

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
A GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE
NATURE AND PATTERNS OF REFUGEE
MIGRATION IN AFRICA

By
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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes and relates the problems associated with Africa's refugee migrations to those of other refugees in the world. Modern refugee problems in Africa are products of decolonization of African territories from European colonial powers in the 1960's. The causes of refugee migrations are discussed and the unevenness in their distribution with respect to both areas of origin and asylum considered.

The characteristics of refugees and nature of migration are examined. It reveals that most African refugees originate from rural extraction, are unskilled and have low levels of education. Refugee migrations are characterized by short distances and interchanges of populations between adjacent states, a feature which frequently resulted in border incidences.

The solutions to Africa's refugee problems are discussed. By and large, the solution to the refugee problem in Africa is through rural resettlement. Urban resettlement of refugees which was characteristic of postwar Europe, is limited. This study is only a first step toward an understanding of the nature and characteristics of Africa's refugee migrations.

To my Parents

Brothers and

Sisters

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

From earliest recorded history, people have been on the move, either individually or in groups, as nomads, pilgrims, exiles or emigrants, voluntarily seeking better lives or escaping from oppression and persecutions. Today, we call these people 'refugees' ...

Edmund E. Cummings, 1975.

When, in the early 1960's the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (U.N.H.C.R.) was winding up its activities in Europe, a series of new events, involving new groups of refugees, were taking shape in Asia and Africa. Since then, Africa has increasingly become the focal point for U.N.H.C.R. assistance. This change in geographical location of the world refugee problem from Europe to Africa, has necessitated a reassessment of the U.N.H.C.R.'s traditional role as well as its general treatment of the refugee problem. Apart from differences in their geographical setting, Africa's refugees also differ in their political, cultural, historical, economic, and social backgrounds from the traditional concept of refugees as generated in Europe, Asia, or Latin America. Whereas Europe's refugees were drawn primarily from urban industrialized societies, for example, African refugees are predominantly from rural agrarian societies.

The term 'refugee' as used in this study, refers to refugees falling under the mandate of the office of the U.N.H.C.R. These are legally called political refugees as distinct from other refugee groups

generated by natural causes or specific refugee groups, such as the Palestinians.

As early as 1964, the total number of refugees in Africa was less than half a million. At the close of the decade, the number had reached one million, the majority of which came from Portuguese Africa. Today, the official figure stands at 1.1 million¹. As Figure 1.1 illustrates, the general increase in the number of refugees over the years was also accompanied by a corresponding increase in the U.N.H.C.R.'s financial allocation to Africa. In 1971, for example, US \$3,673,390 or 70% of a total global commitment of \$4,998,640 was for refugees in Africa². However, with the completed repatriation of Sudanese refugees, and the current repatriation of large numbers of refugees from former Portuguese Africa, the U.N.H.C.R.'s financial assistance to Africa is gradually reduced. Also, refugee settlement schemes in various countries of asylum are becoming self-supporting and hence no longer require as much international assistance.

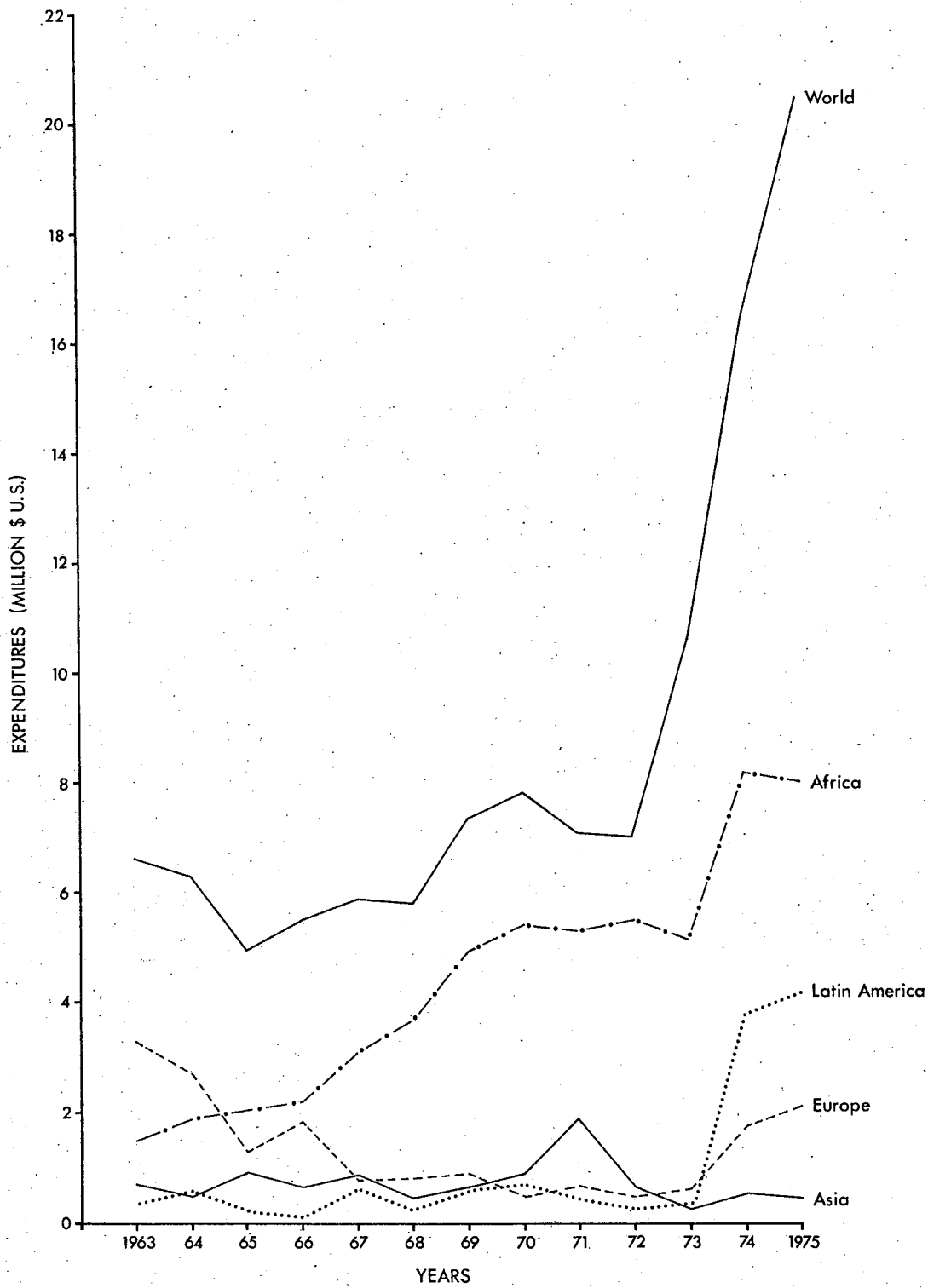
In spite of stabilization of some refugees, the problem facing most African countries of asylum is that they are not well endowed to provide aid to the refugees, since they are generally no better off in economic and social development than are the countries of origin of the refugees. Therefore, the need exists for continuing international charity as long as refugee problems persist.

¹Estimates show that the number of refugees in Africa constitutes one-third of a total of 3.5 million recognized refugees in the world and that one out of every 300 Africans is a refugee. See P. Enahoro, "African Refugees", Africa Magazine, No. 57, (May 1976), p. 34.

²S. Aga-Khan, "The One Million Refugees in Africa", Migration News, No. 4 (July-August, 1971), p. 3.

Figure 1.1

UNHCR EXPENDITURES 1963-1975



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Objectives of The Study

This study has three objectives. Firstly, it examines the causes of the current refugee migration in Africa and compares this to postwar refugee movements in Europe and other parts of the world. Emphasis is placed on differences in the political, economic and social backgrounds of African refugees and the impact of these variations on the definition of political refugees in the African context.

Secondly, the thesis discusses characteristics and the nature of movement of African refugees. It is generally observed that refugee movements in Africa are of a short distance due to the fact that most refugees come from rural backgrounds with little or no education and skills.

Finally, the study examines the various solutions to the problem of refugees in Africa, namely, repatriation and urban or rural resettlement. Distinction is also made between the solutions adopted with respect to Africa's refugees, vis a vis other refugee groups such as postwar European refugees.

Sources of Data

The only reliable and voluminous source of data on refugees is the office of the U.N.H.C.R. Data from other sources are limited and scattered. However, the research relies mainly upon:

- (a) Published Materials. Published materials on refugees include general studies on migratory movements and postwar refugee migration in Europe and other parts of the world as well as articles on specific aspects of refugee migration in Africa.

- (b) United Nations Documents, Publications and Reports. The United Nations Publications are the main source of information, especially the U.N.H.C.R. reports and publications dealing directly with refugee problems in various parts of the world, and the U.N.H.C.R. special reports to the General Assembly.
- (c) Other Sources. Other sources consulted include publications by the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) which deal with the problem of population movement and migration of refugees, and occasional annual papers published by the Secretariat for Migration of the World Council of Churches.

Limitations of The Study

The study of refugee migration is complex and the problems are diverse. These complexities are directly related to the nature of refugee classification; to the discontinuous and periodic nature of refugee migration; to the non-uniformity and incomparability of refugee statistical data and to the changing concept of refugees in time and space; and to the inconsistencies in the temporal limitations of refugee status from one country to another. The limitations which the above place upon the study can be summarized as follows: --

- (a) Classification of Refugees. In legal terms, persons qualifying for a political refugee status must have left their country of origin due to political circumstances³. However, this simple

³J. Vernant, The Refugee in the Postwar World (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953), p. 4.

classification does not always provide a clear-cut distinction between political and non-political forces. Multiple factors, both political and non-political, may be responsible in generating refugee migrations. For example, the flight of an estimated 100,000 Malien Tuareg to neighbouring countries since 1968 was in part due to successive years of drought conditions in the area, but also due to political difficulties between the Tuareg and the ruling party, The Union Sudanaise⁴.

- (b) The Nature of Refugee Movements. Unlike free migration, refugee movements are discontinuous and periodic flows, depending on the prevailing conditions in source areas. Typical examples in Africa are Burundi, Rwanda and Ethiopia, where intermittent internal instability and armed conflict have periodically caused thousands of refugees to flee to neighbouring countries. Since the renewed outbreak of fighting in early 1975 between the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Ethiopian army, for example, over 40,000 refugees had sought asylum in the Sudan in addition to 62,500 registered refugees already in the country. Statistical data on refugees therefore vary considerably in both time and space,

⁴The Tuareg are predominately nomadic people. Since independence, they were not actively involved in governing the new nation. The ruling party was under the control of the Bambara ethnic group who are considered by the Tuareg as one of their traditional enemies. Hence, the party meant little to them. Also, differences in historical, cultural, linguistic, and racial backgrounds are further divisive factors between the Tuareg and the government. See V.D. DuBois, "The Drought in Niger, Part III: The Flight of the Malien Tuareg", Fieldstaff Reports, West Africa Series, Vol. 15, No. 6 (December, 1974), p. 2.

because of the intermittent inflows of refugees as mentioned above; because of return movement of refugees to their country of origin, such as was the case with the Sudanese refugees; or due to out-migration of refugees to a third country.

- (c) Non-Uniformity in Statistical Data. Statistics on refugees are affected by many factors including the general difficulty in obtaining data and the fact that refugee migrations are discontinuous and periodic. Most data on refugees are based upon estimates by the countries of asylum. However, these data are often no more than approximations and subject to considerable under-or over-estimation. Since international assistance is based upon the number of refugees, countries of asylum frequently inflate their statistics. In contrast, countries of dispersion generally under-estimate the number of persons fleeing their country, as for example in the case with respect to Guineans in neighbouring countries⁵.

Apart from under or over-estimation of refugee populations, the varying definitions of refugees, at national, regional or international levels, also affect the data. These include the definitions by the U.N.R.W.A. for Palestinian refugees; the convention of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.); and the general United Nations Refugee Convention. Therefore,

⁵Official estimates show that there could be as many as one million Guineans in various countries of asylum roughly distributed as follows: Senegal 300,000; various parts of West Africa, particularly Ivory Coast 300,000; and Europe 400,000. See P. Enahoro, Loc. cit.

reduction or increase in data of a given refugee population are also attributed to changes in definitions or coverage rather than in actual numbers of refugees.

- (d) Temporal Limitation of Refugee Status. The temporal dimensions of how long to regard persons as refugees are variable in different parts of the world and as well as from one refugee group to the other. The criteria normally employed by the United Nations are that refugees cease to be refugees when they earn a living in the country of resettlement, have found a permanent place of residence, or when they have acquired a new nationality⁶. Such was the case with the Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, Chileans, Ugandan Asians, and recently the Vietnamese refugees, who were resettled in Europe and North America. However, the residence period required to qualify for a new citizenship ranges from five years in Europe and North America to an indefinite time limit in the case of most African countries. In Africa, for example, refugees are not generally encouraged to acquire new citizenship of their host countries. This is in part due to the negative attitudes of the governments of countries of asylum to naturalize populations which may be a liability rather than an asset to their economic and social development. Also, a reluctance exists among most refugees to abandon their original homelands.

⁶L.W. Holborn, "Refugees -- World Problems", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, 1968, p. 362.

Existing Literature on Refugees in Africa

Literature on refugees is limited and scattered. This is particularly so in the case of Africa where methods of data compilation are generally unsophisticated. Although refugees are part of migrant population, social scientists in general and geographers in particular, have contributed very little in this field, which deserves to be more widely understood.

Apart from few contributions by geographers, including M.J. Proudfoot,⁷ most studies on refugees since World War II, were predominantly conducted by non-geographers, sociologists, psychologists, historians, and political scientists⁸. Their concern was mainly with the sociological aspects of refugee migration; the impact of the new environment on the mental health of refugees; or the political implications of refugee exodus on both areas of refugee origin and destination.

Most of the existing literature on refugees in Africa is that provided by the United Nations sources. Independent research is limited. Some of the contributions in this area include the two sets of symposium papers edited by S. Hamrell and H.C. Brooks and

⁷M.J. Proudfoot, European Refugees, 1939-1952: A Study of Forced Population Movement, (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1956).

⁸H.B.M. Murphy (ed.), Flight and Resettlement, (Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1955); K.C. Cirtautus, The Refugee -- A Psychological Study, (Boston, Massachusetts: Meador Publishing Company, 1957); S.L. Keller, Uprooting and Social Change -- The Role of Refugees in Development, (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1975).

Y. El-Ayouty,⁹ which deal with the legal, economic, political, social and historical aspects of refugees. An important recent contribution is the comprehensive study of the work of the U.N.H.C.R. by L.W. Holborn¹⁰.

Also, there exist a few studies of African refugees in a general context, as well as individual case studies of particular refugee groups. Such studies include those of R. Yeld (1965, 1968); R.O. Matthews (1972); N. Rubin (1974); W.T.S. Gould (1974); P. Enahoro (1976); and C. Potholm (1976)¹¹.

⁹S. Hamrell (ed.), Refugee Problems in Africa, (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967); H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty, (eds.), Refugees South of the Sahara -- An African Dilemma, (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970).

¹⁰L.W. Holborn, Refugees -- A Problem of Our Time; The Work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951-72, 2 volumes (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975).

¹¹R. Yeld, "Implications of Experience with Refugee Settlement", Conference Papers, (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1965) pp. 1-13; and "The Resettlement of Refugees", in R. Apthorpe (ed.), Land Settlement and Rural Development in Eastern Africa, Nkanga Editions (Kampala, 1968), pp. 33-7; R.O. Matthews, "Refugees and Stability in Africa", International Organization, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1972, pp. 62-83; N. Rubin, "Africa and Refugees", African Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 292, 1974, pp. 290-311; W.T.S. Gould, "Refugees in Tropical Africa", The International Migration Review, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1974, pp. 413-30; P. Enahoro, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-7; C. Potholm, "Refugees -- Africa's Persistent Problem", Africa Report, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1976, pp. 12-14, 54.

The Organization of The Thesis

The thesis is organized into four body chapters. Chapter two considers the problems of definition of 'refugees', especially with the emergence of new refugee groups outside the European continent. A model attempts to place refugees within the framework of migrant population. Also, attention is drawn to the somewhat unique situation of African refugees compared to other refugee groups elsewhere in the world.

The third chapter discusses the African refugee problem in its historical and political context. It examines the causes of refugee migrations such as whether they are due to secessionist movements, to independence movements, to ethnic conflicts, to political and racial repression, or to religious persecution. Two case studies, namely, Zaire and Portuguese Africa, illustrate the different backgrounds to refugee situations in Africa.

Chapter four examines the nature and characteristics of refugee migrations in Africa. It analyses the scale of the problem, and the spatial relationships between the areas of origin and areas of asylum. Patterns of refugee flows are described in terms of their directions and whether they are one-way or two-way migration.

The fifth chapter discusses the question of asylum and the different policies related to granting asylum. Various solutions to the refugee problems are examined, both the short-term solution and the long-term ones. In the African context, it is emphasized that experiences in Europe cannot be effectively applied to Africa due to the diverse nature and characteristics of refugees. Some border

problems related to these mass refugee movements are also considered.

Chapter six consists of commentary and conclusions to the study.

CHAPTER 2

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF REFUGEE MOVEMENT SINCE 1945

This chapter introduces the changing concept of the problem of refugees since World War II. Firstly, it examines the question of definition of 'refugees'. A variety of definitions for refugees have been derived, based upon whether the generating forces are political or non-political, or whether refugees are from urban or rural backgrounds. Secondly, it discusses factors which suggest that Africa's refugees are unique from those generated elsewhere in the world. These differences are found not only in their geographical setting, but are also due to the respective historical, cultural, economic, and political environments.

Problems of Definition

To understand what is meant by the term 'refugee', it is necessary to examine national, international or intergovernmental definition, as well as the type of services or protection granted to the refugees¹. The international agencies set up prior to the

¹For a survey of national and international definitions of refugees, See E.E. Cummings, "Voluntary Agencies and Refugees", Migration News, No. 3, 1975, pp. 17-18; M.G. Wenk, "The Refugee: A Search for Clarification", International Migration Review, Vo. 2, 1968, pp. 62-6.

office of the U.N.H.C.R. in 1951, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (U.N.R.R.A.) from 1943-46, and its successor, the International Refugee Organization (I.R.O.) from 1947-50, were intended to be temporary, and each created its own definition for 'refugees' to satisfy its particular mandate. These agencies saw the problem of refugees as one that was short-term following the war, and one that would be relatively quickly solved. This view, which most European governments held at the time, was expounded by Read as:

"... the wish being father to the thought, they carefully set time-limits to each international agency dealing with refugees and hopefully looked forward to the day when at least this ... can be dismantled"².

However, since the establishment of the U.N.H.C.R. in 1951, there has been less and less indication that the refugee problem is indeed a temporary phenomenon. In 1951, the office of the U.N.H.C.R. adopted its own definition of a refugee, namely:

"An individual, who as a result of events occurring before 1st January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it"³.

This original definition referred specifically to persons who became refugees as a result of events which occurred prior to January 1951.

²J.M. Read, "The United Nations and Refugees: Changing Concepts", International Conciliation, No. 537, 1962, p. 5.

³J. Vernant, op. cit., p. 11.

That is, it was focussed mostly on Europe. However, with the later emergence of refugee groups outside Europe, the definition was extended by the 1967 Protocol to the Convention⁴ in order to recognize those who became refugees as a result of events occurring since 1951.

Among the Post-Convention refugee groups, African refugees have drawn particular attention of both African states and international agencies. In the African context, the term 'refugee', as found in the 1951 Convention, was not sufficiently wide enough to cover all aspects of African forced migration. To overcome this problem, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) established its own definition in 1969 to incorporate the specific aspects of African refugees not covered by the 1951 Convention. Hence, the O.A.U. defines 'refugees' as:

"Any person who through aggression, occupation from outside, foreign domination or events gravely disturbing public order in part or all of his country of origin or the country of which he has the nationality is obliged to leave his usual place of residence to seek refuge outside this country"⁵.

⁴The adoption of the Protocol was because the 1951 Convention limited its applicability to Europe where refugees were defined as 'persons who became refugees as a result of events occurring before 1st January 1951'. To accord equal status to persons who became refugees since 1951, the date line, '1st January 1951', was deleted for a general world wide application.

⁵The O.A.U. definition specifically benefits persons fleeing from the racial and political policies in Southern Africa, most of whom are not legally recognized refugees under the 1951 Convention. Freedom fighters also benefit from this definition since they leave their country of origin as a result of aggression or domination. See O. Goundiam, "African Refugee Convention", Migration News, No. 2, 1970, p. 8.

This broad definition breaks new ground by including persons who left their country of origin or nationality because of foreign occupation or domination, as for example, was the case in Portuguese Africa, and still is the case in Southern Africa.

A separate and exclusive definition is that of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (U.N.R.W.A.), which was established in 1949. According to the U.N.R.W.A., a refugee is defined as:

"A person whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum of two years immediately preceding the outbreak of the conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of this conflict, has lost both his home and his means of livelihood"⁶.

It is evident from the above discussion that there is considerable variation and flexibility in the definition of 'refugees'. As such, there is no single definition of refugees that can be adopted to encompass all refugee groups.

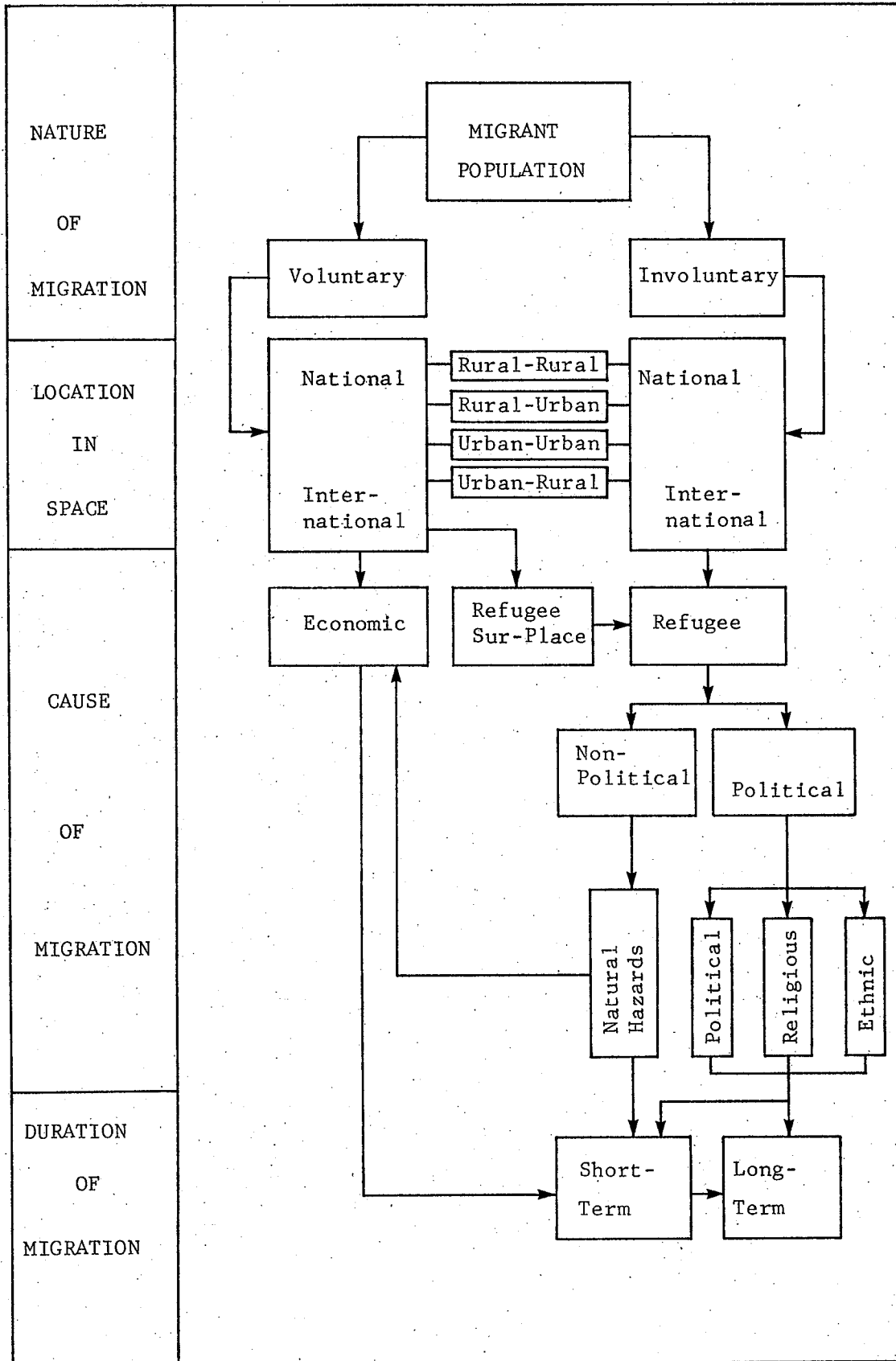
A Model of Migrant Population

Apart from the legal definitions of national and international agencies, refugees can be examined and defined within the broader context of migration theory. For example, in Figure 2.1, migration is broadly classified into voluntary and involuntary or forced. The model also demonstrates that migrations take two geographical directions in space, either within or across national boundaries.

⁶U.N.R.W.A., Quoted in H.I. Barakat, "The Palestinian Refugees: An Uprooted Community seeking Repatriation", International Migration Review, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1973, p. 147.

Figure 2.1

A Model of Migrant Population



As is seen in the figure, internal voluntary migrations take many forms. They can be from one rural area to another, or from rural to urban, or from one urban area to another. Migrations from urban to rural areas are likely to occur only in highly industrialized areas. Generally, national and international voluntary migrations are economically motivated and consequently are irrelevant to this study.

Involuntary migrants can be broadly considered as refugees. As with voluntary migrants, refugee migrants can also be within or across national boundaries. The migrations of national refugees follow the same paths as national economic migrants, that is, from rural to rural, rural to urban or from urban to urban. Examples of such movements have occurred in Zaire, Sudan and Nigeria where mass migrations were directed to areas unaffected by the respective civil wars in those countries. However, at the international level, rural to rural migrations are typical of most African refugees, in contrast to other refugee groups in the world, where migrations are directed to urban areas.

International involuntary migrants include most of the refugees covered by the United Nations definition. These are the true 'refugees', namely, persons who are outside their countries of origin for political, religious or racial reasons. However, a distinction must be made between migrants who leave their country of origin as refugees, and those who become refugees only after they have left their country of origin. For example, an economic migrant may not wish to return to his country of origin because of changes in the political climate during his stay abroad. Such refugees are called 'refugee sur-place'

by the U.N.H.C.R. In addition to political refugees there are non-political refugees. These are people forcibly displaced as a result of natural hazards such as floods, earthquakes, and drought.

Migrations can be of both short- and long-term duration. Economically motivated migrations and migrations resulting from ecological causes generally tend to be short-term. Examples of economically motivated migrations include seasonal labour movement, such as from Western Sudan to the Gezira Scheme, or the labour migration to the mines of South and Central Africa. Migrations due to natural causes are illustrated by the recent Sahelian drought in Africa which affected a population of 2-6 million. In general, refugees generated by natural causes return to their places of origin as soon as conditions which caused their flight no longer exist.

In contrast, political refugees tend generally to be long-term migrants. Repatriation is normally accomplished only if the root causes of their flight have been removed. This was true for Southern Sudanese refugees who were repatriated after the peace agreement, and has been the case for some refugees from former Portuguese territories where repatriation has become possible with the achievement of independence. In most cases, however, political climates remain unchanged, and refugees become long-term migrants.

A Typology of African Refugees

Studies of refugee movements since World War II have attracted various disciplines including sociology, psychology and political science. Most of these studies were concerned with socio-psychological impacts of refugee migration, and placed little emphasis on their geographical or spatial dimensions. The refugee problem in Africa is a recent phenomenon, having emerged only over the past 15 years. The causes of the problem are varied and multi-dimensional, with political, racial, religious and ethnic factors predominating. To understand the underlying causes of Africa's refugee movements, it is useful to derive a typology of refugees. A wide variety of typologies currently exist.

A common typology is the differentiation between refugees coming from colonial territories and white-governed states of Southern Africa on the one hand and those from independent African countries on the other. This approach is useful in that it considers the different reasons for the creation of the various refugee groups and hence, the possible solutions to their problem⁷. Hamrell differentiated the refugees on the basis of their rural or urban origin⁸. A further distinction can be made in terms of whether flight is the result of religious and political repression or due to racial or ethnic conflicts.

⁷Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Report of the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problem (Addis Ababa, October 1967), in UN. Doc. E/CN.14/442, 1969; J. Hatch, "Historical Background of the African Refugee Problem", in H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty (eds.), op. cit., pp. 1-20; N. Rubin, op. cit., pp. 291-311.

⁸S. Hamrell, op. cit., pp. 9-25.

Yeld classified African refugees on the basis of whether their flight was politically and non-politically motivated⁹.

In Petersen's classification of migration, refugees fall into his 'forced' or 'impelled' categories. In the former case, the migrant exercises no choice, whereas in the latter, an element of choice in whether or not to move exists¹⁰. In most refugee migrations, the migrant has little or no choice. Petersen's sub-category -- 'emigres' -- that is, persons who regard their exile as temporary, is analogous to Cirtautas' category of patriotic refugees¹¹. These are refugees who may adjust superficially to the new environment but remain loyal to their areas of origin. Such is the case with some of the Rwandan Tutsis in Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire, where, in spite of apparent assimilation, nationalistic feelings remain strong.

Kunz, in his attempt to distinguish the nature of refugee movements, derived two models, namely, anticipatory and acute refugee movements¹². Anticipatory refugee migration takes place prior to deterioration of political situation, whereas acute movement occurs as a consequence of it. Most refugee movements in Africa, particularly those of rural refugees which find themselves victims of both government armies and liberation movements, are of the 'acute' type.

⁹R. Yeld, "Resettlement of Refugees", in Apthorpe (ed), op. cit., pp. 33-7.

¹⁰W. Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration", American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1958 pp. 256-66.

¹¹K.C. Cirtautas, op. cit., p. 131.

¹²E.F. Kunz, "The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement", The International Migration Review, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1973, pp. 125-45.

Likewise, economic migrants, who become refugees due to political changes in their countries of origin -- the refugee sur-place -- can also be considered in the 'acute' category.

African refugees have also been classified by Matthews into active and passive refugees according to their political awareness¹³. Active refugees are mainly from urban background and include freedom fighters, politicians and students, whereas passive refugees are characteristically rural and politically unconscious. However, he considers the complementary nature of the two groups, that is, that passive refugees are usually the source areas for liberation movements in Africa.

A recent study by Kolenic also seeks to derive a typology of African refugees. Accordingly, six types of refugee groups are recognized, political, open warfare, religious, ethnic, economic and refugees resulting from natural hazards¹⁴. In the African context, these categories do not, by themselves, reveal any meaningful classification. This is because most of the current refugee situations result from more than one generating factor.

In attempting to classify the different types of African refugees, the interdependence of the various variables should be emphasized. For the purposes of this study, refugees are classified into two categories, political and non-political.

Political refugees are divided into three groups according to

¹³R.O. Matthews, op. cit., pp. 62-83.

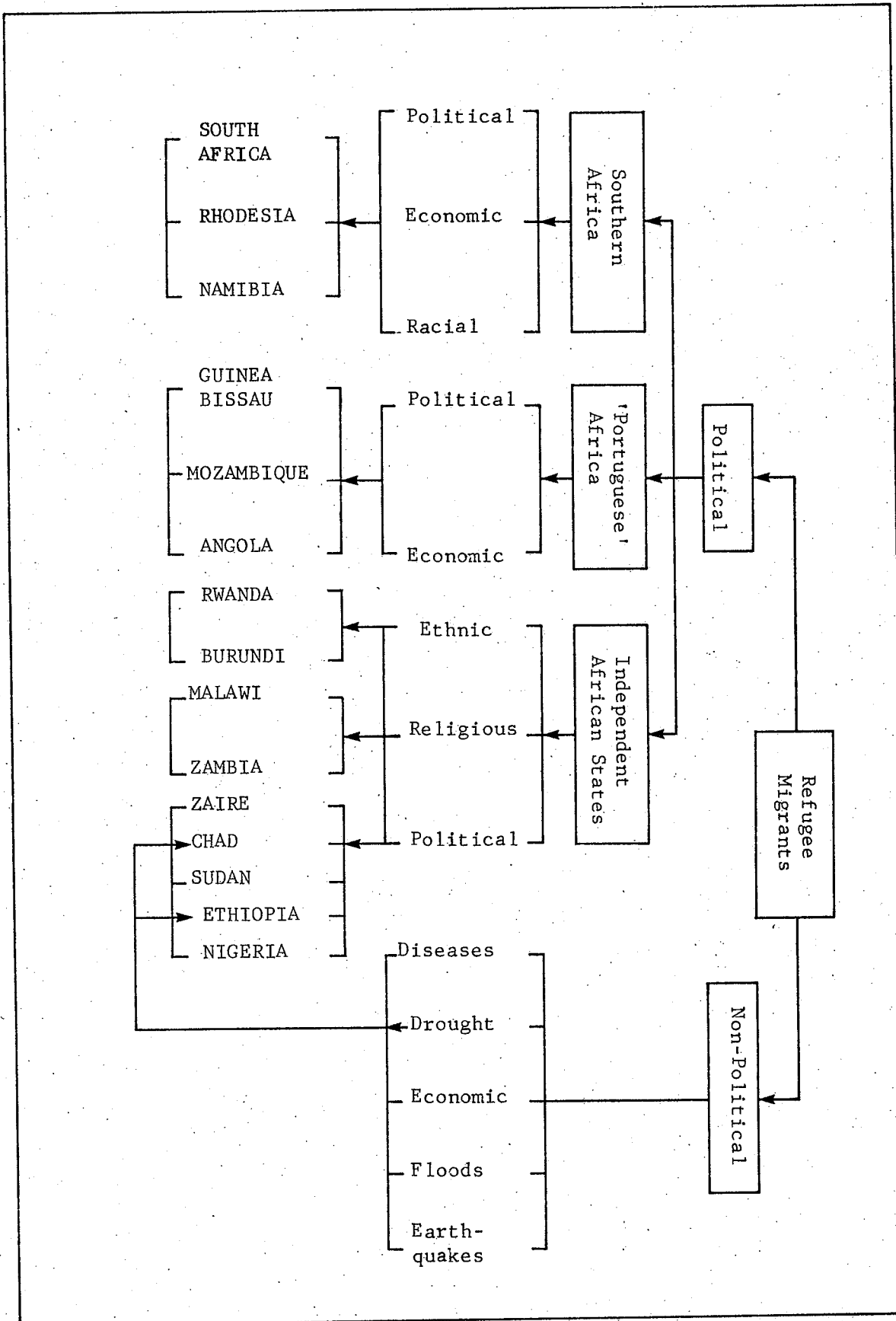
¹⁴P. Kolenic, African Refugees: Characteristics and Patterns of Movement, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ohio University, Ohio, August, 1974.

whether they come from independent African countries, from the white-controlled states in Southern Africa, or from former Portuguese territories. The root causes of refugee flight are then examined whether they are due to political and racial intolerance, to religious repression, to ethnic conflicts, or to economic pressures. Figure 2.2 summarizes the different types of refugee groups and their countries of origin.

Refugees from Southern Africa are not all legally recognized as political refugees by the United Nations' definition. This is because apart from political and racial discrimination, economic factors, which are a consequence of deliberate discriminatory labour and wage legislation, are also important. However, according to the O.A.U. Convention, these refugees are regarded as political refugees, being in the category of those persons fleeing from areas under 'foreign domination'. Similarly, the wars of independence in former Portuguese territories were a result of the Portuguese government's long-term colonial policy. But, equally important in the creation of refugees, were the labour and wage policies, and the political subjugation of African population.

The exodus of political refugees from independent African states is generally due to three factors, political, religious, and ethnic conflicts. Political refugees include those from Zaire, Ethiopia, Chad and formerly from the Sudan and Eastern Region of Nigeria. However, in the case of Sudan and the guerrilla movements in Chad and Ethiopia, religious factors have also contributed. Similarly, ethnic rivalry has contributed to the refugee movements in the former Katanga Province (now Shaba) during the Congo Civil War as well as in

Figure 2.2
A Typology of African Refugees



the Ibo-dominated Eastern Region of Nigeria during the Biafran conflict.

Refugees resulting from religious persecution include the Jehovah's Witnesses in Malawi and members of the Lumpa Church in Zambia, most of whom have now repatriated. Although the flight of these refugees to neighbouring countries is apparently religious, political considerations were, as well, important. In Malawi for example, the refusal of the Jehovah's Witnesses to recognize the authority of the ruling party, the Malawi Congress Party, led to their persecution¹⁵. This was also true for members of the Lumpa Church in Zambia.

Some refugee groups result from ethnic conflicts. These include those groups from Rwanda and Burundi, as a consequence of ethnic and political tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis.

As considered in the preceding discussion, a typology of migrant population in general and refugees in particular, is only arbitrary. Most refugee migrations in Africa have multiple causes and precise distinction between political, economic, and religious refugees is generally impossible.

¹⁵F.J. deVilliers, "The Displaced Humans", African Institute Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 7, 1973, p. 261.

Uniqueness of Refugee Problems in Africa

Tribal upheavals, racial intolerance, religious persecution, political repression have all exacted a heavy toll in terms of human life and human misery in modern Africa. Across much of the continent there is living and daily proof of this intolerance and disregard for the origins and beliefs of others ... who have been forced to flee repression and persecution and seek a livelihood away from their land of birth. These are the displaced humans of Africa.

F.J. deVilliers, 1973.

The major refugee problem in Africa emerged in a number of countries between 1960-65. The root causes of these refugee movements are varied and complex. Unlike in Europe, Asia or Latin America, refugees in Africa are from much more diverse political, economic, social, cultural and geographic environments.

In their political context, postwar refugees in Europe, for example, were a consequence of total war and national disintegration, and the creation of new states and new political orders. The changes in political systems and national boundaries resulted in mass exodus of populations particularly from Communist countries to Western European states. For example, during the period 1945-66, a total of 1.3 million persons had fled from Eastern European countries to Western European states; and in the same period, West Germany received 3.8 million German refugees from East Germany within her boundaries¹⁶.

¹⁶It should also be noted that some refugee problems in Asia have been due to national disintegration either on religious basis (The Indian Sub-Continent) or political and ideological grounds (former East and West Pakistan, Korea and Vietnam). See L.W. Holborn, (1968), op. cit., p. 363.

During the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, about 200,000 persons were displaced, of whom 180,000 fled to Austria and 20,000 to Yugoslavia¹⁷.

A similar refugee movement occurred with the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet Armies in 1968.

The partition of the Indian sub-continent into the states of India and Pakistan in 1947 was accompanied by one of the greatest involuntary migrations and exchange of refugees in the 20th Century. Estimates show that about 8-9 million Hindus and Sikhs migrated from Pakistan to India and a counter-wave movement of 6-7 million Moslems from India to Pakistan¹⁸. The Indo-Pakistani War, in 1971, also generated large numbers and exchanges of refugees between Pakistan and newly created state of Bangladesh.

The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 resulted in the present Palestinian Arab refugee camps. Furthermore, the four wars, in 1948, 1956, 1967 and recently in 1973, between Israel and Arab states, created further refugees. Estimates show that the number of Palestinian refugees increased from 726,000 in 1948 to 868,000 in 1952, to 1.3 million in 1966, and to 1.4 million in 1970¹⁹. The 1973 War has also added new refugee groups to the population already in camps.

Political refugees from Latin American countries are generally associated with revolutionary changes in governments. This is true

¹⁷L.W. Holborn, (1975), op. cit., p. 391.

¹⁸G. Beijer, "Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movements", in J.A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 20; S.L. Keller, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹H.I. Barakat, op. cit., p. 147, 149; L.W. Holborn, (1968), op. cit., p. 366.

with the Cuban and Chilean refugees who fled during the changes in their home governments in 1959 and 1973, respectively. In 1963 there were 350,000 Cuban refugees in various countries of asylum of whom, 275,000 were in the United States and 75,000 scattered in Latin American states. The 20,000 refugees who fled Chile since 1973 are found in various European countries²⁰.

In contrast to the above examples, political refugees in Africa are a result of many factors which emerged during and after independence. They relate to political repression, religious persecution, racial discrimination and ethnic conflicts. These political features and other associated cultural and socio-economic characteristics are the main distinguishing factors of African refugees from other refugee groups in the world.

African refugees are, in the main, rural subsistence cultivators. Because of this factor, their migration is essentially from one rural setting in the country of origin to another in the country of asylum. Postwar refugee emigration overseas from Europe, on the other hand, was essentially to urban areas²¹. Unlike

²⁰U.N.H.C.R. Report, Refugees From Chile (Geneva, 1975), p. 1; LW. Holborn, (1968), op. cit., p. 367-68.

²¹For example, of all the immigrants recorded in the United States in 1952, 60% went to cities of over 100,000, 27% to cities of less than 100,000 and 13% to rural areas. In Canada during the same period, over 50% went to Ontario, the most industrialized, 20% to Quebec, 19% to the Prairie Provinces and the rest were scattered in various parts of the country. Between 1947-51, 82% of all immigrants to Australia went to cities and 18% to rural areas. See D. Kirk and E. Huyck, "Overseas Migration from Europe Since World War II", The American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1954, p. 449.

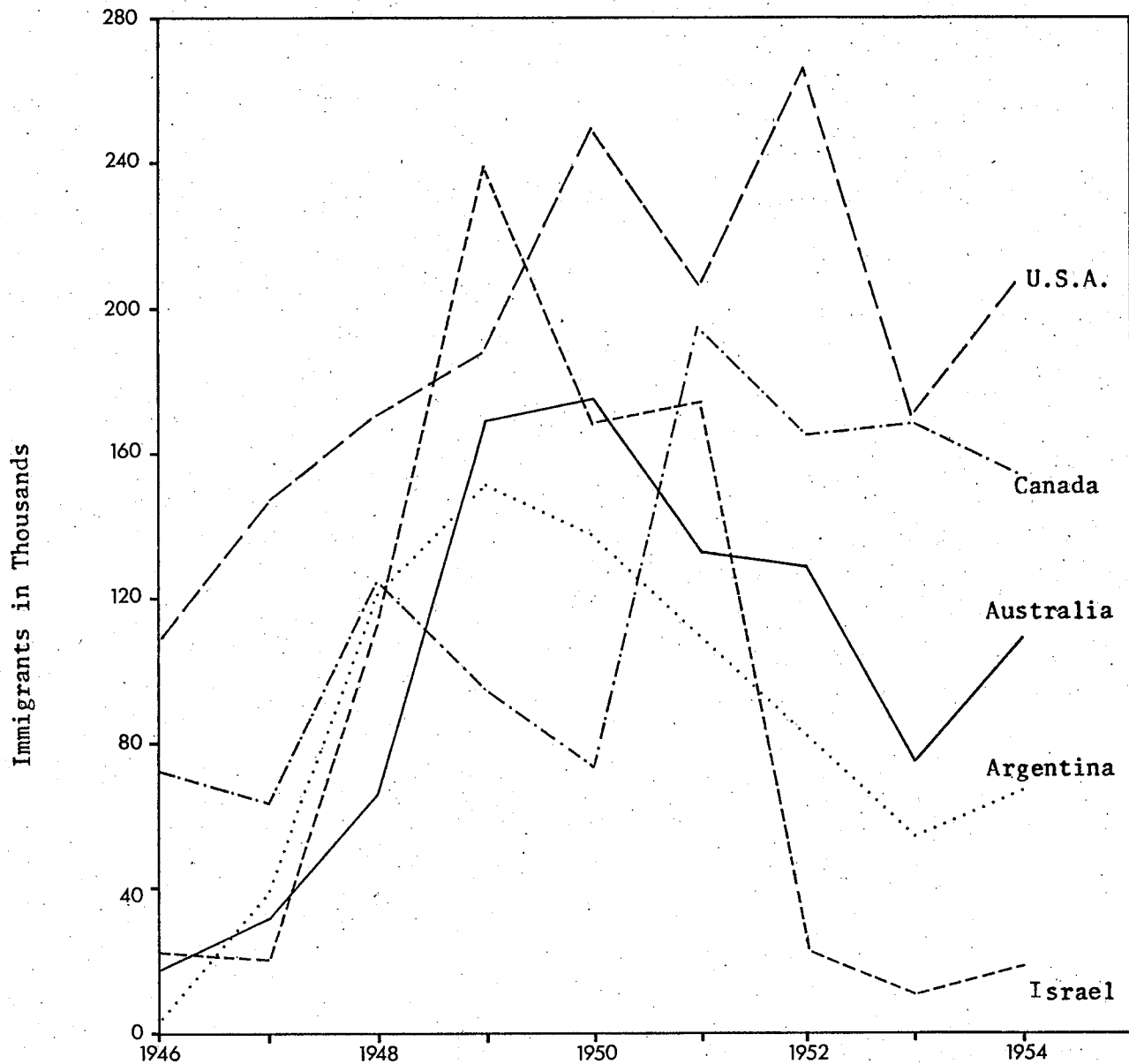
in Africa, refugees in Europe generally had skills and education, and they provided the required manpower in countries of resettlement. Furthermore, the European postwar economic recovery had very high demands for labour, which refugees could fulfill. This is not the case in Africa, where most refugees are illiterate. European refugees were, therefore, considered an asset rather than a liability to both countries of resettlement and international community, whereas in Africa, refugees are invariably a liability to both the host governments and the international agencies.

Solution to European refugee problem was mainly through overseas migration. Voluntary repatriation in Europe has not occurred to any considerable extent²². As Figure 2.3 illustrates, major overseas resettlement occurred between 1949 and 1952, and in which the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia, and Israel were the principal receiving countries. In contrast, solution to the problem of most refugees in Africa is through local settlement, either in systematic land settlement schemes or spontaneously among the host population. Also, unlike the case with most European refugees where the central government was directly involved in reception of refugees at crossing points, in Africa, the responsibility falls on the local population in areas of influx.

²²During its term of office (1947-50), for example, the I.R.O. repatriated 73,000 displaced persons to the countries of origin. The changes in political boundaries, in governments, and in political climate after the war were contributing factors in frustrating efforts in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons.

Figure 2.3

Main Countries of Postwar European Immigration, 1946-54



Source: W.D. Borrie, et.al. The Cultural Integration of Immigrants
(Paris, France: Population and Culture, UNESCO,
1959), pp. 26-32.

Refugee migration in Africa usually involve large numbers of people suddenly crossing an international boundary. These mass movements of refugees have necessitated mass solutions, which are sharply in contrast to European cases where solutions to the refugee problem were generally on individual basis. Emigration overseas from Europe, for example, depended on individual capability to emigrate and was, at the same time, restricted by principles of selection imposed by the main countries of immigration.

Most African countries of asylum have poorly developed infrastructures. And with the geographical shift of refugee problem from Europe to Africa, it presented new dimensions to the U.N.H.C.R.'s traditional roles in Europe. Holborn summarized the nature of the problem as:

"... the characteristics of the African refugees themselves and the absence of the institutional infrastructures upon which the High Commissioner had traditionally drawn, presented him with a refugee problem of a new nature and of new dimensions"²³.

As a result of the absence of infrastructures in areas of refugee influx, solutions to refugee problem in Africa are usually in the context of general development to benefit both refugees and local population. Post-war European refugee migration, on the other hand, was directed to areas of developed infrastructures and services, both in Europe and overseas. The most important features of European refugee programs have, therefore, been rehabilitation, language instruction and vocational training²⁴. These programs are only

²³L.W. Holborn, (1975), op. cit., p. 826.

²⁴Ibid, p. 842.

marginal in Africa because most refugees lack skills and technical know-how.

Provision of housing has been important in the assistance programs of European refugees. It was, however, one of the problems that limited emigration to overseas countries from Europe, particularly at the beginning of the 1950's²⁵. Refugees in Africa, on the other hand, build their own houses in the traditional way, though, under improved conditions of socio-economic services. This characteristic also distinguishes African refugees from other refugee groups in Asia and the Middle East where refugees have been largely settled in camps.

Rural refugees in Africa, usually start their refugee life by settling among the local population within the vicinity of the border. Urban refugees are proportionately small and they concentrate in urban centers. In most cases, refugees and local population in the country of asylum have ethnic or linguistic links. This setting has generally helped in the success of the U.N.H.C.R. activities with regard to refugee integration with local community. To some extent, the post-war refugee migration from Europe was directed to areas where problems of personal adjustments were minimal²⁶. The immigrants to Australia and Canada, for example, were largely drawn from areas under British sphere of influence and Northwestern Europe, whereas immigration to Argentina was mainly from Spain, Italy and Germany.

²⁵J. Isacc, "International Migration and European Population Trends", International Labour Review, Vol. 66, No. 3, (September 1952), p. 194.

²⁶D. Kirk and E. Huyck, op. cit., p. 448.

Summary

The modern refugee problem started in Europe, particularly after the World War II. In later years, the scene was shifted to Asia and Africa. This change in geographical location of refugees from Europe to Africa has also changed the whole concept of 'refugees' from its traditional European context. Consequently, changes in the definition of 'refugees' have been required.

A typology of African refugees reveals that refugee migrations are complex phenomena which can hardly be represented by simple categorization. For example, refugees which are categorized as 'political' can very often also be seen in terms of economic, religious or ethnic motivations.

The distinction drawn between African refugees and other refugee communities suggests that there exists a degree of uniqueness in Africa's refugee problem. This unique situation is related to political and historical backgrounds of the refugee problem, to the nature of the movement and to the characteristics of refugee population.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENESIS OF AFRICA'S REFUGEES

The saga of refugees is as old as man's history. From Biblical times to modern day, involuntary migration has accompanied the collapse of old societies and the development of new cultures. Refugees have been caught in the turbulent wake of religious and political persecutions, economic convulsions, and demographic upheavals.

Henry P. David, 1970.

The current problem of political refugees in Africa is largely due to colonial administrative policies and to internal political and ethnic conflicts. In this chapter, five basic causes of refugee migrations are discernable, namely, whether refugee migrations are due to secessionist tendencies; to independence movements; to ethnic conflict; to political repression; or to religious persecution. Two case studies, Zaire and Portuguese Africa, are used as illustrations of different backgrounds to the refugee problem in Africa.

The Causes of Refugee Migrations In Africa

The present political boundaries are a product of the European colonial partition of Africa. The boundaries between adjacent states are mainly a function of the relative strength of, and the area occupied by the respective powers during the partition. Hence, the political units created in Africa differ considerably in their sizes

and ethnic composition. Some countries, such as the Sudan, Nigeria or Angola, are a patchwork of many ethnic groups, while in others, traditional kingdoms were merged with other groups under a single colonial administration¹. This was the case of the Buganda Kingdom in Uganda, some of the West African Kingdoms, as well as the Tutsi Kingdoms in Rwanda and Burundi.

Moreover, colonial administrative policies differed from one state to another. Britain, for example, pursued a policy of indirect rule through local authorities, while France followed the philosophy of direct rule. Portugal, on the other hand, adopted a policy of assimilation of her subjects into the Portuguese society, whereas Belgium advocated a policy of paternalism. As a consequence of these different colonial administrative policies, the emergent post-war African nationalism also tended to develop along diverse lines from country to country. Some achieved their independence earlier than others, but through peaceful means, while some states, for example, Algeria and Portuguese Africa, had to resort to violent means. Very often, the degree of preparation for independence was limited, and the resultant turmoil, as in the Congo, was an important factor in generating refugees.

However, for an understanding of the underlying causes of African refugee migrations, it is essential to distinguish the different types of refugees according to their source areas. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are three types of refugee groups, namely, refugees

¹G. Hunter, The New Societies of Tropical Africa: A Selective Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 273.

from Southern Africa; refugees from former Portuguese territories; and refugees from the various independent African states. Five basic causes of refugee migrations are identified. These are secessionist tendencies, independence movements, ethnic conflicts, and political and religious repression.

Secessionist Movements.

Refugees resulting from secessionist tendencies in Africa include those from the province of Eritrea in Ethiopia, Chad and formerly from Zaire, Southern Sudan, and Eastern Region of Nigeria. In Ethiopia, the refugee exodus began in 1967 as a consequence of the annexation of Eritrea by Ethiopia in 1962. Armed conflict between the resistance movement, the Eritrean Liberation Front (E.L.F.), and the Ethiopian Government, resulted in the displacement of thousands of Eritreans who sought asylum in north-eastern Sudan. With the recent escalation of the conflict, their number is now estimated at about 100,000. In Chad, refugee exodus resulted from the conflict between a Moslem secessionist movement in the north and the government. Most of the refugees fled to Central African Republic, where they were settled in the Ndele area. In 1973, their total number was estimated at 1,500.

In Zaire, independence was immediately followed by political instability, and the attempted secession of Katanga Province. This was a result of regional disparities and a political vacuum created on independence in 1960. Although most refugees were internally displaced, some sought asylum in neighbouring countries of Uganda, Zambia, Sudan and Central African Republic. As in Zaire, independence in Sudan was ill-fated. Some of the underlying causes are historical

in nature, dating back as far as the period of the slave trade, when the South was used as a source area for slaves. Furthermore, the general suspicion and regional disparities in economic, social and political development between North and South at independence, resulted in the 1955 Southern Disturbances. It is estimated that from independence to 1972, the conflict displaced about 1.5 million, of which more than 180,000 fled to neighbouring countries². In Nigeria, the attempted secession of the Eastern Region in 1967 generated large numbers of refugees, most of whom were displaced within the national boundaries.

Independence Movements.

Refugees generated by independence movements in Africa have primarily been from the former Portuguese territories, and more recently from the newly-proclaimed Saharan Democratic Republic, formerly Spanish Sahara. However, the republic does not exist in reality, since the territory is partitioned between Morocco and Mauritania.

Resistance against the Portuguese administration by the local population dates back to the days of initial conquest. Earlier attempted opposition generally failed. However, during the 1950's, frustration was rapidly gaining momentum as a result of the repressive policies of the Portuguese. Also, the achievement of independence by most other African states in the 1960's was a further important factor in stimulating the independence movements. Although it was initially hoped that Portugal would follow the example of other European

²R.W. July, A History of the African People (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), p. 677.

colonial powers in granting independence, it became clear that this was not Portugal's intention. The revolts against Portuguese authority commenced in Angola in 1961, in Guinea Bissau in 1962, and in Mozambique in 1964. These revolts were to generate the largest number of refugees in Africa. As shown in Table 3.1, more than 50% of Africa's refugees came from these territories, and particularly from Angola.

The withdrawal of Spain from her Saharan colony in 1975, and the subsequent partitioning of the territory by Morocco and Mauritania, has resulted in a war between the independence movement (Polisario) and Morocco. This in turn has led to the displacement of 50-70% of the Saharan population, who have fled to Algeria. As of May 1976, the total refugee population in Algeria was estimated at 45,000³.

Ethnic Conflicts.

In some African states, traditional grievances gained roots shortly before or after independence. This was true in the case of Rwanda and Burundi. In Rwanda, for example, the fall of the Tutsi monarchy in 1959 and the political situation prior to independence in 1962, contributed to tribal conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis, in which many of the latter fled to Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire. Likewise, in Burundi, tensions between the ruling minority Tutsi and the majority Hutu in 1972 drove large numbers of Hutus to neighbouring states for refuge, especially Tanzania. In both cases, refugees were generated by conflicts between the old monarchical order and the new democratic social system. Although Rwanda and Burundi are typical

³R. Trench, "Revolution is the Fourth R for Children of the Desert", The Observer, May 9th, 1976.

Table 3.1

Number of Refugees From Portuguese Africa, 1964-74

Year	Number of Refugees	Total Number of Refugees in Africa	Estimated Number of Refugees from Portuguese Africa	Number of Refugees from Portuguese Africa as Percentage of Total Number of Refugees in Africa
1964		400,000	237,000	59
1966		625,000	338,000	54
1968		835,000	418,000	50
1970		1,004,000	508,000	51
1972		1,018,000	567,000	56
1974		1,070,000	644,000	60

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

examples, ethnic conflicts were also contributory factors in the creation of refugee communities in Southern Sudan and Eastern Region of Nigeria.

Political Repression.

Racial, economic and political repressive policies pursued by the white governments in Southern Africa with respect to the African population, are resulting in an increasing number of refugees seeking asylum in other states. Unconfirmed estimate of Namibian refugees in Angola and Botswana, for example, is as high as 40,000. Also, the escalating armed conflict between the Rhodesian white government and the 'Zimbabwe' Liberation Movement has resulted in an exodus of over 25,000 refugees to Mozambique.

Religious Persecution.

Refugees generated by religious persecution have been the members of the Lumpa Church in Zambia and the Jehovah's Witnesses in Malawi. However, although their flight was primarily for religious reasons, political motivations were also contributory factors.

Two Case Studies - Portuguese Africa and Zaire

These two case studies illustrate the different underlying factors to the problem of refugees in Africa, namely, opposition to repressive policies of the Portuguese on the one hand, and the disappointments and frustration arising from independence on the other hand.

Portuguese Africa.

Portugal's involvement in Africa is the longest of any European colonial power, dating back to the 15th Century. Resistance to Portuguese colonialism has always been present, especially in Angola, but Portuguese authority remained unchallenged until the uprising of 1961 in Angola and subsequently in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique. This resistance movement originated from similar underlying political, economic and social factors, and did not markedly differ from one territory to the other.

In the 1950's when most European powers were preparing their territories for independence, Portugal made no similar attempts. Rather, she incorporated her overseas possessions as part of Portugal, which became known as 'provinces'⁴. This policy had two major outcomes. Firstly, emigration to the colonies and land settlement were encouraged by the government. Secondly, and in part due to the scale of land settlement, guerrilla warfare by the liberation movements intensified during the 1960's. As shown in Table 3.2, the Portuguese long-term colonial policy is also reflected in the general military budget allocations and the expenditures on overseas forces in particular. Since the early 1960's, the total annual defence budget has been increasing, with more than 50% being spent on overseas forces.

The government's support of emigration to the colonies was an expensive undertaking. One of the main objectives of this policy

⁴J. Woronoff, Organizing African Unity (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1970), p. 211.

Table 3.2

Portugal's Military Budget 1962-68
(in millions of Dollars)

Year	Overseas Forces	Total Defence Allocations	Total Ordinary Budget
1962	112.1	193.7	280.1
1963	116.1	198.7	307.2
1964	122.4	222.6	326.3
1965	142.5	246.8	364.1
1966	148.6	213.5	374.1
1967	178.6	267.0	428.6
1968	136.0 (initial allocation)	280.9	575.1

Source: Martelli, G. "Conflict in Portuguese Africa", in Abshire, D.M. and Samuels, M.A. (eds.), Portuguese Africa: A Handbook (London: Praeger Publishers, 1969) p.428.

was "to carry out development schemes designed to create the necessary conditions for Portuguese to settle in the colonies"⁵. The current projects of Cabora Bassa in Mozambique and Cunene in Angola are a reflection of this colonial policy.

The importance of these enterprises as a weapon against the spread of guerrilla activity and a safeguard for Portuguese long-term colonial policy, was emphasized by Oliveira in his statement that:

"The land-settlement policy is one of the basic weapons in struggle we are waging in Africa... If in fact we wish to make Angola and Mozambique into pillars of the Portuguese world, we must colonize them, that is, without delay and as rapidly as possible the stream of emigration from Portugal must be guided in that direction..."⁶

This statement emphasizes the fact that Portuguese settlement in the colonies is part of a defined long-term colonial policy.

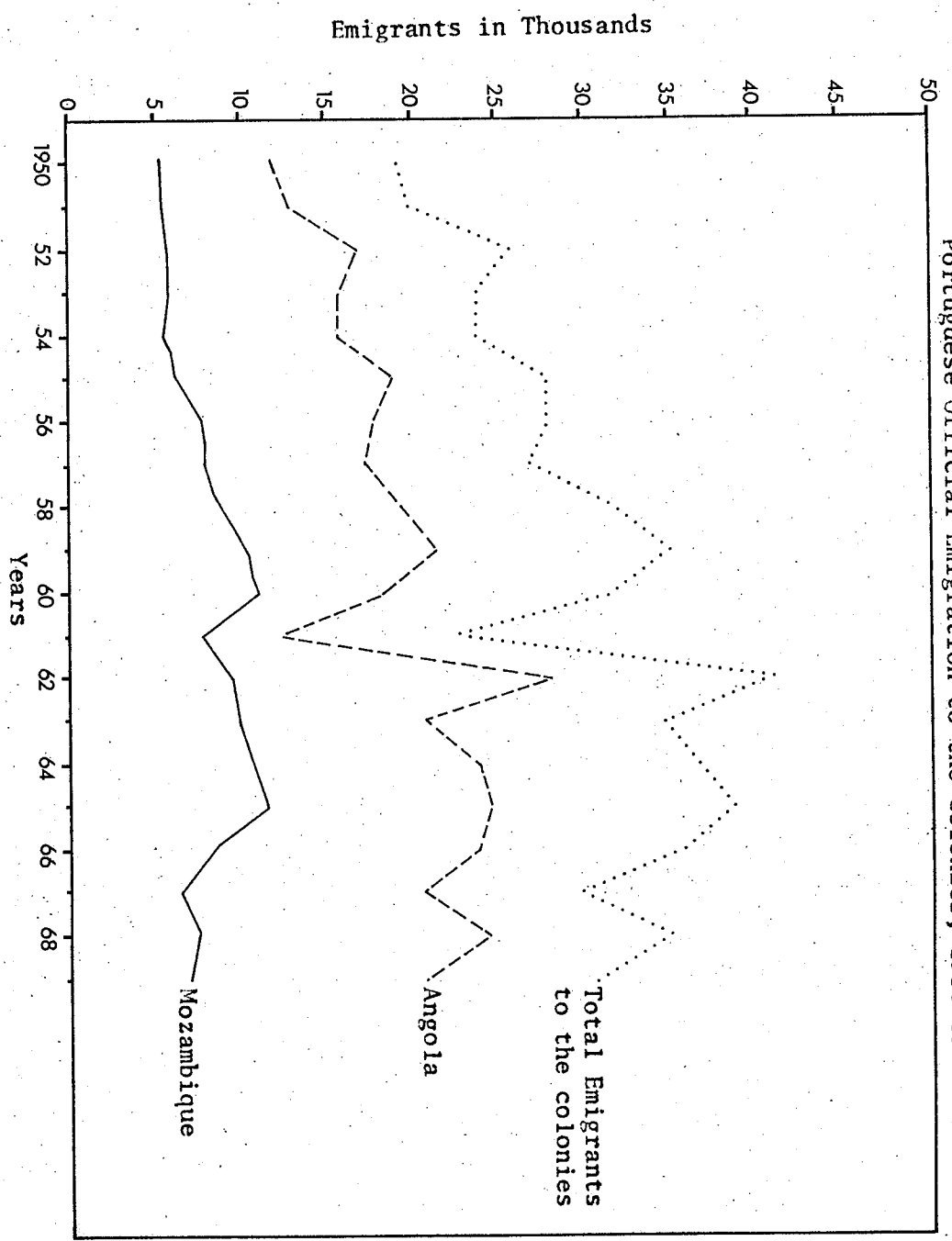
Figure 3.1 shows that since the 1950's Portuguese overseas emigration has gradually been on the increase. However, the uprising in Angola in 1961 sharply reduced the number of prospective emigrants; and with the intensification of guerrilla activity in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau in later years, the number of emigrants to the colonies progressively continued to decline.

The policies of forced labour and depressed living conditions of native population are also important factors in reaction to, and

⁵E.S. Ferreira, "The Present Role of the Portuguese Resettlement Policy", Africa Today, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1974, p. 51.

⁶Contribution of Hermes de Araujo Oliveira at the "Congress For Land Settlement Policy and Social Progress", Luanda, 1970, Quoted in Ibid, p. 55.

Figure 3.1
Portuguese Official Emigration to the Colonies, 1950-69



Source: E.S. Ferreira, "The Present role of the Portuguese resettlement policy",
Africa Today, Vol. 21, No. 1, Winter, 1974:50.

subsequent armed conflict against, Portuguese administration. Such labour policies have often resulted in out-migration of the working age-group to neighbouring countries such as Zaire, Zambia, Tanzania, Rhodesia and Senegal⁷. It was in this environment which led to the conviction among various nationalist groups that only organized violence could make Portugal relinquish her territorial claims in Africa.

From within, the motive of Portuguese administration was to promote regrouped rural settlements to facilitate an effective counter-measure to the spread of liberation movements in her colonies, rather than for improvement of socio-economic conditions of rural population. These rural settlements, also known as aldeamentos or strategic hamlets, are defined as "villages of regrouped Africans in the War Zones"⁸. During the fighting, the living conditions and concentration of aldeamentos varied according to distance from the War Zone. Areas of intense fighting, as in the north, experienced more aldeamento concentration and generally physical and psychological stress than areas outside the War Zone⁹. This process of shifting of villages and changes in village life have led to continuous flow of rural population to neighbouring countries.

The first challenge to Portuguese administration came from northern Angola in 1961, which resulted in an exodus of about 151,000 refugees. Since then, the opening up of new fronts in the east and

⁷K.W. Grundy, Guerrilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971), p. 93.

⁸B.F. Jundanian, "Resettlement Programs: Counterinsurgency in Mozambique", Comparative Politics, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1974, p. 520.

⁹Ibid, p. 523.

south of Angola as well as the revolts in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, intensified Portugal's military involvement in Africa, with the consequent escalation of number of refugees. Whereas the conflict in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau concluded with Portugal's withdrawal, in the case of Angola, the subsequent civil war following Portugal's withdrawal, further added to the flow of refugees from that country.

Zaire.

On independence, Zaire (the former Democratic Republic of the Congo), like many other emergent African states, was a center of crisis. Secessionist movements and revolutionary warfare rapidly followed independence. The underlying factors of political unrest were ethnic and regional rivalries resulting from the political vacuum created by the sudden Belgian withdrawal from the territory in 1960. But equally important was foreign intervention in the area, which further escalated the rebellion¹⁰.

Independence in Zaire was sudden and untimely. At the beginning of 1960, the Belgian Administration still hoped to outline a program for gradual transfer of power to the local people. On this basis, the Belgian government made no preparations for independence in the form of education or training of personnel. The nature of this policy was summarized by Gordon as:

¹⁰Estimates indicate that about 500 mercenaries participated in the War as well as air support from the United States and Belgian military advisors. See C.W. Anderson, Issues of Political Development (Englewood, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 136.

"The administration of the Belgian Congo, its public and technical services, were run almost exclusively by Europeans. Very few Congolese held positions of executive and operational responsibility. By 1958 no more than 100,000 Congolese... were attending secondary or vocational training schools. Until 1956, there was no university in the Congo, and in 1960 there was only 17 university graduates who had received an education in Europe"¹¹.

Under these circumstances and as a result of political pressures for independence from African nationalists, the Belgian policy was suddenly changed to one of granting independence¹². The immediate outcome of this change in policy was a series of mutinies and secessionist movements, particularly in Katanga province (now Shaba). However, with the collapse of these movements in 1964, a new guerrilla force emerged, the objective of which was to achieve a 'second independence'¹³.

Anderson summarized the root causes of the 1964-65 mass uprising as:

"... the decline of material well-being of most areas, both urban and rural, since 1960, combined with the gross inequities in distribution of the rewards of independence, has produced a social polarisation between 'intellectuals' and 'mass'"¹⁴.

The widespread social and economic grievances over the country since 1960 were key factors for uprising. But, on the other hand, the perception of maldistribution of the fruits of independence differed markedly from one ethnic group to the other and from region to region.

¹¹K. Gordon, The United Nations in the Congo -- A Quest for Peace (United Nations: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1962), pp. 9-10.

¹²From the time of change in Belgian Policy in January 1960 to independence (30th June 1960), the process took less than half a year.

¹³C.W. Anderson, et.al., op. cit., p. 124.

¹⁴Ibid, p. 125.

Some groups or regions felt more deprived than others.

At the regional level, the sense of deprivation, relative to others was pronounced in Kwilu province as reflected in the following remarks:

"Before independence, we dreamed that it would bring us masses of marvellous things. ...But here it is more than two years that we have been waiting, and nothing has come... on the contrary, our life is more difficult, we are more poor than before"¹⁵.

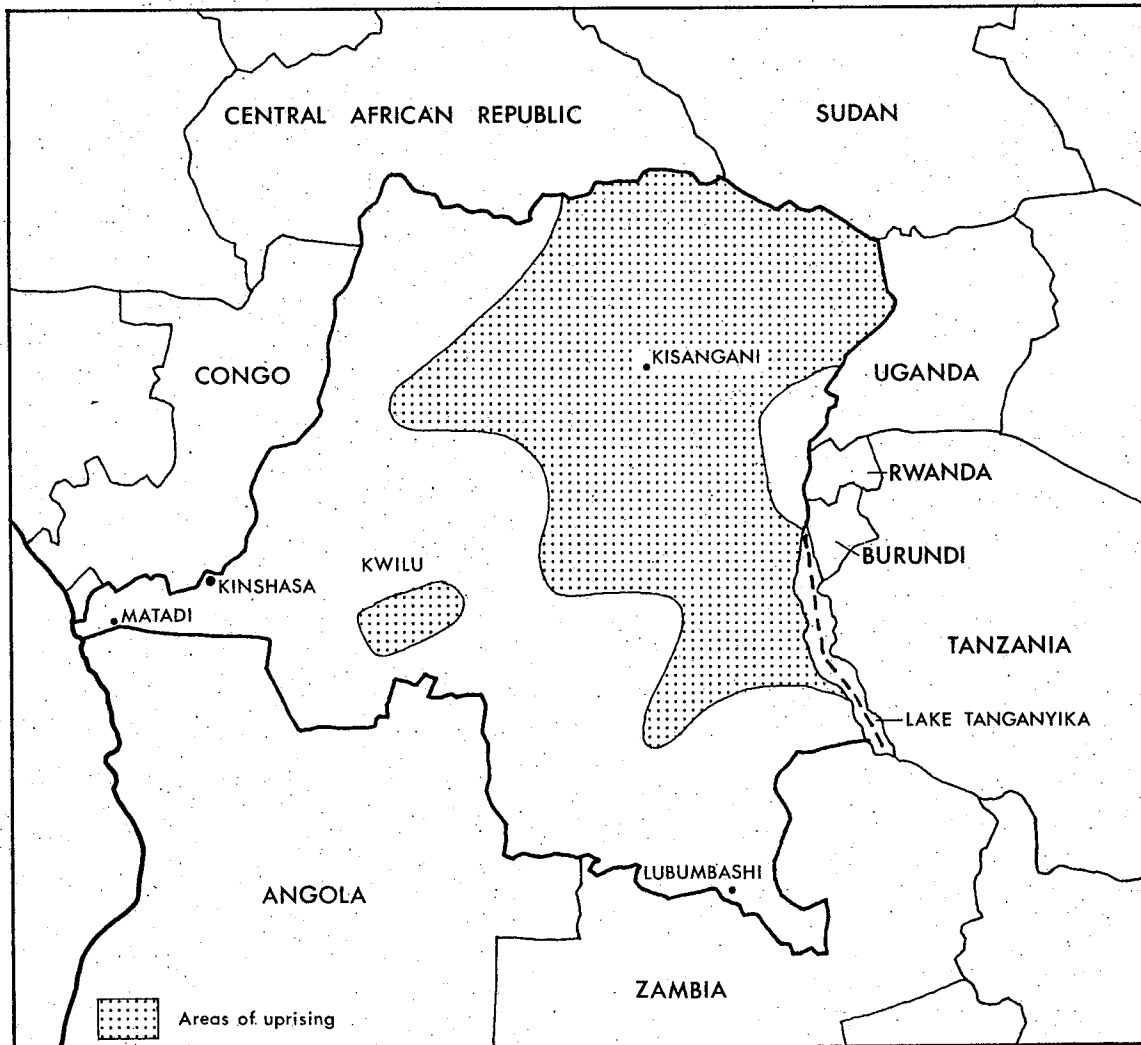
These remarks were indicative of the disappointments and disillusionment of many Zaireans, and of people in Kwilu province in particular. They considered themselves worse off than they had been on independence. These factors were the basis of the rebellion. Kwilu province was the starting point of the uprising which was to spread to virtually all other provinces in the east and northeast of Zaire (See Figure 3.2).

The number of persons displaced during the rebellion is unknown. However, most of the movement was first internal. In later years, the movement was directed to neighbouring countries particularly Sudan, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Central African Republic. In 1972, these countries had a total of 43,800 Zairean refugees within their boundaries.

¹⁵Fox, et.al., "The Second Independence -- A Case Study of the Kwilu Rebellion in the Congo", Comparative Studies in Society and History, October 1965, Quoted in Catherine Hoskyns, Case Studies in African Diplomacy, No. 1: The O.A.U. and the Congo Crisis, 1964-65 (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 1.

Figure 3.2

Zaire in 1964



Source: Adapted from C.W. Anderson, F.R. VonDerMehden & C. Young.
Issues of Political Development, 1967: 121.

Summary

The current refugee problem in African countries dates back to the period of independence, mainly in the 1960's. Due to the marked differences in colonial policies in African territories, independence took various forms from one country to the other. Whereas the transition to independence was peaceful in some areas, others experienced civil and political disturbances. It is the latter group of countries which have generated about 50% of Africa's refugees. Some dissatisfied areas attempted secession, while in others, traditional grievances gained root.

Elsewhere in Africa, political and racial discrimination in Southern Africa as well as Portuguese long-term colonial policy in her African territories have been responsible for the other 50% of Africa's refugee population.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AFRICAN REFUGEE MIGRATION

This chapter discusses the various problems concerning the nature of African refugee migration and their characteristics. Emphasis is placed on the increasing numbers of refugees over the years and the impact of refugee migration on the areas of origin and asylum and as well as problems of adjustment to the new environment. A background study to the relationships between refugees and areas of origin and asylum is also discussed.

An attempt is then made to distinguish the major patterns of refugee flows, whether the movements are one-way or two-way. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of existing or potential boundary problems due to the proximity of large numbers of refugees in frontier areas.

The Magnitude of the Problem

Africa's refugee problem is recent. Until the 1960's Africa did not experience any large-scale refugee movements. Since then, however, wave after wave of African refugees has drawn the attention of international concern to Africa¹. This period was also significant

¹R.O. Matthews, op. cit., p. 63.

because it coincided with the maximum period of decolonisation of African states and emergence of liberation movements in Southern Africa and former Portuguese territories of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. As shown in Figure 4.1, between 1960-1970, more than 30 states became independent including Equatorial Guinea and Mauritius.

The emergence of new states and internal adjustments to independence that followed, have been responsible for much of the refugee movements that have since occurred in Africa. In 1964, an estimated 400,000 refugees were in various countries of asylum. This figure was doubled by 1968 and it rapidly increased to one million refugees in later years. Table 4.1 and Figure 4.2 show the increase of refugees over the years and the main refugee groups in Africa.

Also of concern has been the unevenness in the distribution of refugees. At the 1967 Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problem it was emphasized that:

"When an African state finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, other African states shall consider, in a spirit of African solidarity and international co-operation, appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the African state granting asylum"².

However, this spirit of brotherhood and co-operation has not been extended beyond that point. Of all the African states, only 12 shoulder the responsibility of over one million refugees on the continent. Also, among these states, there is a considerably wide range of variation in the burden they bear. In 1973, for example, about 76% of African refugees were in Zaire, Uganda and Tanzania, and Zaire alone

²Economic Commission for Africa, AFR/REF/CONF. 1967/ No. 3, Quoted in H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty, (eds.), op. cit., Appendix II, pp. 251-52.

Figure 4.1

The Political Map of Africa

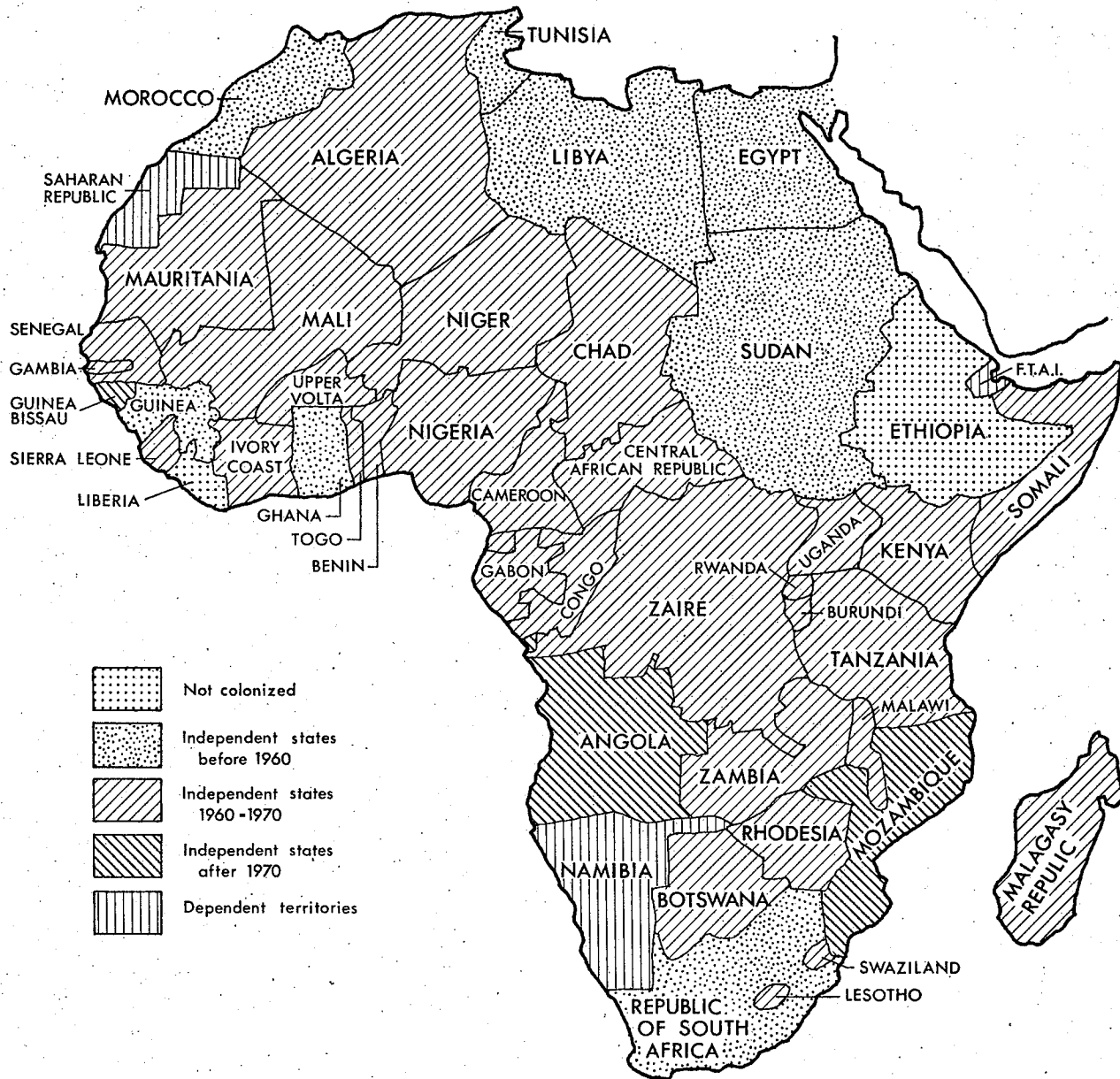


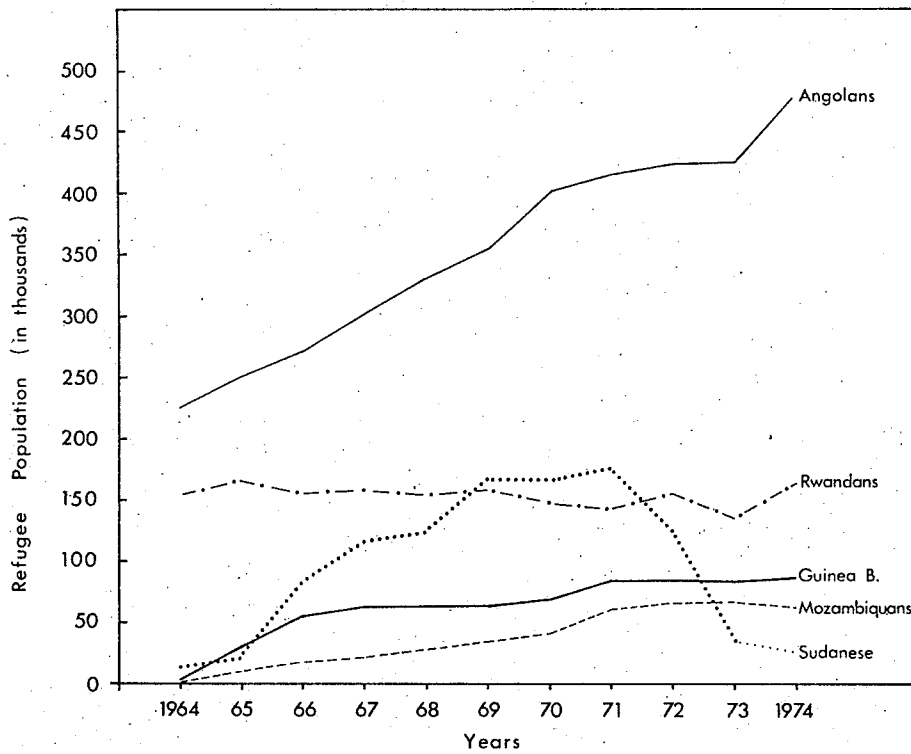
Table 4.1
Major Refugee Groups in Africa, 1964-74
(in thousands)

Year Country of Origin	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
All Africa	400	535	625	735	835	950	1,004	1,004.4	1,018	1,003.6	1,069.8
Angola	225	250	270.1	303.8	330	381	400	413	421	436	477
Guinea-Bissau	6	30	51	61	63	57.5	68.4	68	82	84	86.5
Mozambique	n.a.	10	17	20.8	25	31.4	40	60	64.4	61	80.6
Rwanda	154	166.5	155.5	159.5	n.a.	145	145.5	154	152	147	208.2
Sudan	13	20.3	83.5	115	121	156	166.5	178.5	128.4	n.a.	n.a.
Zaire	n.a.	58.7	47	74.8	n.a.	67.2	n.a.	55	43.8	n.a.	38.9

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 4.2

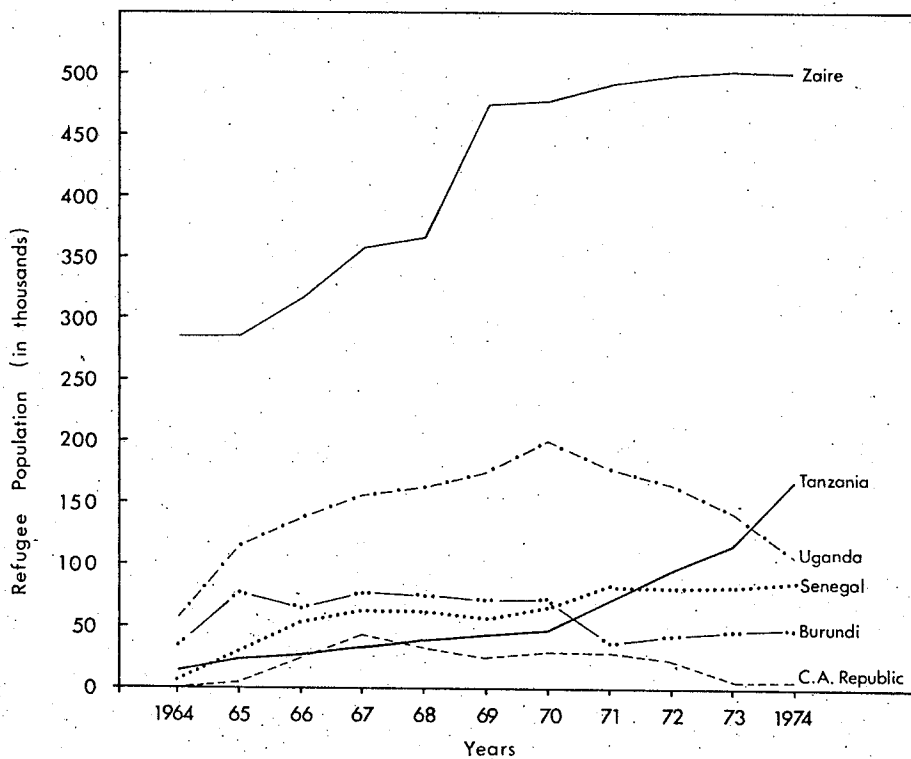
THE MAIN REFUGEE GROUPS IN AFRICA: 1964-1974



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 4.3

REFUGEE POPULATIONS IN THE MAIN COUNTRIES OF ASYLUM: 1964-1974



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

had 50% of all refugees in Africa. As shown in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3, the major countries of asylum are Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania.

The uneven distribution of refugees in countries of asylum can also be shown by expressing the number of refugees as proportion of national population of the host country. As indicated in Table 4.3, the highest concentration of refugees are found in Zaire, Senegal, Uganda, and the Central African Republic.

Refugee Migration: Spatial Relationships

For the purposes of this thesis, refugee migration analysis is based on four main factors, namely, the characteristics of refugees; refugees and area of origin; refugees and area of asylum; and the interrelationships between the areas of origin and asylum, and refugee population.

Refugee Characteristics.

On the basis of their backgrounds, African refugees fall generally into two categories. Firstly are the rural refugees with little or no educational background, who fled their homeland as a result of ethnic conflicts or instability in rural areas. Secondly, the relatively small number of urban and semi-urban refugees who left their countries of origin due to political or racial intolerance. However, most African refugees fall within the first category of rural refugees.

As a consequence of the lack of skills and education and the fact that the same ethnic groups generally occupy either side of most African international boundaries, rural refugee migrations are generally short-distance moves. In relation to the distance travelled by

Table 4.2

Main Countries of Asylum, 1964-74
(in thousands)

Year Country of Asylum	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Africa	400	535	625	735	835	950	1,004	1,004.4	1,018	1,003.6	1,069.8
Burundi	34	78	65	79	n.a.	72	72	46	42	49	48.5
Central African Republic	n.a.	3.3	20.5	43	n.a.	28	30	23	22	5	5
Senegal	6	30	51	61	n.a.	57.5	66	68	82	84	86.5
Sudan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	28.6	38.3	38	37	57	51	53.5
Tanzania	12	25	28.5	33.3	n.a.	44.5	46	55	98	168	195
Uganda	59	113	137	156	163	173	200	175	166.5	114	112.5
Zaire	287	323	317	357	414	475	475	490	490	460	500
Zambia	n.a.	n.a.	5.6	5.6	n.a.	13	11	13	25	36	40

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 4.3

Refugee Populations in Main Countries of Asylum, 1972

Country of Asylum	Estimated Total National Population (in millions)	Refugee Population (in thousands)	Refugee Population Per Thousand National Population
Zaire	22.91	490	21.00
Senegal	4.12	82	20.00
Uganda	10.46	166	16.00
Central African Republic	N.A.	22	--
Burundi	3.40	42	12.00
Botswana	0.63	4.5	7.00
Tanzania	14.00	98	7.00
Zambia	4.42	25	6.00
Sudan	16.49	57	4.00
Ethiopia	25.66	16	0.60
Kenya	12.07	2.5	0.20

Sources: United Nations, United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1974, pp. 101-02.

N. Rubin, "Africa and Refugees", African Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 292, 1974, p. 301.

refugees, and which also applies to freewill movement, certain variables are of considerable importance. Ole Gade has pointed out that the distance travelled by migrants is directly related to educational achievement, skill and ambition³. This is particularly true with refugees from Southern Africa. Due to their generally higher educational achievement, these refugees are able to travel long distances within Africa as well as to overseas countries in search of job opportunities and advancement of their education.

The distance travelled also regulates the volume of refugee flows. Some general observations of African refugee migration indicate that the volume of refugee migration is inversely related to distance travelled. That is, the shorter the distance the greater the volume of refugee flows, and the converse is true. Refugees from rural backgrounds usually flee in thousands and in some cases entire areas may be uprooted and local population forced to seek refuge in neighbouring countries. The uprooting of the Bakongo in northern Angola, Makonde in northern Mozambique, and border ethnic groups in Southern Sudan, are illustrations of this. Urban refugees on the other hand, flee in small numbers or as individuals, which is a reflection of pre-determined path of migration and due to the distance factor involved.

Refugees and Area of Origin.

Mass exodus of refugees from an area may have serious demographic and socio-economic repercussions on the area of origin. Such effects

³O. Gade, "Geographic Research and Human Spatial Interaction Theory: A Review of Pertinent Studies in Migration", in R.F. Spencer, (ed), Migration and Anthropology, Proceedings of the 1970 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 1970, p. 73.

are generally felt in areas where rural depopulation is of a large scale. These demographic and socio-economic imbalances include the relative decline in fertility rate; decline in population growth and socio-economic services; and stagnation in general development. However, the impact of refugee emigration on source areas varies from country to country and from region to region within a single country according to the intensity of guerrilla activity and population density in the area.

In northern Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and in Equatoria Province in Southern Sudan where counter-guerrilla activity measures were most intensive, for example, certain regions and towns were completely deserted by local peoples who sought asylum in neighbouring countries. This was particularly true in Equatoria Province in the Sudan where some of the towns bordering Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Ethiopia, and the Central African Republic were totally depopulated during 1965⁴. As indicated in Table 4.4, these towns only started to regain their populations after 1969⁵, with the passing of amnesty law for those who wanted to return to their places of origin.

The scale of refugee exodus and how it might affect the area of origin can be appreciated by expressing the number of refugees as percentage of total population of respective countries of origin. As shown in Table 4.5, refugees from Guinea Bissau constituted about 10.4% of her population in 1973, and since 1964, the Angolan refugees have increased from 4.4% to 7% in 1973.

⁴J.U. Garang, A Revolution in Action, No. 2 - Regional Autonomy for the South (Khartoum: Government Printing Press, 1970), pp. 22-3.

⁵On 9th June 1969, President Nimeri declared the new policy of regional autonomy for the Southern Provinces of the Sudan and as well as amnesty law for those who have been engaged in fighting or have fled the country to return to their homes.

Table 4.4

Impact of Refugee Flows on Source Area,
Equatoria Province, Sudan

Name of Town	P o p u l a t i o n E s t i m a t e s		
	1963	1965 (Sept.)	1969 (Dec.)
Juba	18,000	7,000	65,000
Maridi	4,000	29	15,000
Nzara	5,000	200	9,000
Tambura	2,000	110	15,000
Torit	3,000	0	11,000
Yambio	2,500	0	8,000
Yei	3,000	0	8,000

Source: J.U. Garang, A Revolution in Action, No. 2 -- Regional
Autonomy for the South (Khartoum: Government Printing
Press, 1970), p. 30.

Main Refugee Groups in Africa as Percentage of
Total Population of Countries of Origin, 1964-73

Table 4.5

Country of Origin	Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Angola		4.4	4.9	5.2	5.7	6.2	7.0	n.a.	7.2	7.3	n.a.
Guinea Bissau		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	8.9	10.9	10.4
Mozambique		n.a.	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	n.a.	0.7	0.8	0.7
Rwanda		5.1	5.3	4.8	4.7	n.a.	3.5	n.a.	3.8	3.9	3.4
Sudan		0.1	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.8	n.a.
Zaire		n.a.	0.3	0.3	0.4	n.a.	0.3	n.a.	0.2	0.2	0.2

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Refugees and Area of Asylum.

As in economically-motivated migration, refugee exodus may have serious effects on the area of asylum. These problems mainly relate to the increased burden on economic and social services, and infrastructural facilities. The main stream of refugee migrations in Africa are from rural to rural. Related to this is the fact that the areas of asylum depend on subsistence economies which cannot, to any considerable extent, absorb an increasingly large number of refugees without international assistance. However, the impact of refugee influx varies from country to country, and from one region to another within a single country.

The main countries of asylum include Zaire, Uganda, Senegal, Burundi, Sudan and Tanzania. Zaire alone hosts about 50% of the total number of refugees in Africa, most of whom are Angolan refugees (see Table 4.6). Expressed as percentage of the total national population, Zaire had in 1969 about 2.3% of her population registered as refugees from neighbouring states. The most affected region of influx is Bas-Zaire in the south where an estimate of over 400,000 Angolan refugees are settled. As shown in Table 4.7, other largely affected states are Uganda and Burundi. Their share of refugees ranges from 1.1 - 2.4%.

The Process of Adjustment.

Adjustment to the new environment is one of the difficult problems in a refugee's life. It can be either negative or positive. A negative or positive outcome of this process is, however, dependent on a number of variables including the willingness of refugees to change their way of life, the attitude of the host society, the size

Table 4.6
Main Countries of Asylum: Number of Refugees as
Percentage of Total Number of Refugees, 1964-73

Country of Asylum	Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Africa	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Burundi	8.5	14.6	10.4	10.7	n.a.	7.6	7.2	4.6	4.1	4.9	
Central African Republic	n.a.	.06	3.3	5.9	n.a.	2.9	3.0	2.3	2.2	n.a.	
Senegal	1.5	5.6	8.2	8.3	n.a.	6.1	6.6	6.8	8.1	8.2	
Sudan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3.4	4.0	3.8	3.7	5.6	6.1	
Tanzania	3.0	4.7	4.6	4.5	n.a.	4.7	4.6	5.5	9.6	11.8	
Uganda	14.8	21.1	21.9	21.2	19.5	18.2	19.9	17.2	16.4	14.4	
Zaire	71.8	60.4	50.7	48.6	49.6	50.0	47.3	48.8	48.1	50.3	
Zambia	n.a.	n.a.	0.8	0.8	n.a.	1.4	1.1	1.3	2.5	2.5	

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 4.7

Main Countries of Asylum: Number of Refugees as
Percentage of Total National Population, 1964-73

Country of asylum	Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Burundi		1.1	2.4	2.0	2.4	n.a.	2.1	2.0	1.3	1.2	1.4
Central African Republic		n.a.	0.2	1.4	2.9	n.a.	1.8	1.9	1.4	n.a.	n.a.
Senegal		0.2	0.9	1.4	1.7	n.a.	1.5	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.9
Sudan		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4
Tanzania		0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	n.a.	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.8
Uganda		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.8	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.3
Zaire		1.7	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1
Zambia		n.a.	n.a.	0.1	0.1	n.a.	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.5

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

and homogeneity of the refugee group, as well as the cultural proximity of refugees to the recipient population⁶. The willingness of refugees to adjust to the new setting plays an important role in its success. It is mainly dependent on the extent to which refugees perceive the country of asylum as a permanent place of abode. Some refugees for example, use the host country as a temporary refuge until they are able to return to their home country or migrate to a third state. In this case, little effort is made to adapt to the new environment which results in either superficial adaptation or failure to adapt (see Figure 4.4).

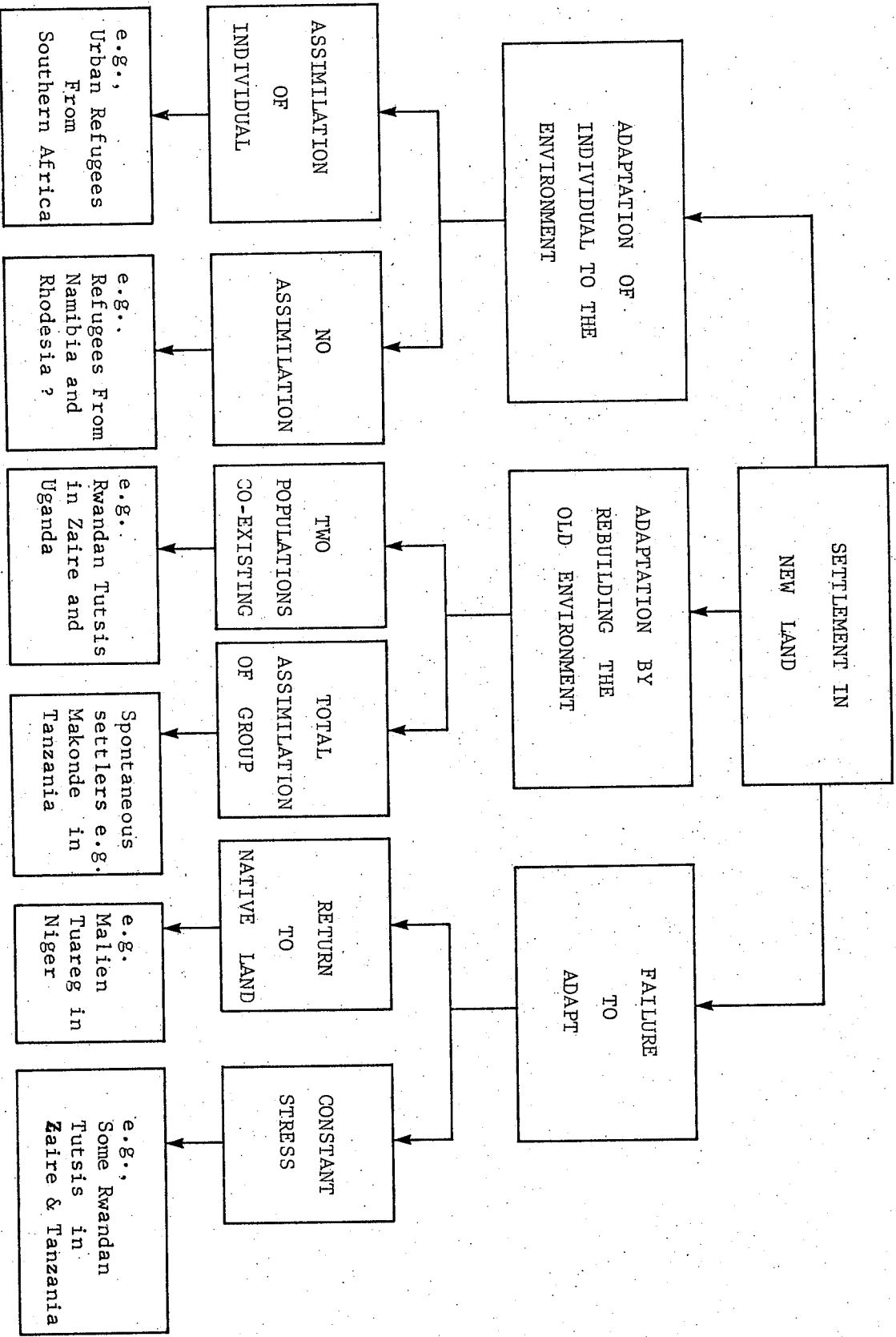
This was typical of some of the Rwandan Tutsis in neighbouring countries, particularly Burundi and Tanzania who, initially rejected settlement on a permanent basis in the hope of a successful counter-coup in their home country. Along the same line of thinking, most of the Malien Tuareg refugees in Niger also "viewed the process of sedentarisation as temporary and undesirable and expect to return to Mali once they are convinced that the drought is really over and they have the means to rebuild their herds"⁷. For the Tutsis, there is a dedication to restore the Mwami (the Tutsi King), and for the Tuareg, the cultural heritage of the nomadic way of life is deeply rooted in them -- the Tuareg regard sedentary populations as inferior. Unlike these refugee groups with little or no education, adjustment occurs with

⁶J.T. Shuval, "Refugees -- Adjustment and Assimilation", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, 1968, pp. 375-76.

⁷V.D. DuBois, "The Drought in Niger, Part IV -- The New Refugee Camp at Lazaret", Fieldstaff Reports, West Africa Series, Vol. 15, No. 7, 1974, p. 5.

Figure 4.4

Forms of Adaptation of Migrant Population



Adapted from Alfred Sauvy, General Theory of Population, (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd., 1969) p. 462.

relative ease for those who have skills and education. This was generally the case in postwar Europe, and for Hungarian refugees who fled their country during the 1956-7 revolution, Ugandan Asians, Czechoslovakian, Chilean, and Vietnamese refugees who were resettled in Europe and North America. In Africa, refugees with such skills and education constitute only a small proportion of the total refugee population, most of whom originate from Southern Africa.

The attitude of the host country toward refugees is also important in determining their level of adjustment. A favourable response to refugee influx is when, for example, there are labour shortages, and therefore, refugees are considered as assets to the country. This was the case in Canada, United States, and Australia after World War II. Also, adaptation of refugees to their new environment was facilitated by cultural proximity to the countries of resettlement.

Most African states are, on the other hand, of diversified populations, some of which have traditional grievances. With few employment or educational opportunities in the host countries, large influxes of refugees can become a source of irritation and concern to both government authorities and local populations. Such resentment has been felt, for example, by the local people in north-eastern Zaire toward the Tutsi refugees from Rwanda to whom they are not related; in Qala en Nahal area in the Sudan toward the mass influx of Eritrean refugees; and in Niamey toward the Malien Tuareg. In Niamey, the resentment of the Tuareg, particularly by the Hausa and Djerma, stems from the "realization that Tuareg competition for the few jobs and social services available in Niamey threatened the local people"⁸.

⁸V.D. DuBois, "The Drought in Niger, Part III: The Flight of the Malien Tuareg", Fieldstaff Reports, West Africa Series, Vol. 15, No. 6, 1974, p. 5.

The size and homogeneity of a refugee community in relation to both national population and local population in the area of influx affect the level of adjustment. In areas where refugees are proportionately small and heterogeneous, their absorption can be with relative ease. On the other hand, the influx of a large and homogeneous refugee community may result in the revival of old environment in the host country. This is generally the case in Africa where refugees migrate to areas where they settle among local populations with the same ethnic or linguistic background. For example, the Bakongo from northern Angola to southern Zaire; the Makonde from northern Mozambique to Southern Tanzania; the Hutus from Burundi to Rwanda; or the Tutsis from Rwanda to Burundi. In other instances where refugees are not ethnically or linguistically related to the indigenous population, large influxes of refugees may also result in rebuilding of old environment in the host country. But unlike the former case where refugees are generally assimilated into the local population, the adjustment of the latter leads to a co-existence of two or more distinct populations. This is the case with some of the Rwandan Tutsis in Zaire, Uganda, or Tanzania.

The co-existence of populations is also reinforced by the homogeneity of a refugee group, which in turn affects the rapidity with which a given refugee population will lose its group identity. In most African countries of asylum, refugees have come from either one linguistic area or ethnic background. Furthermore, most refugees originate from rural background where tradition and familial ties are still strong and, hence, the loss of group identity.

Interrelationships Between Refugee Populations and Areas of Origin and Asylum.

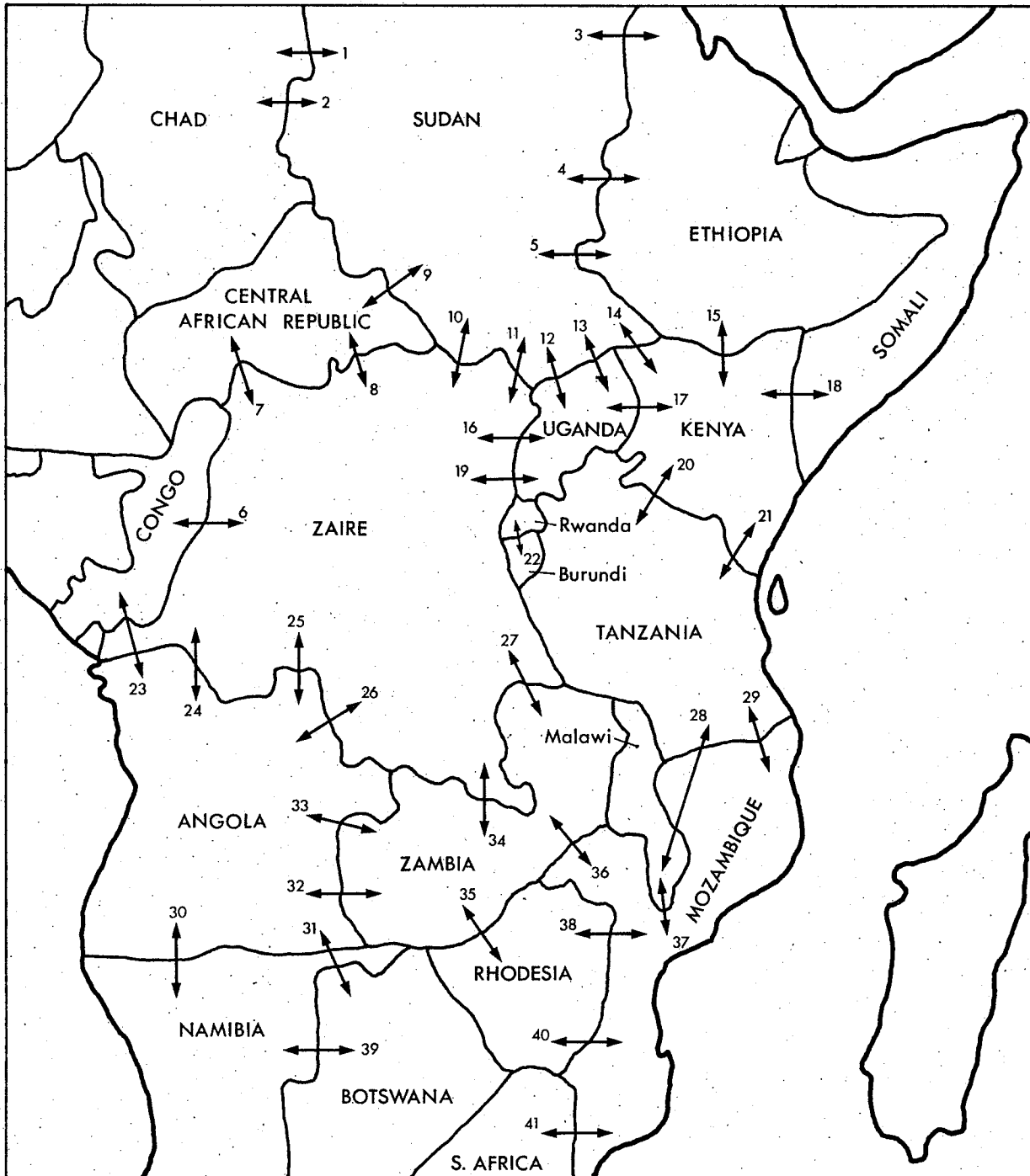
The objective is to examine the interrelationships, be they economic, ethnic, cultural, political or historical, that exist between refugees and their respective areas of origin and asylum. In most cases in Africa, areas of refugee origin and asylum share common historical antecedents. Prior to the partition of Africa, most ethnic lands, territories and local kingdoms extended over vast lands of what are today's sovereign states. As shown in Figure 4.5, the partition of the continent by European colonial powers and evolution of modern African political boundaries, not only divided ethnic groups and their lands, but also their economic and political patterns.

In the case of Rwanda and Burundi, for example, the populations of each country is composed of the three ethnic groups, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, which exist in the proportions of approximately 85, 14, and 1% respectively. The contemporary political boundaries in no way reflect their ethnic territories, nor do they have any historical basis. Similarly, as Figure 4.5 shows, there are innumerable cases where ethnic territories are divided by modern boundaries. For example, the Zande in Sudan, Zaire and Central African Republic; the Acholi and Madi in Sudan and Uganda; the Makonde in Mozambique and Tanzania; the Mbunda in Angola and Zambia; or the Bakongo in Angola and Zaire.

However, in recognition of such traditional and historical patterns, attempts were sometimes made by the respective colonial powers to avoid problems that might be encountered, particularly with regard to grazing lands and water supply. In the Anglo-French Agreement on the division of Somaliland, for example, it was stated that:

Figure 4.5

Ethnic Territories and International Political Boundaries in Tropical Africa



Source: Adapted from K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero, (eds.). Essays on African Population (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1961), pp. 312-13.

N.B. Refer to the following page for list of ethnic groups.

List of Ethnic Groups for Figure 4.5

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Zaghawa | 22. Tutsi, Hutu, Twa |
| 2. Masalit | 23. Yombe |
| 3. Beni Amer | 24. Kongo |
| 4. Berta | 25. Chokwe |
| 5. Nuer, Anuak | 26. Lunda |
| 6. Bangi | 27. Tabwa |
| 7. Banziri | 28. Yao |
| 8. Azande | 29. Makonde |
| 9. Ndogo | 30. Ambo |
| 10. Azande | 31. Mbukushu |
| 11. Mundu | 32. Mbunda |
| 12. Madi | 33. Luval |
| 13. Acholi | 34. Lamba |
| 14. Turkana | 35. Nyanja |
| 15. Western Somali | 36. Kunda, Nyanja |
| 16. Nyoro | 37. Zimba |
| 17. Karamojong | 38. Tawara |
| 18. Boran | 39. Kung |
| 19. Nkole | 40. Hlengwe |
| 20. Masai | 41. Thonga |
| 21. Digo | |

"The subjects of both parties are at liberty to cross frontiers and graze their cattle, but whenever they go they must obey the Governor of the country where they are, and the wells remain open for both countries"⁹.

In another agreement concerning the international boundary between Ghana and neighbouring countries it was provided that:

"The villages near the frontier shall retain the right to use the arable and pasture lands, springs and watering places which they have heretofore used..."¹⁰.

Hence, with respect to contemporary refugee migration, the displacement of refugees has frequently followed traditional and historical paths of movement that existed prior to and during colonial administration.

Patterns of Refugee Migrations in Africa

Refugee migrations in Africa are distinctive from most other refugee flows. This distinctiveness results from the causes of the problem, the nature and characteristics of the refugees, and pattern of their movements (as previously discussed). Political factors have generally been responsible for the exodus of a large proportion of refugees in Africa, but in some instances, these factors are interwoven with ethnic and racial considerations, religious persecution, and as well as economic motivations, which further complicates any meaningful classification¹¹. The objective here is to identify the various

⁹K.M. Barbour, "A Geographical Analysis of Boundaries in Inter-Tropical Africa", in K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero, (eds.), *Essays on African Population* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), p. 311, Quoting E. Hertslet, The Map of Africa by Treaty, Vol. 2, 1909, p. 429.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 311, 314.

¹¹W.A. Hance, Population, Migration and Urbanisation in Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 182.

patterns of movements emerging from refugee flows on the basis of countries of origin and countries of asylum. Three patterns of movement are distinguished. These are: --

Refugee-producing countries or countries of refugee out-flow;

Refugee-receiving countries or countries of refugee in-flow;

and

Refugee-producing and -receiving countries or countries of refugee out-flow and in-flow (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7).

Main Countries of Refugee Out-Flow.

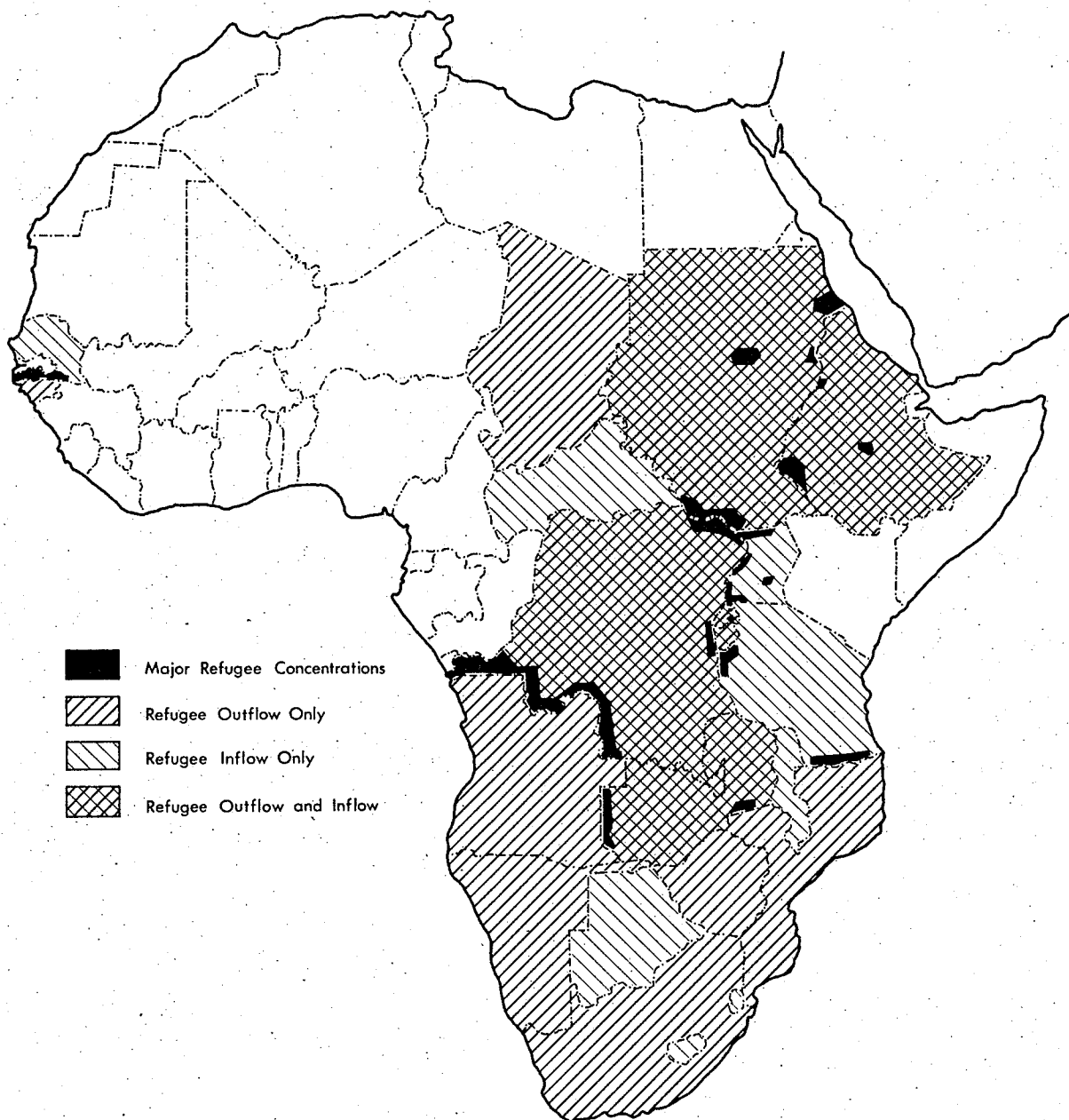
These countries are principally source areas of refugees and do not at the same time serve as countries of asylum for any considerably large number of refugees. In this group of countries are Rhodesia, South Africa,¹² Namibia, Chad, and formerly Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. The emergence of refugee problems in these states is associated with racial and political repression on the one hand and revolts against Portuguese administration, on the other.

- (a) Angola. The flight from Portuguese territories was not considerably large prior to 1961, when struggle against Portuguese rule was ignited by revolts in northern Angola. The counter-measures imposed by the government resulted, at the end of the year, in the flight of 151,000 refugees into southern Zaire¹³. In 1967

¹²The Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia are among refugee producing countries. But at the same time, they receive a considerably large number of economic refugees from Mozambique. However, although their flight is economically-motivated, other considerations of political nature, such as forced labour laws, have equally played an important role in their flight.

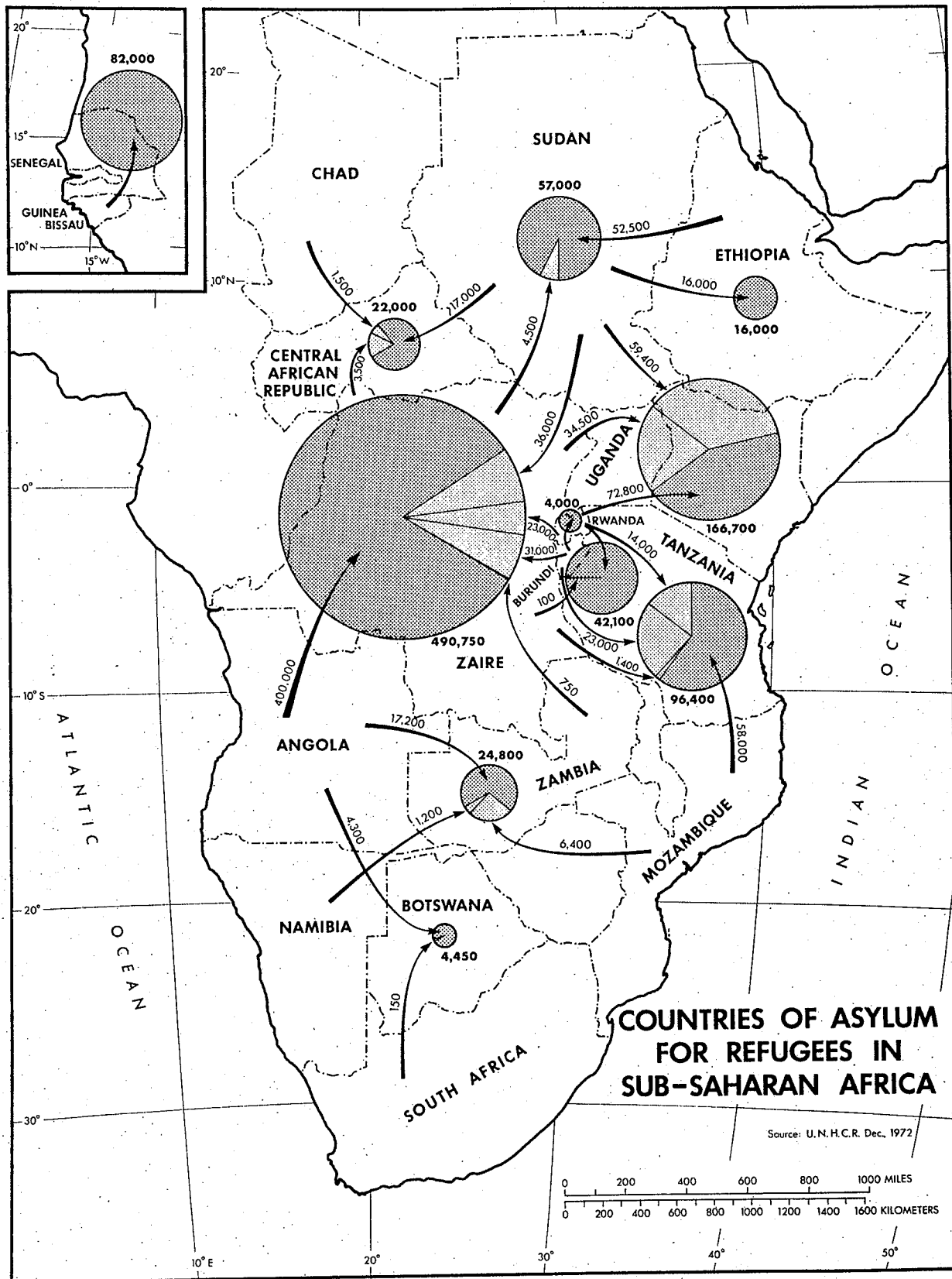
¹³L.W. Holborn (1975), op. cit., p. 1048.

Figure 4.6
PRINCIPAL AREAS OF REFUGEE CONCENTRATION



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 4.7



Source: J.R. Rogge, "A Geography of Refugees: Some Illustrations from Africa", (in Press), 1975.

the number of Angolan refugees in Zaire was doubled and three years later it increased to 400,000. Most of them came from the Bakongo ethnic group which stretches across from northern Angola to southern Zaire. In 1974, the total number of Angolan refugees in Zaire was estimated at 450,000. Following the rebellion in northern Angola, liberation movement rapidly gained foot in other parts of the country, first in the east and then the south. The opening up of an eastern front in 1966 resulted in the exodus of 3,000 refugees to Zambia. These were mainly from the Mbunda and Luval people who occupy the fringes of the Angolan-Zambian border (see Figure 4.5). By 1970 the total number of Angolan refugees in Zambia was estimated at 8,000 and had multiplied three-fold to 25,000 in 1974. In 1968, a further flow of refugees occurred with the opening up of a southern front. An estimated 2,500 refugees from Ambo and Mbukushu ethnic groups crossed into north-west Botswana, whose populations cover the entire area from south-east Angola across Caprivi Strip and into north-west Botswana. The number of refugees in Botswana increased over the years but levelled off at about 4,500 in 1974.

- (b) Guinea Bissau. In Guinea Bissau, guerrilla activity commenced during 1962. However, initial opposition to the Portuguese administration originated in the early 1950's, and was responsible for the first, albeit small, refugee flow. The main trend of migration was northward, to Casamance province of Senegal, where refugees are related to the local peoples, namely the Balante, Malinke and Fula. By mid-1965 an estimated 30,000 refugees from

Guinea Bissau were in Senegal. This figure was to be more than double by 1970, and by 1974 it rose to 86,500.

- (c) Mozambique. Armed struggle against Portugal started in northern Mozambique in 1964. Consequently, about 10,000 refugees, mainly from Makonde ethnic group crossed to southern Tanzania. By 1973 the number of Mozambican refugees in Tanzania had increased to 51,000 and to 70,600 by 1974. The subsequent expansion of the war into other parts of the country led to an exodus of 1,000 refugees from the Kundu and Nyanja people into Zambia in 1965, and about 6,000 refugees from the Yao ethnic group into Tanzania in the following year. In 1974 there was a total of 10,000 Mozambican refugees in Zambia. Beside these major groups, some others were also affected, though in lesser degrees.

- (d) Chad. The exodus of refugees from Chad due to the guerrilla activity in north-eastern part of the country started as a trickle in the 1960's. Most of the movement was directed to northern part of Central African Republic where, by 1974, the total number of refugees was estimated at 1,500.

- (e) Southern Africa. Refugee exodus, though to a lesser degree, has been experienced from South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia.

Apartheid policy and political and economic repression in these states with respect to African population have generated refugees in increasing numbers. Unconfirmed estimates show that there are over 40,000 Namibian refugees in Botswana and Angola, and as well as 25,000 Rhodesian refugees in Mozambique. With the prevailing

political climate in these countries, they will certainly be one of the principal future source areas for refugees in Africa.

Main Countries of Refugee In-Flow.

Unstable conditions in neighbouring or even relatively distant countries may make other states become countries of asylum without necessarily generating a counter-wave of refugee migration. Such countries include Senegal, Botswana, Central African Republic, Tanzania and Uganda¹⁴. The following are the principal countries of inflow only: --

- (a) Senegal. The emergence of guerrilla warfare in Guinea Bissau in 1962 made Senegal one of the major countries of asylum for refugees fleeing the effects of the fighting. The number of refugees in Senegal increased from 6,000 in 1964, to 60,000 in 1968 and to 86,000 in 1974. Of this figure, 8,000 were estimated as urban dwellers, mainly in the capital, Dakar. The remaining 78,000 were identified as rural, who settled spontaneously in Casamance Province, many among friends and relatives. However, with the attainment of independence in 1974, refugees are voluntarily returning to their homes. As of April 1976, for example, over 65,000 refugees had been repatriated with the assistance of the U.N.H.C.R.¹⁵. Voluntary repatriation is expected to be completed

¹⁴Although Uganda is one of the main countries of asylum, in recent years, a considerably large number of Ugandan citizens have fled to neighbouring states particularly Kenya and Tanzania.

¹⁵R. Uwechue, (ed.), "Nationals Return", Africa Magazine, No. 57, 1976, p. 55.

in the near future, although it is unlikely that all of the refugees will return to Guinea Bissau.

(b) Botswana. In Botswana, the reception of political refugees from South Africa and Namibia has political and economic implications. This is due to its geographical location as well as its economic dependence on South Africa. Sandwiched between Namibia and South Africa to the south and west and Rhodesia to the north, Botswana serves both as a transit center as well as a recipient country for refugees from South Africa and Namibia, as well as from Angola. Because of its economic dependence on South Africa, Botswana, until recently, was reluctant to provide asylum for refugees, and instead facilitated their transit to third countries. In most cases, refugees proceeded to countries further north, especially Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, and also to Ethiopia. The main refugee group in Botswana are therefore the Angolans, who numbered approximately 2,200 at the end of 1974¹⁶, and of whom 1,800 lived on the Etsha agricultural rural settlement scheme.

(c) Central African Republic. The Central African Republic has been a country of asylum for refugees from the Sudan. It has also received an estimated 1,500 refugees who fled Chad, and about 3,000 Zaireans who left their country during the 1964-5 rebellion. Due to the continuous influx of refugees, particularly from the

¹⁶At the end of 1974, over 2,000 Angolan refugees were granted Botswanan citizenship, thus reducing the total number of refugees in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland from 4,800 in 1973 to 2,700 at the end of 1974.

Sudan, the number of refugees in Central African Republic increased from 3,300 in 1965 to 30,000 in 1970, and dropped sharply to 5,000 in 1974 after the repatriation of Southern Sudanese refugees in 1973.

- (d) Tanzania. Tanzania ranks third after Zaire and Uganda in the total number of refugees granted asylum. Tanzania has granted asylum to refugees from Mozambique, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi as well as several others in urban areas. In 1964 there were 12,000 refugees of various origin in Tanzania. By 1974 the number had multiplied to over 195,000. The earliest refugees were from Rwanda, but by 1965, there was an estimated 10,000 refugees from Mozambique. This figure rapidly increased to 40,000 in 1970 and to 70,600 in 1974, and of whom 56,000 lived on rural settlement schemes. However, with the attainment of independence by Mozambique in 1975, refugees are gradually returning to their homes. As of 1974 the other refugee groups in Tanzania included 91,000 Burundis most of whom arrived during the 1972 inter-tribal conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis, and 27,400 Rwandan refugees some of whom arrived in 1959.

- (e) Uganda. Uganda is the second main country of asylum after Zaire. These two countries bear most of the burden of refugees in Africa. Uganda has served as the country of asylum for refugees from Sudan, Zaire and Rwanda. In 1964 there were 59,000 refugees in Uganda, most of whom came from Rwanda, and by 1968 their number had increased to 163,000 with the arrival of the Southern Sudanese. In 1970 the number of refugees topped 200,000. Since

then, the number has dropped substantially to 112,500, with voluntary repatriation of Southern Sudanese refugees completed in 1973. Although in terms of official sources of data, Uganda is considered as a country of inflow only (see Figure 4.6), there is little doubt that a large number of Ugandans have fled to neighbouring states since the assumption of power by General Idi Amin in 1971. In 1974, for example, the Tanzanian authorities reported a total of 2,270 Ugandan refugees within her borders, of whom 800 were on the rural settlement scheme at Kigwa¹⁷. In 1975 the size of the settlement had increased to 1,500 refugees. Also, unconfirmed estimates of Ugandans in Kenya are as high as 50,000. But since these refugees are not accorded official refugee status by the respective governments, Uganda is not officially considered in this study as a country of refugee outflow.

Main Countries of Refugee In-Flow and Out-Flow.

In contrast to the above, refugee movements characterizing this group of countries are a two-way migration consisting of both inward flows and outward flows of refugees. This is particularly the case when two adjacent states are both internally unstable, resulting in the flight of refugees in both directions. Interchanges of refugees in Africa have been typical of Ethiopia, Sudan, Zaire, Zambia, Rwanda and Burundi (see Table 4.8). It is also to be emphasized that this type interchange of refugees is characteristic of African refugee movements, but has not normally been associated with other refugee groups in the world. The only other areas where such interchange has occurred has

¹⁷ U.N.H.C.R., Report on U.N.H.C.R. Assistance Activities in 1974-75 and Proposed Voluntary Funds Program and Budget for 1976, A/AC.96/516, 13th August, 1975, p. 43.

Table 4.8

Estimates of In-Flow and Out-Flow of Refugees, December, 1972

Country of asylum of origin	Burundi	Ethiopia	Rwanda	Sudan	Zaire	Zambia	TOTAL
Burundi	0	--	4,000	--	31,000	--	35,000
Ethiopia	--	0	--	52,500	--	--	52,500
Rwanda	42,000	--	0	--	23,000	--	65,000
Sudan	--	16,000	--	0	36,000	--	52,000
Zaire	100	--	--	4,500	0	n.a.	4,600
Zambia	--	--	--	--	750	0	750
TOTAL	42,100	16,000	4,000	57,000	90,750	n.a.	209,860

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

been the exchange of populations between India and Pakistan after the partition in 1947, and more recently the population exchange following the emergence of former East Pakistan as the independent state of Bangladesh.

- (a) Rwanda and Burundi. The refugee problem caused by internal ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and later in Burundi, originated prior to independence. Its root causes, as discussed in Chapter 3, are to be found in the social structure of the two countries, in their political set-up prior to independence, and in the changes which have occurred since then. The first conflict and resultant refugee outflow took place in Rwanda as early as 1959. The Hutu forming about 85% of Rwanda's population have long been politically and socially dominated by the minority Tutsi. On independence, the supremacy of the old monarchical social order of the Tutsis and the emergence of a Hutu elite were, therefore, in conflict. The result was that by 1964, some 154,000 Tutsis had sought asylum in Uganda, Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania. By 1974 their number had reached 178,000, most of whom are in Uganda and Burundi (see Table 4.9).

Rwanda also serves as a country of asylum for refugees from Burundi and Zaire. At the end of 1972, there were 4,000 Burundi refugees in Rwanda, most of whom were Hutus. This number increased to approximately 6,000 in 1974 after the violent clashes between the Hutus and Tutsis. The exodus of Hutu refugees from Burundi was described by the U.N.H.C.R. as "one of the most

Table 4.9

Distribution of Rwandan Refugees in Countries of Asylum, 1964-74
(in thousands)

Year Country of Asylum	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Burundi	34	58	52	54	n.a.	49	36	42	42	49	49
Tanzania	12	13.3	13.5	13.5	n.a.	n.a.	13.5	14	14	14	27
Uganda	54	67	65	68	72	72	72	72	72.8	74	78
Zaire	54	28	25	24	24	24	24	24	23	24	24
TOTAL	154	166	156	160	--	145	146	154	152	161	178

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

serious refugee emergencies in Africa in recent years"¹⁸.

(b) Sudan. The Sudan has been second largest source of refugees after Angola. At the same time it is one of the main countries of asylum, especially for Eritrean refugees. The major thrust of refugee outflow from the Sudan was during mid-1960's when the government employed stringent measures to combat guerrilla activity in the three Southern Provinces. By 1965, about 20,000 refugees were in Zaire, Uganda, Ethiopia and Central African Republic. Table 4.10 shows the distribution of Southern Sudanese refugees in neighbouring countries over the years. In 1968 the number of refugees had risen to 121,000 and by 1971 to 178,500. After the 1972 Peace Agreement most refugees returned to their homes. As indicated in Table 4.11, the number of refugees repatriated to Southern Sudan by October 1973, was estimated at 149,000. About 51,000 have remained in neighbouring countries, especially Uganda and Zaire.

By 1974, Sudan had provided asylum to some 4,500 refugees from Zaire, and 49,000 refugees from the province of Eritrea in Ethiopia. In the first half of 1975, the number of Eritrean refugees increased substantially to 74,000 as a result of renewed fighting between the Eritrean Liberation Front and the Ethiopian army¹⁹. Unconfirmed current estimates place the number of

¹⁸The U.N.H.C.R. estimated that over 40,000 refugees fled the country between April and September 1972, 20,000 to Tanzania, 20,000 to Zaire and 3,000 to Rwanda. See U.N.H.C.R. No. 2 (September 1972), p. 2.

¹⁹U.N.H.C.R. Report on U.N.H.C.R. Assistance Activities in 1974-75 and Proposed Voluntary Funds Program and Budget for 1976, A/AC.96/516 (13th August, 1975), p. 31.

Table 4.10
Distribution of Southern Sudanese Refugees in Countries of Asylum, 1964-72
(in thousands)

Year Country of asylum	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Central African Republic	--	0.3	17.5	27	21	19.5	19.5	25	17
Ethiopia	--	--	--	--	--	20	20	22	16
Uganda	5	12	44	55	60	71.5	72	76.5	59.4
Zaire	8	8	22	33	40	55	55	55	36
TOTAL	13	20.3	83.5	115	121	156	166.5	178.5	128.4

Sources: U.N.H.C.R.

K.W. Grundy, Guerrilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971), p. 121.

Table 4.11

Position of Southern Sudanese Refugees as of 31st October 1973

Country of asylum	Number of Refugees	Total Number of Refugees	Number of Refugees Repatriated from May 1972- July 1973	Number of Refugees Repatriated from August 1973 - October 1973	Total Number of Refugees Repatriated from May 1972- October 1973	Number yet to be Repatriated as of October 31st 1973
Central African Republic	30,000	30,000	27,900	0	27,900	3,000
Ethiopia	35,000	35,000	23,484	0	23,484	11,516
Kenya	500	500	500	0	500	0
Uganda	86,000	86,000	46,833	2,978	49,811	36,189
Zaire	67,000	67,000	46,667	400	47,069	19,933
TOTAL		219,400	145,384	3,378	148,764	70,638*

Source: Relief, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Commission, Report on the Activities of the R.R.R. Commission during May 1972 - October 1973, (JUBA 1974), p. 3.

*The 11,516 returnees from Ethiopia, 3,000 from the Central African Republic, and 4,952 from Uganda making a total of 19,468, are believed to have come back home to the Sudan on their own. Therefore, the estimated number of refugees who remained in neighbouring countries in 1973 was 51,170, of which 31,237 were in Uganda and 19,933 in Zaire.

Eritrean refugees in Sudan as high as 100,000.

- (c) Zaire. The refugee problem in Zaire is also two dimensional. The flight of refugees from Zaire was precipitated by internal instability following independence in 1960. Refugee migrations were initially concentrated within the national boundaries, but at the peak of rebellion in 1964-65, many refugees sought asylum in neighbouring countries including Zambia, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, Tanzania and Central African Republic. By 1968, an estimated 15,000 Zairean refugees had returned home, leaving 44,000 in neighbouring states, particularly Uganda.

Zaire is the country of asylum for 50% of the refugees in Africa. The number of refugees increased substantially from 287,000 in 1964 to 414,000 in 1968, and exceeded 500,000 in 1974 (see Table 4.12). The main group is the Angolans who constitute over 80% of the total refugees in Zaire. The remainder include Southern Sudanese, Rwandese, and Burundis. In addition to the political and ethnic refugees, Zaire also hosts a small group of religious refugees, members of the Lumpa Church from Zambia who left their country in 1964 due to religio-political crisis with the State. However, most of them were repatriated and currently only about 750 have remained in Zaire.

Table 4.12

Distribution of Main Refugee Groups in Zaire, 1964-74
(in thousands)

Year Country of Origin	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Total for Zaire	287	323	317	357	414	475	475	490	490	460	500
Angola	225	250	270	300	350	370	400	400	400	400	450
Rwanda	54	28	25	24	24	24	24	24	23	24.3	24.3
Sudan	8	8	22	33	40	55	55	55	36	n.a.	n.a.

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Summary

The refugee problem in Africa emerged during the 1960's, the decade of independence for most African states. The distribution of refugees, in terms of both source areas and destination, has been very uneven. For example, over three-quarters of the total refugees on the continent found asylum in only three countries, Zaire, Tanzania and Uganda.

Most refugees are from rural backgrounds and lack skills and education. Therefore, since the distance travelled by refugees is related to educational achievements, skills and ambition, refugee migrations in Africa are generally short-distance moves across the border. The perceptions of refugees toward the new environment are also important in determining the degree of success in adjustments. Failure to adapt may be due to either resistance on the part of refugees themselves or to non-acceptance of refugees by local population in the area of settlement. An examination of the patterns of refugee movement reveals that there are three groups of countries, namely, countries of refugee inflow only; countries of refugee outflow only; and countries which experience both inflow and outflow.

CHAPTER 5

REFUGEES IN THE NEW ENVIRONMENT --

SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PROBLEMS

A refugee in his new environment faces new social, economic, political and psychological problems. This chapter discusses the various types of solutions to refugee problems in countries of asylum. These are the question of asylum as well as the roles of various states in granting asylum; the provision of emergency relief assistance or short-term solution; and long-term solutions which comprise of voluntary repatriation, urban and rural resettlement and their attendant problems. Also, attention is drawn to the various issues of education and training of refugees, particularly with respect to language differences in some countries of asylum.

The Question of Asylum

Displacement of any population creates two major problems. Firstly, the problem of granting asylum on crossing an international boundary, and secondly, the question of what is to be done with refugees after granting them asylum. Many African states follow an open-door policy in the reception of refugees. This policy is based on Article II (3) of the Regional Convention of the O.A.U. governing the specific aspects of African refugees which states that: --

"No one may be submitted by a member state to such measures as the refusal of admission at the frontier, turning back or expulsion, which would oblige him to return to or remain in a territory in which his life, safety or liberty might be threatened"¹.

Although many African states grant asylum to refugees, they do not necessarily accord refugee status to the migrants. The Government of Cameroun, for example, recognizes only refugees from Southern Africa as refugees. Those from other independent African States are accorded immigrant status. This is true with an estimated 30,000 Equatorial Guineans in Cameroun. Similarly, Gabon does not officially recognize as refugees the 60,000 migrants from Equatorial Guinea².

Asylum is the first important element in a refugee's life in the new environment. The granting of asylum to refugees is considered a moral obligation by recipient states, in spite of the increasing burden and its economic, political and social implications. In the spirit of African solidarity and regional co-operation, therefore, "the grant of asylum to refugees is a peaceful and humanitarian act and shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act by any Member State"³.

However, among the various countries of asylum, there has been considerable variation in their actual roles. Some states as Botswana and Lesotho, for example, act mainly as first countries of asylum or as escape routes through which refugees from Southern Africa proceed northwards to other countries of permanent settlement. Other states

¹O. Goundiam, op. cit., p. 9.

²P. Enahoro, op. cit., p. 34.

³J. Woronoff, op. cit., Annex VI, p. 667.

are mainly recipient countries which include Senegal, Tanzania, Central African Republic and Uganda. Prior to 1967, Zambia accepted only refugees for whom she was the country of first asylum, whereas for other groups of refugees, only transit facilities were provided. Exception to this rule were made in situations where refugees have skills, professional ability or capital and therefore not likely to deprive local population of employment or business opportunities⁴.

Once asylum is granted, the question remains whether or not the presence of refugees should be considered temporary. There are two types of solutions, namely, short-term solution and long-term ones.

Short-Term Solution

The short-term solution is essentially the reception of refugees in the host country. This involves the provision of emergency needs such as shelter, food, clothing and medical facilities. Since most host countries have limited resources for the support of large numbers of refugees, a continuous and sizable refugee influx will require host government to appeal to the U.N.H.C.R. for assistance and legal protection.

Short-term assistance programs are costly to operate. Because of this and the fact that refugees tend to become heavily dependent upon international assistance, there is urgent need to settle them on a more permanent basis, as Betts has demonstrated:

⁴Economic Commission for Africa, Summaries of the Answers to the Questionnaire Concerning the Refugee Situation in Africa, op. cit., Appendix 6, p. 222.

"...because of the great cost of short-term assistance and the damage to morale of lives lived in idleness and dependent upon charity, there is the need to provide land and seed and to put tools into their hands, so that at the earliest possible moment they can at least grow their own food and escape from the squalor of temporary shelters into houses of their own construction"⁵.

Resettlement of refugees on a permanent basis requires that they become economically and socially self-reliant and without further need for international assistance.

Long-Term Solutions

In attempting to find permanent solutions to refugee problems in Africa, it is important to consider the nature and characteristics of refugees themselves. A majority of refugees are subsistence cultivators with little or no technical knowledge. Only a small proportion have skills and education, and they constitute what has been known as the 'elite' of African refugees. The long-term solutions include voluntary repatriation of refugees to their home country, on the one hand, or the resettlement of urban and rural refugees in countries of asylum on the other.

Voluntary Repatriation.

Repatriation or the return to one's country of origin is often considered the best solution to a refugee problem. Of all other solutions, African states have generally favoured repatriation by consent. But as discussed below, it has seldom worked to any considerable extent.

⁵T.F. Betts, "Settlement Schemes for Refugees", Venture, Vol. 19, No. 8, 1967, p. 8.

Between 1964 and 1967, for example, only 55,000 of the 735,000 refugees in Africa had been repatriated with success. In 1968 an estimated 5,000 refugees repatriated themselves from Burundi; 9,000 from Central African Republic; 15,000 from Zaire; and a few hundred from Uganda. A much smaller number of refugees were repatriated during 1969. Of about 12,000 refugees who were repatriated in that year, 8,000 went to Zaire, 1,000 to Namibia, 2,000 to Zambia, and the remainder to other countries⁶. Also, during 1970 and 1971, a considerably large number of refugees voluntarily repatriated to their various countries of origin. These included some Southern Sudanese refugees who started to return to their homes after the declaration of amnesty in June 1969.

In 1972 about 45,000 refugees were repatriated to their various countries of origin through U.N.H.C.R. assistance. Most of them were Southern Sudanese who started to return home after the peace settlement in 1972. In 1973 the figure increased to about 47,000 which marked the peak of the repatriation of refugees from Southern Sudan. With the completion of the Southern Sudan operation in October 1973, the number of repatriations dropped substantially to 739 in the following year (see Tables 5.1 - 5.3).

- (a) Repatriation of Zairean Refugees. Zairean refugees were one of the early groups to repatriate in large numbers. In 1972 and 1973, the total number of refugees repatriated was estimated at 202 and 223 respectively. This return movement was in response to the

⁶Economic Commission for Africa, op. cit., p. 13; R.O. Matthews, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

Table 5.1

Refugees Voluntarily Repatriated with U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1972

Repatri. to Repatri. from	Congo	Ethio- pia	Guinea Bissau	Malawi	Mozam- bique	Rwanda	Sudan	Zaire	Somali Republic	TOTAL
Burundi	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	9
Central African Rep.	--	--	--	--	--	--	10,830	--	--	10,830
Ethiopia	--	--	--	--	--	--	7,400	--	--	7,400
Kenya	--	--	--	--	9	1	100	--	--	100
Senegal	--	--	47	--	--	--	--	--	--	47
Sudan	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2
Uganda	--	--	--	--	--	104	17,500	200	--	17,874
Tanzania	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	4
Zaire	8	--	--	--	--	--	8,808	--	--	8,816
Zambia	9	--	--	1	--	--	2	2	--	6
TOTAL	9	1	47	5	9	114	44,710	202	1	45,098

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 5.2

Refugees Voluntarily Repatriated with U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1973

Rep. to Rep. from	Burundi	Guinea Bissau	Lesotho	Nigeria	Rwanda	Somali Rep.	South Africa	Sudan	Uganda	Zaire	TOTAL
Botswana	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	3
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	--	9	--	--	--	9
Ethiopia	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	120	--	--	120
Kenya	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	245	--	1	247
Malawi	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
Senegal	--	84	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	84
Sudan	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	22	22
Uganda	1	--	--	--	24	--	--	32,079	--	7	32,111
Tanzania	1	--	--	1	7	1	--	2	--	193	204
Zaire	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	13,710	--	--	13,710
Zambia	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	4
TOTAL	2	84	3	2	31	1	12	46,158	1	223	46,526

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 5.3

Refugees Voluntarily Repatriated with U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1974

Rep. to Rep. from	Central African Republic	Congo	Ethiopia	Guinea Bissau	Rwanda	Somali Republic	Sudan	Zaire	TOTAL
Egypt	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Ethiopia	--	--	--	--	--	--	22	--	22
Kenya	--	--	6	--	1	--	481	--	488
Liberia	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	5
Senegal	--	--	--	77	--	--	--	--	77
Sudan	--	--	20	--	--	--	--	17	37
Uganda	--	--	2	--	91	--	8	2	103
Zaire	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	3
Zambia	--	--	1	--	--	2	--	--	3
TOTAL	2	1	30	77	92	2	516	19	739

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

declaration of amnesty by the Zairean Government in 1970 which urged all the Zairean citizens "who participated in a breach against the security of the State between 1st July 1960 and 30th November 1970...."⁷ to return to their homes. Coupled with this was also the fact that the conditions from which they fled had changed to relative peace. By mid-1970 there were an estimated 54,000 Zairean refugees who decided to remain outside their country of origin, of whom 3,700 were in Central African Republic, 550 in Tanzania, 500 in Zambia⁸, and the rest in various countries of asylum including a total of 4,500 in the Sudan. In 1972 their number had dropped to 44,000 and to 39,000 in 1974.

- (b) Repatriation of Southern Sudanese. Repatriation of Southern Sudanese refugees became effective only after the peace agreement in 1972. Their total number in countries of asylum was variously estimated at 180,000 - 200,000, of which 178,000 were living on organized rural settlement schemes in Zaire, Uganda, Ethiopia and Central African Republic. Furthermore, an unknown number preferred to settle among friends and relatives, particularly those who were able to take along their cattle.

The organized repatriation of Sudanese refugees was started in January 1973. At the end of the year it was estimated that about 25,000 refugees had repatriated from the Central African Republic of whom, 17,500 had received U.N.H.C.R. assistance (see Table 5.4).

⁷L.W. Holborn (1975), op. cit., p. 1115.

⁸Ibid, p. 1109.

Table 5.4

Total Number of Southern Sudanese Refugees Repatriated with and without U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1972-74

Country of Asylum	Total Number of Refugees as of March 1972	Number of Refugees Living In:		Number of Refugees Repatriated as of October 31st 1973 According to Resettlement Commission	Number of Refugees Repatriated as of May 1974:	
		Organized Settlements	Unorganized Settlements		With U.N.H.C.R. Assistance	Without U.N.H.C.R. Assistance
C.A. Republic	25,000	21,000	4,000	25,000	17,500	6,500
Ethiopia	25,000	20,000	5,000	23,484	13,200	10,284
Uganda	82,000	25,700	56,300	46,833	45,000	1,833
Zaire	67,000	12,700	54,300	48,667	13,718	34,949
TOTAL	199,000	79,400	119,600	143,984	89,418	54,566

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

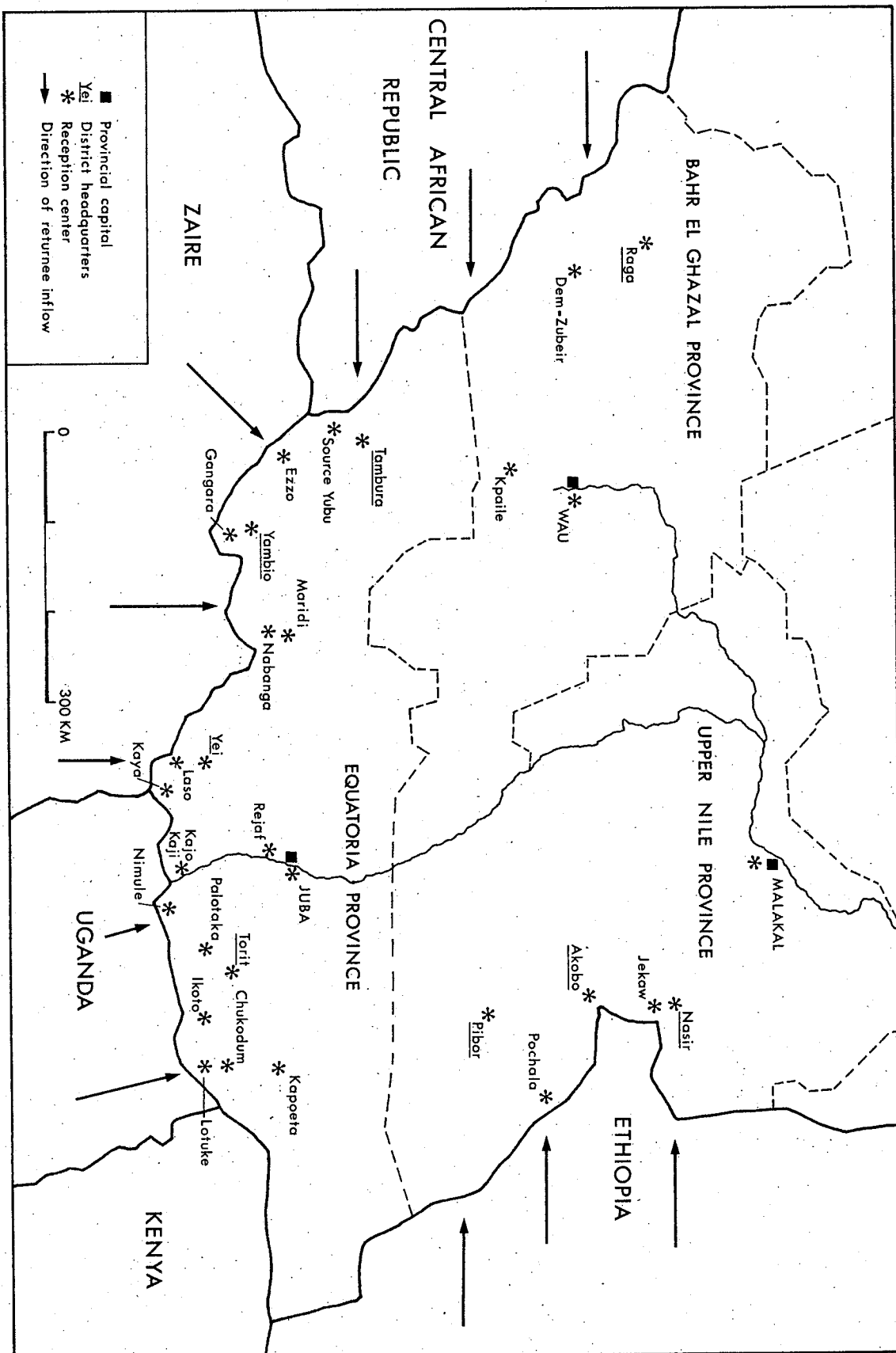
Repatriation from Ethiopia was undertaken in early 1973 and by May, most refugees had returned to their homes. The total number of refugees repatriated, according to the Resettlement Commission, was 23,484 of whom 13,200 were assisted by the U.N.H.C.R. The rest preferred to cross the border on foot with their cattle. The largest number of refugees assisted by the U.N.H.C.R. was in Uganda, where 45,000 received assistance of a total of 46,833 repatriated as of October 1973.

Repatriation from Zaire, unlike from other countries, was made difficult by a decision of the Zairean government to allow only one point of entry into the Sudan at Yei. It was believed that a general opening of the frontier might encourage Zairean refugees still in the Sudan to wage guerrilla attacks into Zaire⁹. In mid-1973 two additional points of entry were opened at Ezzo and Gangara which increased the rate of repatriation by reducing the distance for refugees (see Figure 5.1). In August 1973 repatriation from Zaire was officially terminated and as of that date, 13,718 refugees had been repatriated with U.N.H.C.R. assistance. The Resettlement Commission also recorded an additional 34,949 refugees who had returned on their own, thus bringing the total number of Southern Sudanese returnees from Zaire in October 1973 to 48,667.

(c) Repatriation to Former Portuguese Territories. Other major

⁹T. Betts, The Southern Sudan-Ceasefire and After (London: The African Publications Trust, 1974), p. 35.

Figure 5.1
Southern Sudan Operation: Reception Centers for Returnees



Source: T. Betts, The Southern Sudan: The Ceasefire and After, (London: The Africa Publications Trust, 1974).

repatriation movements have been experienced more recently with the independence of the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea Bissau in 1974, and Mozambique and Angola in 1975. In May 1975, an estimated 30,000 - 40,000 refugees had returned from Senegal and Gambia to Guinea Bissau and some 30,000 national refugees had also returned to their places of origin¹⁰. A recent estimate indicates that a total of over 65,000 refugees from Guinea Bissau have been repatriated with the U.N.H.C.R. assistance¹¹.

The setting up of the provisional government in Mozambique in 1974 acted as the incentive for the return of refugees from the neighbouring states of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Rhodesia. By March 1975 some 35,000 Mozambican refugees had returned home from Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia in addition to an estimated 15,000 refugees who had voluntarily repatriated from Tanzania.

The plan for preparation of Angola for independence in November 1975 included a scheme for the return of Angolan nationals from neighbouring countries, particularly Zaire and Zambia. For this purpose the U.N.H.C.R. made an initial allocation of one million dollars in March 1975 for the return of about 50,000 - 100,000 refugees. The ensuing civil war on independence, and the political instability during and after the war have made most refugees reluctant to return. Unconfirmed estimates show that of the 700,000 Angolan refugees in the various countries of asylum, about

¹⁰Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Addendum to the Report the U.N.H.C.R. -- Special Operations, E/5688/Add.1, (7th July, 1975), p. 5.

¹¹R. Uwechue, (ed.), op. cit., p. 55.

250,000 have repatriated.

Three factors generally account for difficulties in repatriating refugees from countries of asylum. Firstly, the persistent conditions of instability in countries of origin. In countries like Ethiopia, Rwanda and Burundi, the persistent political and ethnic animosities that caused refugee flight continue to be major obstacles to their repatriation. Similar conditions also affected the repatriation of Southern Sudanese refugees prior to the 1972 peace settlement, as well as the repatriation of refugees from the former Portuguese territories. Other refugee groups include those fleeing racial, economic and political discrimination in Southern Africa, who are unlikely to be repatriated until these barriers are removed.

Secondly, existence of ethnic or linguistic ties between refugees and local population have a bearing on the decision to repatriate. In most cases, refugees who settle spontaneously, do so among people with whom they are ethnically or linguistically related. In this case refugees may hesitate to return to their homes even if conditions there have improved. This was true, for example, with an estimated 39,000 Zairean and 51,000 Southern Sudanese refugees who decided to remain outside their respective countries of origin after official repatriation was completed¹².

¹²U.N.H.C.R., U.N.H.C.R. Supplement to No. 6/Dec./1974; Relief, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Commission, Report on the Activities of Relief, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Commission During May 1972 - October 1973 (Juba, Sudan 1973), p.3.

The third factor is the duration of stay in exile. Most refugee groups in Africa have lived for more than a decade in countries of asylum, and consequently some have made considerable economic and social progress. They are therefore reluctant to give up their economic and social status to return to their country of origin. This is particularly the case when the areas of origin have been devastated by long periods of civil warfare, as for example, northern Mozambique, northern Angola or Southern Sudan. Also, the decision of the Botswanan Government in 1974 to naturalize about 2,194 Angolan refugees¹³ who wished to remain in Angola, clearly will limit the number of refugees wishing to be repatriated to Angola.

Urban Resettlement.

The number of urban refugees in Africa is variously estimated at 10,000 - 20,000. Although only a small proportion of Africa's total refugee population, they present serious problems since they cannot be readily absorbed into rural settlement schemes. A different approach to their settlement has to be devised and which is a considerably more costly one. For urban refugees, education has to be provided for students, either within Africa or overseas, and employment found for professionals in their respective fields or specialty. These provisions often have to be made in the face of prevailing inadequacies in educational facilities and employment opportunities for nationals in countries of resettlement. With the recent increase in the proportion of urban

¹³U.N.H.C.R., Report on U.N.H.C.R. Assistance Activities in 1974-75 and Proposed Voluntary Funds Program and Budget for 1976, A/AC.96/516 (13th August, 1975), p. 3.

refugees in Africa, the problem of accommodating them is therefore becoming more serious¹⁴. Some of these difficulties are being solved through the U.N.H.C.R. Education Account.

The problem of refugees in urban areas, is further complicated by the tendency for rural refugees and semi-urban school-leavers to migrate to towns and cities in search of better job opportunities and education. This migration adds to the already high rates of unemployment in urban areas, and strains the existing educational facilities. In 1973, for example, there were about 6,000 urban refugees in Senegal, especially in Dakar, and in the following year their number had increased to 8,000. Through counselling services, unskilled urban refugees are being offered opportunities to settle on rural settlement schemes where they can contribute positively to the host country's economy.

With the co-operation of the O.A.U.'s Bureau for Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR), the U.N.H.C.R. is also able to settle some refugees from urban background in third countries. The number of refugees resettled in this way during 1970 and 1972, for example, was estimated at 234 and 429 respectively. In Tables 5.5 and 5.6, an analysis of the number of refugees resettled in various countries through education and placement between 1973 and 1974, indicates that more than half were resettled outside Africa. This is generally the case for refugees from Southern Africa who are in various parts of Europe and North America, and other urban refugees who have

¹⁴ Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Report of the U.N.H.C.R., E/5484, 1974, p. 11.

Table 5.5

Refugees Resettled with U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1973

Country of Resettlement	Sweden	Uganda	U.K.	France	Den- mark	W. Ger- many	Bel- gium	Can- ada	United Arab Emir- ates	Zaire	U.S.A.	Norway	Tanz- ania	Others	TOTAL
Botswana	1	3	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	8
Congo	--	--	--	11	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	13
Ethiopia	2	1	--	--	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	9
Kenya	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	150	1	--	--	--	4	158
Uganda	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	--	--	--	3	15
Tanzania	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	--	--	1	--	--	3	12
Zaire	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	7	11
Zambia	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	2	--	2	1	1	8
Others	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	28	28
TOTAL	5	4	4	12	1	2	1	10	150	13	1	2	4	54	262

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 5.6

Refugees Resettled with U.N.H.C.R. Assistance in 1974

Country of Resettlement Country of Former residence	Tan- zania	United King- dom	Zam- bia	Can- ada	Den- mark	France	United Arab Emira- tes	U.S.A.	Zaire	Buru- ndi	M. East	Swe- den	Other	TOTAL
Botswana	5	1	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	22
Kenya	3	8	2	8	3	3	58	6	2	--	--	--	6	99
Uganda	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	7	--	--	1	11
Tanzania	--	3	5	1	--	--	--	--	--	1	4	10	1	25
Zambia	16	--	--	--	12	--	--	1	4	--	--	--	6	39
Other	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	40	40
TOTAL	25	12	23	9	15	3	58	7	8	8	4	10	54	236

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

emigrated to Arab Gulf states. It should be stressed that the total number of refugees resettled in third countries is relatively small. This contrasts to the post-war refugee problem in Europe where resettlement in third countries involved large numbers.

Rural Resettlement.

Local land settlement in countries of asylum has been applied in Africa for refugees from rural background. Settlement has usually been undertaken when no immediate prospects for refugee repatriation existed, as well as due to high costs incurred by refugees that are not self-sufficient. Through land settlement, defined as "the development of viable communities on new or unused land through the adaption of settlers to new and perhaps unfamiliar conditions"¹⁵, refugees are encouraged to clear the land, plant crops and ultimately become self-supporting. Rural resettlement of refugees in Africa has taken two basic forms, namely, spontaneous or unorganized land settlement and systematic or organized land settlement schemes.

Spontaneous Land Settlement.

Spontaneous land settlement in Africa is defined as: --

"... a process whereby a group of refugees settle down in the country of asylum either in existing villages or by establishing new villages, in or near the area of arrival, which is usually inhabited by a population of similar ethnic origin, by arrangement with the local village chiefs and other leaders of the local population, as well as with representatives of the central government, but only with ancillary material

¹⁵United Nations, The Community Development Approach to Land Settlement (New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1966), p. 1.

assistance from the outside"¹⁶.

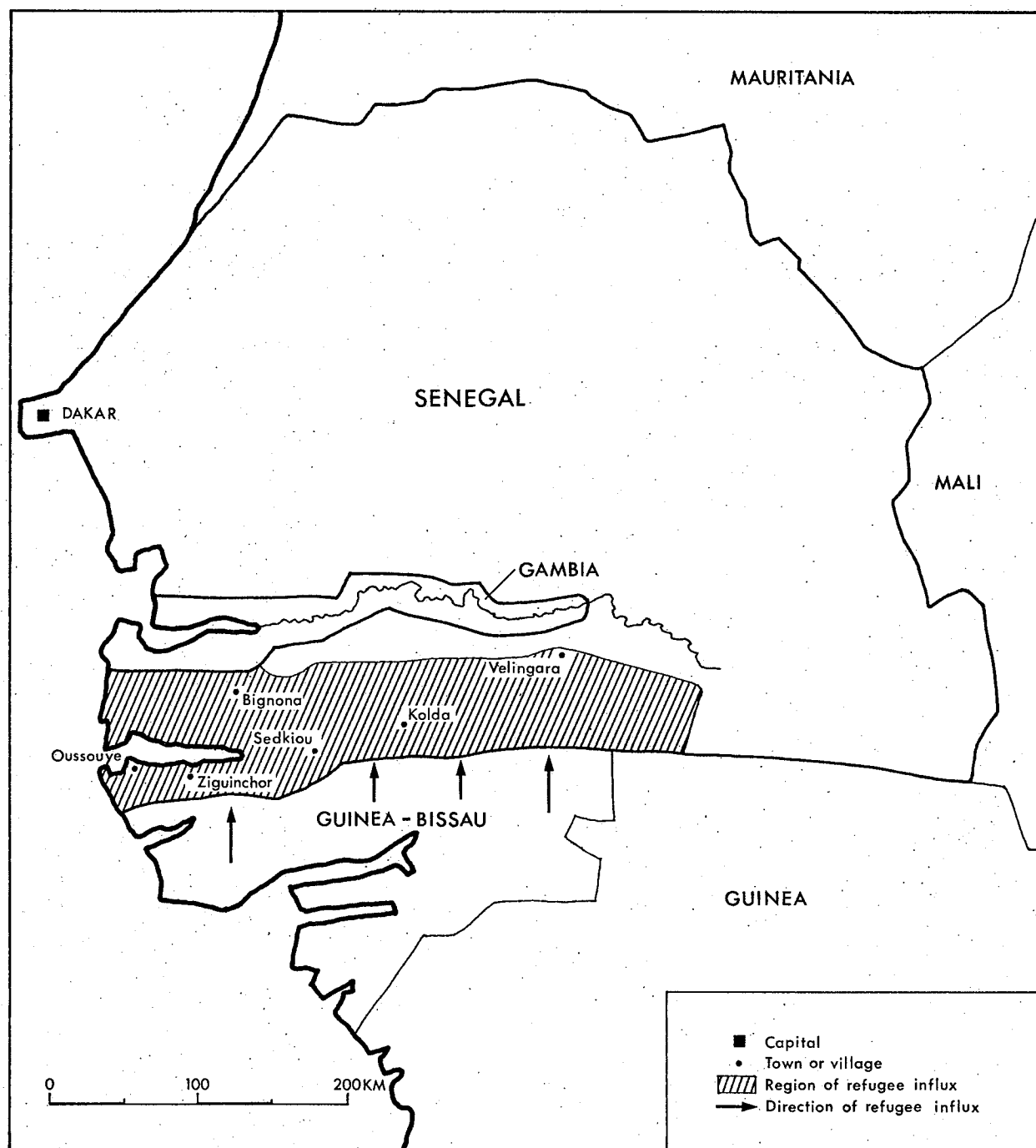
Most African governments prefer to establish exclusive organized rural settlements in which the refugees become self-supporting. Such settlements may also be desirable because they may limit possible refugee political activities against their home country, which may prove embarrassing to the country of asylum or they may facilitate the movement of refugees in the event of their future repatriation.

Spontaneous settlement, on the other hand, has taken place in a relatively small number of states. The principal countries include Senegal (Figure 5.2) and Gambia, where refugees from Guinea Bissau integrated among local population especially in Casamance province of Senegal; Central African Republic (Figure 5.3), where Zairean refugees settled among their kins in the southern part of the country and as well as refugees from Chad in the north and some Southern Sudanese refugees in the east; and Zaire (Figure 5.4), where Angolan refugees, mainly Bakongo, settled spontaneously with their own ethnic group in southwest and western Zaire.

Spontaneous settlement implies an unorganized type of settlement. Although its success is dependent on such factors as availability of unused land and ethnic or linguistic links between refugees and local population in the area of settlement, it essentially occurs due to the lack of direct government policy with respect to refugee

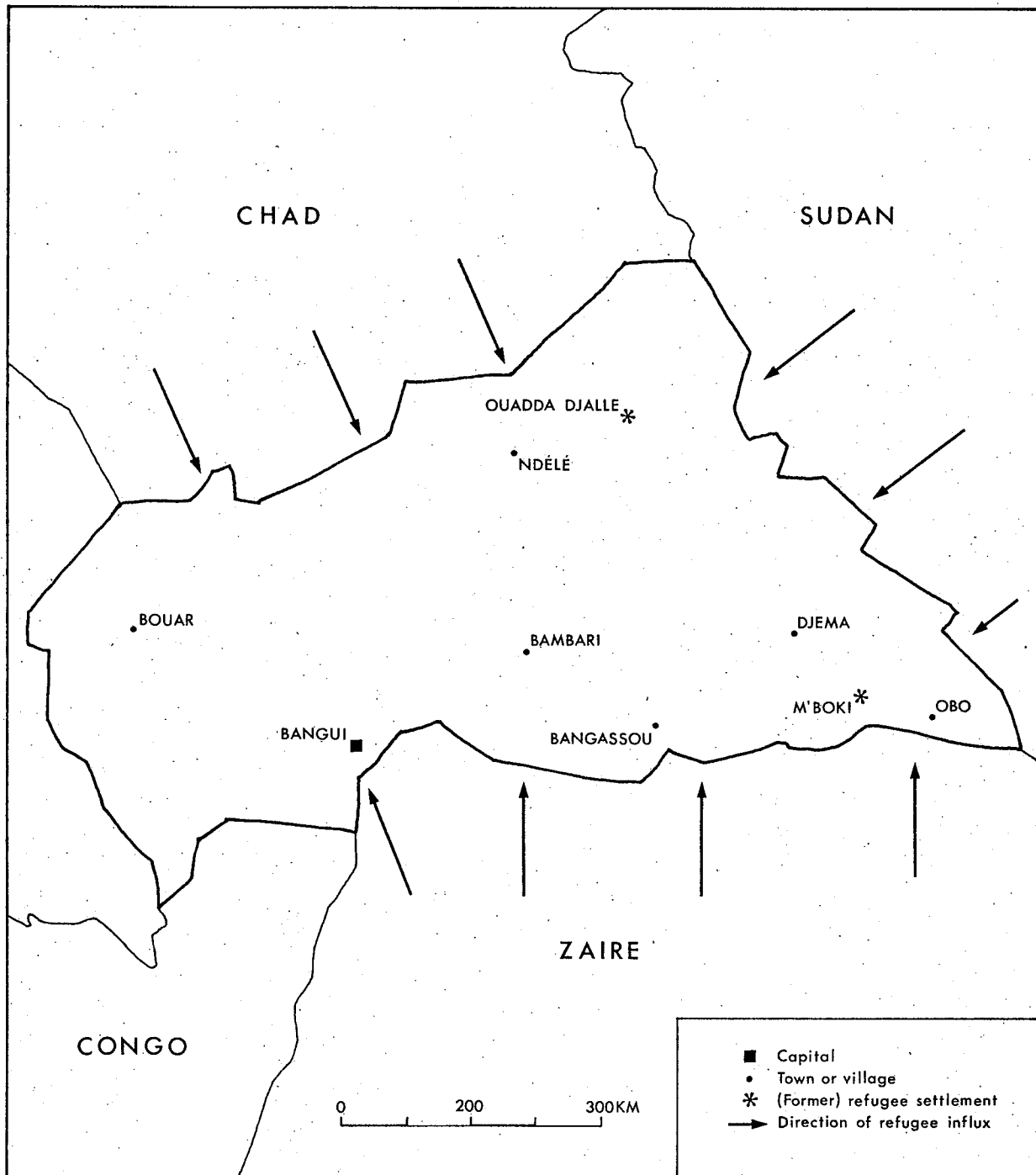
¹⁶Economic Commission for Africa, AFR/REF/CONF/1967, No. 9, Quoted in U.N. Document, E/CN.14/442, 1969, p. 14.

Figure 5.2
Senegal: Area of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

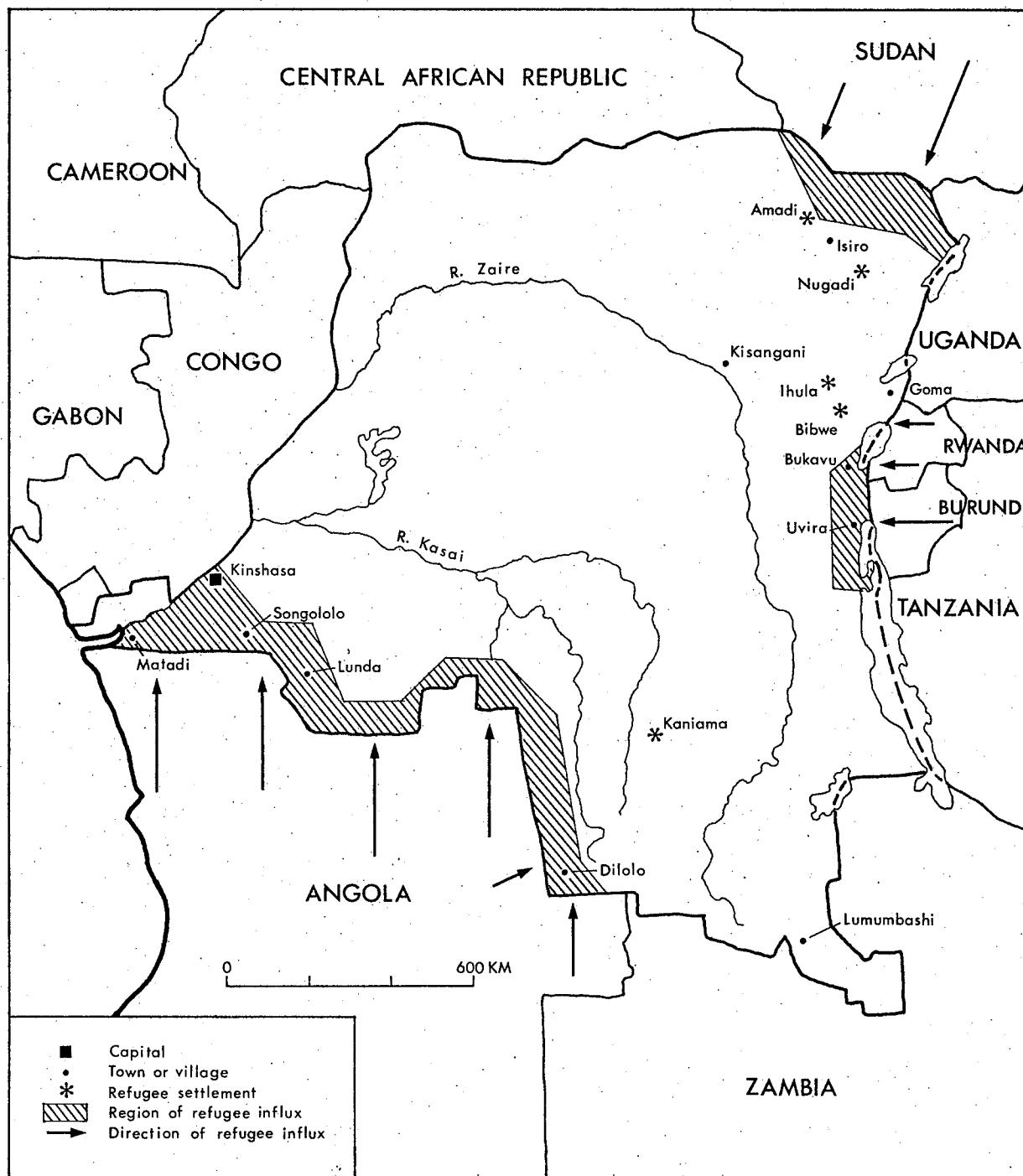
Figure 5.3
Central African Republic: Areas of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 5.4

Zaire: Areas of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

settlement.

Spontaneous settlement has three fundamental advantages¹⁷.

Firstly, current refugee migration and settlement can be seen as part of indigenous patterns of African migratory movements and settlement. Secondly, because spontaneous settlement requires the co-operation of the local people and authorities, it creates a favourable psychological climate for integration of refugees into host communities. Finally, whereas organized land settlement has a tendency to create differentials in economic and social development which in turn may generate prejudices and tensions between refugees and indigenous population, such disparities are less associated with spontaneous settlement.

Spontaneous land settlement does, however, have its own disadvantages and problems. In accordance to the O.A.U. Convention, refugees should be moved away from border areas. However, spontaneous settlers tend often to locate in sensitive border zones. Host countries are therefore responsible for relocating refugees away from the border, for fear that refugees may infiltrate back to their home countries to wage guerrilla warfare. Since the 1960's, for example, there have been several instances of border tensions and conflicts between countries of refugee origin and asylum. These border problems were a result of general suspicion and attitude of adjacent states toward each other. The border problems between Sudan and her neighbours, Chad, Ethiopia,

¹⁷ Economic Commission for Africa, op. cit., p. 15.

Uganda and Central African Republic, for example, were a result of existing refugee populations in either country. The tensions along Sudan-Chad border developed from the fact that Sudan was assisting the secessionist movement opposed to the government of Chad. Also, along Sudan-Ethiopian border, the conflict was due to suspicion by both governments that each party was aiding the separatist movement from another's territory. Similar occurrences developed along Sudan's borders with Uganda and Central African Republic on the grounds that those countries were assisting the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM).

Other border conflicts also occurred between Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and their neighbours. In Senegal, where spontaneous settlement was most successful, the tension and military involvement as a result of refugee involvement in the liberation war, with then Portuguese Guinea, necessitated the relocation of refugees away from the border¹⁸. After independence in 1975, Mozambique became a recipient country for refugees from Southern Africa, especially Rhodesia. The military assistance and provision of training facilities to the 'Zimbabwe' Liberation Movement from Rhodesia has resulted in border problems between the two countries.

Spontaneous settlement also contrasts with systematic settlement in terms of the volume of assistance received. Assistance to spontaneously settled refugees is usually limited and less urgent than that for systematic land settlement schemes. In general, assistance for spontaneous settlers is aimed at strengthening and expanding

¹⁸L.W. Holborn (1975), op. cit., pp. 904-05.

existing infrastructures, especially medical, educational and transport facilities, in the areas of settlement.

Systematic Land Settlement Schemes.

Systematic or organized rural settlement of refugees is usually undertaken in the absence of either the preconditions for spontaneous settlement in the area of initial influx or when, for political reasons, there is need to move refugees away from border areas. Systematic land settlement has predominated U.N.H.C.R. programs in Africa.

Systematic land settlement is here defined as: --

".... a deliberate and coherent process of administrative and technical measures whereby a group of refugees is enabled to settle on land, usually in an uninhabited or sparsely populated area, with a view to creating new self-supporting rural communities that ultimately will form part of the economic and social system of the area"¹⁹.

Unlike spontaneous land settlement, systematic settlement schemes are planned in all stages of their development. This includes the choice of land and site for the settlement, the agricultural development, the provision of health services, transport facilities, water supply, education, as well as the provision of food until the settlement becomes self-supporting²⁰.

The success of a settlement scheme, as measured by its degree of self-sufficiency, is vital for integration of rural refugees into the socio-economic mainstream of the host community. In his case

¹⁹Economic Commission for Africa, AFR/REF/CONF/ 1967, No. 10, cited in H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty, (eds.), op. cit., p. 14.

²⁰Economic Commission for Africa, Statement by S. Aga-Khan, AFR/REF/CONF/1967, no. 13, cited in Ibid., p. 15.

study of the 'Problem of Rwandese and Sudanese Refugees', Cuenod observed that the degree of success of a rural land settlement scheme varies greatly from one settlement to the other and is governed by four factors²¹.

(a) The attitude of refugees towards settlement. This is a reflection of whether refugees perceive their exile as temporary or permanent. If they perceive the life in exile as a temporary phenomenon, little effort will be made on their part to co-operate in settlement schemes. This is best exemplified by some of the Rwandan Tutsis in neighbouring countries of asylum. Most of those who fled the country after the collapse of the Tutsi monarchy in 1959 were reluctant to accept the conditions implicit in permanent settlement. Large tracts of land made available to them, and their encouragement to cultivate permanent food crops, were interpreted by refugees as a willingness to settle on permanent basis. Yeld has also observed in Tanzania that: --

".... refugee insistence on living in grass huts and resistance to constructing mud walls, despite the obvious inconveniences to themselves, has been symbolic to them of a temporary exile"²².

The Rwandans developed an attitude where group members who co-operated with local settlement authorities, were considered as traitors to the Mwami (the Tutsi King) and to the cause of the

²¹It should be noted that socio-economic conditions of rural refugees do not differ markedly from country to country; and therefore, factors affecting a particular group could be generally applied to all. See J. Cuenod, 'The Problem of Rwandese and Sudanese Refugees', in S. Hamrell, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 48-50.

²²R. Yeld (1965), op. cit., p. 4.

Tutsi people. The main objective of many Tutsi refugees continues to be the overthrow of the Hutu government of Rwanda through an invasion or coup, and hence they remain reluctant to settle permanently. Some of these refugees therefore represent a typical example of a negative attitude toward settlement in countries of asylum. On the other hand, some Tutsi refugees in Zaire, whose leaders were not involved in political agitation, became self-supporting within a relatively short period of time. Such conditions of accepting peaceful settlement have generally prevailed among various refugee groups in countries of asylum.

- (b) The attitude of local population towards refugee settlement. Most local populations have generally been in favour of refugee settlement. This is particularly the case where refugees have ethnic or linguistic ties with local peoples in the country of asylum. It should also be recalled that modern political boundaries in Africa cut across traditional cultural zones. Thus, modern migratory movements and settlements could be regarded, by refugees and local populations of the host country alike, as part of the old patterns. The Balanta people in Guinea-Bissau, for example, have their kins in neighbouring Senegal and Gambia and the Bakongo in Angola stretch across the northern border into southern Zaire. Similar conditions apply to the Zande in Sudan, Zaire and Central African Republic and the Makonde people in northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania.

- (c) The Physical and Economic Conditions of the Area of Settlement.
The physical and economic conditions for settlement are dependent

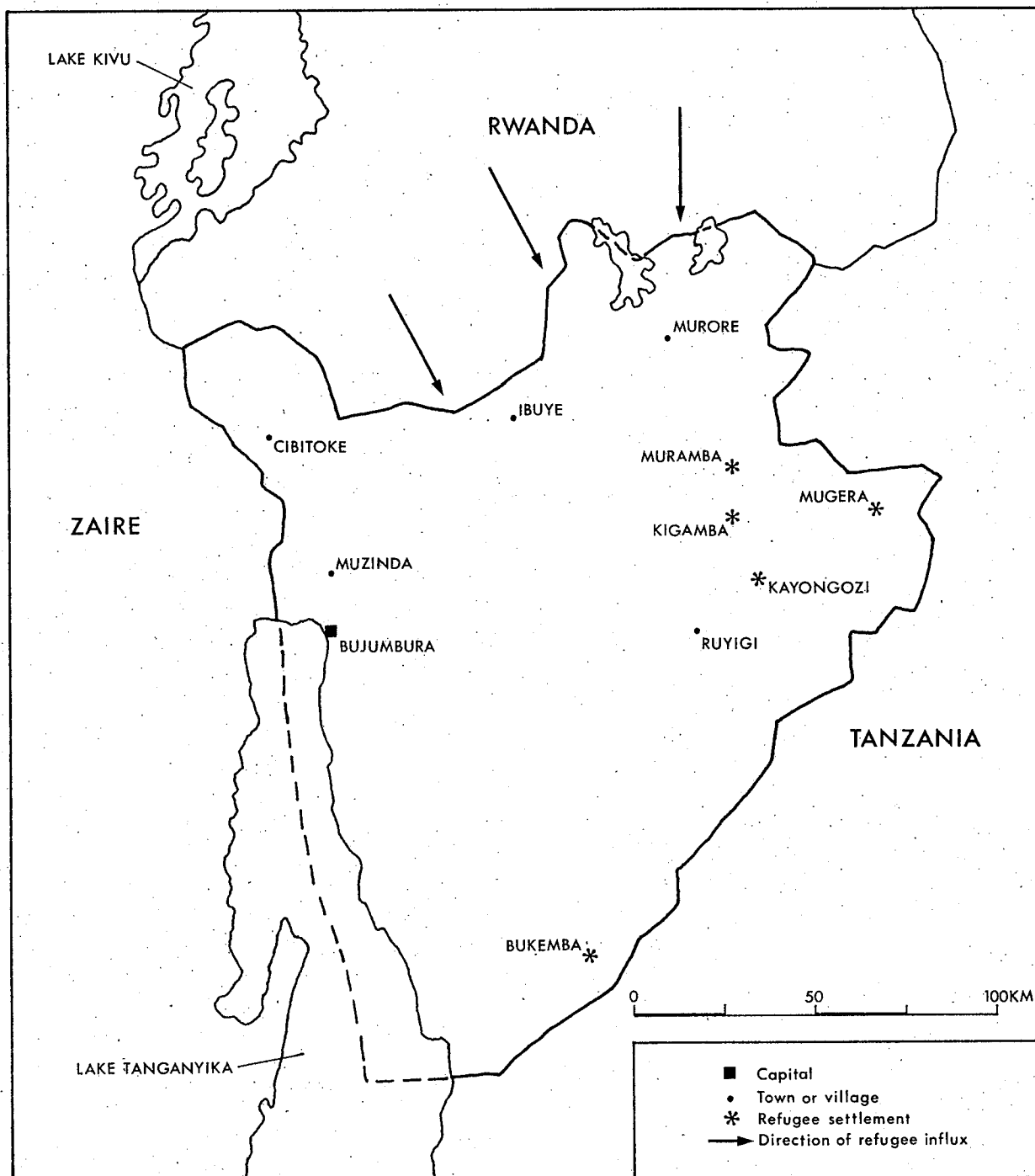
on the quantity and quality of available land and the adequacy of precipitation for cultivation. These factors are in turn a function of population density of the country of asylum. In countries where there are large tracts of unused land, such as in Central African Republic, Sudan, or Tanzania, the problem of allocation of land to refugees is minimal. On the other hand, in countries where population densities are high, as in Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Uganda, refugee settlements are limited to marginal land. In both cases refugees settlements are generally in remote areas and are made viable only after substantial aid. In Central African Republic, for example, the M'boki settlement scheme for Southern Sudanese refugees was made viable only through the development of a road linking the southeast of the country to the capital, Bangui²³. In Burundi with its high population density, the only available land for Rwandan refugee settlement was the swampy valley bottoms in the northeast which were made cultivable only after substantial investment in drainage. These settlements are the only organized rural settlement schemes in Burundi (see Figure 5.5). In Uganda the recurrent failures of cultivation that characterized the Nakapiripirit settlement scheme for Southern Sudanese refugees in the northeast, were due to its location in an area which traditionally supported only pastoralism²⁴. In Uganda there are two groups of organized settlements. These are

²³W.T.S. Gould, op. cit., p. 425.

²⁴Loc. cit.

Figure 5.5

Burundi: Area of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

the eight settlement schemes for Rwandan refugees in the west and southwest on the one hand, and former Southern Sudanese settlements in the north on the other (see Figure 5.6). Refugee settlements in Tanzania are of three groups. They are the settlements for Mozambican refugees in the south; settlements for Burundi refugees in the west; and those for Rwandan refugees in the northwest. In all these cases, refugee settlements schemes are located in remote areas (see Figure 5.7).

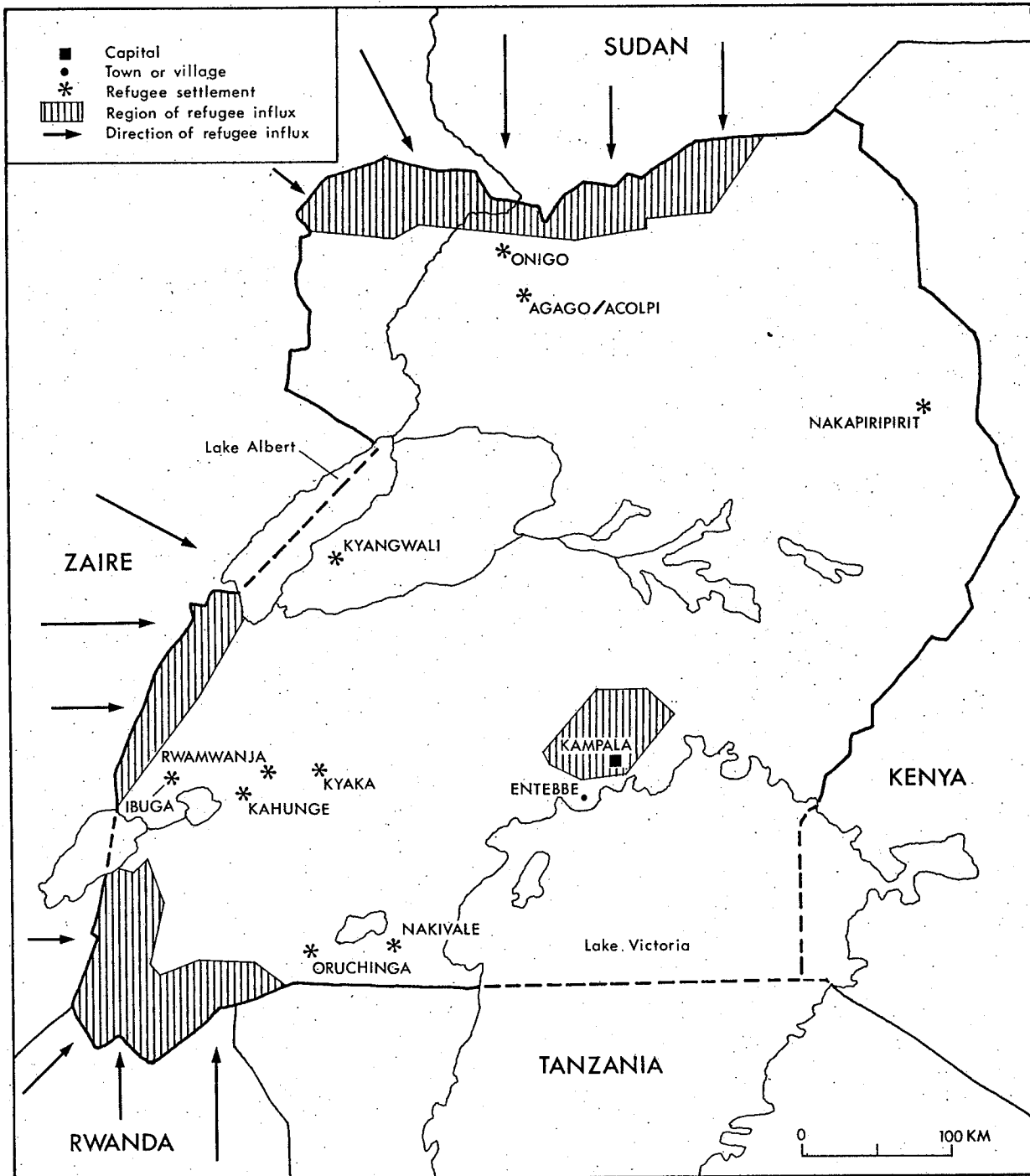
- (d) The Attitude of the Government of the Country of Asylum. Governments of host countries have on occasions favoured refugee settlements to open up unused land. The settlement of Eritrean refugees at Qala en Nahal (see Figure 5.8) in eastern Sudan is an illustration of this, the objective of which is to "transform an under-developed region into a viable, productive farming area"²⁵. The initial success of the scheme can be attributed to effective co-operation between refugees, local settlement authorities and the U.N.H.C.R.

Related to systematic land settlement is a further stage of refugee integration into social and economic life of the host country. This is through the realization that the achievement of a purely subsistence self-sufficiency is not enough for the viability of a refugee community. The emphasis at this stage is for refugees to earn income, pay taxes in their new country and contribute positively to the national economy. In other words,

²⁵U.N.H.C.R. Report, The Water Road: Highway to Regional Development at Qala en Nahal, Sudan (Geneva, 1972), pp. 4-5.

Figure 5.6

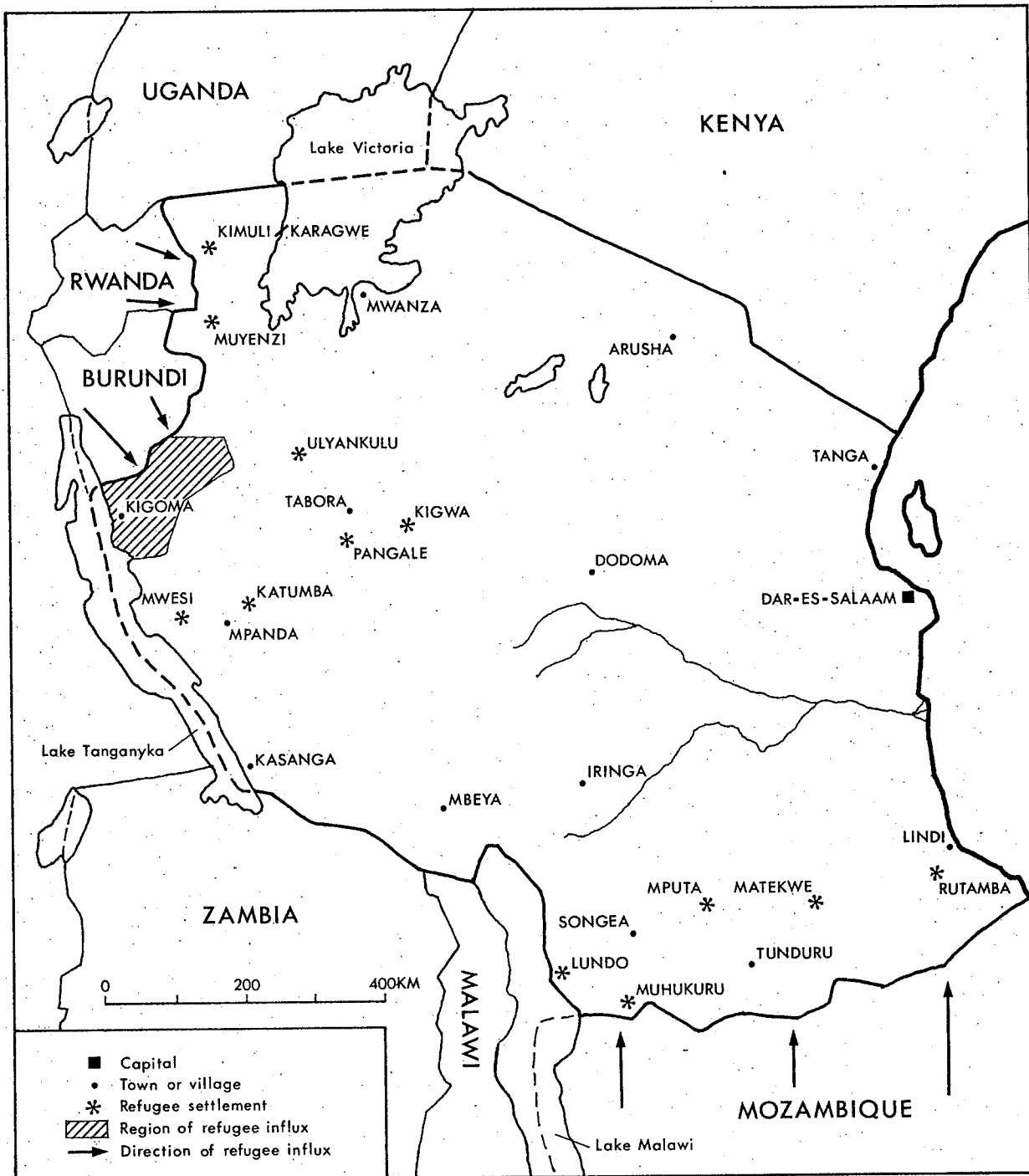
Uganda: Areas of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 5.7

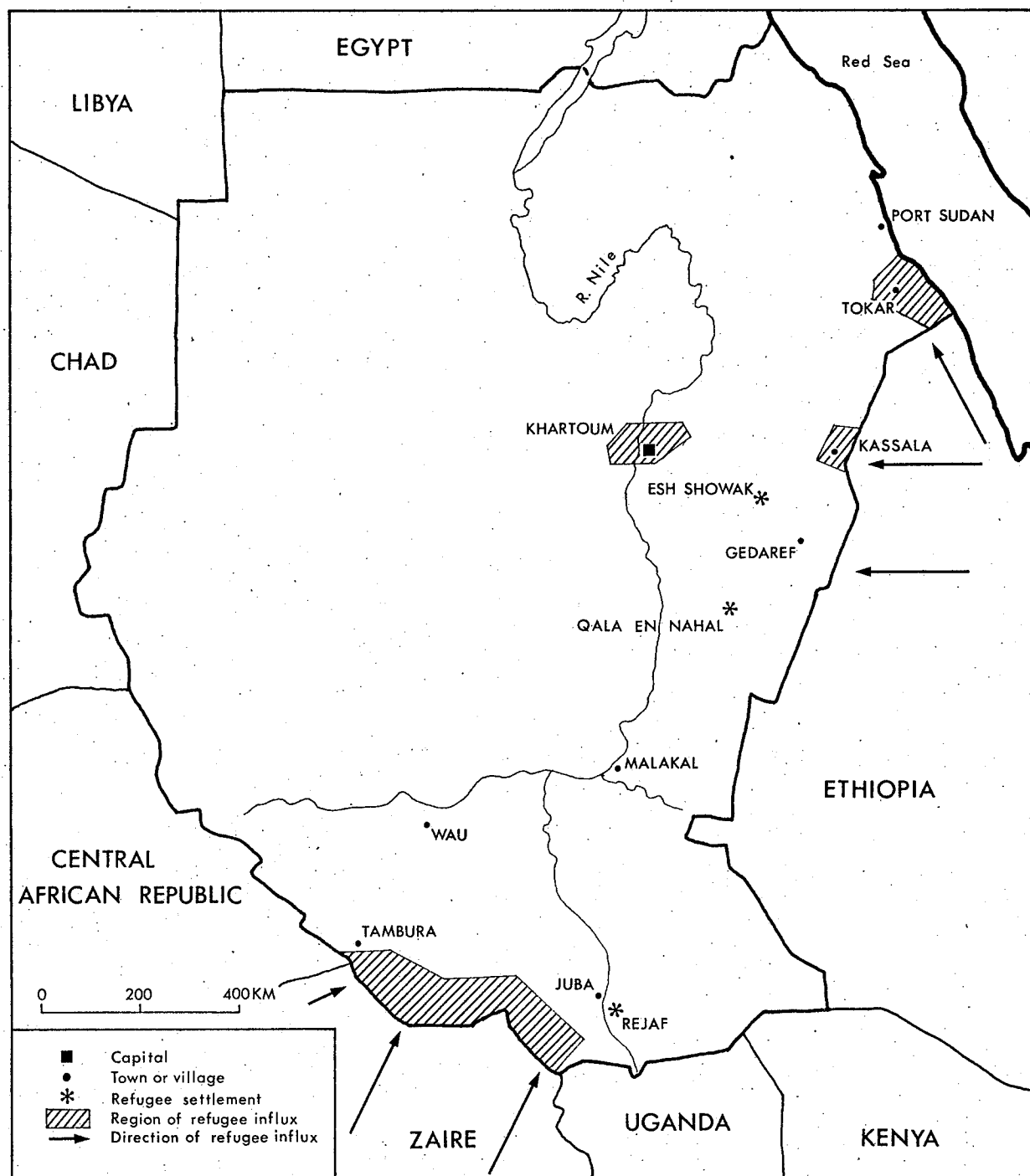
Tanzania: Areas of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Figure 5.8

Sudan: Areas of Refugee Influx and Settlement



Source: U.N.H.C.R.

"refugees are to be converted into active elements of economic and social development and their presence in the various countries will thereby be transformed from a liability into assets of the economic and social balance of the countries' development"²⁶. The transformation of refugees into active elements of socio-economic development of the host country is usually through consolidation of existing services and infrastructures, establishment of a cash economy and incorporation of the settlement into the national economic development programs of the country of asylum. At this point emerges one of the sensitive issues of the development differential between refugees and indigenous population. It should be recalled that economies of areas of refugee settlement are at subsistence levels. Therefore, to overcome the problems that might have otherwise affected the refugee-local population relationships, refugee development programs have usually taken a wider range of zonal integration to benefit both refugees and local population in areas of settlement.

Integrated zonal development has also been devised because it was observed that in spite of ethnic ties between refugees and indigenous population, differential treatment will cause tensions when refugees are seen as a privileged class.

Table 5.7 summarizes the total number of refugees in the U.N.H.C.R. -- organized rural settlement schemes in various parts of Africa. It shows the main countries of refugee origin and

²⁶Economic Commission for Africa, Statement by S. Aga-Khan, op. cit., p. 17.

Table 5.7

A Summary Analysis of the Number of Refugees in Organized Rural Settlement Schemes in Mid-1973

Number of refugees of Country of Asylum	Total Number of Refugees as of Mid-1973	Main Country of Origin	Number of Refugees in Settlements		R e m a r k s
			Name of Settlement	Number of Settlers	
Botswana	4,500	Angola -- 4,000 Namibia S.A. -- 500	Etsha	4,000	In 1973, about 500 refugees lived in various parts of the country. The granting of Botswanan citizenship to 2,194 Angolan refugees in 1974 had reduced the number of refugees slightly over 2,000. Most of these refugees are expected to repatriate within the near future.
Burundi	49,000	Rwanda -- 49,000	Muramba Kigamba Mugera Kayogozi Bukemba	47,500	Prior to 1973, there were 45,000 Rwandan refugees in Burundi. A new influx of 4,000 occurred in 1973, of whom 1,500 were resettled at Muramba and 1,000 at Bukemba. The remaining 1,500 of the new refugees were students and intellectuals who sought asylum in urban areas.
Rwanda	10,000	Burundi -- 10,000	Mutara	6,000	An estimate of 1,500 Burundi refugees have decided to remain in the original area of influx, at Bugasera-Est settlement; and the rest are scattered in various parts of the country.
Senegal	82,000	Guinea Bissau	No Organized Settle- ments	--	This refugee group is spontaneously settled among the local population mainly in the Casamance Province. Their number was estimated at 76,000 in

Table 5.7 (Cont'd)

Senegal					1973 and the rest lived in urban areas, particularly Dakar. In 1974, the total number of refugees in Senegal had risen to 86,500, of whom 8,000 were living in urban areas.
Sudan	57,000	Ethiopia 52,000 Zaire 5,000	Gala En Nahal Esh Showak Rejaf	21,000 22,000 4,000	Events in Ethiopia during 1974/5 led to more influx of Ethiopia refugees into the Sudan. Government sources indicated that there was an estimate number of 90,000 - 100,000 Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan as of May 1975.
Tanzania	117,000	Mozambique 58,000 Burundi 45,000 Rwanda 14,000 Uganda	Lundo Muhukuru Mputa Matekwe Rutamba Ulyankulu Katumba Pangale Muyenzi Karagwe Mwesi Kigwa	5,100 12,000 14,000 7,500 9,000 30,000 7,500 -- -- 800	As the end of 1974, the total number of Mozambican refugees in Tanzania had risen from 58,000 in 1973 59 70,600 due to new influx during 1974. At the end of 1974, the number of Burundi refugees rose to 91,000 and to 100,000 in mid-1975 due to new refugee influx. Ulyankulu settlement increased to 38,000 at the end of 1974 and to 51,334 in mid-1975. Katumba settlement also increased to 44,000 and to 46,000 during the same period. -- The total number of Ugandan refugees in Tanzania was estimated at 2,270 in 1974; and as of 1975, the number of refugees had risen to 1,500.

Table 5.7 (Cont'd)

Uganda	143,000	Rwanda & Zaire Rwanda 72,000	Oruchinga Iboga Nakivale Kyaka Rwanwanja Kinyara kahunge Kwangwala Agago/ Acolpi	40,000	The number of refugees in Uganda declined from 167,000 in 1972 to 143,000 in 1973 after repatriation of Southern Sudanese refugees. At the end of 1974, the number of refugees in Uganda was further reduced to 112,500, of whom 78,000 were from Rwanda and 34,400 from Zaire.
Zaire	500,000	Angola 450,000 Burundi 24,000 Rwanda 24,300 Zambia 750	No Organized Settlement Schemes Ihula Bibwe Kaniama	-- 750	Angolan refugees settled spontaneous among the local population, especially in Bas-Zaire Province, and some are in urban areas. Burundi refugees are settled mainly in Kivu Province in the east. In the course of 1973, about 47,000 Sudanese were repatriated from Zaire.
Zambia	25,000	Angola 17,000 Mozambique 6,500 Namibia & South Africa 1,500	Mayukwayukwa Meheba	10,500	Of the 23,500 refugees from Angola and Mozambique residing in Zambia in 1973, 13,000 lived outside organized settlements. Namibians and South Africans are mainly urban dwellers. In 1974, the total number of refugees in Zambia increased to 40,000 (a rise of 15,000) due to new influx of refugees from the neighbouring states.

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

their approximate numbers, as well as the changes that have occurred since mid-1973.

Problems of Education and Training of African Refugees.

Educational assistance to refugees, as in the case of rural settlement schemes, is related to the general level of development of the host country. The main objective is that refugees should become self-supporting, as well as be able to contribute to the development of their host countries. Educational assistance, in the form of training and upgrading of skills, will facilitate this²⁷.

The responsibility for education of refugees, as stated in Article 22 of the Convention relating to the status of refugees²⁸, rests with host governments. In the case of postwar Europe, refugees moved from one developed country of origin to another of asylum. The refugees had either already acquired skills, or alternatively, the well-established educational infrastructures existed in the country of asylum to provide them with required skills. In Africa, refugees migrate from one less-developed country to another. Also, most refugees are unskilled and uneducated. In the light of these needs, U.N.H.C.R. and other United Nations agencies must assist in meeting educational and vocational training requirements.

At the primary level, educational assistance to refugees is

²⁷L. Erikson, "Education of African Refugees", Venture, Vol. 19, No. 8, 1967, p. 4.

²⁸With respect to education, both primary and post-primary, the clause states that "the contracting states shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals....". See H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty, (eds.), op. cit., p. 234.

an important component of rural land settlement schemes. This assistance usually takes the form of helping to construct schools, extending or repairing existing schools, and meeting initial costs for the host government. Educational assistance is also extended to refugee children living outside rural settlements, especially in urban areas where they benefit from the same opportunities as local children²⁹. Assistance to refugees in Africa is potentially a sensitive issue and is related to the general problem of under-development in the continent on the one hand and in the specific countries of asylum on the other. This sensitivity lies in the fact that assistance to refugees through international bodies, may provide them with better facilities or opportunities than those available to the indigenous populations. Hence, in order to avoid the local tensions that may arise, primary education for refugees in Africa is governed by the following basic principles³⁰. Firstly, the percentage of refugee children in schools should not exceed the national average for the country of asylum and, secondly, schools for refugee children must follow the educational system of their host country. This is designed to benefit both the refugees and local children.

Educational problems encountered by refugees are greatest at post-primary levels. Access to post-primary schools through scholarships is mostly limited to local students, and refugees' chances are generally remote. At the 1967 conference on the Legal, Economic and

²⁹Economic and Social Council (1974), op. cit., p. 12.

³⁰L.W. Holborn (1975), op. cit., pp. 918-920.

Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, this difficulty was realized and was emphasized that: --

"...Unless such scarce opportunities are made available to the refugee by the international community, it would be difficult for the individual refugee to compete with a national for a job, education,"³¹.

Since refugees add additional strains on already overburdened educational systems and job opportunities in the countries of asylum, their demand for these facilities cannot be met without help from external sources.

The adoption of the standard curriculum of the host country for refugees may create a language problem for them if they originate from countries with different official languages. The problem is, however, less pronounced at the primary level where refugee children can more readily adapt to existing languages of instruction. At the post-primary level, the language issue becomes more severe. Figure 5.9 illustrates the major refugee groups most affected by language change-over in the continuation of their education. These included Portuguese-speaking Angolans who went to Zaire or Botswana and Zambia, where official languages are French and English respectively; the Portuguese-speaking refugees from Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique who fled to Senegal (French) and Zambia (English) and Tanzania (English and Swahili); the French-speaking Rwandese who went to Tanzania and Uganda (English and Swahili); and the English-speaking Sudanese who went to the Central African Republic and Zaire (French).

With the general increase in the number of refugees needing

³¹Economic Commission for Africa, AFR/REF/CONF/1967, No. 1, Cited in Ibid., p. 921.

educational assistance and training, the Education Account was established by the U.N.H.C.R. in 1966 to meet their needs. Through this account, international scholarships are granted to enable refugees to continue their education in secondary, technical or university levels in various parts of the world. With reference to Africa, the O.A.U. recommends that priority in education should be given to studies undertaken in institutions within Africa, and particularly to secondary education and vocational training rather than at the university level³². Kironde has emphasized that education and training of refugees within Africa: --

"....stems the tide of the ever-increasing number of refugees trained outside the African continent who are irretrievably lost to Africa as part of the brain drain which nations the world over are experiencing in favour of the richer and more developed countries"³³.

Since 1969, the number of beneficiaries from the Refugee Education Account has increased considerably, and particularly at primary, secondary and vocational schools in various countries of asylum (see Tables 5.8 - 5.11).

The O.A.U.'s Bureau for Placement and Education of African Refugees has been responsible since 1968 for the resettlement of urban refugees in Africa. Its functions include the collection and distribution of information concerning educational and employment opportunities for refugees, and the promotion of resettlement and employment of qualified African refugees³⁴. These functions have, however, often

³²Ibid., pp. 925-26.

³³A. Kironde, "An African Evaluation of the Problem", in H.C. Brooks and Y. El-Ayouty, (eds.), op. cit., p. 112.

³⁴L.W. Holborn (1975), op. cit., p. 943.

Table 5.8

Refugee Education Account -- Estimated Number of Beneficiaries, 1969

Country of Asylum	Number of Refugees				TOTAL
	Primary	Secondary	Vocational Training	University	
Burundi	--	416	260	16	692
C.A. Rep.	--	102	--	--	102
Zaire	--	710	--	--	710
Kenya	--	44	--	--	44
Liberia	--	21	--	4	25
Senegal	1,500	--	--	--	1,500
Tanzania	--	33	--	--	33
Uganda	--	195	6	4	205
Egypt	--	28	--	--	28
Zambia	--	--	10	3	13
TOTAL	1,500	1,549	276	27	3,352

Source: L.W. Holborn, Refugees: A Problem of Our Time; The Work of the U.N.H.C.R., 1951-72, Vol. 2 (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975), pp. 952-3.

Table 5.9

Refugee Education Account -- Estimated Number of Beneficiaries, 1971

Country of Asylum	Number of Refugees				TOTAL
	Primary	Secondary	Vocational Training	University	
Burundi	3,300	--	--	--	3,300
C.A. Rep.	--	62	--	--	62
Egypt	32	84	--	--	116
Ethiopia	--	355	--	--	355
Kenya	203	48	25	--	276
Liberia	--	10	--	15	25
Senegal	250	--	--	--	250
Sudan	--	12	43	3	58
Uganda	--	268	13	8	289
Tanzania	--	62	13	--	75
Zaire	--	200	--	--	200
Zambia	18	8	13	4	43
TOTAL	3,803	1,109	107	30	5,049

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 5.10

Refugee Education Account -- Estimated Number of Beneficiaries, 1973

Country of Asylum	Number of Refugees			TOTAL
	Secondary	Vocational Training	University	
Burundi	685	234	8	927
C.A. Rep.	16	--	--	16
Egypt	70	42	17	129
Ethiopia	71	14	6	91
Ivory Coast	--	--	18	18
Kenya	58	27	--	85
Liberia	--	--	18	18
Rwanda	151	--	31	182
Senegal	--	--	17	17
Sudan	10	18	7	35
Tanzania	74	12	6	92
Uganda	136	6	6	148
Zaire	202	--	--	230
Zambia	32	7	5	44
Others	11	2	13	26
TOTAL	1,516	362	180	2,058

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

Table 5.11

Refugee Education Account -- Estimated Number of Beneficiaries, 1974

Country of Asylum	Number of Refugees			TOTAL
	Secondary	Vocational Training	University	
Burundi	600	--	20	620
C.A. Rep.	4	--	--	4
Egypt	86	43	35	164
Ethiopia	61	25	3	89
Ivory Coast	--	--	19	19
Kenya	53	31	2	86
Liberia	5	--	15	20
Rwanda	224	94	71	389
Senegal	--	--	20	20
Sudan	42	38	16	96
Uganda	188	30	8	226
Tanzania	79	30	8	117
Zaire	188	--	66	254
Zambia	155	3	8	166
TOTAL	1,685	294	291	2,270

Source: U.N.H.C.R.

been hindered by language problems, since most of the educated refugees come from English-speaking countries, whereas job and educational opportunities are more readily available in French-speaking states³⁵. Between 1972-74, the demand for educational assistance for refugees grew considerably, which was due to the continuous increase in refugees. In 1972, an estimated US\$ 560,000 was allocated for education of refugees in Africa. This increased to \$730,000 in 1973, and to \$825,000 in the following year³⁶.

Summary

Forced migration causes several problems, the most important of which is issue of asylum. Although in Africa the granting of asylum is regarded as a humanitarian and not an 'unfriendly' act, governments have often become politically irritated by the presence of large numbers of their nationals in neighbouring states. Hence, the roles of countries of asylum in hosting refugees from neighbouring countries differ considerably in time as well as from one country to the other.

The provision of short-term solutions or relief assistance to refugees in the area of influx is generally costly, and its duration varies from one refugee group to the other. The long-term solutions to refugee problems are either through voluntary repatriation or resettlement. However, repatriation is generally preferred, but several factors mitigate against its widespread applicability.

³⁵Ibid., p. 945.

³⁶Economic and Social Council (1974), op. cit., p. 13.

Since most refugees in Africa are from rural backgrounds, rural resettlement has been adopted in various countries of asylum. Spontaneous and systematic resettlement both have their advantages and constraints. Urban resettlement, on the other hand, is limited to a small number of refugees from urban backgrounds, mainly from Southern Africa. Their problems are more serious than those encountered by rural refugees. This is due to the fact that their placement through education, training, and employment need to be made in the face of prevailing inadequate facilities in countries of asylum. Also, the frequent language changeover, particularly for the post-primary school level refugees, is one of the major problems facing refugee students in furthering their education in various parts of Africa.

CHAPTER 6

COMMENTARY AND CONCLUSION

The main objectives of this study were three-fold, namely, to investigate the causes of refugee migrations in Africa; to examine the patterns of refugee movements; and to discuss the solutions to refugee problems in Africa. In evaluating various data sources, it was found that, apart from United Nations sources, little quantitative information on refugees in Africa is available. Consequently, this thesis has taken a descriptive and qualitative approach as distinct from a quantitative one, in analyzing the refugee problem in Africa.

The principal findings of this thesis can be summarized on the basis of the causes of refugee migrations; the socio-economic characteristics of refugees; the distance factor regulating refugee movements; and the solutions to refugee problems in Africa. It should be emphasized that refugee migrations in Africa have different causes from those of postwar Europe or those associated with Asia and Latin America. On the one hand, Africa's refugees are products of such factors as political and racial discrimination, independence movements, ethnic conflicts, secessionist movements, or religious repression. On the other hand, postwar refugee migrations in Europe were due to the disintegration of states, total war and changes in national boundaries, and those associated with Asia were primarily a consequence of forced exchanges of populations following the partitioning of states, such as on the

Indian sub-continent, Korea, Vietnam and recently Pakistan.

This study has demonstrated that whereas most African refugees originate from rural background and have little or no education or skills, refugees in postwar Europe and other non-African states came from predominantly urban societies, and possessed some levels of education and skills that could be utilized in countries of asylum or resettlement. In addition, whereas in Africa the low educational attainment of almost all refugees explains, in part, the predominance of short distance movements, refugee migrations associated with postwar Europe were frequently long distance inter-continental movements.

This thesis has also examined the fact that because of the rural origin of most African refugees, solutions to refugee problems have been primarily through rural resettlement, which has taken the form of either spontaneous settlement or systematic settlement. On the other hand, the resettlement of urban refugees, although relatively small-scale, has given rise to problems of education and training due to prevailing inadequacies in educational facilities and limited job opportunities in the host countries. Consequently, effective solutions to the problem of African refugees are contingent upon general socio-economic development of countries of asylum. Such was not the case in postwar Europe, where refugees were readily absorbed into dynamic economies, and were received by countries with well-developed socio-economic infrastructures.

Most existing studies on refugees have tended to treat refugee migration in isolation of other population movements. This study has established a model which places refugees within a general framework of migrant population. Although this thesis provides an improved

understanding of refugee problems in general and of Africa's refugee issues in particular, it is only a basis on which further research can be developed.

Although there have been voluntary repatriations of refugees, such as the Southern Sudanese and some of the refugees from former Portuguese territories, the number of refugees in Africa seems unlikely to diminish within the foreseeable future. Persistent political instability in Eritrea, Rwanda, Burundi and especially Southern Africa have recently generated an increasing number of refugees in neighbouring states. With the uncertainty of political conditions in Rhodesia and Namibia, the probability exists that further refugee movements are likely to occur. Moreover, future refugee migrations in Southern Africa, products from radical change in governments, may well involve the 'white' population.

As suggested in Chapter 2, some questions have remained unanswered. A more comprehensive definition of 'refugee proper' is required. Present definitions vary considerably from one data source to another. Some are more flexible than others, ranging from the rigid U.N.H.C.R. mandated definition, which includes only international political refugees, to looser definitions which include internally displaced persons, or even non-political forced migrants. Consequently, the quality and comprehensiveness of data and general information on refugees are contingent upon the criteria used in defining refugees.

Another problem which remains unanswered is that of when refugees cease to be refugees. Although some criteria can be discerned such as when refugees have been repatriated, or take up the nationality of their host country, there is no unanimity among African countries of

asylum on this issue. Again, contrasts between the African situation and postwar Europe are evident. In the latter, refugees invariably took up the nationality of their countries of asylum within five years, and hence ceased to be refugees.

For a better understanding of refugee movements, it is suggested that future studies of refugees should consider their movements as an integral part of general patterns of migration. Throughout recorded human history, refugee migrations and other forced population movements have been prevalent. The predominance of economically-motivated migration is only a recent phenomenon, and is primarily a consequence of industrial and urban development.

Research on refugees by geographers should focus on the spatial dimensions of refugee movements. In particular, geographers should aim to more clearly understand the political, social, economic and demographic implications of refugee movements, in both the areas of origin as well as in areas of asylum.

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