **encouraging** development, but these movements then collapsed, **turning** themselves into tribute and raiding gangs. Scholars working on strategies to strengthen Mozambique government capacity to **manage the emergency** and to build peace saw it fail to halt the tide **towards** collapse, and now **find** themselves increasingly seeking to understand how Mozambique would cope without **effective government**. Mozambique - and the intellectuals seeking to assist its people - **now**

face the greatest challenge since they took on Portuguese colonialism on September 25th 1964.

These developments in scholarship will now be examined in more detail.

## (ii) Apartheid, Destabilisation and Refugees

### *Refugees as victims of Renamo terror*

**Initial** studies focused upon Mozambican refugees and displaced people as the human tragedy of the **destabilisation** of independent Mozambique through Renamo by South African and other forces (eg. Brennan, 1986; D'Souza, 1986; Knight, 1988; Quan, 1987). This view became widely accepted after the United States Department of State report (1988) by Robert Gersony, which documented systematic abuse and the use of terror by Renamo dubbed 'the Khmer Rouge of Africa', through interviews across the region of Mozambicans who had fled.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the far-reaching effects of the Gersony report was that until recently Renamo violence was the single explanation for Mozambican refugees in almost all official documents and research reports. For example, the United States Department of State's own refugee year book described the causes of flight in 1987 only as vague insurgencies, whilst in 1988 published a summary of the Gersony report attributing virtual total responsibility to Renamo viciousness. In 1989 and 1990 the review reported the causes of flight as atrocities 'primarily by Renamo', introducing, though the collapse of life in the Renamo-controlled zones; mentioning only in passing refugee movements following Frelimo assaults. Only in 1991 does the State Department shift to baldly citing 'internal warfare' as the cause, describing, for example, major refugee flows into Malawi in 1990 as the result of government military offensives. Likewise, the independent United States **Committee** for Refugees described the causes of flight in the years prior to the Gersony report as a 'brutal conflict' with the South-African backed Renamo destroying infrastructure and abusing people (with some government abuse also). **And** here again the language of Gersony dominates the 1988 and 1989 reports. Mention of government actions creeps in 1991 and 1992; and in the latter year it describes a 'civil war' **with** the struggle for territory in the run-up to peace and elections leading to intensified **fighting** and more refugees.

### *Regional political economy is ultimately responsible*

**Two further** perspectives were deployed by researchers to examine the issue of the causes and processes of flight after the simple '**destabilisation**' approach. On the one hand there has been the desire to locate it within **an** even wider political-economic context. Ibeanu (1990) thus sought the root causes of displacement within the wider '**struggles** over production and the distribution of social product' within Southern Africa, and argued that current movements were **only** the extreme end of the dislocations and migrations that this inevitably entailed.

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<sup>2</sup> Renamo claims that all the refugees flee from a brutal **marxist** regime. This review of research will not include Frelimo or Renamo policy documents. Unfortunately reports by pro-Renamo lobbyists and **journalists** have inadequate intellectual or empirical content to usefully review in a **paper** of this kind.

(A similar approach to earlier flight and migration movements in northern Mozambique was taken by **Munslow**, 1979.) Related to this approach is the work of Adam (1991) on the war and flight in **Changara** in Tete, as being a consequence of the 'failure of development' that was largely caused by external political economic constraints and **influences**.

### *Destabilisation, but peasant resistance*

The second thrust has been to consider the interaction between political economy and micro-sociological processes of peoples actual experience. The classic text for this school would be **Lina Magaia's** "peasant tales of tragedy" (1983). In terms of a more formal academic treatment, Mazur (1989) sought to do this **principally** by arguing that rural people engaged in struggles to resist and retain control of their lives in the face of **destabilisation** and the intervention by governments and aid agencies in the places of asylum. Work on this theme is further pursued by Cammack (forthcoming); Smith (1990); and by **Urdang** (1989) in her book on the resilience of **Mozambican** women. This approach transcends the notion of displaced people as victims in that they are seen as actively coping, but it stops short of seeing them as participants in the very processes generating displacement, and of **generally** problematising the local dynamics of the war as more than external intervention.

### **(iii) The Social Dynamics of Displacement**

#### *Differentiated causes and process of fight*

A third approach to work on the nature of displacement **has** been based upon detailed field work amongst displaced and refugee communities to develop a more **nuanced** understanding of the varied and complex **socio-political** processes generating fight. This builds upon some early initiatives. Cammack (1986), for example, emphasised the role of the mid-1980s drought (and the impact of Renamo on relief and commerce) in the early flight to Zimbabwe; she was also one of the **first** independent scholars to publish internationally how rural populations get sandwiched between the armies of both sides, punished by both for allegedly helping the other (Cammack, 1988). Within Mozambique important work was done by journalists such as **Gil Lauriciano**, **Karl Maier** and **William Finnegan**, the latter having been the **first** to publish what is a most valuable book (1992). It was **Cisternino** (1987), however, who provided the most systematic early work, and introduced the complexity of factors promoting flight to Malawi and early **returns** to Mozambique, **including** that as the nature of the war changed and there were shifts in the areas controlled by each side, different kinds of people would be obliged to become refugees. This approach has been extended to examine 'vintages' by **Wilson** with **Nunes** (1992), **who demonstrate why people have moved both into and out of areas controlled by the government and Renamo at different times** (see also Nunes, 1992 and Wilson 1992b), and how for different reasons **Frelimo** and **Renamo-affiliated** people have become refugees in Malawi as the war **has** changed its course.

### *Flight and allegiance at the local level*

These local studies also reveal elements of a much more complex social **construction** of the **war**,<sup>3</sup> since they indicated how sections of local societies aligned themselves and so participated in generating flight. **Geffray's** (1990) anthropological study in **Nampula** was one of the first studies to explain why **often** large rural populations initially allied themselves with Renamo against the government, moving into rebel-controlled areas, noting, for example, that their principal targets were the rival lineages or groups who had captured Frelimo authority in the new villages or who had maintained their dominance in the local administration since colonial times. Further field work has since demonstrated struggles between different Renamo collaborators and the Renamo military (especially chiefs, mediums and **mujibhas**), between Renamo institutions and the general peasantry, and criss-crossing alliances against and between local economic **elites** and political authorities (Nunes, 1992; Roesch, 1992; Wilson, 1992b; and Wilson with Nunes, 1992). Nilsson (1991) in as yet unpublished work on southern Mozambique emphasises a whole series of 'recuperations' and 'displacements' in the lives of **rural** people. Wilson with Nunes (1992) demonstrate how these can interact with 'repatriation' movements, as people repeatedly respond to changes in the security situation, preserving or changing their alignments in the search for long term survival and, at times, reward. With the blossoming of local studies of the war, many of which will be brought together by Vines and Wilson in an edited collection due in 1993, it is becoming possible to make much sounder assertions about the interaction between social forces, the deployment of violence and flight.

### *Avoiding flight: staying with Renamo until things collapse*

Research on the strategies used by people in war situations to avoid flight have been little studied anywhere in the world, despite their obvious significance. Nunes (1992), Wilson with Nunes (1992) and Wilson (1992b), however, provide contrasting examples in four areas of Zambesia about the ways in which different groups within the affected populations did or did not decide to **flee** and how and why so many sought to negotiate their continued residence in the war zones. Sections of the rural **population** most rooted to local social and natural resource configurations proved extremely reluctant to leave not only because this stripped them of their **status** and identity as well as livelihood in the short term, but also because they believed staying put was the best way to secure their long term links, if necessary with new **de facto** authorities. In contrast populations under state or commercial patronage were usually the **first** to go. Yet the work of **Wilson** in Zambesia (**Wilson, 1992b**; Wilson with Nunes, 1992) and in **northern Tete** (**Wilson, 1991d**), and **Otto Roesch's** (1992) remarkable study in central Mozambique, also emphasises how with time the collapse of the rural economy in the Renamo-held areas and the **increasing** demands of tribute there, coupled with the perception **that** Renamo does not represent the future authority, **has** led to major flight movements during 1990-92. (The 1992 **famine** is **accentuating** this further.)

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<sup>3</sup> Much research is **currently** being undertaken on the nature and causes of the war in Mozambique. Hall (1990) and Vines (1991) provide the best **known** and most detailed syntheses.



### *The 'recuperation' policy of government forces*

These recent papers by Wilson, Nunes and Roesch, and another study in Zambesia by Legrand (1992), also provide some of the first detailed material on the nature and significance of the government troops' policy of 'recuperation', which involves the **armed forces** obligatory relocation of peasants into the garrison towns or guarded settlements. This policy, responsible for a large proportion of the internally displaced populations in the provinces for which there is data, is designed primarily to 'drain the water from the rebellious fish' as the distinguished journalist of Mozambique, Karl Maier, put it, and is justified on the grounds of liberating people from Renamo control. Maier and Vines have explored the degree to which this policy and **related** activities of both sides constitutes an abuse of human rights in the recent Africa Watch report (1992). Wilson with Nunes (1992) and especially Wilson (1992a) provide material on the recuperations, **displacements** and return movements engendered by the peasant 'Naparama' **militia** in the northern **provinces** in 1990-1.

### *Flight and social agency: the case of the Jehovah's Witnesses*

By way of a more explicit critique of simple victim-orientated descriptions of the causes of flight, Wilson (1992c) explores how one important section of the Mozambique refugee population - the Jehovah's Witnesses - have existed not as objects of the war, but as active agents struggling for the kind of world they want, creating **conflicts** with authority and handling persecution and exile collectively as a religious duty. Not only did this enable them to **strategically** defeat **Renamo**, it also enabled them to stand out in refugee camps **as** economically and socially privileged. He argues that through using experience from seven previous migrations between Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia since the early 1960s, 'flight' for the Witnesses from their former re-education camp in **Carico** (Zambezia) has been as much the re-establishment of belonging as it has a time of disruption.

#### **(iv) Displacement, Agencies and the Authorities**

##### *Researchers appeal for refugees' basic rights*

In relation to assistance programmes, researchers tended initially to see their role as ensuring that the refugees were offered genuine asylum by the neighbouring states (eg. **Brennan**, 1986) and that adequate basic assistance programmes were implemented (eg. **Ruiz**, 1989). These themes have been continued in the literature on South Africa, where only refugees in the 'homelands' receive asylum and gross abuses of rights occur within 'white' areas, including an electric fence, forced repatriation, and a **form** of slavery (eg. **Anderson**, 1992; Le Scour, 1989; **McKibbin**, 1992; **Morrison**, 1991; and Vines, 1991 and forthcoming); and by authors concerned with **inadequate** aid to the asylum countries (especially **Malawi**), and are **anxious** to ensure adequate donor provision for repatriation (eg. Winter, 1990).

##### *Advice on better policies*

Yet the bulk of the studies reviewed in this paper have been focusing over the **last** few years on **seeking** to improve assistance policies through describing refugees' survival strategies and problems, and the weaknesses of current programmes. This approach is encapsulated in

**Mazur's** (1988) paper on linking popular initiative with agency programming. Likewise the bulk of research on repatriation has been orientated towards providing information and advice for agencies and the authorities to better design and implement programmes.

### *Questioning institutional roles*

Alongside these studies designed to improve aid delivery there have been two additional strands. The first has been **investigations** of the behaviours of states, international and local agencies, and their causes and consequences. These studies frequently recognised the interests and **constraints** of such bodies as the real problem for the refugees had been demonstrated in **Harrell-Bond's** (1986) pioneering study of Ugandans in Southern Sudan. In the field of law and the provision of asylum, important contributions are being made by **Tiyanjana Maluwa** (1991) and Medard **Rwelamira** (1988), though lawyers have yet to make detailed field studies of whether and how refugees' legal rights are provided in practice. **Cammack** (forthcoming) suggests that the treatment of refugees, and the pattern of abuses they suffer in each of the asylum countries is broadly similar to that experienced by the national population as a whole. The **findings** of Chaloka **Beyani's** current study on the rights of internally displaced populations, for which Mozambique is one of the case studies, are eagerly awaited. Charles **Gasarasi's** encyclopaedic doctoral thesis (1988) on the effect of Africa's **exile/refugee** populations upon inter-African state relations also includes consideration of Mozambique both before and after independence, bringing out how policies towards refugees were integrally part of foreign policy agendas of co-operation and conflict, rather than of humanitarian concern. The collaborative study of Roger Zetter, Harrell-Bond and colleagues at the Universities of Malawi and Zimbabwe meanwhile represents the most systematic study of the interactions between states, agencies and refugee needs in the countries of asylum, though work has also been undertaken on institutional relations in repatriation planning (Wilson with **Nunes**, 1992), and within Mozambique itself (**Hanlon**, 1991; Wilson, 1991e). The second research initiative grows out of the threatened chaos in Mozambique of 1991-2 with the faltering of the peace process, and is best represented by the doctoral research of Mark **Chingono** in **Chimoio** (reviewed further below), and locates the problem neither in the lack of ability nor willingness of institutions to address peoples' problems, but in the very collapse of institutional and associational life.

## **c) LIVELIHOOD AND EXPERIENCE**

This section briefly reviews research on the livelihood and experience of refugees and displaced people, an area of major research focus in refugee studies internationally in recent years. The **findings illustrate** the diversity of disciplinary and theoretical skills now being brought to bear.

### **(i) The Trauma of Displacement and Violence**

#### *A horrific exposure to violence*

In response to the general awakening of awareness of psychological problems amongst non-European refugees in the 1980s, reflecting in part the wider work of the Refugee Studies Programme, there are now many **official** and aid agency publications seeking to document

the negative impact of exposure to violence, particularly upon women and children, and appealing for interventions to address this trauma (see bibliography). More systematic research into the psycho-social impact of the war has been undertaken in Zambia by Mrs Shirley Fozzard (Fozzard and McCallum, 1989) and Florence Shumba (1990) and Niel Boothby *et al.* (1991) amongst others in Mozambique. Each of these many agency and research studies focuses on establishing a high exposure to a wide variety of extreme and sometimes elaborate violence, but usually barely investigated the relationship between exposure to violence and social and behavioural outcomes, except through (often powerful) case studies. This has partly reflected an inadequate deployment of appropriately trained psychologists in the assessment of individuals in the field, and the not unreasonable demand that research be linked to intervention, usually through para-professionals not in a position to collect 'scientific' data. Shumba (1990), for example, discovered that many children labelled as traumatised by one programme had not been particularly exposed to violence and were often identified as manifesting 'abnormal' behaviour for other reasons (such as partial deafness or religious affiliation).

### *Uncertainty about culture and coping strategies*

Investigations of the impacts of violence have also faced difficulties of historical and anthropological interpretation. As one psychologist Ager *et al.* (1991) bluntly admitted, 'we are ignorant of culturally normative means of coping with stressful life events'. Wilson (1992b) for example, reported remarkable solidarity in a community living hidden in Renamo territory, wit! its own combination of social, ritual and medicinal treatments for women caught and raped by Renamo, most of whom developed venereal diseases, and who needed 'quarantining' before re-unification with their husbands (see also Richman, 1991 for the desire to link stress with cultural movements and healing). Irae Baptista Lundin de Coloane, of the Department of Anthropology at the University in Maputo, has written a particularly useful piece on the importance of understanding peoples' own social mechanisms for conceptualising and addressing the problems of children in war (1991). Her imminent doctoral thesis, which is based upon many years of field work in the shanties of Maputo, demonstrates how concepts of kinship and mutual aid are managed to enable people to cope with the crisis of the war and the economic collapse. Nunes (1990 and 1992), and Carolyn Nordstrumm (in prep) have also done important work on the psycho-social interface in Mozambique; Jovito Nunes in particular stresses the impact of long exposure to violent and authoritarian behaviour. Fortunately, given our current rudimentary understanding, research in this field is likely to continue with increasing intensity and sophistication. For example, the World Health organisation is currently funding work by Dr Antonio Esteves in Zambezia. We can also expect further publication by the many mental health and social work practitioners working in the field in southern Africa.

### *Healing, tradition and gender*

Doctoral research under way by Robert Marlin (1992) in Malawian camps into 'traditional' health practices may help us to conceive better how refugee communities themselves perceive the social context of poor psychological health and its treatment. Yet Chigudu (1991) in her forthright and detailed work is uncompromising in her identification of traditional healers as a major force suppressing refugee women, even in exposing them to ritual rape. Since Alcinda Honwana's (1992) doctoral research will specifically address the gender roles of

healers in southern Mozambique in the situation of war and displacement; we should soon be in a much better position to explore this debate. Gosling (1992), like Wembah-Rashid (1992), argues that 'traditional' cultural expression and activity provides an important space for women's wellbeing. She reports that in Zambia refugee women stressed activities like initiation ceremonies that created a sense of identity and belonging. Orphans without other close relatives to take care of them found that they could not become 'proper' adults because they could not undertake these ceremonies. Culturally framed activities that generate a sense of **purpose** and belonging contribute both to the pain - and to the alleviation of the pain - in social being. They can define for women both the limited space that they are assigned, and the solidarity that they can use to thrive **within** it. These notions also construct the centrality of burial and funerals, the importance of which is perhaps still difficult for international agencies and **officials** to appreciate (Harrell-Bond and Wilson, 1990).

### *Gender and differential trauma and flight*

Increasing attention to the micro-level social processes of the war and displacement raises other important questions about how the processes have varied meanings. In regard to gender, some researchers (eg. Rakumakoe, 1990) have stressed that war and flight expose women to the general abuses that they normally experience from men (especially sexual), and good evidence for **this** is provided by Chigudu (1991). Yet research on the nature of the war in Mozambique also suggests that women and children are exposed to violence in particular ways. For example, Renamo uses special techniques to create its child soldiers (**Boothby et al., 1991**), and the sexual abuse of women is pursued by Renamo to imbue male ritual power as well as to provide privileges to soldiers in lieu of payment (Wilson 1992a; Nordstrumm, in prep). It is surely not the case that men and women have been similarly affected by violence as claimed by Ager **et al.** (1991), and there is urgent need for research into men's experiences of violence and their impact. Social workers in the field identify male exposure to traumatising stresses as a major contributor to marital violence and abuse of alcohol (**Rakumakoe, 1990**).

### *Gender and the stresses of displacement*

Quite apart **from** gender differences in exposure to violence before and during flight, it is important to examine the stresses of displacement on **arrival**. Violet Bonga (1992a), for example, brings out the weight of **human misery and indignity of** the destitution of the **Malawian** camps; conditions which Wilson **et al.** (1989) describe so dryly in their desire to **appear** objective by **banishing** the subjectivity of pain. Some studies suggest that the stresses of exile are much greater on women **than** men. It **has** been argued, for example, that particularly in **northern Mozambique**, the 'break with land' occasioned by **displacement has** more serious implications for the economic and social status of women than men (Ager **et al.** 1991; Wilson with Nunes, 1992), **since** women live together in natal villages where they have tenure to the land upon which they produce the family's food. Spragge (1991), who emphasises this point, records a refugee **woman** left stating '**the only thing** I am in control of is when to eat'. Others argue that the loss of status **in the** camps is more catastrophic for men **than** women and indeed that this leads to high levels of male psychiatric disorders. For Njalai (1990) and Makanya (1990) it is the **disempowerment** of men by refugee assistance policies which is responsible for the loss of status, and Chigudu (1991) quotes **Mozambican** women in Zimbabwe explaining that since **men** had lost their economic power and social

authority to the camp **administration** they ended up beating their wives to assert their manhood. However, Nunes (1992), **working** in area of Mozambique where agencies had **little** impact on people's lives, emphasises local socio-economic factors as responsible for the greater loss in **male** prestige and hence psycho-social damage. Researchers have yet to **examine** the impact of host-country and aid **personnel** stereotypes of **Mozambicans** as backward, **unskilled** and lazy, which appear particularly to distress elite refugee men.

### *Loss of role for the elderly*

Research on the elderly in the **Zimbabwean** camps underlines their role as cultural brokers who have been **marginalised following** their loss of control over resource distribution due to Right (Mupedziswa, 1989). Combined **with** their physiological and economic vulnerability this loss of status and role, **Mupedziswa** has argued, was leading to psycho-social stress, and was also **contributing** to the inadequate **socialisation** of the youth. It would be useful to harvest the rich experience of **camp** social workers with the elderly and other **similar** categories, for example that in Zimbabwe, through the forum of edited case histories or suchlike.

## **(ii) Survival Strategies**

### *The strength of livelihood studies*

Adapting research techniques generated more generally in African studies in recent decades, researchers within refugee studies have developed important tools for **investigating** and documenting the **livelihood** strategies of refugees. Indeed detailed research on the survival strategies of refugees and displaced persons has already been undertaken in Malawi (Nyama, 1988; **Wilson et al.** 1989), Zambia (Black **et al.** 1990), Swaziland (**McGregor et al.** 1991), and to some extent in Mozambique in **Zambezia Province** (Nunes, 1992), **Chimoio** town (Chingono, 1992) and Maputo City (**Baptista Lundin**, forthcoming, and by Andrea Cravinho). In addition, research by Zetter **et al.** in Zimbabwe and Malawi, and by **Wilson** in northern Mozambique (Wilson, 1991d; **Wilson** with Nunes, 1992) has focused upon the interaction between refugees' livelihood strategies and aid programmes, **within** the wider processes of **political** economy. Each of these studies **makes** a similar set of points, points which have now been widely recognised in refugee studies (see, for example, **Kibreab**, 1991).

### *It is refugees' own strategies that are key*

The most important **finding** is that it is the **survival strategies of the refugees themselves** that are key to survival. They simply are not **passive victims waiting for aid, in danger of becoming dependent**. After a period of assistance by **local** people and local institutions Like churches (which is **actually** often initiated by refugee requests **and/or** organisation), it is refugees themselves that re-build their lives. **Study** after study demonstrates the phenomenal ability with which refugees deploy their social networks, available resources and energies in order to carve out protection and a livelihood. They clearly aim - and to quite some degree succeed - to integrate themselves into local and regional social and economic systems as advantageously as possible.

### *Agencies are not really able to help refugees*

This commitment of the refugees to solving their problems reflects both that most refugees (like other people) prefer to control their own lives, and the fact that assistance programmes simply lack the policy instruments and resources to address the needs of the refugees adequately. Except for a few individual refugees, assistance programmes appear in these studies as coming in with marginal help, or as a cause of disruption and even threat. The only resource reported by most refugees as really important is the disbursement of food aid, though this is inadequate in volume, content and variety to meet overall nutritional needs. Otherwise minimal and erratic provision is made of clothing and other basic domestic needs, and of just some of the material needed for building homes, and the rest of the agencies' activities are focused on constructing camp infrastructure or on activities that involve marginal benefits for a small **fraction** of the refugees such as income generation (which will be reviewed later). Thus though many worthy, cost effective, and well implemented programmes do exist, they lack the resources and scope to really make a difference. Furthermore, potential interventions by assistance programmes are constrained by concerns of security and politics on the one hand, **and** the collapsing local economies and institutions under structural adjustment and world recession on the other.

### *Agencies miss opportunities and sometimes worsen situations*

Unfortunately agencies rarely start by looking for ways of assisting refugees tackle the constraints **on** the activities that they are already doing; most officials remain unaware how refugees' actually meet their needs. Instead, despite the internal and external constraints they face as institutions, they often seek to construct separate economic and social activities **from** scratch, usually running up against formidable challenges. Indeed, far from tackling existing constraints on refugees' own livelihood strategies, assistance programmes frequently multiply them. For example, refugees' are usually dependent upon access to local resources, and the social relations that make this possible are frequently negatively affected by the way that assistance programmes separate **refugees** spatially and for aid. Camps (especially large ones) also tend to undermine refugee livelihood strategies by further pressurising available resources within the camp locality, though they do provide marketing opportunities.

### *Why some refugees are better off than others*

The **livelihood** studies described above have identified the principal determinants of differential economic success **between** refugees as reflecting the differences between working abilities or patronage in the **context** of exile. More occasionally differentials reflect the resources or **equipment** people originally came with. In addition to overall adequate labour at the household level, it is access to non-agricultural **skills** that is significant, even in the so-called agricultural settlements (Black **et al.** 1990). Since **many** refugees survive in the border camps by using resources within Mozambique, their relations with the **de facto** authorities in the **war** zones can also be very **important** (Wilson **et al.** 1989; Wilson with Nunes, 1992). Most of the livelihood studies report that suffering is concentrated amongst those who cannot work productively, often because of disrupted social networks, especially when combined with some 'disability'.

### *Women refugees work harder and earn less money*

Work on the experience of Mozambican refugee women has drawn attention to gender differences in livelihood experience, differences that are now well recognised in the wider African experience (Powles, 1992). Women found that food aid largely replaced their agricultural labour, releasing them of some labour burdens, but that in the context of exile both the increased domestic work loads required to meet such needs as **firewood**, and the poor returns on other economic activities necessary to generate cash for items such as soap, meant that they remained over-worked (Berry-Koch, 1990; Makanya, 1990; Spragge, 1991). In one study refugee women were found to work on average two hours per day more than men in Malawi, with men securing much more work for cash; in less **camp-like** situations there was less bias against women gaining access to cash (Ager *et al.*, 1991). Lack of **cash-earning opportunities** compared with men in the local economy or with the agencies was a major problem for women in Zimbabwe (Makanya, 1990) and Zambia (Gosling, 1992). Jose Negro (1991), in a study of displaced women within Mozambique focused centrally on their economic problems, attributing these to a combination of the general context of economic misery with the war and structural adjustment, and problems faced by women due to social constraints. Drawing attention to the complexity of social relations, Nunes (1992) has reported for northern Mozambique that social factors **explained** whether men or women had greater access to cash amongst different displaced communities. Chingono (1992) also provides evidence that displaced women have some opportunities to earn income less controlled by their husbands and lineages than in the rural areas.

### *Many Women face general poverty and lack of access to male labour*

In an important study in an agricultural settlement in Zambia by Rachel Gosling (1992), women from northern Tete identified elevated general poverty as the **main** factor leading to the intensified labour demands upon them in order to meet basic needs. Gosling further **demonstrated** that since access to the support of relatives and to the male labour of husbands or **kin** was essential, the disruptive social effects of displacement were key. Any woman without social support networks was vulnerable, if she was elderly, very young or ill, she faced severe poverty. **In** addition to death and separation due to migration, aid agency policies in this and other camps to **determine** location of residence **seriously** disrupted women's social networks leading to many unnecessary problems (see also Black *et al.*, 1990).

### *Demographic in-balance provides men advantages through marriage*

Gosling also identified demographic imbalance as having **important** affects on women's status in the Zambian settlement. It created a surplus of women who were in need of male labour for tasks such as tree felling and home building. Single women did have some options in the settlement, but they were limited, there being established cultural **constraints on women's** economic activities; they had ideological and social freedom and could take up leadership positions in the **community**, but unless they had access to money they suffered great **economic** hardship. Thus single women found themselves obliged to enter into polygynous marriages (which had not been common in their area of Mozambique), from which their husbands gained greater advantage. Parents also married their young daughters to well-established men, in part to gain access to the labour of the sons in law in this matrilineal set-up. **Only** where women could **marry** into Zambian households did marriage really offer women

opportunities to rise out of a more constrained existence. In the camp situations in Malawi (Berry-Koch, 1990) and Zimbabwe (Makanya, 1990), male out-migration in search of meaningful economic opportunity led to increases in the number of women without access to male labour. Their low mobility also meant that women were less able to re-construct their social networks **than** men (Makanya, 1990).

### ***Health and nutrition***

Compared to other recent African refugee emergencies, there is relatively good data available on the health and **nutrition** situation of Mozambicans in Malawi. **Medecins sans Frontieres** and the other agencies collect systematic data, and this and other material has been published in **some** important papers (Moren *et al.* 1991; US Department of Health and Human Services, 1988; and **Malfait *et al.*** 1991) that posit relationships between inadequate rations, **malnutrition** and **mortality** at camp levels. **Andre Briend** will soon initiate studies that will for the **first** time seek to document and explain nutrition and mortality relationships and differentials within communities. Berry (1989) and **Wilson *et al.*** (1989) in particular provide detailed information for Malawi concerning the distribution and content of the food rations and the wider factors influencing the nutrition situation. Work elsewhere has been more piecemeal. **McGregor *et al.*** (1991) report poorer nutrition amongst refugees in **Swaziland** camps **than** local populations, with vitamin deficiencies also a problem. In the Zimbabwe camps there is useful material on environmental health (Cleaver, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c). The Ministry of Health Mozambique has done good work in nutritional surveillance, and numerous single-round agency nutrition surveys have been made in the displaced camps, although their purposes are often little specified. Two estimates of famine mortality consequent upon food supply breakdowns due to the war have been made in Mozambique (Rutherford and **Mahanjane**, 1985; Medecins sans Frontieres - Mocuba and Epicentre, 1989).

### **(iii) Historical Perspectives and Social Change**

There is a **danger** in research on forced migration, as indeed there is in almost all **social** research, that analysis becomes trapped in false perceptions of how current events link to **longer term** experiences and processes. **Within** Mozambique, for example, forced migration is closer to the norm **historically** than the unique new crisis often assumed; and sometimes the things that **people** are doing in the present can only be understood to be wise - or foolish - in the light of **their** past lives and **future expectations**.

### ***Crises as causes of society - Mozambique in history***

**Historical** research in **Southern Africa** has **demonstrated that** long periods of warfare, famines and other crises are not **only** shaped by existing **socio-economic** and socio-political relations, they have also in **turn changed** the wider **course** of history (eg. **Mandala**, 1991; **Vaughan**, 1987). Societies are **as created** by crises as **they are threatened** by them. Liesegang (1982) has enumerated in Mozambique each of the major crisis events in recent centuries arguing that they clearly had long **term** effects, even **though** these were as yet little understood. **Newitt** (1988) has **pursued this** through a case study, **arguing that** the famine of 1823-31 (a **period bearing** some resemblance to the current situation) **substantially** altered the timing and manner of Portuguese expansion and African socio-political change. Thus whilst much of



the research in Africa in recent years has stressed the phenomenal flexibility and adaptiveness of people in the face of famine and warfare, and even their ability to draw upon 'cultural archives' from past experience to manage in crises, it is clear that social scientists must examine change as well as heritage if they are to understand the impacts of displacement. This is particularly important in the case of social movements that arise in the course of crises, as Wilson **demonstrates** with his studies of the Jehovah's Witnesses (Wilson, 1992c) and **Naparama** (Wilson, 1992a) both of which combine resistance to the Renamo together with attempts to meet the social and economic needs of the displaced.

### *Continuity and change in regional migration*

In an unpublished seminar paper Wilson (1990) documented the massive scale of migration within central and southern Africa over the last one hundred years, noting that movements both reflected changes in over-arching political economy and also internally-generated migration streams. He then argued that such migration had been of central importance for the shaping of social and political ideologies in the region, often in hidden ways. Therefore, current 'refugee' movements can only be understood in terms of the continuities and contrasts that they have with previous **patterns**. Thus Wilson with Nunes (1992) explain how current movements across the Malawi-Mozambique border at Milange are both shaped by - and yet different from - those of the past, and they address briefly how past and present generations of migrants interact. Some migrations clearly do appear to re-capitulate old themes: when Jehovah's Witnesses streamed into the Sinda **Misale** area of eastern Zambia in 1985-6 it was the fourth time they had sought asylum there in a little over two decades (Wilson, 1992c). Likewise the large scale conversion of **Mozambicans** in **eastern** Zambia to the Jehovah's Witness faith in the late 1980s parallels a similar mass conversion in the 1920s of another group of refugees from a Portuguese suppression of an African uprising (Cross, 1973).

### *A history of borders as communities*

Historical perspectives have proven very illuminating for the studies of the significance of cross border migrations, particularly because Mozambique's borders were already the focus of **enormous** and complex migrations and trade throughout the colonial period. These movements of people and goods occurred both because borders artificially divided people and landscape, and importantly because borders created new differences in economy and politics, which border peoples could exploit (for the example of migrations of **Mozambican 'Lomwe'** into **Malawi** see **Boeder**, 1984 and **Chivilumbo**, 1974). A valuable short paper on the Mozambicans in Zambia by Nsolo **Mijere** (1988) **examines** the social dimension to this cross-border integration. **Mijere** neatly demonstrates that so closely integrated are these border peoples that they only really begin to feel that they were refugees with the tardy arrival of the international aid bureaucracy, which **first** targeted them for separate assistance and **then** sought to relocate them in a distant settlement. In **1967** in **Tanzania** as many as **130,000** people admitted in the census to having been **born** in Mozambique (Egero, 1979). Indeed Egero stressed that the **Rovuma** river was a link and not a barrier, so that migration across the river was 'not a break with **home**'. **Pruitt** and **Marama** (1988) also emphasise **the** depth of **social** integration between the peoples across the Mozambique-Tanzania border, bringing out, for example, how the practice of short **term marriages** amongst the **Makonde** assists with the establishment of wide social **networks** for **migrants** who expect to move back and forth **during** the course of their lives.

### *Migrants shape political struggle*

Munslow, best known for his work on Frelimo's liberation war, demonstrates parallels and interactions between liberation war refugees and previous migrants from Mozambique; he also records the political significance of 'exile politics' (1979). In fact other studies of Frelimo politics have emphasised both the contribution of migrants aware of developments in the rest of Africa to the momentum for independence in Mozambique, and the fact that migrants or refugees could be viewed as people choosing to avoid mobilisation for independence (Alpers, 1983). In a speculative review, White (1985) argued that migration to neighbouring countries had indeed been critical for the creation and effective dissemination of Frelimo ideology, and that regional differences in migration experience led to differential post-independence party legitimacy and penetration. Studies of Renamo's war are only now beginning to document the role of Mozambique exile communities in its conception and implementation, as well as how these exiles lost influence to the internal **military** men. This should be part of urgently needed work on the approximately one million Portuguese and local African elite who came to Portugal from the African colonies in 1975, many of whom may now return.

### *Regional economic and social networks and migration*

In Southern Mozambique it has been shown **impossible** to understand the impact of drought and destabilisation, let alone flight, outside the tight integration (through labour migration) with South Africa (Hermele, 1984). Current research on labour migration by **Alexandrino** Jose, and an **important** doctoral project by Luis Covane on the impact of collapsing economic opportunities in South Africa for southern Mozambican migrants will provide essential conceptualising tools for analysis in this vein. Mozambican researchers have **also** examined changing labour migration from central Mozambique **into** colonial Zimbabwe. In a similar vein, **das Neves** (1991) thesis and the current research by **Newitt** (1991) on migration between colonial Tete province and the surrounding (then) British colonies of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, throws interesting light on current movements from Tete Province. For example, **Wilson (1991c)** found amongst adult refugees from northern Tete in Zambia that one in five had been born outside of Mozambique and most refugees had actually lived outside of the **country** for a **period** before becoming refugees. A similar situation prevails elsewhere; in **some countries** many 'refugees' are actually resident migrant labourers rounded up and sent to camps by the **authorities**.

### *Recent displacement in Mozambique: just more of the same?*

Displacement **within Mozambique** has been a central **feature** of its pre- and post-independence history (see especially **Vail and White**, 1980 and de Araujo, 1988), but only **Nunes** (1992) has **convincingly demonstrated its** significance **for the present**, by showing that the different ways that **two** communities changed when displaced to the same centre in **northern** Mozambique reflected not only the **events** of the **1980s**, but the deep social history of their home areas. The **doctoral** student and experienced **aid** worker, Jean-Claude **Legrand** (1991), will however, **make his analysis** of the war and **flight** in northern **Zambezia** on the foundation of an historical **analysis** of the estate economy with its displacement and labour migration.

### *Tradition as positive, negative and sometimes as new*

The particular problems of women in exile have been constructed by some authors as essentially reflections of continuations of forms of oppression bound up in 'tradition' and worsened principally because of the general problems of refugees and residence in camps (eg. Kalyati, 1990; Spragge, 1991). Yet Wembah-Rashid (1992) argues quite the opposite about the nature and impact of such 'tradition', claiming that in the case of the Makonde not only that 'tradition' was quickly eroded, but also that the destruction of the social fabric has particularly disadvantaged women. This was due, he asserts, to central features of Makonde culture serving to secure the status of women. Female initiation ceremonies mocked male power using a symbolic phallus, and enabled women to organise in ways that secured their dominance over men in this matrilineal society. The loss of ritual equipment and the **opportunity** to use them, meant women lost **this critical** avenue, whilst men **commercialised the production** of masks and dances to 'exert the economic supremacy' that further **secured** their dominant status in exile in **Tanzania**. **Makanya (1990)**, convinced of the cultural nature of patriarchy in central Mozambique, emphasises a **combination** of an unchanging traditional legacy and a system of aid delivery that orientates itself towards men and their needs, remarking that the 'cultural practices of **Mozambicans** have been reinforced very effectively' by the aid regime. Only Nunes (1990) and Spragge (1991) have drawn attention to the fact that the 'tradition' of male dominance brought into the refugee experience was in part generated in Mozambique by the colonial experience. **An** as yet uncompleted doctoral thesis on southern Mozambique by **Sherilyn Young** researched in the 1970s provides the most detailed study of changing gender relations and their causes during the colonial encounter. Most research on gender in post-independence Mozambique argues that **Frelimo** failed in practice to transform female roles despite some good intentions (eg. Urdang, 1989), but this should not be assumed to be true.

### *Refugee women as agents in their own right*

Refugee women are agents in a dynamic context and not just victims of history or aid (Spring, 1982; **Callaway**, 1985; Powles, 1992). **Heike Schmidt**, a doctoral student working on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border is even prepared to **ask** whether 'guerrilla war is good for women' **as** she investigates the struggles over labour, production and authority in situations where there is a breakdown in the formal socio-political order. **Mark Chingono** (1992) in an initial paper from his highly promising doctoral project on **Chimoio/Manica** Province reports on women's struggles to use the economic opportunities of markets and sexual services to soldiers in a garrison town to counteract their **vulnerabilities** occasioned by the breakdown of social support networks. Detailing women's struggles in extraordinary circumstances he concludes, however, that the benefits of the **war** for women were 'at best ambiguous and at worst contradictory'. In an even more **illuminating** analysis, **Jovito Nunes (1992)**, demonstrates how complex factors of local economic and social context enable the women and men of two different displaced communities living in the same northern town (Mocuba) to achieve completely different changes in their relationships to one another. Quoting women and men with great sensitivity, Nunes both reveals the battles over gender **roles and status**, as well as the mutual concern with which individuals and communities approach the tensions and catastrophes of displacement. Contemporary studies of the impacts of displacement on gender relations would do well to reflect upon three **outstanding studies**

of the agency of women in longer term historical changes in areas of large scale immigration from Mozambique in rural Malawi (Mandala, 1990; Vaughan, 1981; White, 1987).

#### **d) IMPACT OF FORCED MIGRATION ON THE HOSTING AREAS**

##### **(i) Infrastructure, Services and Economy**

###### *Degradation versus amelioration*

Gaim Kibreab's masterful review of African refugee research (1991) divided researchers' views of the impact of forced migrants on the infrastructure, services and economy into two notional categories. "**Degradationists**" emphasised the negative impacts of competition for existing resources and **infrastructures**, whilst "**meliorists**" argued that several of the strains were moderated by the benefits of refugee economic activity (especially wage labour and petty trading) and by the capacity of people to take advantage of agency investment (eg. in roads). These researchers were all essentially arguing that development aid was necessary (former category) or likely to be highly effective (latter category). Researchers working on the Mozambique situation (Black **et al.** 1990; McGregor **et al.** 1991; Wilson **et al.** 1989) have continued this tradition deploying tools of analysis and a desire for empirical detail that consciously built upon the previous generation of research in the Sudan and elsewhere (see Wilson, 1985; 1986; and Kibreab, 1987; 1991).

###### *The example of the impact on Malawi*

The tremendous challenge that the enormous refugee population poses for small and heavily-populated Malawi has become a virtual symbol of the unequal commitment of the world's rich and poor countries to sustain refugees. The negative impacts of the refugees on infrastructure, services, and resources have been described by many authors, notably in a fairly early paper by Long **et al.** (1989). **Eston Kakhome**, has stressed in particular the size and impact of the non-officially registered 'self-settled' refugees in Malawi. He argues that in the context of a densely-populated country facing general economic difficulties and with a highly constrained infrastructure, this impact has had marked negative consequences that need to be understood and addressed by donors and agencies who concentrate upon food supply to camps (Kakhome, 1992). The conclusions of Long **et al.** and Kakhome need to be considered alongside the more quantitative analyses of the micro-level rural resource and labour economy undertaken by Wilson **et al.** (1989), and the macro-level analysis by Dr **Zetter** and colleagues (1992). The field data on wage rates, labour use and markets suggested that at least up to 1989 the refugees had caused **mixed** and complex changes in domestic labour use and **commoditisation** of **crops** and natural resources, that were most positive (not surprisingly) in the areas with least preexisting resource pressures. The work of Zetter **et al.** is significant because it documents that the level of **financial** and institutional resources allocated by **government** directly and indirectly into the refugee programme has not been compensated by donor funding (see also Gorman, 1992). The positive economic effects of cheap **agricultural** labour and some groups of skilled workers in Malawi should not be ignored, however; **Baloro** (1992) also describes the possibly negative impact of repatriation on the building and motor mechanic labour market in **Swaziland**.

## *Impacts within Mozambique*

In the context of Mozambique the issue of impact of displaced persons and **returnees** on infrastructure and services has not been adequately examined. This is because on the one hand it is the presence of the displaced and **returnees** which generally justifies the aid that in recent years **has** become the cornerstone to **infrastructural** and service rehabilitation and functioning, whilst on the other the situation in the urban centres where such impacts are worst **has** generally not been studied because these are by definition not the object of relief programmes (a policy designed to curb **urban-rural** differentials). Nevertheless, **Chingono's** study of the displaced people in the minor city of Chimoio is already **turning** up material on how the displaced have contributed to the straining of services and accumulation by the wealthy for **whom** they are important as cheap labour.

### **(ii) Local Ecological and Social Impacts**

#### *Complex impacts on the environment*

The possible ecological impacts of Mozambican refugee flows have generated much interest among agencies and researchers. Fortunately, most studies of this impact have been rooted in the lessons learnt from a longer tradition of human ecological work in Africa than the current environmentalist fashion, and tends to emphasise the complexity of ecological changes and their implications rather than simple (often alarmist) models of degradation. (According to studies in this tradition, both people and the environment appear to be unexpectedly resilient to pressures and change; and the most dramatic damage is often done by conservation programmes that **fail** to comprehend indigenous **systems**.) Yet it is fair to say that only in **Ukwimi** settlement in Zambia, where 22,000 **Mozambicans** were settled in a sparsely populated woodland area, has **anything** that might be termed systematic research been undertaken on this issue, though even this is not quantitative (Black **et al.**, 1990; Sullivan, **et al.**, 1992). The less thoroughly conducted, although still fairly detailed research in Malawi (Wilson **et al.**, 1989; see also a brief study of **wood** fuel by Zieroth, 1988) and **Swaziland** (McGregor **et al.** 1991), and a student field trip and agency documents for Zimbabwe (Maxwell, 1990; HelpAge, 1991), nevertheless point to similar conclusions. These studies, and a number of other agency and **journalistic** sources, are currently being reviewed for a Master's Thesis by **Julian** Quan.

#### *Ecological effects of war and refugee movements*

According to these ecological impact studies, refugee demand has led to the intensification of natural resource use, not only because of refugees' own demands, but also because refugees often use **natural resource exploitation as a means of earning income**. Furthermore some refugee-receiving border areas had relied before the war on the importation of such resources from Mozambique (for example, large pieces of timber for carving canoes and mortars). Thus whilst such cross border trade would **occur** in the interstices between the fighting, some border areas had to rely on what were previously already inadequate resources. This **has** led to accelerated deforestation and pressure on hunted, fished and gathered resources, although the extent of the resultant ecological impacts has varied considerably. Some of the side effects of such changes are positive (such as the elimination of tsetse flies which thrives in **bushland** with game **populations**), and some effects, such as the decline in

forest-associated game are compensated by increases in field-associated edible rodents. Most of the effects are more negative, however. Whilst Bonga (1992b) believes intensive education programmes is necessary to make refugees aware of the consequences of deforestation, field studies have tended to suggest great expertise and understanding on the part of both the refugees and locals about the nature and extent of the problems (Sullivan *et al.* 1992). Berry-Koch (1990) and Wilson *et al.* (1989) are amongst those who point out that women's dependence upon gathering firewood and wild food stuffs means that they suffer most from the consequences of environmental pressures.

### *Changes in resource management and the effects of assistance policies*

Wilson *et al.* (1989) showed that the changes in natural resource pressure had led to a need for new local systems of tenure and management which local populations have usually been able to achieve, often in such a way as to generate revenue from the refugees (eg. by privatising rights to edible weeds and insects on farmland). Attempts by agencies to implement new natural resource management systems have not been tailored to the ecological or social realities and have faced bitter opposition (Black *et al.* 1990). Camps, especially the very large ones, have devastating effects on woodland in the surrounding areas, as has been noted particularly in Zimbabwe and Malawi (HelpAge, 1991; Wilson *et al.* 1989). McGregor *et al.* (1991) argue that the ecological impact of Mozambican refugees in camps in Swaziland was much more negative than what had been happening in the self-settled and scattered populations along the border.

### *Patchy environmental problems within Mozambique*

Within Mozambique itself there has been limited work on ecological issues. O'Keefe *et al.* (1991) have argued, though largely from basic principles rather than actual field studies, that most of the country's environmental problems are generated by the concentrations of displaced people in the coastal areas and around the towns. This seems likely. Ribeiro (1992) has demonstrated, for example, that during the war the timber industry has over-used the limited areas around the towns and in the Province of Cabo Delgado which have had adequate security. Meanwhile pressure has been off the woodlands of the interior, both by loggers and from rural people who have mostly been displaced. Current research and reports from the new Commission for the Environment (Shangissa *et al.*), which will include work on the impact of the displaced populations in the Beira corridor, are promising. The wildlife and conservation department have documented damage to one of the famed small islands (Inhaca) due to an influx of displaced persons, and are working on the increase in game poaching. Renamo systematically killed elephants and rhino and exported the ivory and horns in the interest of its backers and/or to pay for arms (eg. McCallum, 1991). The Environmental Investigation Agency (1992) has documented even wider involvement in the ivory trade in Mozambique. Interest in undertaking studies of the environmental impact of displaced populations and their future returns to rural areas has been expressed by the Mozambican forester, Antonio Ribeiro, and by Patricia Daley.

### *Social relations between refugees and local people*

Research suggests that initial relations between refugees and rural populations in the neighbouring countries were good: refugees managed to integrate and survive with the

assistance of local people and institutions (eg. **Laing**, 1990; Cisternino, 1987). What strained this relationship was firstly the way in which the assistance programme came in and sought to separate the refugees either for aid, and especially for relocation (**McGregor et al.**, 1991; **Mijere**, 1988; Mupedziswa and **Makanya**, 1988), and then later the overwhelming of some areas by the sheer number of refugees. Where the scale of numbers has not been too great, the negative effects of the refugees tend to be compensated by some more positive ones, and coupled with the deeply rooted **openness** of most African societies towards 'strangers' this has enabled reasonable cohabitation and integration. **Harri** Englund's on-going doctoral study of village life in the **Dedza** area of Malawi, in which thousands of Mozambican refugees currently reside, may be a rare **opportunity** to perceive the refugees from the point of view of the local population.

### *Internal displacement and local populations*

Within Mozambique there has been little study of the relationships between the **internally** displaced and local residents, although government and agency **officials continually** draw attention to their importance. Only **Nunes** (1992) has addressed this in any detail, and has shown that the forms of integration are critically important for access to work and land, and even for security. (Locals were able to use **Renamo** to drive out displaced populations imposed upon them by governmental authorities from prime agricultural areas, for example.) In both western **Zambezia** and northern Tete (**Wilson** with **Nunes**, 1992; **Wilson**, 1991d) disputes over rights to land distributed by the emergency programme to displaced persons were also key to emergent relationships with local residents, and might carry-over into the post-peace period.

## **e) RETURNING HOME AND RE-BUILDING MOZAMBIQUE**

Mozambique faces tremendous challenges if and when there is a peace agreement. This section explores the work being undertaken in this field, much of which reflects current debates around the role of state and of international agencies in ordering African societies and in securing development.

### **(i) Repatriation and Re-integration**

#### *Znterest in repatriation as the 'solution'*

**In** recent years the 'international community' has focused upon repatriation **as** the appropriate 'durable solution' for nearly all the world's refugees basically because of changes in geopolitics (**Hawell-Bond**, 1988). Furthermore, the actual situation **in Mozambican** and in its neighbours, meant that refugee populations in the neighbouring countries have been almost universally conceived of as 'repatriating' as soon **as** possible, and certainly following a peace agreement. Field researchers working with **Mozambicans** were confronted daily by the desire of people to return eventually to their homes. Aid programmes that integrated refugees into the **host** society were **often** criticised on the grounds that they would hamper re-integration (eg. **by** not maintaining Portuguese language teaching). Once peace negotiations began, most assistance programmes sought in part to 'prepare for repatriation', even if only at rhetorical level.

### ***Research finds that it is refugee initiative that dominates repatriation***

Concurrently with these changes in attitude towards Mozambican refugees, repatriation was attracting the attention of researchers around the world, including the major projects of UNRISD and Stein and **Cuny** (Intertext). This interest reflected both because it was a favoured solution of donors, as well as because it was a major **unresearched** issue. Such studies in Africa, Asia and Central and Latin America **soon** provided **fascinating** findings, notably that most repatriation was actually organised and implemented by the refugees themselves outside of formal assistance programmes, indeed often occurred in the face of official opposition (see **Allen and Morsink**, 1992; and Stein, 1992). This had obvious lessons both for agencies and researchers on Mozambique, though it is unfortunate that there has been no systematic attempt to review the experience of repatriation at independence from the **1960s/1970s** refugee migrations to **Tanzania** and Zambia (and elsewhere). Though **Anthony** (1988), includes an outline of official repatriation from Tanzania, it is clear large but incomplete self-repatriation movements also occurred.

### ***Repatriation planning: roles and resources***

Researchers on the issue of roles and resources have differed over whether it will be agencies and governments or the returnees themselves that **will** play the key role in the repatriation process. Baloro (1992) has argued that despite legal confusions, concerning, for example, the role of the UNHCR in African return movements, agencies and authorities can and should play a major role in mobilising and undertaking return movements. Balch (1992), Baloro (1992), and Essuman-Johnson (1992) draw on the examples of repatriation to South Africa and Namibia which they argue show the central place of agencies and governments. Yet as they indeed admit, the situations in those countries are completely different from rural Mozambique, and without field research it appears pointless to assume similar frameworks. Furthermore, these authors do not recognise that the UNHCR itself considered the **Namibian** exercise to have had major weaknesses, its own review having 177 recommendations as lessons for future operations; the South African programme, facing its own unique challenges is still far from over. Roger Winter, on the other hand, took Mozambique as an example of a 'worst case' scenario for repatriation in Africa under the current world order of lack of donor interest in Africa. In his view the failure of donors to fund 'repatriation programmes' would lead to self-repatriation into areas where inadequate infrastructure and aid disbursement existed. According to Winter this would then mean failures in survival and the emergence of new conflicts: only large well funded aid programmes could bring a sustainable peace. Balch's (1992) contribution in this regard is mostly concerned with the methods to raise such **financial** support and the need for appropriate 'political **will**', which he regards as continuing support for **Frelimo's** original revolutionary project.

### ***Repatriation planning: relocation or re-integration***

Even among researchers who accept a key role for agencies in repatriation there has been debate about the actual content of the repatriation planning. Antony (1992) provides one of **the more searing attacks** on the widely criticised repatriation plan of the UNHCR. **Noting** that the plan focuses in practice simply on the relocation of people from external to internal camps, with '**development**' merely as an adjunct, Antony argues that unless the repatriation exercise can secure **returnees'** economic rights (especially land) it will not succeed. Antony



also draws attention to the plan's failure to conceive of refugees or non-governmental organisations as key actors in the situation. In regard to the critical issue of land and property rights, Da Silva (1992) has focused on the significance of the current return of Portuguese land and property holders, and the influx of foreign capital (including into re-creating agricultural estates). Mihyo (1992) appeals for repatriation planning and agency programmes to pay attention to the gender factor. Wilson with Nunes (1992), reviewing the changing nature and rationale of repatriation planning and its failure to influence return movements on the ground, do report, however, that during 1992 there were significant changes in repatriation and re-integration planning addressing many of the more obvious criticisms of the earlier planning.

### *Repatriation planning versus refugee initiatives*

Building upon the fact that systematic reviews of repatriation experiences in Africa and elsewhere demonstrate that nearly all refugees self-return and re-integrate themselves (Allan and Morsink, 1992; Stein, 1992), some researchers have focused attention instead on refugee conceptions and capacities. Wilson with Nunes (1992) demonstrate through studies of the highly selective repatriation movements of refugees from Milange between 1987 and 1992 that they reflect refugees' perceptions of their security and well-being in the longer term and to an extent the economic situation in their home areas (which are a function both of aid and commerce and their complex relationship). In regard to populations from northern Tete currently residing in Malawi, Wilson (1991c and 1991d) has concentrated on seeking to understand their own attitudes and strategies towards returning. A similar study is being undertaken by Francesca Dagnino (CIES), and her research colleagues (Irae Baptista Lundin de Coloane and Stella Makanya) amongst Mozambicans in Zimbabwe (CIES, 1992). The doctoral research of Khalid Koser on repatriation from Malawi to Niassa Province will not only document an otherwise little studied situation, but a preliminary paper (Koser, 1991) indicates that he will contribute theoretically through a focus on the 'refugee information system'. Drawing on geographical theories of the diffusion of innovations, Koser will examine how supply and demand for information, and particularly the qualitative and quantitative influences of the carriers of that information, influences the 'push and pull' factors shaping return migration movements, mediated, as they are, by the processes of integration in exile.

### *The experience of exile*

The experience of exile has certainly led to marked changes in consciousness amongst the refugees. Some of these, such as the loss of cultural attributes under the pressure of negative stereotyping from hosts, will reduce people's capacity to re-integrate, as has been argued by Wembah-Rashid (1992) for the Makonde in Tanzania. Wilson (1991c) argued, however, that for refugees in Zambia, exile had promoted a commitment to **peasantisation** that would stimulate return if basic commercial infrastructure becomes established in the extensive and fertile home areas. Bonga (1992a) has also emphasised the 'modernising' impact of exile, recording that refugees in Malawi had come to accept the notion of **government**, with its regulation of their welfare and social life in camps where they mixed with people outside of their social group and hence control. The work of Wilson and colleagues on the **Malawi-Mozambique** border (Wilson, 1991d; Wilson with Nunes, 1992), emphasises that economic and social interaction across the borders is so substantial that whilst both integration and

alienation in the Malawi border camps affect desire to repatriate, re-integration problems will reflect political-economic factors and not social or cultural divergences. People move back and forward on a daily basis. Furthermore, expectations that recent migrations might spread certain crop varieties and farming techniques were proven wrong by the reality of a long history of exchange and communication (Wilson *et al.* 1989). It was later discovered by Wilson that one of the cassava varieties he described important on both sides of the Mozambique-Malawi border was actually brought to the region from southern Tanzania by Frelimo recruits, and had even spread to eastern Zambia prior to the current refugee movement. Refugees in Zambia may have been using different farming methods than at home (Black *et al.* 1990), but they insisted that these were merely adaptations to the different conditions and would be abandoned on their return (Wilson, 1991c).

### ***Repatriation: forever chasing the impossible?***

Some writers, observing the actual patterns of integration of certain sectors of the refugee population, and the continued delays with achieving peace in Mozambique, have started to argue that an obsession with repatriation has prevented assistance for current and future integration. An excellent paper by an aid worker (Kakhome, 1992), argues that assistance programmes must recognise the *de facto* integration and likely reluctance to return of many youth, more skilled and the self-settled refugees in Malawi. Meanwhile Bonga (1992b) drawing attention to the fact that refugees are actually meeting most of their own needs from the Malawian economy and society, argues that large-scale developmental interventions are the only means to enable sustainable integration, which she regards as the only current solution for Mozambicans. Bonga adds, furthermore, that a developmental approach to the refugees residence in Malawi could actually ease their return and re-integration by keeping the refugees engaged in controlling their own lives.

## **(ii) Post-War Society and Post-War Planning**

### ***An explosion in new thinking on the role of the state***

Within Mozambique there is an explosion of intellectual interest in post-war society, particularly in relation to role of the state. Many Mozambican Government Ministries, academics and journalists are launching exploratory projects and holding seminars and discussions on everything from elite professional associations and press freedom, to the powers of rural chiefs and spirit mediums and the role of the churches.<sup>4</sup> The University has also contributed to this re-emerging debate. For example, the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology (1989) produced for Frelimo's fifth congress a collection covering national unity, ideas of development, the concepts of nation state and traditional values, and works on the nature of tribes, religion, race and social change; earlier this year Graca Machel organised a workshop on 'civil society in Mozambique'; and in September there will be a meeting of Mozambican researchers to discuss research on the post-war period hosted by

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<sup>4</sup> Vines and Wilson (forthcoming b) will include materials on both Catholic and Protestant conceptions of the war in Mozambique and the role of the church in the process of constructing peace and post-war society.

ISRI, with the support of IDS (Sussex). ARPAC (in the Ministry of Culture) continues its work on traditional authority, and the Ministry of State Administration is including the issue of chiefly power in its decentralisation planning with the support of SIDA. Academic research will also assist. An important doctoral thesis by **Alcinda Honwana** (1992) will greatly expand understanding of the changing roles of healers in southern Mozambique, and planned research by **Jocelyn Alexander** will explore relations between the **state** and 'traditional' authority in Manica Province. Thus questions believed resolved at independence are now open to debate. **Landeg White's** (1985) review of **Mozambican** studies at ten years after independence **slammed** the field for failing to address most of the critical questions about the relationship between state and society and the capacity of a new **government** to transcend rather than denounce the history of Portuguese colonialism. Given the work now under way, it is clear that a review of the research of second decade of **independence** will carry a very different message.

### *The state as actor or as referee*

Important though this wider socio-political analysis is to building peace and re-integrating the displaced and **returnees**, it is, however, essentially beyond the scope of this review. The work of Sidaway (1991, 1992 and on-going) does deserve mention, however, since it examines transformations of the **state machineries** in provincial and local government in the context of the war and emergency. Studies that do **try** to link explicitly these kind of changes to ending the war and re-integration, such as Da **Silva's** (1992) contribution, emphasise that the state will need to interfere less markedly in post-war **rural** society, since, they argue, this was one of the reasons for the war. (Another reading of authors like **Geffray [1990]**, however, would suggest that support for the war has predominantly come from those groups most marginal to the state; thus a government would be challenged to both integrate such populations into the national political economy without much 'interfering'.) Furthermore, one of the themes in Wilson (1991a) on return, re-integration and development, and Wilson (1991b) on the re-emergence of the commercial elite and their quasi-feudal political culture, has been that unless the state is able to be a strong 'referee', dramatic contradictions and conflicts may develop. **Ribeiro** (1992) likewise reports that peace will threaten long term management of timber resources through a race to get rich quick, due to the erosion of state resource management powers for achieving sustainable development. The potential '**referee**' role for the state is under threat in Mozambique. The concept of government being **independent** of the 'spoil politics' of **corruption** and of 'business' is being undermined and may not survive into the hoped for transition-period to peace. Furthermore, the collapse in state revenue and its failure to recover despite the growth in the economy through aid and commerce, means **that** the **state** lacks the resources to operate effectively. It is in **this** context and with the continued dependence upon aid that the importance of **writing** off national debt built up during the war has been stressed (Balch, 1992; **Wilson with Nunes**, 1992).

### *Emergent mends are not encouraging*

On-going field **research** on the **struggles** for survival **amongst** the displaced draw attention principally to the dangers of the emergence of a commercial sector beyond popular or governmental **restraint**, and often with working relationships to the military. The focus of the work is **upon** the effects of structural adjustment in a war economy, because this is far more immediate to **ordinary** people (especially those in the rural districts).than the new

theoretical construction of democracy. In a graphic portrayal of the struggle for wealth in Chimoio by **Chingono (1992)**, speculative commerce and the abuse of power by soldiers and officials is shown to be rapidly creating a new elite, whilst amongst the poor the struggle for survival breeds anomie and social division, ameliorated **through** salvationist religion rather than collective political action. A similar picture of 'winners and losers' is painted by **Irae Baptista** de Coloane in her forthcoming work on the poor migrant communities around Maputo city. Nunes and Wilson, have described for Zambezia the way in which aid has created new avenues for accumulation through both regular and irregular channels (Nunes, 1992; Wilson with Nunes, 1992). In Zambezia and on the **Beira Corridor** there had also developed a highly unstable relationship between **security** and trade, which was manipulated for profit to the cost of the powerless (Nunes, 1992; Wilson, 1982a; and Wilson with Nunes, 1992; Chingono, 1992). Re-emergent '**patroes**' were increasingly using control of commerce and local administrative power to extract profit from the peasantry through access to land and cheap labour (Wilson, 1991b). **Wilson** has also reviewed for two high potential areas of northern Mozambique (Milange and **Angonia** districts) the significance of competition for land between new commercial agriculture and peasant farmers (Wilson with Nunes, 1992; Wilson, 1991d).

### *A motley mixture of crying contradictions*

**Chingono (1992)** muses on the multiple ironies of the impact of **Renamo's** war. For example **anti-Frelimo** feeling primarily reflects the collapse of state provision which is a function of structural adjustment and democratisation, introduced by Frelimo as a result of the pressure of Renamo when Renamo in practice will accept neither. Although not yet discussed by Chingono, it should be noted that in Chimoio the return of church property seized by the state after independence and used for schools and other services is now contributing to **further** degradation in state provision and popular alienation; likewise people are losing land and even property to returning Portuguese and a new business elite. Reflecting upon this myriad of tensions, **Chingono (1992)** concludes of the future that 'what we have before us comprises the most motley mixture of crying contradictions'. Ambitiously, Vines and Wilson (forthcoming a) will seek to chart out avenues for building peace and re-starting development that can try to handle the worst of them.

### *Demobilisation will be critical*

There is an urgent need for realistic plans for a sustainable demobilisation of Renamo and Government soldiers not integrated into the national **army** to follow the war. A basic framework for this is **currently** under negotiation in Rome, but it will need to be made operational. Swiss aid is documenting the background of the soldiers in the current government **army**, though similar **information** does not exist for Renamo. The Refugee **Studies Programme** wishes to prepare a project to revue comparative demobilisation **experience in Africa**, including that of neighbouring Zimbabwe, so as to refine agendas for analysis and recommendation for Mozambique. This **programme** will hopefully involve also **Mozambican** academic and **military** expertise.

## f) THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES

Now that the nature, causes and human consequences of forced migration have been explored, and the challenges of the post-war period **analyzed**, it is appropriate to examine the impact of assistance programmes. This section first **examines issues of institutional relations and macro-level impacts** in Mozambique and then the asylum countries. Next the 'human impact' of assistance is explored through discussion of the effects of assistance on such things as gender relations in displaced communities. Finally, the review will briefly review the effect that research on assistance programmes has had upon policies and performance.

### (i) 'Emergencia' in Mozambique

#### *Aid and national state capacity in Mozambique*

In Mozambique the 'emergency' programme of support to the internally displaced and affected **populations** and the war-ravaged districts has come to dominate not only government activity but also the whole economy of the country. This has meant that exploration of the impact of the aid programme in the changing political-economic context of 'structural adjustment' and the thawing of the cold war has been a central task of researchers of Mozambique. Joseph Hanlon (1991), and in a more considered way Brochman and Ofstad (1990), Green (1990), Hermele (1990), Kanji (1990), amongst others, accord aid a central role in weakening the capacity of the state to pursue progressive development policies and service-provision, and that aid served to secure the virtual collapse of Frelimo's socialist programme. These studies have thus located the engine of political-economic change in Mozambique in the agendas of external donors and agencies, although they are often careful to document Government attempts to retain the initiative.

#### *Governmental initiatives?*

In addition to research arguing for the destructive agenda of aid, there is also work on the programmes of the state. Middlemas (1977) was a **remarkably** early and cogent piece on the internal constraints on Frelimo's **post-independence programme**, though Hanlon (1991) argues that the government had overcome **many** of these by the early 1980s, only succumbing when the effects of the war brought in the requirement for aid. Hall and Young (forthcoming) will provide further analysis of Frelimo's **changing** strategies and room for manoeuvre, including into the era of aid dependency. In his wide ranging doctoral thesis, Yusuf Adam will provide a perspective that consciously links internal and donor **dynamics**, **examining whether 'the state [does] have the capacity - not to mention the cohesion - to husband this aid for a national project'** and critically **importantly** if '**destabilisation** has been enhanced or deterred in any way by **external** aid or the [changing] development policies adopted by the **Mozambican government'** (Adam, 1990). Another doctoral student, who has European Commission Mozambique desk-office experience, Joao Cravinho, is **undertaking a similarly nuanced analysis of the** nature and impact of the structural **adjustment programme (PRE/PRES)** in the context of 'emergency', and its internal and externally-generated dynamics. Two cogent **government Mozambican** government documents argue that the emergency programme **has indeed developed** a meaningful developmental agenda and achieved the **co-ordination** of donors and non-governmental agencies (CENE/DPCCN, 1988; Ratilal, 1990); and (since 1987) the annual emergency programme government **appeals produced in collaboration with**

United Nations do achieve a surprising level of coherence given the fickle nature of the donor concerns that they have to address. Certainly Renamo has taken to attributing Frelimo's survival to foreign aid.

### *Impacts of aid at provincial level*

Research in Zambezia Province suggests that whilst aid has a negative impact on the state at a national level its effects at provincial and district level are more complex. A doctoral student who has worked for four years with government in Zambezia (Egan, 1991), has argued that over time non-governmental agencies have **undermined** the co-ordinating role of the provincial emergency commission through increasingly **changing** from channelling aid through government institutions to executing programmes for themselves to increase the speed and (external) accountability of implementation. Yet according to the influential review of Britain's emergency aid to Africa in the **mid-1980s**, it **was** only as the non-governmental agencies like Oxfam and Save the Children became involved that the 'mechanisms for aid through **Mozambican** government structures became possible (Borton, *et al.*, 1988). Thomas (1991), who worked in Zambezia for one of the non-governmental agencies, introduces perspectives on the impact of aid on the interactions between different governmental institutions at different levels, arguing, for example, that the allocation of NGOs to district work **led** to the strengthening of district officials against the provincial authorities with its own positive and negative effects. Thomas also raises the relative support given to line ministries (such as health and education) versus that **channelled** into the emergency and the significance that this also may have had. In addition to Egan's and parts of Legrand's doctoral theses, **Maria Ribeiro's** forthcoming masters thesis will contribute further to debates about the relationships between aid and provincial and district government in northern Mozambique.

### *Ironies of the impact of aid at local level*

Through a concern with local processes, it has been possible to discern within the rural districts some of the ambiguities and ironies of the impacts of aid. Studies of the rehabilitation of re-captured districts in Zambezia, for example (Wilson with Nunes, 1992) suggests that whilst aid may have weakened the authority of the state at national and provincial levels, it enabled government to have power in the districts through providing inputs for **re-construction** and **daily operations** far beyond what was available to a state whose revenue base **had** been destroyed. Luigi **Migliorini** (1991) demonstrates how effectively the rehabilitation of government structures was achieved through the use of minimal donor resources implemented through district authorities. **Indeed**, the massive expansion of aid to the country that **appears** to have wrecked havoc in Maputo was **found** to play an important role **in** the expansion of government military control **in** the north **during** the 1987-90 period. The managing of the **distribution** of aid in these **rural** centres was a key element in the establishment of **power** and legitimacy of the state relative to the peasants and displaced people. Furthermore, Nunes (1992) and Wilson with Nunes (1992) found that perhaps **paradoxically** it was in part the very diversion of relief aid (ie. '**corruption**') that had enabled government, **infrastructure** and services to become established effectively, and it also provided indirect assistance to the **army** and a general kick-start to the economy. Meanwhile **one** of the main reasons for the weakening authority of government at provincial level - the re-emergence of the **commercial elites** due to **structural** adjustment and **contracts** and services

for aid money - became also a key ally of the state and agencies at district level against Renamo. Indeed in districts like Milange it later became the fruits of commerce, not aid, which were to sustain the administration and **army**, and which provided (through a re-invigorated economy) the means to sustain and integrate the displaced and **returnees** (Wilson with Nunes, 1992).

### *Aid and the capacity of the state to deliver civil society*

In fact one opposite side to the **Hanlon** (1991) argument certainly requires greater examination. Perhaps it is the size of the aid programme that has made possible the relatively smooth transition from a single party **dominated** and state-led system to one of emergent political pluralism and civil society, with a burgeoning private sector. But then it may also be true that the creation of such diverse social forces before a cease-fire is as likely to mean that the state will be unable to make a post-war transition as it is to make such a transition more easy. Without the channelling of all resources and **powers** to the state it may be **unable** to deliver the space for the civil society that the aspirant elite long for.

### *How powerful and bad are the NGOs?*

The accumulation of research experience on aid and non-governmental agencies in the refugee studies field has led to the possibility of new analytical work on the emergency. Though researchers like Hanlon (1991) see the NGOs in Mozambique as all-powerful and conspiratorial organisations driven by donor agendas, **Wilson** (1991e) has argued for greater consideration of differences between agencies; attention to their own internal dynamics; and to their **de facto** weaknesses (rather than total power) in the face of rapidly changing situations where beneficiaries have ideologies and skills quite capable of subverting and resisting any unwelcome activities. For example, **Hallam** and **Thomas** (1992), read together with Wilson with Nunes (1992), nicely illustrates how difficult it was for an agency to **define** and achieve its objectives and programmes of assisting artisans' associations in the garrison towns of Zambezia. They wanted to strengthen government, help the artisans as a collectivity and the wider displaced community, and boost the local economy in the short and long term at the same time, and **all** in an unstable war-zone with **minimal** communications. Not **surprisingly** they managed to meet only some of their conflicting objectives, did some good **and made** some **mistakes**, and above all simply did not fundamentally change the course of **Zambezia's** history (for better or worse). Methods by which the **NGOs** can be made more effective in Mozambique have been the subject of a paper by **Boaventura Zita** (1988).

### **(ii) Assistance in the Countries of Asylum**

Systematic if not comprehensive research on assistance programmes **has** now been conducted in each of the asylum countries, except for **Tanzania** for which **there is less material** (Grose and Tepper, 1992).

### *The roles of agencies and governments*

**Zetter et al.** (1992) report that the rapid penetration of the Zimbabwe and Malawi programmes by northern NGOs reflects in part the difficulties faced by the governments **in**

envisioning policy in the transition between the emergency phase **and the** elusive durable solution of repatriation at the very same time as increased aid is required to achieve care and maintenance. More agencies are being allowed to operate and with less strict vetting and it has proven increasingly **difficult** for governments to co-ordinate the programmes that they once controlled. The principal effects of this have been to enable the NGOs to develop their own initiatives, linked principally with donors and local administrative authorities rather than with central government. Interestingly the local NGOs who had often grown as implementing partners during the early years of the operations have largely been undermined by the opening of the programmes to direct NGO engagement. These hosting governments have found it almost impossible to both retain control over policy at the same time as securing greater donor assistance; indeed the western donor commitment to funding through NGOs is premised on this very assumption in the belief that too much governmental power has been a major constraint on development and humanitarian intervention **in** Africa. It is noteworthy that the growing power of the northern NGOs did not lead to the supposed benefits of more appropriate and cost-effective responses to refugees' needs. Instead, in the absence of effective co-ordination, competition between agencies became a problem, and assistance policies were laid even more open to changing donor fashions rather than conditions on the ground. (Indeed in Zambia the extent of the erosion of governmental power was one of the main reasons why the lead northern **NGO** was able to persist with policy errors in the face of all advice: Black et al. 1990). Researchers have yet to examine for the refugee-hosting countries of southern Africa the wider political implications of the funding of northern NGOs by the same western governments who dominate global foreign policy agendas (in contrast, for example, to research on the **Afghan/Pakistan** border).

### *The effects on policies of growing northern NGO power*

A key finding of the Zetter et al. (1992) team was that the northern NGO programmes shifted the balance of resource distribution in the refugee programme away from general distribution programmes and provision of low quality services to the mass of the refugees into targeted programmes **aimed** as small numbers of beneficiaries with much grander objectives (such as imparting skills for repatriation or tackling child trauma). In fact the NGOs focused upon income generating support as a means to achieve a combination of working with real people and meeting the developmental agenda, and the research by Zetter et al. (1992) and others on these projects will be reviewed later. Another popular arena is that of trauma. It is clear that one of the underlying motives for the manner **in** which these programmes are implemented is the desire to create attractive, well-resourced working environments in which staff, visitors and donors can feel something significant is being achieved (Black et al. 1990 were struck by **this in Zambia**). This tends to create, however, their main weaknesses: **institutional** dependence **because** they are taken right out of the normal world of the refugees (**real costs** per beneficiary sometimes **run** over \$1000 each), a lack of cost effectiveness due to economies of scale, and the fact that only a tiny minority of the refugees can be beneficiaries. Contrary to current wisdom **NGOs** did not **in** general prove good at **linking** to local people **and** local needs, and in the absence of governmental frameworks which required it of them, they were not very effective partners to local NGOs either. Many opportunities were lost to provide support for really valuable, low-profile activities of local **hosting** institutions.



### The *continued* weaknesses of *agricultural* settlements

Whilst there is little recent work on assistance programmes in Tanzania, there does exist a body of important yet little known literature on the pre-independence Mozambican refugee populations (including **Betts [1969; 1981]**, **Feldman [1971]**, **Holborn [1975]** and **Anthony [1988]**). The main thrust of this literature is to demonstrate that assistance policies should not have ignored self-settlement especially given **existing** cross-border relationships and established social networks, and that the notion of the agriculturally modernising agricultural settlements for refugees failed on technical, economic and agro-ecological grounds. In fact **the weaknesses** of such settlements have been realised for many years, due especially to a large body of research elsewhere in eastern Africa (for reviews see Refugee Policy Group, 1986; and **Kibreab, 1991**). It is therefore noteworthy that **agricultural** settlements for **Mozambicans** have once more been created in **Tanzania**. Zambia is another country with a long history of (well researched) mixed success with **agricultural settlement**, but the policy was again adopted for the **Mozambicans**. **Black et al.** (1990) and **Black and Mabwe (1991)** document the shortcomings of the agricultural settlement approach at Ukwimi. Criticisms centre around the attempt to totally construct agricultural and social systems in a top down fashion with inadequate aid resources and in areas **marginal** in economic and **ecological** terms (especially at such high population densities), and the ignoring of the existence of large populations of '**vulnerables**' who were not in a **position** to become **self-sufficient** through agriculture.

### *The option of self-settlement is preferred by refugees*

Camps and settlements are not welcomed by refugees or local people, and studies on Mozambican refugees provide ample material on how and why this is the case. Studies in Malawi (**Wilson with Nunes, 1992**), Tanzania (**Pruitt and Marama, 1988**), **Swaziland (McGregor et al. 1991)**, Zambia (**Mijere, 1988**), and Zimbabwe (**Mupedziswa and Makanya, 1988**) all demonstrate that most Mozambican refugees are anxious to avoid relocation into settlements or camps, even if it means continually evading the authorities and receiving no aid, a phenomenon well known in refugee studies in Africa (**Hansen, 1979; Harrell-Bond, 1986**). This resistance stems primarily **from** a desire to retain control their lives, as well as the conviction, especially amongst men (according to **Pruitt and Marama, 1988**) that they **will** better meet their material needs without being **under** an assistance programme. Local people, who provided the initial assistance (see also **Laing, 1990**), and amongst whom refugees live in partial integration, also tend to oppose the removal of refugees to settlements according to studies in each of these countries. It is only government concerns with security, and the willingness of **UNHCR** and other donors to provide significant aid only to refugees who have been separated from their local hosts, which **has** brought most **Mozambican refugees under** 'assistance'. Repeated suggestions for assistance to **self-settled refugees together with their** local hosts have been ignored by donors **and/or** agencies and **governments (Harrell-Bond, 1992)**, whether or not the size of the refugee populations has really been so **overwhelming** as to require in practice some form of **encampment** or relocation. (Malawi has, however, allowed many of the earlier **wave of** refugees to continue to receive food aid whilst self-settled in the villages: **Wilson et al. 1989**.)

### *Developmental interventions are not applied*

Largely as a result of research activity in 'refugee studies' during the mid-1980s there was widespread articulation of the notion of developmental responses to the refugee situations in southern Africa in the period 1988-90. A large number of consultant's missions and research reports were commissioned from within and outside of the United Nations system, which by and large went un-implemented, some of which included innovative measures (eg. Burgess and Kalebe, 1987; Wilson et al. 1989; Harrell-Bond, 1990). Gorman (1992) is among those who report that the potential for genuine developmental interventions in the host countries (in this case Malawi) have basically been frustrated by lack of donor financial commitment. Yet even when some donor finance was available it has been little used (eg. McGregor et al. 1991), largely because of the policy commitment to such things as encampment. In fact the refugee policies framed by security considerations have been a major constraint on developmental interventions, since these limit the necessary engagement in the wider economy and society. In the absence of political will and funding, and with the gathering of Africa's 'developmental crisis' this debate on 'relief and development' has wound down for academics whilst it has achieved political importance in organisations like World Food Programme for the **first** time.

### *Income generating activities become the proxy for development*

Income Generation Activities (IGA) were then developed as a major arena for agency action in the countries of asylum, largely because they appear to meet agency concerns for development at the community level without threatening the basic policy framework in these countries which deny refugees the access to resources to engage in genuine development. IGA programmes have been the subject of considerable research which will now be summarised.

### *Income generating interventions tend to be supply-side*

The Non-Governmental Organisations that have supported income generation in these camps almost entirely confined their interventions to the 'supply side' of the equation (ie. organising production). They assumed that **it** was lack of skills, organisation, means to produce or **inputs** that constrained refugee activities, and set about addressing these. 'Demand side' constraints (the fact that refugees and locals were principally constrained by a lack of adequate markets) were ignored by the agencies, even though UNHCR technical experts and field researchers showed early on that these were the main problem (Nyama, 1988; Schulz, 1988; 1989; Wilson et al. 1989). Even where officials have recognised this issue (Kalyati, 1990), donors and international agencies (with notable exceptions) have failed to release resources in ways that could **stimulate** markets such as through the purchasing of certain relief items from refugee producers rather than industrial **concerns** (Wilson et al. 1989; Zetter et al. 1992).

### *Refugees benefit **little** from income generation activities*

Available research suggests IGA programmes contribute little to overall refugee welfare, and are **actually** often not well run. Machika (1992) reported poor implementation, a minimal number of beneficiaries, and lack of clarity over how to achieve **sustainability** in programmes

in **Mulanje**. Zetter *et al.* (1992) suggest that as few as 2% of the refugees in Malawi are involved in such programmes, and that the financial returns are too low to significantly improve their lives. Furthermore, in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi refugees own income generating activities far out-weighed official programmes in their importance, but were ignored by the agencies though it would have been much cheaper and easier to support them (Black *et al.* 1990; **Machika**, 1992; Zetter *et al.* 1992). This is partly because, as is typical in refugee situations, most of the activities that refugees survive upon are deemed illegal or otherwise undesirable by the powers that be (**Wilson**, 1992d).

### *IGA as social development: tensions in transformation and participation*

It is clear that even as 'social development' projects IGA **programmes** have faced challenges. The methods by which refugees are organised by agencies are often responsible for tensions. In **Swaziland**, for example, **McGregor et al.** (1991) reported that agencies taxed refugee producers and excluded them even from management of their own finances. Zetter *et al.* (1992) found that agencies saw themselves in these IGA programmes specifically as imparting new attitudes to work and management (such as saving, introducing women to men's **tasks**, quality control, collective production etc.) and that this, by definition, limited scope for 'participation'. In further demonstration of the difficulties faced by agencies to be both progressive and participatory, there is the debate over the roles accorded women refugees in IGA programmes. According to **Rakumakoe** (1990) aid agencies' stereotypes serve to domesticate refugee women who want to **take** active charge over their own affairs. Gosling (1992) on the other hand, argues that ironically women request just such domesticating activities. **Spragge** (1991) finds men blocking their wives participation in IGA projects, whilst in the view of **Bonga (1992a)** women who seek access to new skills face criticism from other women. For **Makanya** (1990) women's poor participation in IGA and associated activities reflects the other demands upon their time, and not the 'apathy' alleged by the agencies, though for **Ager et al.** (1991) it is the basic ineffectiveness of IGA programmes to deliver income that discourages women participants from spending their time in them. Erratic recruitment and the dependence of beneficiaries on changing often inefficient agency programming (continually under pressure from donors), usually with alien management techniques that - however effective - left refugees feeling excluded were systemic problems (**Zetter et al.**, 1992).

### *Assumptions that refugees lack skills were wrong*

The main problem with the skills **training** programmes has been reported as starting with assumption that **Mozambicans** are inadequately **skilled**. **Bonga (1992b)** found **Malawian** programmes trying to teach **skills** that the refugees already had, such as in gardening, when they **had** dominated cross-border vegetable markets for years. **Nyama's** (1988) excellent early **work demonstrated** how IGA programmes could successfully harness existing skills. Useful needs assessments specifying available and needed **skills** have been done (eg. **Kalembe et al.** 1988), but apparently not much acted upon. In at least one host country proposed surveys of available skills were blocked for unspecified reasons, and training programmes simply implemented directly. Quite apart from the fact that **Mozambicans** (especially men) are actually unusually **skilled** in many crafts, their own apprenticeship arrangements have also been shown to be more effective at imparting the skills people can actually use than have formal agency activities (Black *et al.* 1990; Wilson, 1991c). (At least one agency is now

trying to build programmes around local apprenticeship arrangements.) Making many similar points to the UNESCO-UNHCR Mission of 1989 (**Smawfield, 1989**), the 1991 UNHCR-UNDP inter-agency mission found that skills training was not sufficiently new, high level, or adapted to Mozambique to have much impact. Nor was it usually certificated. Inadequate tools were provided to graduates and marketing needs were not addressed (**UNHCR, 1991**).

### *Health and nutrition programmes*

Moren **et al.** (1991) argue for the value of health and nutrition surveillance procedures (as established by the Ministry of Health and MSF), and in work on Malawi they show that it is possible to generate appropriate information through a focus on key variables with an awareness of wider livelihood context. Moren **et al.** add, however, the constraint that information on such needs may not have any direct impact on programmes, partly due to inadequate co-ordination. Kuntz (1990), on the other hand, argued that the strength of the Malawi programme was the good co-ordination achieved by the central role accorded to the **Malawian** Ministry of Health. A masters thesis by a **former** intern (**Yasuko Oda**) in the Malawi Government's food aid co-ordinating unit **will** examine the management and monitoring of food aid to the refugees, touching on both institutional relations and **provision** in relation to needs. An undergraduate dissertation by Macauley (1990) has critically **examined** the agency health programmes for **Mozambican** refugees in Malawi in relation to refugee needs, and a promising masters thesis by **Karim** Hussein will compare the different responses and roles of **Medecins sans Frontieres** (France) and Save the Children Fund (UK) to the **pellagra** outbreak in the Mozambique camps in Malawi. Jaya Henry (1990) and **Stephanie Gallat** (1991) report on the design and implementation of a **niacin-fortification** programme to address this epidemic. This will be a further contribution to the debate about mechanisms to ensure that nutritional crises are addressed by the refugee assistance regimes that was formalised in March 1991 by a major symposium hosted by the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford.

### **(iii) The Human Impact of Assistance**

#### *Agency workers and refugee experiences*

The field staff of refugee assisting agencies are in a highly ambiguous situation as both the representatives of an aid regime which is fundamentally undemocratic at the same time as being physically and **socially** close to the refugees. **This** leads, amongst other things, to competing tendencies to assert their power and status on the one hand, and to be empathetic on the other. Meanwhile for the refugees, agency staff are both a means of access to resources as well as **human beings whom they get to know**. **The very** personal basis of this encounter means **that** reflective writing by refugees and agency workers, or at least sensitive in-depth **interviews** of them, would be very useful for analysts. This might include, for example, the effects of the **presence** of agency workers on abuses of refugee rights. **Unfortunately** such a **body** of literature has yet to emerge for people **working** with refugees in Southern Africa. On the other hand a particularly rich source for material on the relationship between assistance programmes and human needs are the twenty three University of Zimbabwe (School of Social Work) student dissertations that have been produced under the direction of **Stella Makanya** and **Roddy Mupedziswa**. **These** trainee **social workers** write

their reports on the basis of quasi-investigations, but importantly they are undertaken at least partly from within the world of the encounter of agency workers and refugees as clients.

### *Shortfalls in educational provision*

Educational provision in exile has been quite thoroughly investigated. Adult education in **Swaziland** was described as limited, poorly attended, and not tailored to **actual** needs of refugees. This reflected the authoritarian environment in which programmes sought to operate, with minimal refugee participation, as well as a situation where refugees own efforts were directed towards survival outside of the camps within the local or regional economy (Wooldridge *et al.* 1990). The UNHCR inter-agency mission to Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe (1991) found that pre-school education was inadequate and **making** little use of local materials (a similar situation was reported for Zambia by Shumba, 1990). Primary schooling was also inadequate, principally due to inadequate resource provision (buildings, trained teachers, materials). Parental and community attitudes also constrained primary school achievement, especially for girls; the mission concluded that there was a need for more clothing (and sanitary towels), and a enforcement of the law against child marriages through pledging to improve this situation. Adult literacy lacked sufficient materials to maintain literacy skills once learnt (UNHCR, 1991). Serious consideration is also needed of issues of language (Portuguese versus vernacular), and of linking literacy with events in Mozambique through such things as newspapers and journals and letter writing. Mozambique is one of the most educationally-deprived countries in the world, and it is clear that post-independence progress is now reversed. The targeted destruction of schools and attacks on teachers by Renamo combines **with** budget constraints stipulated by structural adjustment to prevent adequate services within the country, whilst for the refugees the funding crisis within the UNHCR and the general lack of fashion with donors for education means that, except in Zambia, most children are not attending even primary school, and even there attendance is declining.

### *The needs of vulnerable categories are little considered*

One of the ironies of assistance programmes for refugees in Africa is that aid is targeted at the 'average' refugee, who is generally assumed to be a physically active male, who in fact largely survives from his own resources. Meanwhile it is the category of socially vulnerable refugees who most rely on the aid programme even though it is not designed with them in mind (Wilson, 1992e). Unfortunately research throughout southern Africa has found that general assistance policies have tended to disadvantage vulnerable categories (eg. Wilson *et al.* 1989; Black *et al.* 1990), and that few special programmes for vulnerable refugee groups have proven effective (eg. Mutizwa-Mangiza and Wekwete, 1988). **An evaluation of the effectiveness of the Malawi assistance programme at meeting the special needs of refugee children**(as defined in the new UNHCR guidelines) found that by and large the standards in the guidelines were not being met in areas as diverse as education, legal rights, health, and psycho-social stress, and indeed that the guidelines had as yet little influenced policy; and this was in the country with an exceptionally gifted UNHCR Social Services Officer (Tolfree, 1991). Awareness and acceptance of the guidelines, coupled with training, use of specialists, and above all adequate resources, were identified as required to significantly strengthen programmes for refugee children. Tolfree recommended a combination of '**mainstreaming**' (considering the needs of children in **all** aspects of the **assistance** policy) and 'specialisation'

(running targeted programmes to meet the particular needs of children). The tracing programme and messages system of the Red Cross that enables people to re-unite and meet each others needs is one area of assistance that has not yet been formally evaluated - although initial comments on the programme have been positive (Wilson, 1991c).

### *The impacts of assistance programmes upon gender relations*

A useful example for demonstrating research approaches to the hoped for and actual human consequences of aid interventions can be obtained from considering the effect on gender relations. It has already been noted that researchers have reported a variety of causes of male dominance in refugee camps, including the persistence of tradition, the effects of war and flight, the impact of displacement, and the effects of agency programmes. This section will not address which of these factors (or which **combination**) is most important, but rather explore whether and how assistance policies have actually met womens' needs in general.

### *The roles of agencies in changing gender relations*

It is useful to consider first attitudes towards whether agencies should be responsible for changing gender relations amongst refugees. Smythe-Haith (1989) of the United States 'Women's Commission' team visit to Malawi argued for a combination of improvements in general assistance - from which women were assumed to benefit adequately - together with some targeted assistance for areas where women had special vulnerabilities (such as in health). Goliati (1990), however, called primarily not for more resources but efforts to change UNHCR policies towards involving women on a more equal basis. Others authors have called for a much more substantial 'social-engineering' approach. Rakumakoe (1990) presented refugee women as themselves struggling for change and perceiving the agencies as potential allies against patriarchy. 'Women in the camps' she wrote 'are tired of sitting down or getting involved in those occupational therapy activities' They want challenging co-operatives where they will be sure of earning a regular cash income or have certificates of the skills learned'. Yet Buruku (1989) who described a 'climate of despair' in the camp as the product of agency exclusion of women who had already given up their own struggles, called for agencies to play the lead role in securing women's emancipation. Training of women could 'instill confidence and acceptance' and achieve the 'breaking [of] the natural and cultural intimidation that surrounds a man's presence in a society where man is dominant'. Furthermore, Buruku saw programmes in exile as likely to have a long term impact on Mozambican society, arguing that 'the development conscious agencies are therefore urged to take up the challenge and undertake projects that would prepare women for a more meaningful return' to Mozambique. Similarly Mihya (1992) views agencies and other outsiders involved in repatriation and re-integration as key to ensuring that gender relations change amongst Mozambicans. Researchers who are also enthusiastic change agents may over-estimate the impact that their interventions can have on social relations and gender. They have also faced the usual charges of 'cultural insensitivity'; even in the case of African women professionals who are not working in their original countries.

### *The basic features of assistance programmes disadvantage women*

Researchers on Mozambican refugees, like those elsewhere in the world are unanimous that 'assistance projects are implemented without women's needs in mind' (Goliati, 1990; see also

Buruku, 1989; Rakumakoe, 1990). This reality has become so **accepted that UNHCR** (which in recent years has had a programme of gender awareness training within its **staff**) commissioned research (in Malawi) to explore explicitly the extent of the negative impact of general policy on women (Ager **et al.** 1991). For example, research in Malawi demonstrated that the nature of the food aid provided created special problems for women (Wilson **et al.**, 1989; **Berry-Koch**, 1990; Ager **et al.** 1991), notably in the case of beans that required particularly lengthy cooking in areas where women had to trek long distances for **firewood**, and by the distribution of whole grain soft varieties of maize which women face great problems in processing (see also Goliati and the UFA group, 1988). **Buruku** (1989) and Gosling (1992) argue that since women are **ultimately** key to survival in the camps the failure of the agencies to them into account is extremely serious. **Makanya** (1990) concludes indeed that aid fails primarily because it does not recognise that there are gender differences in the problems faced, and operating through men, with programmes ultimately 'not designed to empower women' either in the camps or for their **return** to Mozambique.

### *Agency structures exclude women from leadership and responsibility*

Women refugees have been found generally to be excluded **from** the agency created camp leadership institutions. Since researchers found they had held more responsibility in their home areas it has been concluded that male dominated refugee leadership is 'not a pattern imported from Mozambique' (Ager **et al.** 1991). **Makanya** (1990) argues that it is the sub-conscious gender prejudices of agency officials that are largely responsible. Numerous calls to involve women in all the functional committees and activities, even from host government ministry officials (**Kalyati**, 1990) have remained unheeded. What has been done more recently has been described as 'window dressing' (Gosling, 1992; see also Ager **et al.** 1991). This has led to calls for thorough gender awareness training of officials and agency workers (**Rakumakoe**, 1990; **Chigudu**, 1991), and programmes such as legal literacy campaigns to enable women to learn their rights against abuses by officials and fellow refugees. Such suggestions have received a mixed welcome **from** those in authority. Even over three years it has proven impossible to make such obvious changes as including women on food distribution committees in the Malawian camps, despite repeated suggestions by staff and consultants to World Food Programme (**Wilson et al.** 1989), UNHCR (Berry, 1989; Ager **et al.** 1991) and other high-profile delegations (**Smythe-Haith**, 1989).

### *Exclusion of women from authority damages their status*

The fact that camp leaderships are dominated by men has concrete consequences for women refugees. **Spragge** (1991) demonstrates that this prevents them **articulating** their needs to the authorities, but **more** importantly it enables men to control the local social space, for example, through domestic dispute resolution policies in favour of husbands and hence of female subordination. Not confident that women would capture sufficient power through these structures, given the combination of patriarchal cultures of refugees and agency staff, Chigudu (1991) even sought to have the authorities **seek** to force the implementation of Zimbabwe's laws on issues such as pledging of young girls and under-age **marriage**, and to provide temporary accommodation for divorcing women allowing them to escape failing marriages. A criticism of such an approach is that it **assumes** that changes wrought in the camps **will meaningfully** contribute to women's long **term** status. The pledging of girls in marriage, for example, is rooted in systems of 'social security' in rural Mozambique through

the binding families during crises such as droughts. If and when people repatriate, the reconstruction of relationships and communities in Mozambique would be profoundly affected if some families had failed to honour their pledges in exile. This is not to argue that it is fair that the freedom of women be sacrificed to maintaining the social order, only to point out that imposition of law does not necessarily create societies that can function effectively.

### *Many programmes are rooted in ideas of westernised domesticity*

Research has found that most programmes in areas such as **skills** training systematically under-included women (see earlier), and confined their roles within established 'domestic' gender stereotypes (Buruku, 1989; Goliati, 1990; **Makanya**, 1990; **Rakumakoe**, 1990). Berry (1990) further stressed that these programmes for domesticity were rooted in ideas about westernisation (eg. **learning** the oven-cooking of cakes) rather than addressing real nutritional needs in their cultural context such as edible insects. Yet as noted above where such activities have **tried** to teach women traditionally male skills they have opened themselves up to charges of being non-participatory.

### *Psycho-social interventions: a venture into the unknown*

Research reported in section (c) on the psycho-social impact of exposure to violence and displacement demonstrates that we **currently** have a very limited understanding of the problems. In fact a number of reviews on other parts of the world, and indeed of the issue in general and drawing similar conclusions, noting that hard information on strategies for intervention is extremely slender. It is therefore surprising that considerable funding is being channelled into this area, without either the funding of serious research nor as yet public evaluation. The only independent study of a programme (Shumba, 1990) elicited an extraordinarily defensive response from the agency involved, although it rang true to many specialists in the field. Since it is clear that many valuable lessons have already been learnt, the systematic research and evaluation of existing programmes is now in order.

### **(iv) Research on Policy and its Impacts**

The impacts and responses to research on assistance policies have been very different in Mozambique than they have in the countries of asylum.

### *A welcome to challenging research in Mozambique*

**During** the 1980s primarily conceived of their role **as** explaining to the wider world the nature of the **Mozambican** crisis **as** conceived by governments and aid agencies. A hostile response was accorded to those who **challenged** notions of the cause of the problem and the effectiveness of the policies. Yet the more recent research springs out of a new rationale: researchers now see **themselves** not **simply** putting flesh on **official** explanations, but as searching for new **and** uncomfortable **truths** in the field, and developing new ideas and analytical frameworks for the consideration of the government and the agencies. Whilst the **findings** of this new wave of research tend to somewhat challenge existing official **interpretations**, it is clear that these workers still see themselves as responding to the demands of agencies and the **Mozambican** authorities. **Senior Government Ministers and officials have**



repeatedly encouraged this new critical approach, arguing, for example<sup>1</sup> that 'we are tired of politically motivated research, and now we need to know what is really going on'. Most of the non-governmental agencies, bilaterals and even several **United Nations** agencies (notably **UNDP** and UNICEF) also freely admit that they are uncertain of their broad policies (let alone the **modalities** of their programmes), and have commissioned research with almost unparalleled openness and breadth of remit. This has led to the research reports discussed here having had a **much** wider reading and consideration by policy makers in Mozambique than is normally the case. It is too early as yet, however, to attempt to appraise the overall impact of the work, especially given the unstable context occasioned by the war and Mozambique'' internal economic and political changes.

### *Research has had limited effects in asylum countries*

There is a contrast between the enthusiastic reception of research **findings** within Mozambique, and the often muted and sometimes hostile response in the neighbouring host countries from agencies **and/or** governments. It is clear that in the neighbouring countries the immediate impact of research on practice is generally in the field of public relations and rhetoric (rather than in central policy arenas), and in the programming and implementation of more the marginal projects, and here especially by the traditionally liberal and professional ministries (eg. education, health or community **services**), and by some of the local and international non-governmental agencies. This has proven as true for work done by professionals and consultants within the institutions like UNHCR themselves, and for local researchers **as** well as expatriates. In Malawi, for example, an excellent short study by Mr E. **Nyama** (1988) commissioned by one of the agencies and undertaken prior to the institutionalisation of the **current** aid programme, identified most of the conceptual errors which still constrain economic assistance efforts. Likewise in the case of food aid, enormous investments in research and lobbying were required by independent researchers, in combination with professionals in UNHCR, WFP and the health agencies, to address basic and predicted problems of distributing whole grain rather than **milled** maize and of securing a niacin source in the diet to address the predicted **pellagra** epidemic that became the largest in the world since World War Two. The principal policy rewards of research in the neighbouring countries will have to be sought in deeper changes of **understanding** and consciousness amongst government and agency staff in the host and donor nations. Whilst it is certainly true that researchers need to improve the marketing of their ideas, unless there are major changes in the receptivity of aid institutions to **intellectuals**, there is little scope for research directly improving the lives of refugees in the asylum countries.

## **g) PRIORITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

This section briefly outlines priorities for **further** research as was requested by SIDA.

### **(i) Geographical and Issue Biases**

#### *Economics is the major discipline absent*

The topic of **Mozambican** refugee studies has proven an excellent venue to bring new **intellectual concerns** to bear on practical problems. The **current** scholastic growth areas of

gender, environment and human **rights/governance** are all strongly represented in the papers reviewed here. It is more surprising, however, that the surge of interest in African economies has not led to any research in this field (except a little on food aid), especially given the fact that it is one of the major economic features of the region. As the new generation of economists tire of the new macro-economic theories and return to the problems perceived on the ground we can expect important new **insights**. This process would benefit from encouragement, however. The **link** is obviously provided through the strength of the 'livelihood' work that often incorporates micro-economic analysis.

### *Research is most needed in Tanzania and Swaziland*

Certain geographical biases remain to be addressed. In Tanzania, for example, there has been relatively little research on the current Mozambican refugee population, despite the long tradition of excellent research on refugees in **that** country. South Africa also requires further research: although here much detailed and insightful material has been published by journalists, in both the local and international media, and in relatively popular forms by several researchers (see references above). Funding **permitting**, Robert **Mazur** will, however, be able to conduct a more substantial study of livelihood in South Africa. In comparison to Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, about which there are now major bodies of literature, Swaziland with its basically two rather brief studies also requires further attention.

### *Research in Mozambique has been uneven geographically*

Within Mozambique there is also an uneven distribution of work on **the** war and the emergency. **Zambezia** remains the best studied to date, with not only the most researchers, but also some of the best journalistic and relief agency documentation available. Some work is under way, though less systematically, in the central and southern provinces, although dozens of in-depth studies will be needed here before **we** can draw even general conclusions, so vast is the country relative to current information. There is almost no research currently being undertaken in the northernmost provinces of **Niassa** and Cabo Delgado, though these were the focus of research work during the liberation war and at independence. (The only current research relating to **Niassa** is being undertaken in Malawi by a doctoral student working on repatriation, **Khalid Koser**). More research is also needed in the **peri-urban** areas of the big cities within Mozambique, **building** on work by **Baptista Lundin** de Coloane on Maputo to address whether these people intend to return to their rural homes, and whether the cities are able to sustain them if they do not.

### **(ii) The Resolution of Key Intellectual Questions**

One of the exciting features of research in the 'refugee studies' field is that it attracts researchers with such a wide range of disciplinary and theoretical backgrounds. This provides it with a **certain** freshness, and I have **no intention** in this **review** to seek to define the boundaries for future work. Nevertheless it is possible to identify important areas for further research **and writing**.

### *It is time for more in-depth work*

One effect of the current degree of establishment of the field is that there is now little scope for short studies making a useful contribution to our understanding, except in a few as yet **unstudied** locations or on certain specific research topics. The existing work already suffers, unfortunately from the tendency of repetition, with a sequence of essentially similar reports by different consultants, none of which has the time to take the subject any deeper than the last. This is highly evident in the work on gender, for example, where there is almost no reference to any of the other studies by each of the many authors in question (except for Spragge, 1991). **Further** progress will thus be derived from long term detailed and analytical work, and needs to combine field studies, literature review, and the use of the now extensive documentary sources available in the form of research, agency and journalistic material in documentation centres such as that at the Refugee Studies Programme. Officials who have been in government or agency **service** dealing with the refugees or displaced people for long periods could produce extremely valuable memoirs or more academic texts both for academics and for future aid workers, and should be encouraged to do so. Indeed it is now also time for those researchers who have been working on Mozambican refugees for a number of years to produce some major published works building on their unpublished reports and scattered papers.

### *Understanding the actual experience and significance of displacement*

Research on Mozambican refugees and displaced persons has largely escaped the bias endemic in **this** field of a focus upon agency and government intervention at the expense of the refugee experience and peoples' own strategies. This illustrates the progress being made generally in 'refugee studies' away from intellectual and **financial** dependence on assistance bureaucracies. Nevertheless, there is still much need for long-term detailed field work within displaced communities by social scientists with historical awareness. In particular we still know little more than revealed by the studies of Wilson and Nunes in western and **central** Zambezia about the significance of the current war and displacement in the longer term social history of areas historically racked by these same forces, though it is hoped that Chingono's doctoral work on **Manica** may contribute further on this. More research is needed on whether people can cope better with the war because they are used to such disruption, or whether the legacy of previous violence and flight undermines their capacity to respond. We also need to understand **the** all-important question of whether post-war society will 'heal the wounds' and return to a semblance of its former state, or whether irrevocable socio-political and ideological changes have occurred; the focus for this work will inevitably **be** on issues of gender, lineage, relations with **officialdom** and wider society, and the location and concerns of organic intellectual activity.

### *Gender studies should include men*

It is testimony to the vigour of contemporary research on the issue of refugee women that we are now much more in need of research on the experiences, problems and aspirations of refugee men than we are of further work on women.

### *The meaning of violence and trauma*

In addition to such historically-informed field studies of the meaning of displacement, it is clear that psychologists and anthropologists need to address much more thoroughly than to date, and through genuine and long-term research, the much reported issue of trauma. We need to know much more about how individuals and communities really have been affected by violence and the significance of indigenous and externally-sponsored healing processes. There is an urgent need for studies of cultures of masculinity and violence, such as has been pioneered within South Africa by William **Beinart** and others, and these should be linked to work on demobilisation.

### *Modalities of assistance*

Although research on the Mozambican refugee situation has included much work grounded in the practical difficulties of **implementing** assistance, and has thus assisted government and agencies, it is nevertheless clear that much more needs to be done. Some of the major questions still include the nature of 'community' development when the population involved is a heterogenous group brought together by violence and force; 'participation' when refugees' rights are being restricted for reasons of security and wider political and bureaucratic interests; 'development' when national and local economies and institutions are collapsing under Africa's "economic crisis" and racked by drought; 'co-ordination' when there are such inequities in resources, objectives and powers between the institutions involved; and 'integration' and 're-integration' when donors refuse to make available resources to address the common needs of refugees with the local people, and institutional boundaries between **agencies'** responsibilities are defined by mandates designed elsewhere. At the level of more fine-tuning of policies, such as in the field of income generation activities, researchers need to find ways of opening up agencies to institutional learning and advice, so as to enable lessons to be learnt and improvements in design to be effected.

### *Governance and local institutions*

A final major research lacunae appears to be studies of local institutional processes, particularly within Mozambique. This needs to cover relationships between the organs of states and aid agencies (at state, provincial and local level), between these official sources of power and the churches, businessmen, and the institutions of 'civil **society'**, and between **all** these organisations and rural communities and their own movements. Southern **Africa's** crisis of "governance" and the "options for development" will need to be thoroughly understood if effective strategies of socio-political organisation are to be developed in the ensuing decades. Studies of repatriation and demobilisation need to be conducted within this kind of intellectual context. It seems likely, especially given the July 16th 1992 declaration by **Renamo** and the **Mozambican** Government, that international 'humanitarian intervention' **will** become an increasingly significant force within the region, and this **certainly requires** thorough examination. Lawyers or legal anthropologists could make a major contribution to this debate if they can move into field studies.

### (iii) An Agenda for Supporting Further Research

This section provides suggestions for the further support of scholarship in the field of **Mozambican** refugee studies.

#### *Vibrant African scholarship with major needs*

This review provides ample evidence of vibrant African scholarship in the refugee field, despite the formidable constraints in the subcontinent. Although it is not detailed here, the role of the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford and some other institutions in supporting this scholarship through training, conferences and joint research projects has already been substantial. Nevertheless three glaring needs do stand out for the support of African scholarship. First, there remains a requirement for more basic training at the post-graduate level, particularly for **Mozambicans**. Oxford is one of the centres in a good position to provide this. Second, the papers of most African scholars reflect the unavailability of literature within the region and the associated declining ability to follow academic developments and to generally deploy documentary sources. Funding support for **African** research libraries and expanded out-reach by the Refugee Studies Programme "Documentation Centre" could therefore be extremely valuable (as could be obliging agencies working within countries to deposit their materials in appropriate University archives). Third, most African researchers are trapped in short term research projects, which have done well to open up the field but which are not effective tools for bringing it to maturity through the research publication of substantial manuscripts.

#### *Workshops for developing and communicating ideas*

Though the large number of conferences and symposia in this field in recent years have been extremely important for **networking** and stimulating interest, they have done relatively little to strengthen the real academic base of the field or communicate effectively ideas to policy makers. Small workshops, usually within-country or on a regional basis, may be a relatively cheap and useful tool for deeper-seated intellectual encounter and practical policy review. These would probably be best linked to the development or **reporting** back of specific research initiatives.

#### *The value of practitioner training*

One of the findings of this review is that in-service training may be a more effective foundation for effective communication between researchers and **practitioners/policy** makers, than is simply report writing and conferences. Training for government officials and agency workers handling refugee, emergency and **returnee** programmes with Mozambicans is therefore **important** not only to impart specific **skills** and knowledge, but also to enable **officials** to achieve access to research findings and new ideas on a more permanent basis.

#### *Supporting the Refugee Studies Programme*

As an international venue, and recognised centre of excellence in research and teaching, the Refugee Studies Programme is able to serve researchers, governments and agencies within southern Africa in a large variety of ways, including **assisting** them in the strengthening or

establishment of their 'own institutional capacities. It also assists with the integration of progress within the wider refugee studies field worldwide and the southern African scene. Whilst it is clear that even without the involvement of the Refugee Studies Programme there would have been an expansion in interest in refugee research within southern Africa, the fact that most researchers in the region are **working** in some association with the Programme indicates its value.

#### **(iv) Recommendations to SIDA**

The following broad recommendations for strengthening research on refugees, internally displaced and **returnees** from and in Mozambique are suggested:

\* Fund more and longer term field research by Mozambican and host country researchers (where appropriate with international research **support**), including with more opportunity for adequate library work and publication **writing**.

\* Contribute to the strengthening of appropriate research institutions within southern Africa.

\* Support the acquisition of relevant research reports and other documentation in the 'refugee studies' field by Universities and other relevant institutions within the region.

\* Fund academic training for suitably qualified local people, especially Mozambicans, both for formal degree programmes and for periods associated with regional and international research centres.

\* Fund small workshops (within the region) that provide genuine opportunities for the exchange of information and ideas between researchers and policy makers.

\* Support the attendance of practitioners (government and agency) at in-service training programmes in appropriate aspects of 'refugee studies'.

\* Use its influence to encourage governments, international agencies and non-governmental organisations to make greater use of intellectuals and research findings in their policy formulation and programme implementation.

\* Support **international** centres such as the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford that are working to increase scholarship in **this** field and make it more effective in **assisting** with meeting the needs of forced migrants within the region.

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Eriksen, T.L. and A. Ofstad (1990) Bibliography on Mozambique and International Aid, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, No. 177

Somba, V. (1988) A Bibliography of Articles on Refugees in Malawi from National Newspapers (October, 1986 to October, 1988), University of Malawi, Chancellor College Library

For the most comprehensive listing of publications relating to the war in Mozambique (up to 1990) consult the references in the book:

Vines, A. (1991) Renamo: Terrorism in Mozambique, James Currey, London

## Holdings of Refugee Studies Programme Documentation Centre

The holdings of the RSP Documentation Centre on Mozambique, and on Mozambicans in the neighbouring countries (as at June 1992) are attached, together with a July 1992 update of recent acquisitions. Some of the materials quoted in this report that are not principally focused on **Mozambicans** are not appropriately key-worded and so do not appear in this **listing**.

It should be noted that the **RSP** Documentation Centre holdings of **uncatalogued** material (including agency documents and collections of press clippings) are also very extensive.



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