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THE IMPACT OF REFUGEE ASSISTANCE ON THE ELDERLY: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY OF ELDERLY WOMEN AND MEN AT TONGOGARA, MAZOWE RIVER BRIDGE AND CHAMBUTA CAMPS IN ZIMBABWE, 1983-1992

BY

DODO THANDIWE DORCAS SIDZUMO-MAZIBUKO

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
at the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

Winnipeg, Manitoba

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ABSTRACT

The general purpose of this study is to investigate the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the elderly Mozambican population within refugee camps in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1992. It also investigated the impact of governmental as well as non-governmental assistance to this particular group. The selected study areas focused on three refugee camps in Zimbabwe established between 1984 and 1990. These camps were located in different ecological areas of the country. The major instrument for data collection was the survey, with two questionnaires, one for the elderly women and the second for the elderly men. In addition, an unstructured interview schedule was administered to key informants working for various Government departments and NGOs. Participant observation was followed at the project sites in the refugee camps themselves.

The findings indicate that Government policy of restricting employment opportunities to the studied population affected their economic well-being in the camps significantly. The adaptation of elderly refugees in camps is affected by structural, economic, cultural, social and psychosocial issues impacting their lives. An overwhelming majority of the elderly refugees were functionally illiterate. They came from a subsistence farming background. The general well-being of elderly refugees in camps is affected by their economic status, and whether their spouses and children are present with them in the camps. The population had a significantly higher representation of elderly women than men, and a sizeable number of these were widowed. Lack of money was a serious problem for the majority of the elderly women and men in the camps. More women participated in the skills-training projects. As a result, there were more women who stated that they had learned some useful skills by participating in the projects. However, a significant number of elderly refugees who were subsistence farmers before their displacement from Mozambique, noted that they had learned nothing new from participating in the projects. The skills-training projects provided certain skills to those who participated in them. It was not clear however, how these skills were going to be used in Mozambique after repatriation.

Due to lack of traditional social support mechanisms in the camps, many elderly refugees often experience social isolation and emotional problems. More elderly women encountered various types of problems ranging from material want to emotional problems. The results of the logistic regression run on several key indicators of refugee well-being revealed that, gender, participation in skills-training projects, their relationship with camp staff and finally their relationship with other refugees were the most important predictor variables accounting for their well-being in the camps.

In order to become meaningful and effective, protection and assistance programmes have to acknowledge and encourage the development of innovative self-help coping strategies and income-generating projects that are directed by refugees themselves. These coping strategies take place within systems of independent communication among the refugees themselves, as well as the various trading relationships which develop between elderly refugees and the local population. It is largely from such interactions that their independent livelihoods are sustained. For the future, it will be important that more multi-disciplinary studies be carried out in different regions of the globe in order to gain more insight into both the needs as well as the capacities of elderly refugees in camps, and for the assistance agencies to design more responsive programmes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is very difficult within a few paragraphs to adequately acknowledge all the people, agencies and institutions that have contributed towards the production of this study. However, a modest attempt is made.

In Canada, first, my deepest gratitude goes towards my Academic Advisor, Prof. John Richard Rogge, who patiently taught me all there is to know about Forced Migration and Disaster Management issues, accompanied me through the teaching courses I prepared and delivered, as well as through my research study and theses writing period. Second, my sincerest respect and gratitude go to the members of my Advisory Committee, Professors Mario Carvalho, John Loxley, C. Ramu, for guiding me and supporting me tirelessly both through taught courses as well as through invaluable advice given during my thesis writing period. To Prof. Carvalho, an additional word of gratitude for his graciousness and fortitude to see me through my doctoral programme, by allowing to become my Academic Advisor in the stages of presenting my final draft to the Faculty of Graduate Studies.

In the Faculty of Graduate Studies, I am grateful to Dr. Ken Hughes, Dr. Straw and Ms. Helen Agar, all of whom supported me with encouragement to work tirelessly in order to meet the submission deadlines. Many other people in this department were of assistance to me and I thank all of them.

My colleagues in the Disaster Research Institute, and some staff members of the Geography Department were quite keen to see me through and I recollect their encouraging glances and spoken words of support.

Without the sponsorship of my research by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa, and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS) at York University, North York, this thesis might not have come to fruition.

In Zimbabwe, my profound admiration for the unconditional logistical and moral support that came from the Principal of the School of Social Work (University of Zimbabwe), Dr. Edwin Kaseke. My gratitude also goes to the members of staff who availed themselves to give the writer all the needed logistical support. In the Government of Zimbabwe, I am profoundly indebted to the tremendous support received from the Department of Social Welfare, Refugee Services Unit, and in particular from the Commissioner of Refugees (COR), Mr. Mhiribidi and the then Director, Mr. Mukwewa. In all the three camps, my gratitude extends to the Camp Administrators, their Staff, the members of Staff among the NGOs, especially the HelpAge staff, who assisted the team of researchers greatly. Thanks to all the Senior Staff in the NGOs who provided key information about their policies and programmes, with special reference to Dr. Rhoda Immermann and Mr. Mupinda in the Harare office. Special thanks also goes to the Zimbabwe Research Council for granting the writer a research permit to undertake this study. Also, special gratitude for the excellent team of Mozambican researchers, third and fourth year students at the School of Social Work, without whose assistance this study would have remained just a dream.

My utmost respect, admiration and gratitude to the elderly Mozambican refugee women and men who gave abundantly and humbly of their time to educate the writer and team of researchers about their history of resilience in struggle. Their faces will remain forever in the mind of the writer.

Finally, I am indebted to my family, my children Refilwe and Neo, for their unconditional support and encouragement at all times. Last but not least, my gratitude extends to my husband, who endured long periods of separation from me during both the research and thesis writing stages of this study.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

AWC	Association of Women's Clubs
CA	Camp Administrator
CADEC	Catholic Development Commission
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CDR	Centre for Documentation on Refugees (part of the UNHCR Office specialising in documentation on refugee issues)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDMAA	Centre d'Information sur le Mozambique et l'Afrique Australte
COCAMO	Cooperation Canada-Mozambique
COR	Commissioner for Refugees
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DF	Degrees of Freedom
DMTP	Disaster Management Training Programme
ECA	Economic Commission on Africa (often used interchangeably with UNECA)
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
FICO	Portuguese Settler Movement
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
FUMO	Democratic Front of Mozambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund

LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MANU	Mozambique Makonde Union
MNRA	Mozambique National Resistance Army (also known as RENAMO)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OMM	Organisation de Mulhers Mozamibicana
PCN	National Coalition Party
PRM	Partido Revolucionario de Mozambique
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance Movement
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SADC	Southern African Development Conference
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SRQ-20	Self Reporting Questionnaire
TAMOFA	Tanzania-Mozambique Friendship Association
TCRS	Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service
UDENAMO	National Democratic Union of Mozambique
UMANU	National African Union of Independent Mozambique
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRO	United Nations Office for Disaster and Reconstruction
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission on Africa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
UNITA	United National Front for the Total Independence of Angola
USCR	United States Committee for Refugees
WB	World Bank (formerly known as the International Band for Reconstruction and Development)
WFP	World Food Programme

WHO	World Health Organisation
WSSD	World Summit for Social Development
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union (also known as the Patriotic Front)
ZCC	Zimbabwe Christian Council
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army
ZNAF	Zimbabwe National Airforce
ZRCS	Zimbabwe Red Cross Society
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Aldeamentos

These were groupings of scattered and isolated villages formed into compounds by the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique. The purpose of these strategic rural settlements was to control the rural population and to keep them away from the influence of FRELIMO's politicisation campaign (De Araujo, 1985).

Bantustans/Homelands

These were former segregated areas for Africans only during the era of segregationist policies of Apartheid under the rule of the Nationalist party since 1948. The official segregation of various racial groups by residential areas was formerly enacted through the Group Areas Act of 1950. These *Bantustans* or Homelands were mostly located in marginal territory except for the former Bophuthatswana which had platinum mines. The *Bantustans* or Homelands have since been dissolved in 1994, after the holding of the first democratic elections and the installation of a representative Government of National Unity in the country.

Chibalo

This was a system of forced labour extraction whereby the African labourers from the rural settlements were sent to work in the Portuguese plantations. In addition, the labourers were required to work on the colonial administration's projects such as building roads and bridges. Their work contracts extended for periods of up to one year. The contracting of such labour was officially protected. However, the rights of the workers were not incorporated in these labour policies (Da Silva, 1992:3).

Cipaios

These were the African policemen who were employed by the Portuguese administration in Mozambique. They were deployed to round up African peasants by using coercive methods consisting of beatings and arrests. After capturing the peasants, they were required to transport them in trucks to the plantations and at the sites of public works projects in the provinces (Da Silva, 1992:5).

Colonatos

These were settlements accommodating Portuguese farmers which were built as buffer zones around the African rural settlements. In the majority of cases, cash crops such as cotton, sugar and cashew nuts were cultivated in these farms for export purposes. The labour supplied to these plantations was gained from the neighbouring rural settlements (Lassailly-Jacob, 1992:3).

Communal Villages

After gaining independence in 1975, the new Government of Mozambique transformed the former *aldeamentos* into communal villages as a strategy for rural development. These villages were based on collective production and they were run by agricultural cooperatives. Other communal villages however, were established for the reception of flood-affected communities between 1976-1978, and later for the accommodation of returning refugees (Lassailly-Jacob, 1992:3).

General Well-Being

The general well-being of refugees in the camps is provided for when their emotional, spiritual, social, economic and cultural needs are fulfilled, to the extent possible. In the same vein, when their capacities are recognised and utilised for their own development, this situation increases their level of confidence and security.

Occupational Deflection

This is a situation which reflects substantial discrepancies between intended and actual occupation of refugees in their first country of asylum (Stein, 1979; Richmond, 1984). For example, the elderly refugee men who worked formerly as artisans in Mozambique experienced occupational deflection whilst in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe, because they were now engaged as agricultural workers.

Psychological Well-Being

The absence of experiencing traumatic events as a victim, and or witnessing or knowing of an event constitutes part of a person's psychological well-being. In addition, the absence of current stressors or daily life events, and the presence of positive living conditions, as well as social support are crucial factors in the maintenance and promotion of the emotional well-being of refugees and their families (McCallin, 1992:71). Confidence and security are widely acknowledged as factors which contribute to the psychological well-being of refugees.

Psychotrauma

This condition refers to a collection of symptoms, behaviours and emotions, which are always preceded by a clear traumatic event, such as being a witness to a massacre (Reeler, 1991:3).

Refugee

A refugee is a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside of the country of his nationality and is unable to or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country..." (The 1951 Convention relating to the status of Refugees).

Regulado

These were the communities of African families who were under the enforced authority of the appointed *regulos*

Regulos

After destroying the authority structures of the African society in Mozambique, the Portuguese administration replaced the original traditional leaders by appointing figureheads. Once an appointment was approved and recognised by the colonial administration, the *regulos* were supplied with an armed militia, which enabled them to enforce their authority on the *regulados* (Da Silva, 1992:5).

Self-help

The most readily understood and most generally accepted of the terms. With self-help policies refugees do as much for themselves as possible. They are encouraged to build their huts, clear their land, and develop their own services (Rogge, 1987:88).

Self-Support

After refugees are settled in a rural area, priority is placed upon creating at least a minimum level of self-support in food production. WFP feeding is not only costly, but can have serious repercussions on regional economies by inflating costs of foodstuffs for everyone. Also, WFP rations are not always the most nutritious, especially if only part of the designated "food basket" is available for distribution. In practice however, self-support is not readily achieved, and in many instances in Sudan and elsewhere, WFP rations have still been required after several years (Rogge, 1987:88).

Self-reliance

This term perhaps best describes a condition where refugees are fully self-supporting in food production, and are able as well to generate additional income from sale of surplus crops, or through providing services and selling their labour, and thus require little or no assistance in meeting their day-to-day needs (Rogge, 1987:88).

Self-sufficiency

Self-sufficiency cannot signify a total independence from any form of government assistance or subsidy, instead, the implication is that, such assistance or subsidy be neither greater nor less than that received by local indigenous communities. In other words, refugees have achieved self-sufficiency when they are fully integrated into the rural milieu, including paying their full contribution to the tax burden. At this stage, the refugees should receive levels of services equal to local populations, and indeed be accorded the rights and responsibilities of the indigenous population (Rogge, 1987:89).

Social and Economic Well-Being

It is widely accepted that to plan protection and assistance activities efficiently and effectively, refugee workers must analyse the social and economic roles of women and men in the refugee community and understand how these will affect and be affected by the planned activities. In the refugee context, these social and economic roles are constantly changing. Therefore, a major factor in planning for refugees is the concept of change, and specifically the implications of socio-economic role changes to the planning process. Whether planning programmes for food distribution, water, agriculture, accommodation or health, employment, socio-economic conditions and changes in the community are the major factors which will determine the capacity of the refugees to benefit from and participate in these activities.

Refugee participation and acknowledgement of refugee skills brought into exile are also major factors in determining whether a project will be successful (Brazeau, 1992:250-251). When these and other aspects are taken into consideration in planning protection and assistance activities, this increases the social and economic well-being of refugees. When the opposite occurs, this situation may lead to social and economic vulnerability of this population.

Self-Reporting Questionnaire, SRQ-20

This is a self-reporting instrument. This twenty-item forced choice psychiatric screening instrument was developed by the World Health Organisation. When applied appropriately, this instrument helps to identify the anxiety as well as the depression scores, and has been used widely to assist in the determination of psychotrauma among communities displaced by war and natural disasters (Reeler, 1991:5).

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is the propensity of things to become damaged by a hazard (DMTP, 1992:67).

Vulnerability Assessment

The process of estimating the vulnerability to potential hazards of specific elements of risk. For general socio-economic purposes, it involves consideration of all significant elements in society, including physical, social and economic considerations, and the extent to which essential services will be able to continue functioning (DMTP, 1992:67).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

Between 1981 and 1992, a total of about two million Mozambicans (Wilson, 1992f:1) fled their homeland due to protracted war, environmental degradation, and sought refuge in Zambia, Swaziland, Malawi, Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

This study in an investigation of the socio-economic and demographic features of the elderly population within refugee camps in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1992. It also discusses the impact of governmental as well as non-governmental assistance to this particular group, whilst investigating especially the significance of the differential vulnerability experienced by the elderly in a refugee camp setting. Identifying the needs and the capacities, as well as the coping strategies of older refugees are important components of this investigation.

The method of investigation adopted is premised primarily on the political economic model. This model is based on the work of many social scientists in the field of development and other studies (Bernstein, 1973; 1979; Oxall et al, 1975; Sen, 1975; Mitra, 1977; Lehmann 1979; Seers, 1979; Cuny, 1983; Wijkman and Timberlake, 1984; Timberlake, 1986). The political economy paradigm unravels the interplay between the historic, political, economic, physiographic and demographic factors in a specific context. The relationship between a household, the community and the political economy is a crucial one. Thereby, the vulnerability of these elderly refugees is illustrated as a direct and indirect function of the interplay between these factor in their daily lives. In addition, disaster literature reveals that government policies in many societies had resulted in drastically altering the social relations of production (Winchester, 1992:42). Consequently, in many instances, this situation resulted in the economic and spatial marginalisation of many members of these societies (Winchester, 1992:43).

Statement of the Problem

There is often a close connection between the definition of a problem and how it is later conceptualised. This interplay also influences the types of policy directives that will emerge out of this process, in terms of their relevance to the social context, but also in relation to their potential to mitigate national and international problems (such as emergencies and disasters). In this section, a brief attention is given to: first, definitional problems, and second, to conceptual problems.

Definitional Problems

Until the end of the 1970s, the dominant definition of vulnerability in disaster research and practice conceptualised vulnerability as the direct relationship between risk and hazard (UNDRO, 1979b). The underlying assumption drawn here was, that hazard was a combination of an event and the risk of exposure to that event. There was the further assumption that the risk, therefore, was the same for everyone exposed to it. This outlook also reinforced the perception that "...populations exposed to natural hazards were homogeneous, except for degrees of exposure" (Winchester, 1992:39). Consequent to this bias, due to this limited vision of disasters and their interaction with human systems, disaster managers found it relatively easier to deal with natural disasters than, as others observed, to cope with "...the obvious differentiations in society" (Winchester, 1992:39). A subsequent definition developed by the UN Disaster Management Training Programme (DMTP) states that "vulnerability is the propensity of things to become damaged by a hazard" (DMTP, 1992:67). Consequently, vulnerability assessment is defined as the process of estimating the vulnerability to potential disaster hazards of specified elements of risk. For general socio-economic purposes it involves consideration of all significant elements in society, including physical, social and economic considerations, and the extent to which essential services will be able to continue functioning (DMTP, 1992:67).

During the same period, however, several social scientists, particularly sociologists had long maintained that disasters were "social crisis periods" (Dynes et al, 1967; Dynes et al, 1972; Dynes and Quarantelli, 1977; Dynes et al, 1987; Britton, 1987; Mazur, 1989; Wilson, 1992; Richmond, 1994). Of particular interest is the work of Britton (1987) which provided a clear delineation of the three types of disasters: accidents, emergencies and disasters. According to this typology, conflict-induced disasters (for example, war and civil strife) belong to the third category. Because they are widespread and in many cases long-term, "war and civil strife frequently cause large-scale population displacement, increasingly of a permanent nature" (Rogge, 1992:9). In this context, such disasters should be viewed within the social context in which they take place because "disasters are a social product" (Britton, 1987).

Second, another major contribution of social scientists to be disasters debate has notably been their introduction of the differential vulnerability notion (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Karadawi, 1989; Rogge, 1992). The alternative viewpoint focuses on the dimension of studying the differential impact of the disaster upon various sections of a community or society, and the relationship between crisis and normal day conditions is the main emphasis of this alternative perception. Thus, in the context of conflict-induced disasters, by placing greater emphasis on people and the impact of aid upon them, as well as the interaction between aid givers and beneficiaries, the following factors were identified as major components defining vulnerability,

> the powerlessness of refugees, in relation to an alien social and economic environment which involves many factors which are beyond the powers of the assistance programme to alter; ...the physical and psychological toll on individuals which has immediate and long-term consequences for the capacity of the society to re-establish viable productions units...the loss of assets, perhaps the most characteristic of all refugees (Harrell-Bond, 1986:250).

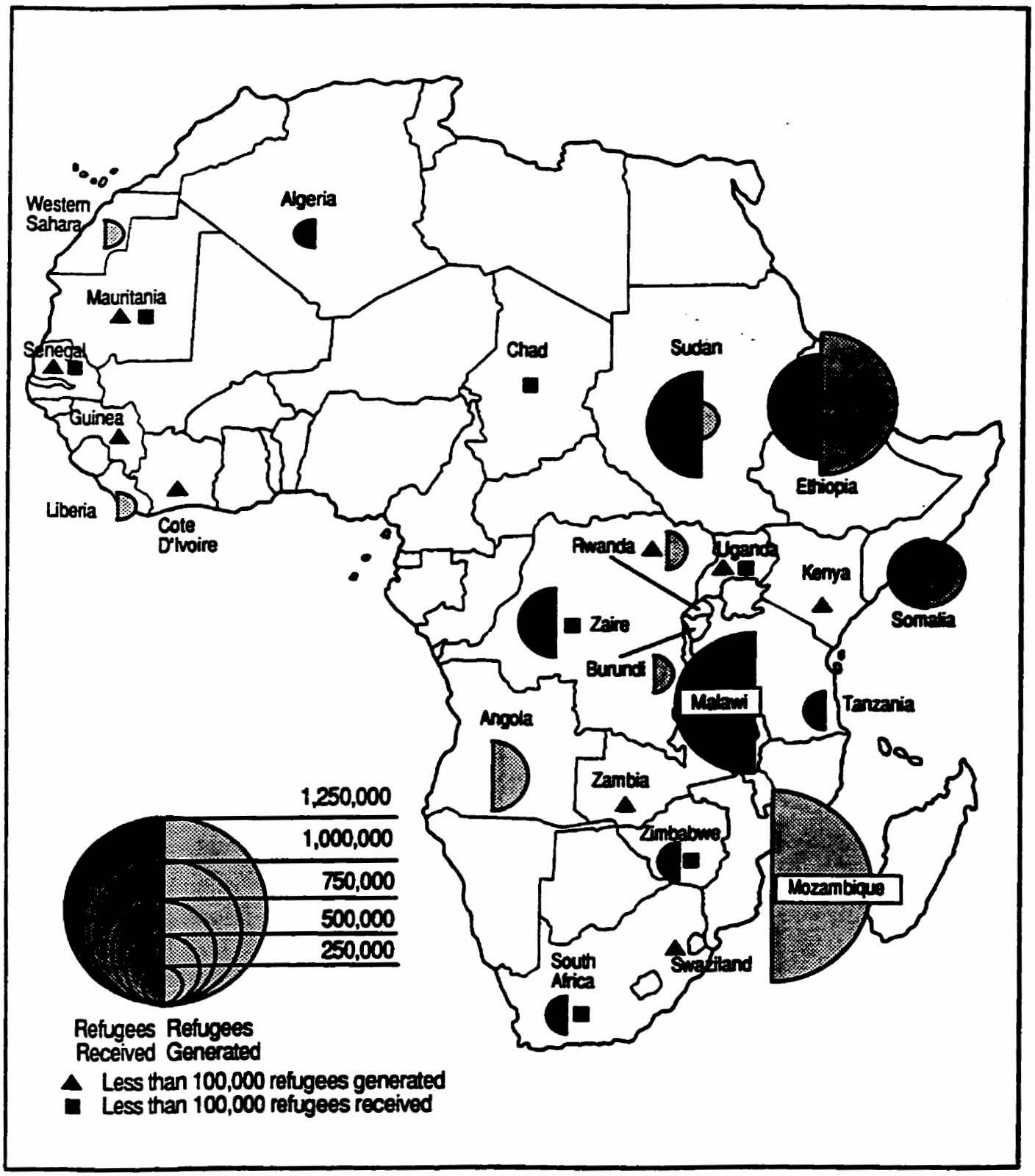
Third, another major contribution of the social sciences to the disasters debate is the emphasis placed on the overall spatial, social and the political economic analysis of a given community or society affected by disaster (Rogge, 1992:10). To further illustrate this framework is has been noted that

> the political economic context is basically the product of the inter-relationship between: climate and physiography, the social relations of production and historic development policies, and the people are more or less vulnerable according to their relationship with these inter-relationships (Winchester, 1992:42).

Conceptual Problems

From the 1960s through to the 1990s, settlement schemes and refugee camps have been perceived as a uniquely African response to the refugee problem (Refugee Policy Group, 1988). The earliest schemes were developed in Zaire for refugees coming from Angola, and similar programmes were established for Eritreans, Ethiopians and Ugandans in the Sudan, as well as the Barundi, Rwandese and Mozambicans in Tanzania, and Rwandans in Uganda. During the early and mid-1980s, refugee villages, settlements and camps were established in Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and South Africa. Refugee camps were also established in Zimbabwe for more than a decade. Figure 1.1 shows the numbers of refugees generated or received by country in Africa for the year 1990. From this map, it is clear that certain countries have historically played the roles of generating as well as receiving refugees. Highlighted here in particular are the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. Of particular interest for this year, however, was that Mozambique had generated more than one-and-a-quarter million refugees. About a million of these were received by one of Africa's smallest countries, Malawi. The rest were dispersed in relatively smaller numbers between Zimbabwe, South Africa, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia.

Figure 1.1 Africa: Refugees Generated or Received by Country



Source: United States Department of State, Bureau for Intelligence and Research, 1990, p. 8

The settlement and holding camp approach has since spread throughout Africa, as these were viewed not only as a means of reducing the burden on host countries, but also as a means of contributing to the development of local, regional and national economies (Rogge, 1987; Kibreab, 1987). Of course, the need to integrate such settlements and camps with zonal planning by host Governments had long been recognized (Rubin, 1974; United Nations, 1979). It has been repeatedly stated that the goal of assisting refugees in such settlements and camps should not simply be to maintain them at a level comparable to that of the local people, but also to use these projects as an impetus towards raising the living standards of both the refugees and the local population. At any rate, sharing of medical and educational services, for example, eases potential tensions between the two groups, and also assists with the integration of refugees in the local host society (Kibreab, 1985:96).

However, there are several conceptual and practical problems facing the host countries, the assisting agencies, the refugees and the local populations, some of which are beyond their control because of their systemic nature. These are outlined in the following paragraphs.

First, many of the African countries that host large refugee populations do not have adequate land nor the infrastructure to support these groups. In addition, their fragile economies are incapable of satisfying even the basic needs for their nationals. According to Karadawi (1989:537), the plight of refugees in Africa is compounded by the fact that they often seek asylum in poor host countries which are as politically and economically fragile as their countries of origin. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has also been called upon to develop infrastructure to deal with refugees, but these efforts have often not been integrated within the development programmes of the host countries (Kozlowski, 1982). Besides, not all African states have large tracts of land that can be allocated for such settlements and camps, let alone designating plots for individual refugee households. The question of availability of land is crucial, however, it has been noted that

> more important than the question of quantity of available land is that of quality of land. No matter how well a scheme is designed or executed, it cannot succeed if the quality of land is inadequate...Countries of asylum like Djibouti, Somalia or Algeria have plenty of unused land, but it is totally unsuited for any form of agriculture enterprise (Rogge, 1981:177).

Second, although most of Africa's refugees are rural, not all of these cultivate the land for a living (Harrell-Bond, 1986). Consequently, the lack of diversity among some programmes offered by host governments and non-governmental (NGOs) in mitigating refugee problems primarily through agriculturally based projects tends to negate the relevance of the various artisan trades and skills that refugees bring with them into exile. In this context, where these skills are not transferable, the impact on refugees, especially upon elderly women and men, results in their alienation and frustration, as well as the subsequent development of psychosocial complications.

Third, there is an apparent paternalism in refugee assistance programmes towards the condition of "beneficiaries", what Chambers and Leach (1989:331) call "professional bias". Discourse analysis allows the development analyst to examine the ideological construction of relief and aid in Africa. While in general, the discourse on development aid has constructed the recipients of aid as "passive targets, obstacles or beneficiaries who are receiving a handout for which they have not worked: (Stamp, 1989:157), refugees are in fact doubly disadvantaged within such a discourse. In addition to being exposed to general poverty which subsumes their lives on a daily basis, rural dwellers and refugees in their state of deprivation are often physically weak, living in isolation (remote areas), are powerless and also vulnerable (Chambers and Leach, 1989:329). The authors continue the debate stating that

> reducing vulnerability to contingencies is however, rarely a direct objective of government anti-poverty rural development programmes. ...few programmes try to reduce vulnerability directly by enabling the poor people to gain disposable assets which they can realize at will meet contingencies (Chambers and Leach, 1989:330).

Welfare-oriented bias in attempting to mitigate structural problems ascribed by others is an indication of the pervasiveness of the relief approach in the delivery of refugee assistance.

This approach comes with its own flaws, as it undermines the capacities of refugees to become agents of change, and in the meanwhile it may be imposing aid through programmes that may not be enabling the refugees to develop themselves (Harrell-Bond, 1986; 1995). In many instances, most agencies dealing with refugees have an anticipatory approach, and the most common denominator among them is their imposition of solutions rather than attempting to involve refugees in the decision-making processes (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988; Chigudu, 1990).

Fourth, one of the major problems are those of power and control. These issues, however, are not addressed since agencies and others are reluctant to identify them as such. The host governments retain all control and the agencies that provide support play a role in determining what kind of support is needed. Whilst this situation is not to be generalized so as to cover all aid agencies, nevertheless, the approach towards assisting refugees is plagued by extreme levels of paternalism. Whereas assistance is provided, there is also a disturbing presence of the continued rhetoric of refugee participation, but few attempts to practically involve refugees in decision-making (Clark, 1987; Bulcha, 1988; Makhanya, 1992). The situation of vulnerable groups such as the elderly, people with disabilities, unaccompanied minors and orphans, as well as the chronically ill is even more distressing, given the general lack of consultation with refugees about the content, design, as well as the implementation and evaluation of aid.

Fifth, there is often an overall problem of issue conceptualization. Within the discourse on local integration in refugee studies, there is a growing trend to overlook issues related to structural or systemic questions, and thereby focus solely on studying the area of coping mechanisms (Zolberg, Surhke and Aguayo, 1986; Mazur, 1989; Richmond, 1994). These authors maintain that it is always useful to begin the discourse on micro issues, in this case the problems linked to the local integration of elderly refugees, first by acknowledging the macro systemic impediments that most developing countries face partly due to factors related to the historical underdevelopment of the latter by the erstwhile colonial powers. It is vital also to

point out the many policy mistakes and practical applications of these committed by post-independence administrations. Thus, the discussion of the specific context from a historical perspective enables the migration analyst to appreciate the vulnerability issues inter-temporally.

In spite of the thirty years or more of political independence attained by several African countries, most of the refugee-producing states and those hosting them are among the least developed countries in the world. Many of these countries are dependent upon their erstwhile colonial masters for aid in order to transform their economies towards economic independence. Like the refugees in camps, lack of economic self-sufficiency is a major constraint in achieving economic independence. For many refugees in the camps, they have been dependent on international refugee support systems for too long, often over a decade, and are unable to attain self-sufficiency after several years of camp operation. As will be shown in chapters five, six and seven of this study, the constraints to the attainment of refugee self-sufficiency (even self-support) are related to structural, institutional and motivational factors.

Sixth, another major constraint in the delivery of refugee assistance is related to the prevalence of an age bias. This is directly connected to the issue of misunderstanding the significance of differential vulnerability in disasters. The majority of the discussions reflecting on which of the two types of refugee settlements patterns in host countries (self-settlement or camps) is more prone to mitigate the adaptation process in exile have been helpful.

However, the factor of aging in exile has not been addressed in many of these discussions. The accounts concentrate largely on reviewing the effects of local integration upon the so-called "able-bodied" refugees. Except in very few instances (Pankhurst, 1984; 1985; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Ramji, 1987; Mupedziswa, 1989; Munyai, 1990; Wilson, 1992; Kuhlman, 1994), elderly refugees have been inadvertently omitted in terms of discussing their specific needs and capacities, and how integration has affected them.

Given the general problem of refugee documentation in some of the first asylum countries in Africa, and the lack of regularised information on refugee numbers disaggregated

by age and sex composition, it may become increasingly difficult to ascertain the extent of their actual numbers and capacities of the elderly in the camps and settlements. These problems are compounded by especially the lack of information on the socio-economic background of the hosted elderly refugees. A dearth of such vital information may result in the unintended neglect of this growing population and thereby increase the incidence of inappropriate developmental projects being imposed on this group. This age-bias is partly due to the absence of geriatric studies as a focal point within either refugee or disaster studies, and where there is such focus, it is very often not multifaceted. Even UNHCR documentation (except for regional or country specific studies such as Thorn, 1991), however, makes cursory remarks about the need for refugee workers to become sensitive to the plight of the elderly, especially during the implementation of repatriation programmes (UNHCR, 1993).

Seventh, related to the question of an age bias, an additional gender bias is inherent in the delivery of refugee assistance by agencies in the camps and settlements (Christensen, 1982; 1986; Hall, 1982; Spring, 1982; 1988; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Brazeau, 1990; Makhanya, 1990; Chigudu, 1990; Demeke, 1990; McCallin and Fozzard, 1990; Moussa, 1992; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994; Musse, 1994). According to some scholars, this problem is typical because of the fact that settlements have been planned by men for men, marginalizing women both economically and socially (Scudder and Colson, 1982:284).

Only within the last twenty to thirty years have African women's key productive roles been recognised by academics and policy makers (Boserup, 1970: 1982; Okeyo, 1989; Okonjo, 1979; Berar-Awad, 1984; Lele, 1986; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994; Moser, 1994). While there has been more literature on gender and development, little information on the role of refugee women gained specific focus until recently (Spring, 1982; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Daley, 1991; Moussa, 1992; Bonga, 1992; Makhanya, 1992; Forbes Martin, 1992).

A further age bias occurs even among the studies carried out on the different experiences of integration, and how women in different age groups encounter exile. The majority of studies have concentrated on the "able-bodied" younger or middle-aged women,

but very few on elderly women or women with disabilities. In this respect, the age and gender biases inherent in refugee literature make it increasingly difficult for specific groups of refugees, such as the elderly, to be adequately understood. In addition, it is difficult to ensure that the elderly are appropriately assisted in adapting to the problems of living in the settlements and camps whilst in exile.

Eighth, although recognised as a major problem, a tendency still exists among host governments as well as the international and domestic NGOs to overlook refugee participation in projects, from the design to the evaluation stages (Clark, 1987). In addition a lack of support from government and agencies for independent refugee survival projects has often meant the discouragement of refugee entrepeneurship and will to survive. Whereas some academics recommend that refugees be given "guidance and a firm hand" from the host governments whose preferred role should be "autocratic paternalism" (Stein, 1981:71), such an approach will lead to failure. In contrast to this refugee control approach, the recent University of Oxford symposium on refugee aid and development held in 1992 proposed that

> ...refugees' own livelihood strategies play the most important role in securing their welfare. There...host governments and assistance agencies should maximize refugees' abilities to engage in self-sustaining economic activities, including the freedom of movement, work and trade, in line with that of the host communities (Refugee Studies Programme, 1991:12).

Elsewhere it was noted that the desire of uprooted people to control their lives may lead them to actively resist schemes imposed by the state or experts from outside, and this may be so even when alternatives to those schemes appear extremely bleak (Oliver-Smith, 1991; Pankhurst, 1991; Kibreab, 1991).

Ninth, an inadequate understanding of the socio-cultural, economic and demographic background of the elderly among refugee populations has often led to the design and

imposition of inappropriate skills-training programmes. For example, some agencies have assumed that all elderly refugees are homogeneous in their attitudes, behaviour, economic status and occupational backgrounds. Because of this misconception, particularly in the case of many rural people, they have often been collectively labelled as peasants (Harrell-Bond, 1986). Assistance programmes emerging from such a premise lead to situations where agricultural programmes are being viewed as the sole occupation of the elderly within the camps. In many instances, however, further investigation of their occupational backgrounds reveal that they are engaged in different occupational categories from which they sustain their livelihoods: peasant farmers; agricultural seasonal labourers; animal herders; nomads; traditional healers; traditional mid-wives; tinsmiths; blacksmiths; village market vendors (from fresh fruits and vegetables to aluminium buckets and wrist watches); wrist-watch repairers; shoemakers and repairers; mineworkers; security workers; policeman; soldiers; tradesmen and women; domestic workers and so forth.

A more informed knowledge base should be developed about the actual situation and challenges encountered by this group, as well as looking at prospects for rehabilitation programmes designed with the direct participation the elderly refugees in camps. One of the possible ways to achieve this is by conducting empirical studies which investigate their needs and capacities, as well as gathering relevant information about their social and economic background. This information, including their perceptions of the critical areas for refugee assistance within the camps, may form useful baseline data for future geriatric programmes. Planners working in host government departments, the UNHCR, international and domestic NGOs, as well as their counterparts in the refugees' countries of origin, may actually find this information invaluable to help better prepare themselves for designing refugee-orientated integration programmes upon the return of the elderly refugees.

In addition, case studies which investigate the concrete experiences of several vulnerable groups, including elderly women and men, may reveal to interested agencies and host governments that African refugees are not dependent or passive but instead must work continuously to maintain themselves (Kibreab, 1990). There is need to re-orient both the

fundamental philosophical base and the practice emanating from the relief programme premise due to its overwhelmingly welfare-based orientation, to an outlook that views refugees in general as possible agents for their own development. A major problem of the welfare-based orientation in refugee aid tends to blame refugees for systemic problems which are beyond their control. The alternative approach, however, seeks to clarify the position that, the factor of refugee dependency on aid is determined largely by the manner in which assistance is given (Harrell-Bond, 1986: Kibreab, 1990). Consequently, "autocratic paternalism" will almost certainly undermine refugee initiatives and create dependency. The good intentions of the care-givers must be acknowledged. However, it is also essential for the host governments, the UNHCR, the international and domestic NGOs and the locals as well as refugees themselves to participate in this debate.

Finally, another problem lies in the restrictions imposed by host governments on the refugees within the country of asylum. The lack of movement experienced by refugees in general often curtails their ability to exercise their entrepreneurial initiatives. This further hampers their capacity to develop cooperative economic enterprises either with other refugees in other camps within the same host country, or with the locals in the surrounding villages. Where the free movement of refugees is restricted, often the initiatives of refugees to help themselves are also limited.

This issue of restricted refugee movement within an asylum country has been highlighted as a violation of a fundamental human right according to international law (UNHCR, 1995). Thus, any relief or development programme aimed at assisting refugees which overlooks the above-cited observations, which are themselves based on literature and empirical experiences, might encounter serious problems in its implementation.

Objectives of the Study

This study sought to investigate the following objectives:

1. To determine a socio-economic and demographic profile of elderly women and men at three selected refugee camps in Zimbabwe: Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta.
2. To learn about the different types of government and NGO assistance programmes and their impact on elderly women and men, and also about their coping strategies.
3. To find out whether the income-generating and skills training projects for elderly women and men prepare them for easier integration in Mozambique after repatriation.

Hypotheses

Refugee aid and development is intended to assist refugees in general, and vulnerable groups in particular. The goal is for refugees to regain their dignity and to amass their physical, mental and economic strengths to re-establish new homes and livelihoods in exile, through various income-generating opportunities and skills training programmes and projects offered in the camps. In some cases, particularly for the younger refugees, they often leave the camps for nearby towns and cities in search of wage labour opportunities as soon as they have gained registration passes. In most instances, however, especially for the elderly and other vulnerable refugees, there often is no other choice but to remain in the camps where, at least, food and medical supplies are provided through the assistance of the UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP). Their wishes for independent sustainable livelihoods remain a dream and their lives continue embroiled in hardships as they engage in survival struggles within the camps.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, this study sought to test the following hypotheses:

(1) **There is a positive relationship between participation in skills-training projects and the improved general well-being of elderly refugees in camps.** As earlier stated, and in reference particularly to the relief-oriented approach of refugee aid, this model of assistance fails to recognise the resources and experiences that refugees themselves bring to the social situation (Harrell-Bond, 1986). In addition to many other factors that are in the process compromised, the resources and networks among refugees, and often between refugees and the local people, are compromised by this approach. As others have observed, "by ignoring the needs of and its own impact on the local population, the relief model is essentially socially divisive" (Harrell-Bond, 1995:27). Notwithstanding these weaknesses in approach, it has also been recognised that to some degree refugees who participate in skills-training projects in the camps tend to be somewhat better-off that those who are not engaged in any formal activity. There is interest to discover whether participation of the elderly in such projects does improve their general well-being or not.

(2) **A significant relationship exists between the problems experienced by the elderly refugees in the camps and their gender, especially among widows.** The lives of refugees in general are difficult in the camps. Due to their lack of secure independent livelihoods, powerlessness, loss of assets and often having experienced traumatic events in the villages, during flight and sometimes upon arrival in the camps, they often arrive in the camps in a state of physical destitution. For many, particularly those whose family members have been killed during violent attacks by bandit forces, or who had been witness to these activities, their mental health often needs more urgent attention than is otherwise believed. Thus, loss of family, friends and relatives, loss of assets and general powerlessness all combine to compound their problems in the camps. Whilst this situation affects all refugees, there are vulnerable groups who are more affected. Widows are particularly vulnerable, especially if they are older and have no other relatives to support them emotionally.

(3) **The presence of social support for the elderly in refugee camps, is positively related to their psychosocial well-being.** Social networks among refugees are perhaps the most important form of social support after the close relatives living in the same camp. Quite often where social networks such as women's groups, church groups and the like are not present, there exists a greater likelihood for extreme loneliness and depression to develop. Refugee women, for example, whose husbands have either abandoned them or have joined the liberation forces or the army, or whose children, particularly sons have migrated to nearby towns and cities in search of wage-earning employment, also suffer tremendous losses emotionally. The children are raised by them alone, and with increasing loneliness and frustration experienced in the camps, some women have passed on their frustrations to their children (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990). Camp life is difficult enough for younger and middle-aged women. Due to the differential vulnerability aspect and the difficulty of aging in exile without the close support from relatives and kin, the situation of the elderly becomes quite critical. These problems are compounded in many cases by the fear of dying in exile (Harrel-Bond, 1986), far from their ancestors. However, new networks of camp support develop, and it is essential to know how these affect the emotional well-being of the elderly refugees.

(4) **The lack of income and employment encountered by elderly refugees in the camps affects their economic well-being in exile.** Apart from the question of large numbers, the next strikingly visible feature when entering refugee camps in Africa is the extreme destitution of the women, men and children. Many refugees, especially during war and civil conflict often flee with very minimal belongings. In many cases they are able only take their children and the clothing on their bodies. They enter the camps and live in those camps for years without their former assets. One of the striking realities in the camps, particularly upon entering a few households of the refugees, is the lack of assets. But even in this area, the fact of differential vulnerability applied. Usually the younger men and sometimes women may have some assets such as radios, bicycles, agricultural implements, more decent clothing, more blankets, and some even possess money and vehicles.

But the majority, including many elderly, their huts are virtually empty, except for a sleeping mat, a single blanket, a pot and sometimes an aluminium bucket. Lack of employment opportunities within the camps, and the restrictive employment policies of the host state, compound the situation for many refugees. When their skills and trades are not transferable into exile, more economic vulnerability occurs.

Organization of the Thesis

This thesis, as stated earlier, is concerned with investigating the appropriateness of refugee assistance to the elderly in the three refugee camps in Zimbabwe, in terms of its responsiveness to both their practical needs and strategic interests. It therefore endeavours to examine the relevance of skills-training programmes in these camps from the vantage point of the elderly women and men, and not as usually is the case, from the perspectives of the assisting authorities from Government and NGOs. In addition, the survey conducted intended to study the multifaceted capacities and vulnerabilities of these refugees, and to highlight their coping strategies in these circumstances.

To this end, this chapter has focused on discussing problems related to definitional and conceptual issues in refugee assistance, which have a direct and indirect bearing on the well-being of refugees in general, and that of the elderly in particular. Both the study objectives and hypotheses of this study are discussed herein. The need for greater sensitivity among policy-makers in Government, UNHCR and the NGOs assisting refugees towards the plight of the elderly, and the need for empowerment strategies discussed with the elderly in the camps are emphasised.

Chapter Two focuses on the literature survey. An investigation into the state of research on elderly refugees in Africa was undertaken, with a specific interest to emphasise the urgent need for multi-disciplinary studies in this area. Indeed this interdisciplinary bias is essential in understanding the problem as comprehensively as possible, due to the prevalence of multifaceted adversity factors impacting on this population during their protracted stay in the refugee camps.

Chapter Three discusses the means of data collection and the procedures undertaken to conduct the survey among the elderly in the camps, and also elaborates on the various interactions with key informants who are officials from different government departments, UNHCR and NGO's. In addition, both the limitations as well as the strengths of the survey questionnaire are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four unravels the historical circumstances of forced migration in Mozambique to enable the reader to situate the systemic causes of the recent sixteen year war of destabilisation and destruction within a political economic perspective. Also, to assist the reader to understand that the political, social, cultural and economic causes of this recent social crisis are partly rooted in the past history of colonial dispossession, but also partly due to the post-independence policies. In addition, this Chapter highlights both the directions of flight of the Mozambican refugees, between 1983 and 1992, as well as the experiences of their settlement in six host countries in the region of Southern Africa.

Chapter Five informs about the historical, political, economic and social background of Zimbabwe as one of the host countries for the Mozambican refugees. In addition, the Chapter also discusses the refugee situation in the country, and the problems and challenges faced by the refugees due to the government refugee policy. The various Government and NGO assistance programmes as well as their impact on the elderly refugees are discussed.

Chapter Six provides the essential demographic and socio-economic background of the elderly women and men in Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps. This is partly to discover both their vulnerabilities and capacities, but also to highlight their coping mechanisms.

Chapter Seven is solely devoted to discussing several factors which affect the general well-being of elderly refugees in camps in Africa. Also the results of the four stated hypotheses and the performed cross-tabulations and Chi-Square tests, as well as the degrees of significance are discussed.

Finally, Chapter Eight summarizes the major findings of this study. In addition, policy proposals are discussed for the purpose of mitigating the plight of elderly refugees in general, and those residing in refugee settlements and camps in Africa. Recommendations for future research in the area of geriatric refugee programmes are made, with special reference to promoting more integrated studies wherever possible.

Summary

This Chapter attempted to raise some critical issues in the area of refugee and emergency assistance from a historical perspective, pointing out the strengths and weaknesses entailed in these approaches. The relief model was highlighted as inappropriate for longer-term disasters due to the multifaceted problems it produces among the intended beneficiaries. Also discussed were the challenges and prospects emanating from definitional issues and conceptualization of assistance, in the light of vulnerable groups, with special reference to the elderly in refugee camps in Africa. This Chapter sets the stage for Chapter Two which introduces a geriatric model for working with elderly refugees in Africa.

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CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE STATE OF RESEARCH ON ELDERLY REFUGEES IN AFRICA

Introduction

In Africa, the social reality in most pre-colonial societies served to enhance the role and worth of the elderly, and also engendered self-respect in the elderly themselves (Hampson, 1982; Nyanguru, 1987, 1990, 1991). For the most part, the positive attitudes and perception by members of these pre-colonial societies towards the elderly were shaped as part of the overall philosophy of communal social relations based on the principles of mutual respect and support (Sangomba, 1987). In these pre-colonial societies, both movable and immovable property were shared communally (Mabongunje, 1980). During this pre-colonial era, and for decades after the contact period, the extended family network was the primary form of kin relationships. Available resources were shared equitably between asylum seekers and host communities. Early statistics were neither institutionalised nor a subject of international concern, and there were no refugee camps as they are seen today (Bakwesegha, 1994:3).

However, with the impact of colonization and the ensuing unequal relations between foreign administrations and the indigenous people, social attitudes towards the elderly also began to change. The rapid industrialization of most of the African continent during the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the increased rural-urban migration and related problems of poverty and under-development also contributed to the breakdown of the communal relations in pre-colonial societies. Both the tight networks of family relations and the enjoyment of access to communal property and protection dwindled. The majority of African peasant families and communities, who were the erstwhile owners of fertile lands were systematically dislocated from the land (Awau-Asamoa, 1991, Pheko, 1993). The dislocation from the land was an end-product of several historical processes.

Some of the most prominent causes of this dislocation were: the forced displacement of families and communities from ancestral lands by oppressive and racist colonial government policies, (Rogge, 1981; Mabin, 1987; Bengu, 1991; Jackson, 1994; Makhanya, 1994; Richmond, 1994) the inter-ethnic contestation of land (Rogge, 1993:19), the militarization of society and the rise and escalation of armed conflicts (Awua-Asamoa, 1991). The resulting droughts and famine, as well as the penetration of international capital through transnational companies in most African countries have also been in the forefront of the displacement of people from their lands (Moyo, 1986; Buthelezi, 1988). In many African countries, a sizeable number of the elderly comprise the category of the dislocated people among internally displaced persons and refugees.

This Chapter discusses several factors which are also contributory to the vulnerability of elderly refugees in the camps in Africa: host attitudes, decision-making power and elderly refugees, aging, social attitudes and vulnerability, gender issues, social support and vulnerability, the material aspects, the physiological aspects, the physchosocial dimension, the disruption of family units, and finally, displacement and cultural discontinuity.

Host Attitudes, Decision-making Power and Elderly Refugees

The factors which create the vulnerability of the elderly refugee women and men in refugee camps in Africa are numerous. It is crucial to examine and understand these elements from an inter-disciplinary perspective. An attempt to define the differing degrees of vulnerability experienced by the elderly in refugee camps as resulting only from one source would be inadequate (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Reeler, 1991). In addition, the nature of the problems encountered by both the elderly women and men should be perceived within two distinct categories. On the one hand, there are those problems that seem to be more structural or systemic in nature, whereas on the other hand, there are some which are related more to the personal or the individual dimension (Forbes Martin, 1992).

Among the structural problems, first, the settlement policy of the host country (Pankhurst, 1984; 1985) and the attitude of the host government towards the refugees in general (Stein, 1982; Kibreab, 1987) count significantly among the systemic constrains in the adaptation process. Second, another important factor is whether the economic development of their country of origin, as well as that of the hosts, has created or impeded opportunities for elderly refugees to participate meaningfully within the local economy. Third, the political and economic decisions taken by the camp structures including the NGOs about the overall welfare of the refugees impact on their daily lives (Keen, 1992) and those of the elderly (Ramji, 1987) and have a large bearing on the enhancement of their capacities or the reduction of the vulnerabilities (Anderson and Woodrow, 1989). These decisions are in most cases taken without the consultation of the beneficiaries, and are therefore, completely beyond the control of the elderly refugees. Examples of such institutional processes are, the level of participation afforded the elderly refugees within the political processes of power and decision-making in the camps. These political processes ultimately determine the allocation of scarce resources such as food items and their distribution. In addition, at an individual level, the process of identifying those very few elderly refugees who may have access to skill-training programmes in the refugee camps creates extreme insecurities among the many that have not been selected. Fourth, the host society's attitudes towards the elderly refugees is another factor which influences the extent to which they succeed in adapting to their new environment in exile (Hampson, 1982; Ramji, 1987; Immerman, 1988; MacPherson, 1990; Wilson, 1992).

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, the medical history and past development, the marital and personal relationships, family relations as well as the presence or lack of kin within refugee camps are important in showing the presence of social adversity factors (Reeler, 1991). These factors are critical in understanding the differing degrees of vulnerability among the elderly in a refugee setting (Reeler, 1991; Brazeau, 1990; Anderson, Brazeau and Overholt, 1992). These are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

Aging, Social Attitudes and Vulnerability

Over the last twenty to thirty years, there has been a growing interest among both social and medical scientists in the aging process itself and in the social role of the elderly (Chavunduka, 1982; Deichman and Kociecki, 1989; MacPherson, 1990). Literature on the aged suggests that the two main reasons for this concern were the rapid growth of the elderly sections of populations the world over, particularly in the industrialized countries, and the dissatisfaction in modern urban societies with the present methods of care for the elderly (Chavunduka, 1982; Waterston, 1982).

In the industrialized world, the increase in the population over the age of sixty started early in the twentieth century (Waterston, 1982:18). Whereas the elderly still face social discrimination in terms of access to employment opportunities, improved health care and negative societal images of the aged, overall they enjoy greater benefits in other respects (MacPherson, 1990). As a general rule, the elderly in the industrialized countries are in a more secure socio-economic position because the majority participate in social security schemes that provide for various old age benefits. They also have greater access to improved educational, health and recreational facilities which are often readily available. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, the elderly population in these countries have a much higher literacy rate, and because of this, they are more enabled to help themselves by taking advantage of the facilities available to them (Kangai, 1982; Waterston, 1992; Dube, 1989; MacPherson, 1990; United Nations Development Programme, 1993; 1994). Some of the elderly in these countries are cared for in institutional homes rather than within the family network (Waterston, 1982). Notably, in modern societies, the elderly are no longer the center of family activity, nor the source of advice and help. For the most part, "aging is seen as a disease, and the elderly person is often characterised as a patient" (Chavunduka, 1982:15).

In the developing countries a totally different picture exists. Many Low-income countries are youthful, and it is certainly the case in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In many cases, well above forty percent of the population is fifteen years and below (Kangai, 1982:13; United Nations Development Programme, 1992). However, the levels of economic development attained by many of these countries is very low, partly due to the historical problems of unequal development between the North and South, but also due to the practice of bad economic planning and mismanagement of public resources (UNECA, 1991). Consequently the quality of life for the general population, and in particular that of the elderly is far from desirable (Nyanguru, 1990; 1991).

In addition, the elderly in developing countries are over-represented within the informal sector population. Although poor in economic terms, these elderly persons still enjoy the psychological security of the extended family, and in some cases, that of some livelihood in the form of remittances from the various working members of the family (Kangai, 1982:13). In rural areas, for example in Zimbabwe, some elderly may also have other resources at their disposal such as cattle, and due to the increased urban-migration by the younger generation, peasant agriculture in this country is sustained by the elderly (Kangai, 1982; Moyo, 1986). In terms of the social role of the elderly it has been observed that

> by virtue of their advanced age, the elderly are considered to be the museums of past history, and consequently, the young generation, regardless of its educational background, frequently welcomes the experience of the elderly as a source of reference. At their homes, the elderly transmit the moral values of the society and also assist in disciplining the young. They also serve as teachers, mainly in the religious fields (Kangai, 1982:13).

However, because of rapid ubanization in many African countries, a new situation has arisen regarding the elderly. In the urban centres the extended family is fast disintegrating. Consequently, a growing number of people have become economically incapacitated, and have joined the ranks of very poor and homeless in the shanty-towns of major cities and towns in Sub-Saharan Africa (Kangai, 1982; Nyanguru, 1987). The urban poor often include rural-urban migrants who are victims of drought and forced displacement.

Many of the elderly living in the rural and urban areas have no social security, and will thus have no disposable income to live on in their retirement period. Here lies one source of their inter-temporal economic vulnerability. This situation is often further exacerbated in the case of elderly refugees, regardless of their rural or urban origins.

Along with the disintegration of the extended family network as part of an African social reality came the changes in social attitudes towards the elderly population (Hampson, 1982; Nyanguru, 1990). These changes tend to illustrate that the vulnerability of elderly members is a result of changes in society brought about by the process of industrialization and other factors. In order to fully understand the roots of this problem, a multi-disciplinary approach is needed, which begins with a historical appreciation of the elderly and their role within "normal" and "abnormal" (displaced) circumstances. Chapter Four attempts to deal with this aspect. The more systemic factors and their impact on the elderly are a subject of discussion in Chapters Four, Five and Six and will thus not be discussed in this chapter.

Is has been noted that Social Workers and other para-professional workers whose valuable support work with the elderly is recognizable, need to resist the temptation of adopting society's negative perspective on the elderly. On the other hand, it is also imperative to initiate change and challenge the negative social constructs, for example, through rigorous ongoing training programmes in geriatric social work within the refugee camps. Also, through training programmes for prospective refugee workers at various training institutions. Where perceptions about the elderly in society are negative, these need to be challenged by applying various locally devised awareness-training programmes and strategies. On the other hand, where the social constructs are positive and people refuse to look at the elderly as mere consumers, but rather as producers of social wealth, then these constructs should be encouraged and enhanced (Hampson, 1982:1).

Gender Issues, Social Support and Vulnerability

Whereas information about the situation of refugee women in refugee camps has become widely available in the 1980s and 1990s, through, academic empirical studies and situational reports (Harrell-Bond, 1986; UNHCR Handbook on Refugee Women, 1990; Chigudu, 1990; Brazeau, 1990; 1992; McCallin, 1991; Wingo, 1990; Moussa, 1991; Thorn, 1991; Bonga, 1992; Forbes Martin, 1992; Makhanya, 1990; 1992; Halvorsen, 1995; Cacic-Kumpes, 1995; Korac, 1995; UNHCR, 1995), very little is known about the specific conditions of elderly women and men. It is essential to point out that the vulnerability of women does not emanate from their biological constitution, rather they are made vulnerable due to their subordinate position in society (Sen and Grown, 1985; Harrel-Bond, 1986; Moussa, 1991; Thorn, 1991; Anderson, Brazeau and Overholt, 1992; Forbes Martin, 1992; Makhanya, 1992; Korac, 1995; Motsisi, 1995). Societal attitudes are often hardened and rigid in the perception of what different social and economic roles women and men should play, and the value attached to the sexual division of labour, whether be it in modern or traditional agrarian societies.

Due to the overall powerlessness that refugees in general experience (Harrell-Bond, 1986:250), and the lack of assets and private property, and the combination of both physical and psychological hardships, like all other refugees, the elderly are disadvantaged. However, in their case the negative attitudes of society towards the elderly often became an additional barrier for them. For instance, whereas the elderly women and men in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe were often not listened to and were generally pushed around, the attitudes of some of the camp workers and other refugees towards the elderly women were more disturbing (Munyai, 1990; Motsisi, 1995). By comparison to the situation of refugee women in Thai camps in South East Asia, the poorest among the women in these camps lacked information about any issue involving decision-making (Thorn, 1991; Halvorsen, 1995). Due to this situation, the husbands (if they are present) or the clan of the husband were encouraged to make decisions on behalf of the elderly women.

Similar incidents were related within the context of elderly refugee women in Zimbabwe (Munyai, 1990).

In Mozambique, the extended family would offer protection to the women from the worst cases of abuse, often bringing punishment to the offender (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990:8). However, many families fled from Mozambique to Zambia and elsewhere without extended family support. It is reported that women are pushed into polygynous marriages because there are more women than men, and unsupported women find it hard to cope. In addition, that "whatever the cause, there is repeated extreme abuse of women" (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990:8). Also, it was observed that unmarried women, and those who perceived the extended family as a source of stress were more likely affected by daily concerns than others. Consequently, these two conditions interacted to increase the vulnerability of the women (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990:18).

The UNCHR (1991:2) noted that protection is as the heart of the responsibility that the international community bears toward refugees. The agency also noted that refugees as a group are doubly disadvantaged and thus vulnerable to action that threaten their protection. Whereas refugee women and men share the protection problems experienced by all refugees, refugee women are further vulnerable to physical violence, rape, torture and psychological abuse on the basis of their gender (UNHCR, 1991:2, 1995; Brazeau, 1990; Moussa, 1991; Korac, 1995). Some of the elderly women in refugee camps are known to have experienced some of these attrocities. Consequently, whereas all refugees have a fundamental human right to claim their protection against any form of abuse,

> in addition to basic need shared with all refugees, refugee women and girls have special protection needs that reflect their gender: They need, for example, protection against manipulation, sexual and physical abuse and exploitation, and protection against sexual discrimination in the delivery of goods and services (UNHCR, 1991:2).

Material Aspects

As members of societies that have been adversely affected by the imposition of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the elderly is these countries have also become increasingly impoverished.

As a social group, they often comprise more or less fifty percent of the informal sector workers who possess different skills and perform as street vendors in a diverse range of artisan trades, from selling raw and cooked fish, meat and vegetables to making sandals right by the road side. Commenting on the social adversity factors among the elderly in Sudan, Godfrey and Kalache (1989:707) observed that, among older adults living in the Sudan, high levels of minor disability, social isolation and total economic dependency indicated vulnerability, but older adults had not been specifically considered in health policies and plans. As was the case in many other Sub-Saharan countries, their primary needs were basic, for clothing, food, shelter, transport, seeds, oxen and farming tools.

The early years of the 1980s saw the worst economic recession since the depression of the 1930s, largely brought about by coordinated policies of the central banks of Europe and North America. The global debt of the developing countries expanded exponentially during this recession and stood at US $1.3 trillion by 1990 (Tomlinson, 1991). Between 1984 and 1988, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) became a net recipient (due to payments and current loans) of US $4.2 billion from the developing countries, including the poorest countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (Tomlinson, 1991; United Nations Economic Commission on Africa (UNECA), 1991).

Due to the conditionalities of the IMF, many African Governments devalued their national currencies. In addition, severe reductions of subsidized public consumer goods, particularly basic staple commodities such as maize meal, bread flour, milk and so forth, as well as the reduction of subsidised education and health services followed. It has been recognized that the combined impact of all these factors have resulted in the direct impoverishment of the poor. Many of the elderly people and the general population of the unemployed, as well as those engaged in the informal sector activities have been the hardest hit by these conditionalities (UNECA, 1991). On the other hand, these IMF adjustment programmes have often worked much to the detriment of the poor (Loxley, 1986; Anyaoko, 1989; UNECA, 1991), whereas, on the other hand, the elite in society have been able to escape the impact because of their stable purchasing power due to high incomes.

Those citizens who are hardest hit by reduced incomes and purchasing power, and reduced access to public education, shelter and health care are in the category of potential economic refugees. A sizeable number of these come from the rural areas and comprise of the elderly, who form the majority of the population in these areas, as the younger generation have migrated to cities and towns in search of better wage-earning employment opportunities. This is the macro-economic context within which civilians and refugees exist in these host countries.

Whilst refugees as a group are disadvantaged and thus vulnerable, their degrees of vulnerability vary according to age, gender and class (Rogge, 1992). It is well-documented that the dislocation of people from a familiar social and cultural environment causes further problems of adaptation in exile. For many refugee men, whether younger or older, their traditional economic roles as provider for the household have been drastically eroded by the exile experience in refugee camps (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Forbes Martin, 1992; World Food Programme, 1992). In many cases, if their skills are not transferable to the host countries, the men may find themselves unable to support their families (Makhanya, 1992; Forbes Martin, 1992).

In some agrarian societies, male members who are unable to support their families are perceived as weaklings. For themselves, the inability to provide for family needs creates feelings of inadequacy, loss of control, loss of self-esteem, confusion and often anger which they direct at the women in their lives. It has been noted that men often feel neglected and disappointed, which sometimes brings out patriarchal habits and efforts to re-establish traditional roles, even by force if necessary. In a situation where men are unsure of themselves, they often become sceptical about their wives. Their own feelings of inferiority can lead to their doubting the love or trustworthiness of their wives. In extreme cases, it is noted that when men mistrust their wives, they may restrict them and try to control them in an effort to boost their egos (Makhanya, 1992:10).

In some ways, traditional male-dominated society structures often break down in the upheavel of flight and resettlement.

Although becoming a refugee is a tragedy, for some women, the refugee experience has provided an opportunity to improve their lot (World Food Programme, 1992). Where traditional roles have been challenged, refugee men can no longer claim to be the main providers for the household and women may have to assume this role. Again within a traditional setting, the African women have always been the cultivator of food, its processor and its server. For example, as women were the major producers of food crops, in the settlements of Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan in the mid-1980s, it was found that their greater numbers among the self-settled may have contributed to the food self-sufficiency for this population (Harrell-Bond, 1986:252). Whereas formerly in Uganda women as cultivators controlled the food they produced, in the settlements, "rations were issued to the head of household and at least some men take these as their personal expendable income" (Harrell-Bond, 1986:253). This misunderstanding of the socio-economic roles of women and men historically, and the resulting imposition of projects without consultation, may have contributed to the added vulnerability that refugee women experienced.

On the one hand, for refugee men in general, the psychosocial consequences of becoming a refugee can be worse because they have lost their previous position of power and status (World Food Programme, 1992:19). Reports on visits by researchers and others to refugee camps have revealed that, in many camps in Africa, refugee men are unemployed, often idle and feel confined. Consequently, many refugee men resort to excessive beer drinking, and some resort to violence against their wives as a last measure to regain control over their lives (Chigudu, 1990; Moussa, 1991; Forbes Martin, 1992; Makhanya, 1992).

On the other hand, refugee women, who have always been on the lower end of the social ladder, keep on doing the basic but crucial tasks they have always performed, domestic and productive work; fetching fuel and water, and raising the children. Where host country refugee policies have permitted, refugee women have in addition been able to join the paid labour market, thus inevitably changing the traditional gender-based economic roles.

For many refugee women who have been abandoned or abused either physically or psychologically, and who in addition have small children to look after, resorting to prostitution both as a means of survival and as a way of controlling their lives has become a major activity (Moussa, 1991).

It has been advised that, since often the social and economic roles of refugee women and men are disrupted and may change as a result of coerced displacement, there must therefore be a change in the thinking and practice of host governments, inter-governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) around the issues of assistance and protection (Forbes Martin, 1992). By all means, the following must be observed

> to plan refugee protection and assistance activities efficiently and effectively, refugee workers must analyse the social and economic roles of women and men in the refugee community and understand how these will affect and are affected by planned activities ....therefore, a major factor in the planning for refugees is the concept of change and specifically the implications of changes in socio-economic role to the planning process (Anderson, Brazeau and Overholt, 1992:7)

Physiological Aspects

In many Sub-Saharan African countries, for most elderly persons, their advanced years often bear witness to declining abilities, frequently in terms of physical capacity and often in terms of mental agility as well. However, their declining physical capacities do not necessarily mean that as a social group they are incapable of working and therefore producing.

It has been noted that aging is often accompanied by profound social and physiological changes. This is the case within "normal" populations, but even more the case amongst communities of refugees and other displaced persons. Without a thorough understanding of such changes, physicians, social workers, rehabilitation technicians, community development workers and others who work with the elderly may become less effective than when they armed with such knowledge (Dube, 1989).

In addition, not only can physiological changes with age be confused with disease processes, but disease manifestations can also be masked by aging processes. Reeler (1991) argued that, in Africa, as much as between eighty to ninety percent of psychiatric symptoms among the elderly are missed by trained medical personnel, because they were schooled primarily to search for physiological causes of the elderly's medical problems as a primary focus. This situation, he argued, is prevalent not only in rural clinics in Zimbabwe, for example, but it was the case also within the refugee camps.

Other studies have found that as many as sixty-five percent of physically ill geriatric patients also have psychiatric problems (Reeler and Immermann, 1993a). Consequently, many factors account for the complexities of diagnoses of elderly patients. For example, physical illnesses may produce symptoms in the elderly than in younger adults, including some symptoms that are usually associated with psychiatric disorders. Depression, confusion, and memory loss can be produced by such diverse physical disorders such as congestive heart failure, malnutrition, anaemia, infection, cardiovascular accident, pulmonary disease, trauma and post-operative and post-traumatic syndrome, vitamin deficiency or depletion (McCaslin, 1989:134). This is particularly crucial since studies and reports conclude that, in many of the refugee camps in Africa, the above-mentioned physical disorders are present, with the prevalency rates differing between camps as well as between host countries.

In addition, the following opthalmological conditions were detected in some camps in the Horn of Africa: a high incidence of trachoma amongst school-going children and cataracts among elderly refugees in Daray Ma'an camp in Somalia (Beer, 1981). Out of a total of 857 elderly refugees examined in Sabacap, another Somali camp, 66.5 percent of these registered refugees reported complaints of eye problems. Findings also revealed that 277 (78%) had trachoma, 58 (17%) had mature cataracts, and 23 (6.5%) had glaucoma. Another 8.2 percent of the registered elderly refugees were blind, with yet another 8.1 percent being partially blind.

It was noted that opthalmological problems were by far the most serious medical problems among the population of elderly refugees, and the severity of eye problems experienced varied considerably, but in many cases caused sever handicap and blindness, whereas in other cases, these conditions invariably led to very restricted sight or blindness (Held the Aged, Hargeisa, 1981:3). Many of the reported physiological problems were difficult to treat since there was a shortage of eye drugs, as a result, only a few were able to receive medium-term antibiotic treatment.

Other diseases or physiological inconveniences associated with the aging process which affected the elderly as reported were: dental problems, reduced mobility due to either physical disabilities such as backaches, aching limbs or poliomylitis, anaemia, urinary tract infections, particularly among the elderly men who had enlarged prostate glands, diarrhoeal infections, scabies, malaria and tuberculosis (Help the Aged, Hargeisa, 1981:5). Treatment for the reported diseases was administered where possible however, the shortage of medicinal drugs in the rural clinics affected the possibility of arresting the proliferation of these diseases among the elderly and the general refugee population.

Similar diseases were noted among the elderly refugee population in the Zimbabwean refugee camps during the 1980s and 1990s (HelpAge, 1991; 1992). In the Horn of Africa, in the midst of the protracted conflict between the Tigrayan and Eritrean people on the one hand, and the Ethiopian authorities on the other, and the devastating drought and famine which resulted, many refugee communities, as for example in Mekele (Ethiopia) experienced malnutrition, and Help the Aged reported about the plight of thousands of destitute and malnourished elderly persons (Kettlety, 1984). In a report covering several countries in this region, the agency reported of the frail and destitute elderly identified and assisted in the Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Eritrea. At the same time, the 1983-85 drought in Southern Africa also produced casualties among the local population as well as within the refugee communities in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and the vulnerable groups were the hardest impacted (Kettlety, 1984).

In Southern Africa during the 1992-94 drought, the impact of the drought affected the populations of the ten Southern African Development conference (SADC) region, including refugees within these countries.

The SADC region covers twelve countries of Southern Africa. Supplementary feeding schemes provided for by the World Food Programme (WFP) within the region were organized, primarily grains for the consumption of both the locals and refugees. High levels of malnutrition and anaemic diseases were identified among the vulnerable groups (in this case specifically the elderly and children under five years), who were resident in the refugee camps, particularly in their deficiency of vitamins A and D (HelpAge, 1992:13; Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1993).

The medical problems identified among the camps refugees are in many cases similar to those discernible within local host communities, although different in terms of intensity (Godfrey and Kalache, 1989:707). Precisely due to this recognition, approaching the complex physical and physiological conditions of the elderly (and others) in the camps needs an integrated approach, premised on the principles and practice of community-based primary health care programmes (Godfrey and Kalache, 1989; McCaslin, 1989; Seaman, 1990; Dick and Elo, 1991; Reeler, 1991). These programmes should lay a stronger emphasis on transferring capacities to local people to solve their long-term health care problems.

It has been recognised that because resources for health are limited and already overstretched in developing countries, it is unlikely that governments will be able to set up systems at local level for responding to disasters which are different from those they have in place for responding to the routine needs of local communities (Dick and Elo, 1991:9). It is wise, therefore, to perceive the health and emergency relief needs of the elderly and other refugee populations and to plan these within the context of development, with adjustments for the emergency phase and rapidly changing circumstances (Simmonds, 1984; Ethiopian Ministry of Health, 1987; Godfrey and Kalache, 1989).

Understanding the complex interactions between the environment of the elderly, and their interaction with it, is crucial to the provision of proper physiological and mental health care (Deutshman, 1989:91). Basic, therefore, to any provision of physiological care to the elderly in society, including those who live under poor, stressful and impoverished conditions in the refugee camps, is the context of care.

In this case, the environment can be defined as the total surrounding context of a person, including a combination of forces, among them physical, social, structural and economic. It can also include the geographic location, the social environment and the culture (Dube, 1989).

Norms, for example, represent the social environment, how the users of space are expected to behave in that physical space. When a person is elderly and sensory deficient or disabled, the individual is more vulnerable to a poor environment fit between the environment and his or her needs. On the positive side, that same elderly person may benefit from even a small change in the physical space (Dube, 1989).

Others have concluded that an environment that does not encourage the full use of the elderly's potential may cause irreversible deterioration (Dick and Elo, 1991). This situation is very relevant to the conditions of refugees in camps in Africa. Several studies conducted among the elderly refugees in Africa, many of whom have spent more than ten years in these camps, are almost akin to elderly persons in long-term care. Under these extreme conditions, it has been noted that the dimensions demonstrating the highest levels of incongruence at all times of testing were "lack of responsive health care", "lack of respect from staff", and "lack of social stimulation" in relation to the well-being of the elderly (Reeler, 1991). At another level, the physical environment where many refugee camps located in Africa is within marginal areas with poor rainfall, often isolated and far from towns (Kibreab, 1985; 1987).

In Africa, the general environment in the refugee camps and particularly the attitudes of some camp officials and NGO staff, does not allow for the express recognition and enhancement of the entrepreneurial skills of the refugees (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Refugee Studies Programme, Chancellor House, School of Social Work, 1993). This encompasses also the experiences among elderly refugees. In fact, where the elderly show innovative skills for independent survival projects (such as blacksmithing; tinsmithing; selling basketry; selling other items which have not been identified by either camp or NGO as "refugee products"; or even trading some of their own rations to purchase other much-needed items), these efforts are sometimes openly discouraged.

Consequently, high stress levels often occur when choice is unavailable or when an individual must continue to function in an inappropriate environment (Zimmer, 1982).

Psycho-social Dimensions

The study of psychological disorders in refugees and displaced people has a respectable history, largely beginning during the Second World War (Freud and Burlingham, 1943). This interest has maintained over the post-war period (Murphy, 1955), but with renewed interest in recent years, spurred both by the increased numbers of refugees in Western Countries, and the general rise in the numbers of refugees globally.

According to Reeler and Immerman (1991), there are a growing number of epidemiological studies of psychological disorders in refugees, most of which make the observation of a comparatively higher incidence and prevalence of disorders in refugees and displaced persons (Dube, 1989). Of interest among the cited studies, is the fact that the features identified have much in common with the features generally identified in the field of general psychiatry (Reeler and Immerman, 1993a:1). More importantly, however, is the aspect discovered later suggesting that the elderly may be particularly vulnerable, that lack of education may be a vulnerability factor, and rates of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder may be higher in refugee populations (Garcia-Peltoniemi, 1991).

Dick and Elo (1991) noted that the health of refugees is affected by a number of factors, including their pre-refugee characteristics, the cause, displacement period, initial responses, adaptation and final settlement. It is difficult to generalise about health and disease problems because refugee communities are differentially exposed to these factors (Dick, 1985). However, there is general agreement for the most part, that refugees' problems are qualitatively similar to those facing stable communities in developing countries, even if they are quantitatively more severe (Dick and Elo, 1991, Gist and Lubin, 1989; Reeler, 1991).

Several studies examining the mental health problems of elderly refugees in Africa have noted common factors among them, for example, that there is increasing recognition that the consequences of organized violence include both the short-term and long-term effects on individuals that has been termed "psychotrauma" (Reeler, 1991; Reeler and Immerman, 1993a). Psychotrauma refers to a collection of symptoms, behaviours, and emotions, which are always preceded by a clear traumatic event, such as being a witness to a massacre (Reeler, 1991:3). Due to the persistence of wars, social violence and often the subsequent disruption of civil society organizations, the prevalence of psychological disorders in so-called "normal" populations is much higher than would be expected, and figures are reported between 20 to 30 percent over the African continent in general (Reeler, 1991).

Among refugees, due to the presence of intense physical violence and the witnessing by the elderly of atrocities perpetrated against family members, mutilations, rape and torture, similar psychological disorders have been detected, albeit quantitatively greater than in the "normal" population (Reeler, 1991). According to a study conducted among 104 refugees in Zimbabwe in 1991, it was found that the prevalence of psychological disorders seemed much higher in refugee settings, and the prevalence found in this group was over 60% which was considerably higher than any other comparable setting in Zimbabwe (Reeler and Immerman, 1993a). In reference to the psychosocial impact of disasters, and to further underscore the factor of vulnerability, it was noted that "during impact... the disaster syndrome, coupled with social effects (i.e. unemployment, hopelessness, being a refugee or internally displaced to shelter-camp environments, loss of social support, and disorganization of the community) represents the recoil phase" (Mocellin, 1994:12).

In the Zimbabwean study, twenty-three elderly persons proved positive on the Self-Reporting Questionnaire (SRQ-20), a twenty item, forced-choice screening instrument which was developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) and, which when applied appropriately, helps to identify the anxiety scores and the depression scores.

It was also found that the elderly refugees constituted a significant percentage of the overall morbid group, about 24% in total (Reeler, 1991:5). In order to gain a deeper understanding of their condition, an additional screening exercise was carried out in the Old People's Home at Tongogara refugee camp. The results indicated that 64% of the elderly there were positive on the Self-Reporting Questionnaire (SRQ-20). This led the researchers to believe that

> Actually, morbidity was extremely high in the old persons villages, which are composed of elderly people who have no families, either in the camps or at home in Mozambique, or who have been rejected by their families (Reeler, 1991:5).

In conclusion, this study observed that two factors, severity and social adversity were shown to affect the prognosis of psychological disorders, both factors were examined within the refugee context. These factors indicated that many features in the past history of the elderly refugees suggested severity. Second, as a sub-group, refugees generally present with severe disorders (i.e. scoring more than 10 points on the SRQ020), and elderly refugees were no exception. Third, the suicidal risk was high in many, although suicide is not reported as a problem by field workers.

The lack of appropriate reporting and detection mechanisms has been identified as one of the fundamental problems facing the refugee industry in other situations of emergencies. The reasons underlying this historical bias may partly be due to the fact that the "psychosocial needs of the population were seen as something too secondary to attract the attention of relief agencies and relief worker" (Mocellin, 1994:14). It may also be because "previous disaster studies were confined to a narrow view of assisting the affected communities in their immediate needs, a reactive approach" (Mocellin, 1994:14). Over the past few years, encouraging signs have been noted whereby the growing field of disaster psychology has gained more prominence. In addition, there is an increased recognition of the fact that communities and individuals affected by both natural and conflict-induced disasters have specific physcho-social needs which must be identified and managed within specific social contexts, and with a greater emphasis on community-based

public health programmes (McCallin, 1982; Fozzard and McCallin, 1990; Reeler, 1991; Mocellin, 1994; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994).

Disruption of Family Units

In order to understand the nature of stress produced by natural disasters, discourse on disasters suggests that it is necessary to consider individual victim characteristics, their inter-personal relationships including the family, social structure, and the cultural context, in addition to the geophysical environment (Warheit, 1985; Gist and Lubin, 1989). It is commonly perceived that once a disaster strikes, human systems at all levels of complexity will exhibit endogenous characteristics that will determine their vulnerability to the disruptions of disaster. In fact, as communities or societies make efforts to reorganize social life, it often becomes clearer during the course of the disaster that pre-existing maladaptive tendencies will be the most likely to exhibit the deleterious effects from the disaster impact, whether those negative effects are psycho-social disturbances, family disorganization, or long-term community decline (Pelanda, 1982; Gist and Lubin, 1989). Whereas the reference made here is more specifically to natural disasters, similar effects produced by conflict-induced disasters have been noted in Africa and elsewhere.

Under peaceful circumstances in the village setting in their countries of origin, families often live together within extended family networks. Quite often working family members support their parents emotionally, physically and economically wherever possible in order to maintain healthy family relationships. Within such settings, the elderly have important socialization and guidance roles to play, and their wisdom is solicited, whilst their cultural orientation contributes to the cultural growth of the younger generation (Wiest, Mocelin, Motsisi, 1994; Motsisi, 1995). However, in the face of war and conflict, families are torn apart. Whereas many family members are lost to the war, quite often the men and young boys are forcibly conscripted to become soldiers in these conflicts (Wilson and Nunes, 1992). Consequently, it is widely acknowledged that "enormous disruption of family structure occurs in the process of mass migration under conditions of extreme coercion" (Harrell-Bond, 1986:250), often producing thousands of vulnerable categories

of people: unaccompanied minors; orphans; people with disabilities; single mothers and fathers who are heads of households; the mentally ill and elderly (Chigudu, 1990; Forbes Martin, 1992).

In many of the camps in Africa, the few studies among the elderly refugee population indicate that a greater number of widows (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Reeler, 1991), those with disabilities, and the chronically ill remain behind (Munyai, 1990; Help the Aged, Hargeisa, 1991; HelpAge Report, 1992; Reeler and Immerman, 1993a; Motsisi, 1995). One major study conducted among Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan in 1984 noted that

> the data from the oldest settlements, together with observations, suggest that those who find opportunity to escape the settlements doe so- and at the earliest opportunity. As these are usually able-bodied, their departure leaves behind the more vulnerable and decreases the chances of the settlements becoming viable agricultural economies. The tendency of putting personal survival over social responsibility, means that any gainful employment is unlikely to benefit those who are left behind (Harrell-Bond, 1986:253).

Another study that was carried out by a HelpAge team in Sabacab refugee camp in Hargeisa (Somalia) during 1991, revealed that out of a total number of 851 registered elderly refugees, 61 lived alone without family or relatives in the camp. Of this number, 18 were in the category of 75 years and older, among them five were blind or had poor vision and two unable to walk (Help the Aged, Hargeisa, 1991:2). Similar findings have been found in the Zimbabwean refugee camps (Munyai, 1990; Reeler, 1991; HelpAge, 1992). In Zimbabwe, however, communal Old Age Homes were established for the destitute elderly who were cared for by trained refugee health scouts, as well as social workers and rehabilitation technicians employed by HelpAge Refugee Programme (HelpAge, 1991; 1992; 1993).

For both refugee women and men, changes in family roles in exile often accompany the problems of adaptation in a foreign environment (Nyakabwa, 1989; Moussa, 1991; Forbes Martin, 1992). It is quite common to find families which have experienced long periods of separation (Forbes Martin, 1992:83; UNHCR, 1991), whilst on the other hand, many women have reluctantly endured abandonment by their husbands (Palmer, 1982; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994).

Displacement and Cultural Discontinuity

Another social factor which may contribute to the vulnerability of elderly refugees in adapting to their host society may be the new cultural environment. Being displaced in an alien environment, the elderly refugees often experience the near complete loss of control over their lives, and the inter-generational problems that are not uncommon with refugee families always surface. Whereas refugee children tend to become adjusted to the new society more rapidly than their parents and must often act as a bridge between their parents and the new culture, they inadvertently assume a role that is unknown in many traditional societies (Forbes Martin, 1992). In the new environment where the elderly experience many insecurities and powerlessness, this may likely increase the level of psycho-social problems.

Not only does this phenomenon increase the vulnerability of the parents and the elderly, a greater likelihood exists for tensions between parents and children to develop, with many refugee women feeling inadequate and unable to function effectively within the new environment. It has been noted that, more significantly, however, older refugee women may be particularly susceptible to feelings of isolation caused by these inter-generational tensions (Forbes Martin, 1991:84). A further dimension of their vulnerability is the increased dramatic change in family roles, which are often accompanied by the loss of the traditional support systems which existed formerly in the villages in the country of origin (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Goitom, 1987; Mupedziswa, 1989; Nyakabwa, 1989; Chigudu, 1990; Munyai, 1990; Forbes Martin, 1992; Makhanya, 1990; Motsisi, 1995).

Besides experiencing a sense of cultural discontinuity, many of the elderly refugees encounter spiritual distancing from their ancestral lands and spirits. It is not uncommon to find that, whilst the younger generation of refugees may be pre-occupied with the zeal of returning home due to largely political and economic reasons, for many elderly refugees, part of their desire to return lies in their closer ties to the soil, but more importantly, to the ancestral spirits they left behind (Mupedziswa, 1989; Motsisi, 1995). While carrying out a study of Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan, it was found that some were eager to leave the Sudan, because the elderly in these settlements expressed the desire to die in their country and be buried at home with their ancestors (Harrell-Bond, 1986).

Justification for the Study

Scholars, researchers, practitioners and others have made invaluable contributions to the deepening of knowledge about the problems faced by aging members in society. Whilst this is true, in relation to elderly refugees in Africa, most of these studies and reports have often focused on addressing only one specific issue, for example, either physiological aspects, the psycho-social dimension, material aspects and so forth. Very rarely have attempts been made to investigate the situation of elderly refugees from an integrated (multi-disciplinary) perspective as was the case, for example, with five studies (Pankhurst, 1985; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Ramji, 1987; Mutizwa-Mangiza and Wekwete, 1988; Munyai, 1990) and in the case of refugees in the Thai camps (Thorn, 1991).

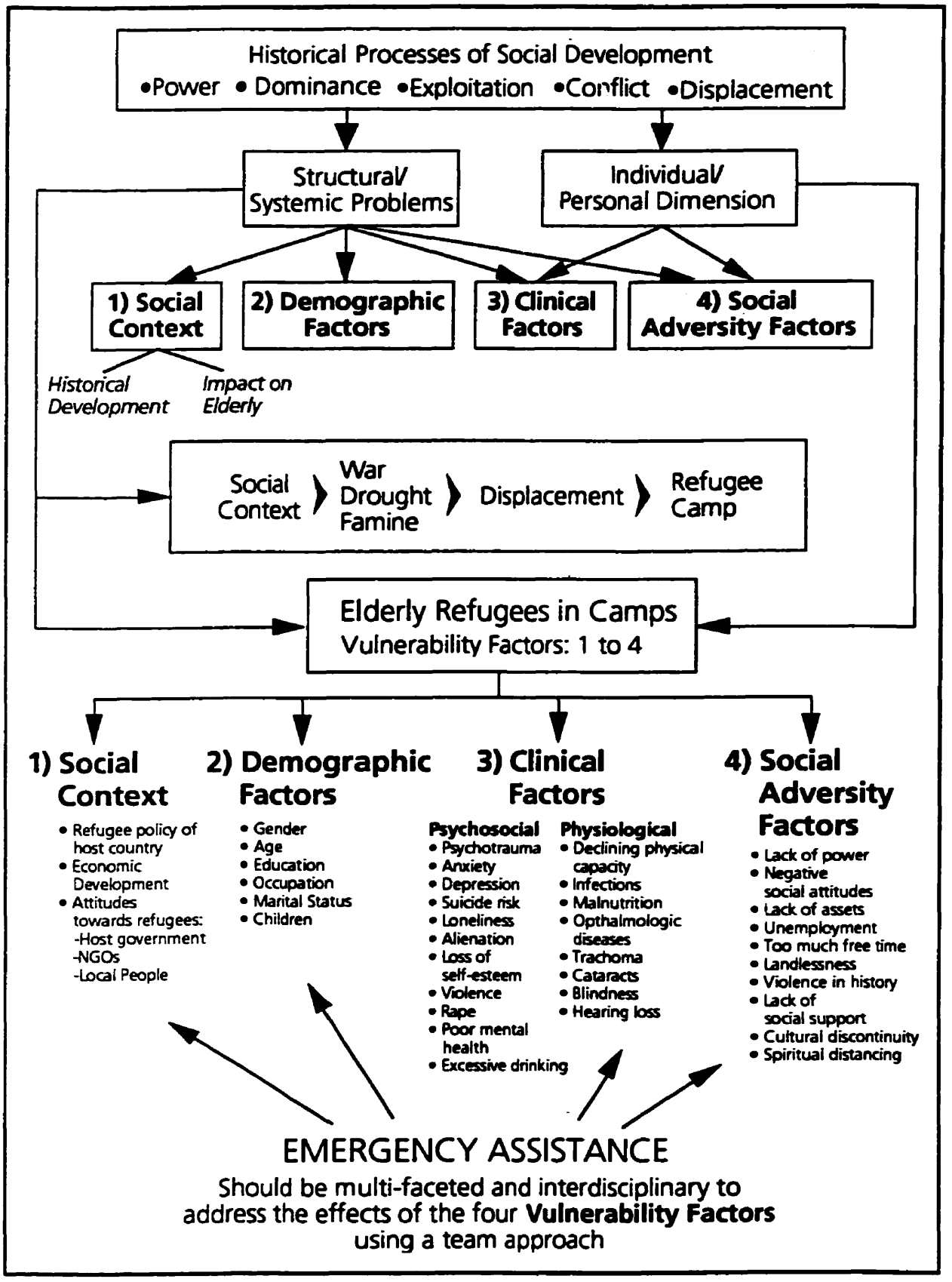
The current study endeavours to fill this gap. It should be stated, however, that while an integrative approach has been undertaken, there are disciplinary deficiencies that have arisen. For instance, the significance of the psychosocial dimension in the study of populations affected by emergencies and disasters is well noted. However, this study did not focus on this area for reasons of disciplinary incompetency to undertake such a specialized task, as well as the sensitivity of the local authorities.

The specific issues examined in this study are related to the central question of refugee well-being. This study investigated the demographic profile, as well as the different socio-economic circumstances of this group, in their pre-disaster and post-disaster contexts. Simultaneously, the study sought to identify the key areas in the complexity of what constitutes the "vulnerability of elderly refugees" in refugee camps in Africa.

However, this process has been articulated within a paradigm that integrates the different disciplines into an appreciation of several things. First, the study provides background information on the socio-historic context of the country of origin, Mozambique, prior to the sixteen year war. Second, the historical processes and biases of the different political administrations and their impact on the elderly are discussed. Third, the social and economic background of the elderly refugees themselves is investigated and identified. Fourth, both the structural (macro) and local (micro) elements of impact in the post-disaster phase in exile are discussed. Fifth, the needs and capacities of the elderly refugees as expressed by them, and their coping mechanisms are identified. Sixth, the development of an geriatric model of an integrated understanding of vulnerability factors among elderly refugees is introduced. This model is described in Figure 2.1, Towards an Understanding of Vulnerability Factors among Elderly Refugees.

According to this figure, an integrated assessment of this population is essential, if possible, both at the onset of disaster and afterwards. It may form a platform of joint collaborations among international and domestic agencies who offer a variety of services to the elderly. Application of this model may encourage different agencies to collaborate across service areas in order to allocate scarce economic resources more efficiently, and to become more effective care-givers. In addition, several gerontologists have argued that the multi-faceted and interactive nature of physical, emotional, economic and socio-cultural problems in the elderly demand a multi-disciplinary approach to assessment and responses, be they treatment or services (Kleh, Lange, Karu and Amos, 1978; Gerner, 1979; Beckman, Champion, Swagerty and Goldman, 1983; Clarfield and Davis, 1984; Hoffman, 1984).

Figure 2.1 Towards an Understanding of Vulnerability Factors among Elderly Refugees



It is imperative that human services for the elderly, particularly those dislocated because of disasters, should include long-term monitoring of physical and mental health, activities of daily living, social functioning, and economic resources. It is a challenge to professionals to meet these needs. However, multi-disciplinary teams are needed to meet these basic yet multiple care needs. Such teams may include, for example, internists, psychiatrists, nurses, psychologists, social workers, traditional healers and other professionals. It is essential, however, that all professionals on the team should receive special geriatric training (McCaslin, 1989:134).

In addition, one of the anticipated contributions of this study is to generate an inter-disciplinary discussion among policy-makers in government and intergovernmental agencies, as well as NGOs concerning ethical principles in the provision of relief and development assistance.

Summary

Whilst pointing to the richness of literature on refugee women, and the various disciplines that have been engaged to investigate the specific circumstances of this group, a dearth of literature is identified in respect to integrated studies which focus on vulnerable groups, such as the elderly in Africa.

This Chapter sought to introduce the subject of the elderly women and men in society, by discovering the biases engrained in society which shape the social constructs towards this group. In addition, both systemic and individual factors which contribute to the increased vulnerability of elderly members of society were identified.

CHAPTER III

MEANS OF DATA COLLECTION

The Refugee Situation in Zimbabwe

As a result of the protracted sixteen year conflict resulting in war between the FRELIMO Government of Mozambique and the rebel forces of RENAMO, between 1983 and 1992, about two million civilians fled Mozambique to become refugees in six Southern African countries: Tanzania, Malawi, Swaziland, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Wilson, 1992:1). In Zimbabwe itself, Mozambicans began entering the country through the eastern highlands along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border as early as 1981 (Chigudu, 1990:41). As a result of the increased and continued influx, the Zimbabwean Government established rural camps between 1984 and 1990. Tongogara, the largest and best developed in terms of infrastructure was established in February 1984 (Chigudu, 1990:41). The firth and last to be established is Chambuta camp in Chiredzi District, in the southern part of Zimbabwe. The three remaining camps, Nyangombe, Mazowe River Bridge and Nyamatikiti, were also established in 1984, (Chigudu, 1990:41) to absorb the swelling numbers of refugees who were entering the country along the entire length of border areas between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

As of the end of March 1993, the number of registered Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwean camps was 137,848 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1993:40; Department of Social Welfare, 1993). They came mostly from a subsistence farming background. The illiteracy rate amongst this group is very high and very few had any formal education. Forty seven percent of the refugees were males and fifty three percent females. Twenty eight percent were under five years of age, thirty percent were between five and eighteen, and the remaining forty two percent were above nineteen years of age. Fifty one percent originated from Manica province, twenty nine percent from Tete, twelve from Gaza, seven from Sofala. The remaining one percent of refugees cam from Inhambane, Maputo, Zambezia and Cabo Delgado provinces combined (UNHCR, 1993:40).

As indicated earlier, this study focused on Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps. Figure 3.1 depicts the location of the camps along the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

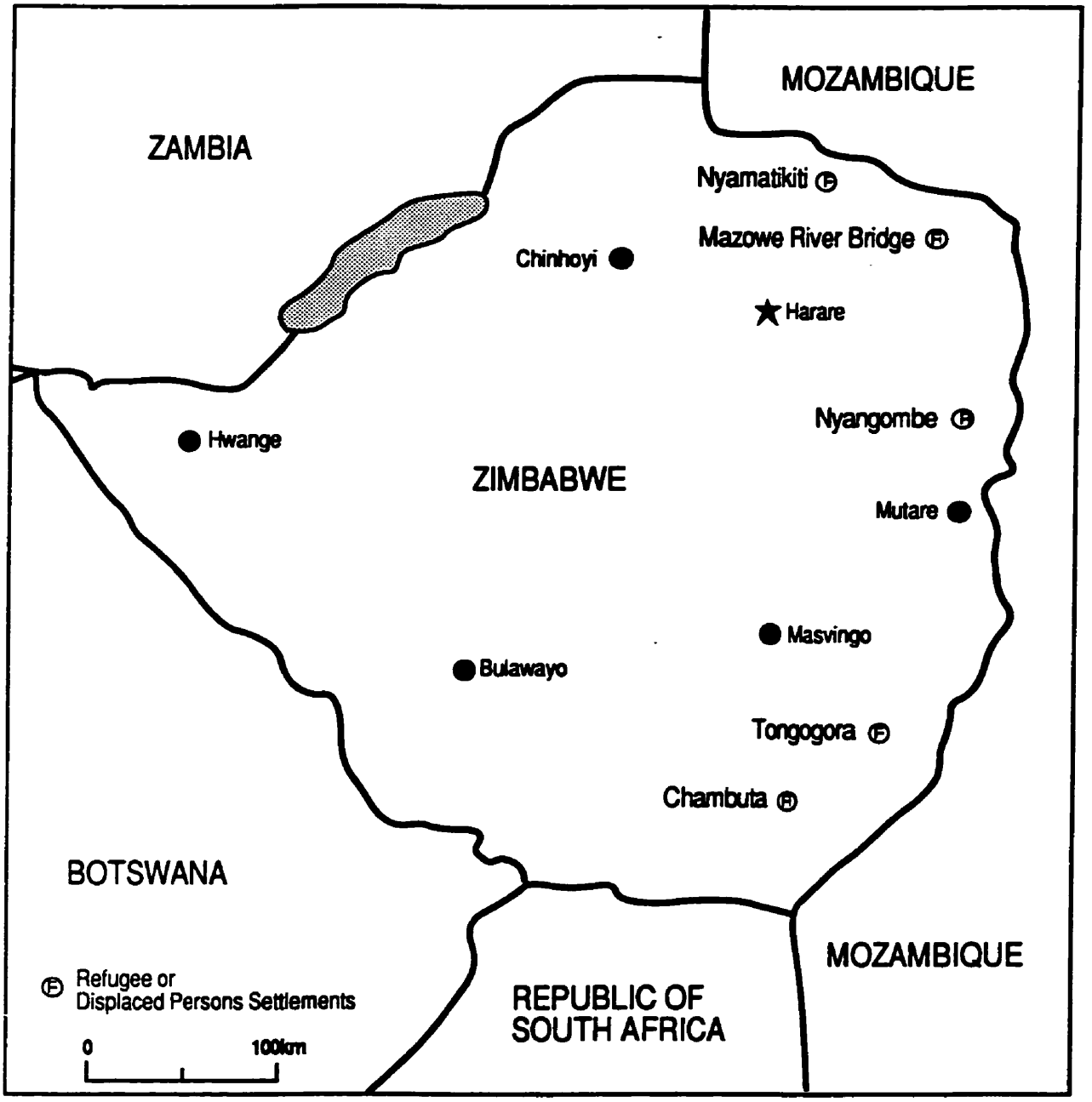
Tongogara Refugee Camp

Tongogara camp was established in February 1984 with an initial population of seventeen refugees from Mozambique (Chigudu, 1990:41). It is located in the Old Sabi, Chipinge District in Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe's south-eastern border with Mozambique. Manicaland has the highest proportion of the country's population 1,537,676, out of which 726,969 (47,3%) were males and 810,707 (52.7%) females at the end of 1992 (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 1992:21). Manicaland's proportion of the total Zimbabwe population (10.4 million) is 14.8%. The province covers an area of 36,459 sq. km and has a population density of 42.2 per sq. km. The average number of persons per household in December 1992 was 4.78.

Chipinge district is one of the seven districts in Manicaland with a total population of 336,893 by the end of 1992, out of which 155,127 (46.0%) were males and 181,766 (54.0%) females (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 1992:21). Using the 1992 Census data, for every single local person in Chipinge district there were nine refugees. Tongogara camp had a total population of 38,098, 16,207 (42.5%) males and 21,891 (57.5%) females by the end of 1992. The number of registered households within the camp were 8,236, with an average of 4.6 persons per household (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 1992:26). The total camp area is 800 hectares, with an altitude of 800m above sea level. It is located 120 km from Chipinge, the nearest town. The town began as an Agricultural Extension Station, which was turned into a demobilization centre for former combatants just before independence in 1980 (Chigudu, 1990:41).

Zimbabwe is divided into five ecological zones officially called Natural Region I to V.

Figure 3.1 Map of Zimbabwe Showing the Location of Five Refugee Camps

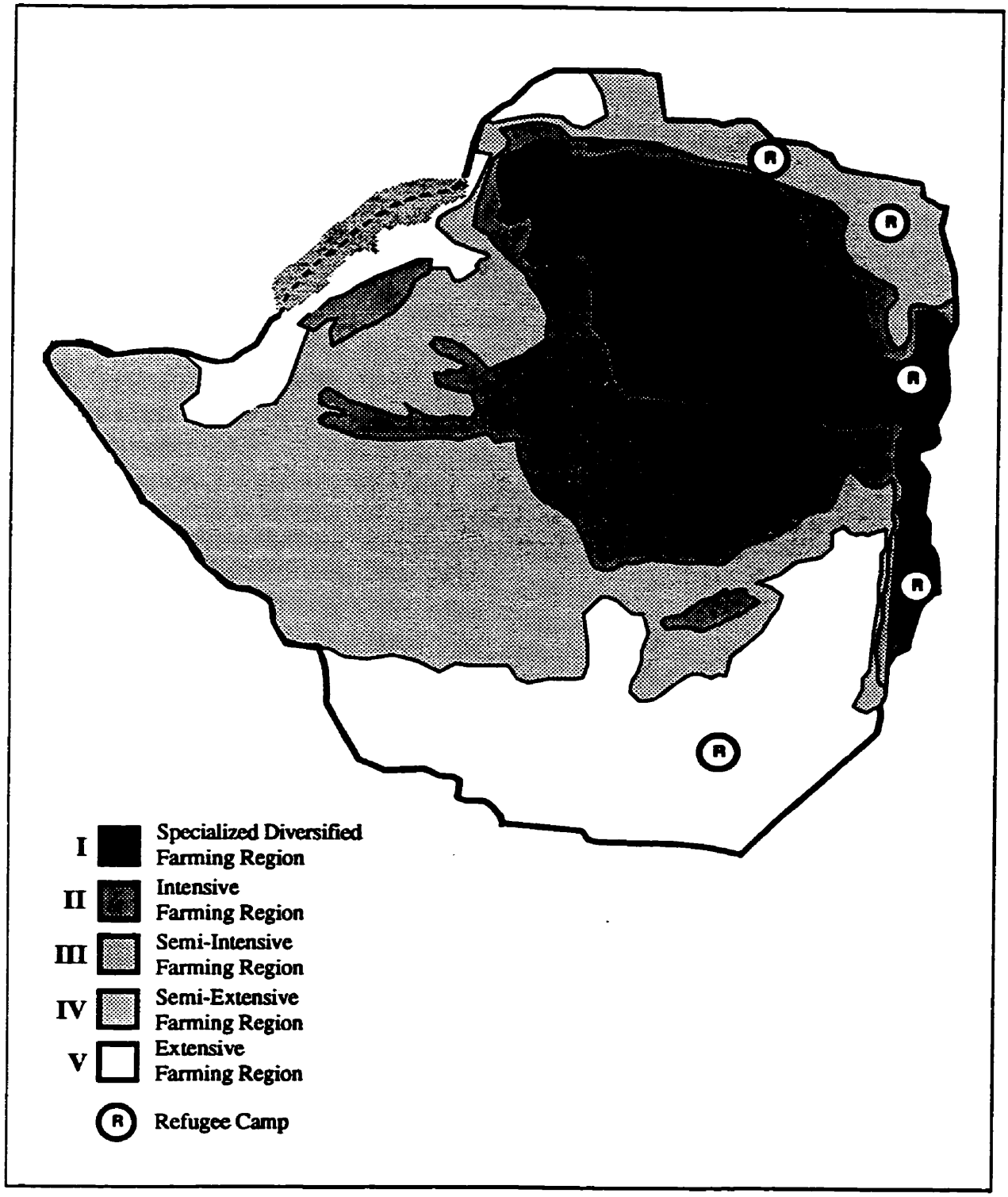


Adapted From: UNHCR 1993 p. 207

Figure 3.2 depicts the five Natural Regions. Tongogara camp is situated within Natural Region I (Moyo, 1986:170; Department of Conservation, 1984), with high rainfall, often more than 900 mm per annum, and characterised by intensive farming practices. Since the temperature is comparatively low and rainfall high in this region, these climatic conditions enable afforestation programmes (Le Breton, 1995:10). In addition, fruit and intensive livestock production can be practised. In frost free areas crops such as macadamia nuts, tea and coffee are grown in large estates. Some of these estates surround the refugee camps and belong to the Government (Le Breton, 1995:11). Both local peasants and a large number of refugees formed the labour force utilized to maintain and develop the production process in the state farms.

As was the case with all camps within Zimbabwe, Tongogara camp was administered by a Camp Administrator (CA) with his staff. Several government ministries, particularly those of health, agriculture and education operate within the camp. More than twenty local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide skills-training programmes to special target groups of refugees. The majority have resident staff within the camp itself. The camp has a fully-fledged piped water system, a clinic with several beds, a primary school for refugee children from Grades One to Seven. There are several other durable buildings such as the two store rooms for non-perishable goods, Social Welfare offices, residences for Government and NGO personnel, sheds for NGO skills-training facilities, some located within the residential units popularly known as "bases", and sites for some rudimentary recreational facilities such as soccer and netball. Refugees live in self-constructed thatch-roofed mud huts. The central wooden pole which gives some stability to the structure is supplied by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with support from the Government. Whereas some of the older huts still looked stable, the types of plastic-roofed make-shift huts for refugees who arrived at the camp between 1990 and 1991 were very insecure. Some of the elderly households from the "bases" who were interviewed complained of "too much heat during summer" and their dwellings being "too cold during the winter months".

Figure 3.2 Natural Regions of Zimbabwe, I-V



Source: Government of Zimbabwe, Department of Conservation and Extension 1983

Tongogara camp was initially designed to host some 10,000 refugees, but the population by April 1990 had risen to 40,679 (Chigudu, 1990:41; Department of Social Welfare, 1990). About 52.8% of the sampled households within the sample used as a basis for this thesis came from Tongogara camp.

Mazowe River Bridge Refugee Camp

This camp was also established in 1984 (Department of Social Welfare, 1986). It is located within Rushinga District, one of the seven districts of Mashonaland Central Province, on the north-eastern border with Mozambique. By the end of December 1992, Mashonaland Central's total population stood at 857,318 persons. Of these, 417,028 (48.6%) were male and 440,290 (51.4%) female. At 30.24 persons per sq. km, this province has the third highest population density of the country. However, the population in this province makes up only 8% of Zimbabwe's total population. The province covers an area of 28,347 sq. km (CSO, 1992:21).

Rushinga District at this time had a total population of 75,332, with 35,060 (46.5%) males and 40,272 (53.5%) females. Mazowe River Bridge hosted a total of 25,047 refugees by the end of 1992, 11,735 (46.9%) males and 13,312 (53.1%) females (CSO, 1992:22). When comparing the ratio of locals to refugees, using 1992 Census data, for every local person there were three refugees in the district. The total number of registered households was 5,433 with an average household size of 4.6. The nearest town, Rushinga, is less than one hundred kilometres from the camp.

Unlike Tongogara camp, Mazowe River Bridge falls within Natural Region IV (Moyo, 1986:170), which is characterised by semi-extensive farming. This region experiences fairly low annual rainfall (450 - 650 mm), and the uncertainty of rainfall renders it totally unfavourable for cash-cropping. Unlike Tongogara, where refugee labour was regularly used particularly at peak weeding and harvesting periods, this opportunity was not present for refugees in this camp. This region is prone to severe dry spells and droughts even during the rainy season, due to erratic rainfall patterns.

However, with the use of intensive farming methods, some drought-resistant fodder crops can be grown. Livestock production is also practised in this region (Department of Conservation and Extension, 1984).

Infrastructural facilities similar to Tongogara are available in this camp. However, over the years the camp has experienced severe problems resulting from water supply shortages. In this camp too, the CA coordinated the work of all Government and NGO personnel, and each refugee project administered either by Government or an NGO is supervised by a Social Welfare Officer from the CA's office.

Initially, Mazowe River Bridge was planned to accommodate 5,000 people. However, by April 1990, the refugee population had increased to 27, 097 (Chigudu, 1990:40). About 29.9% of the sampled elderly refugee households within this survey came from this camp.

Chambuta Refugee Camp

The third area surveyed in this study was Chambuta refugee camp. This camp was established in 1990 primarily to absorb the increasing numbers of refugees entering Zimbabwe, not only due to the escalated war within Mozambique, but also as a result of lack of food because of prolonged war and due to the severe drought of 1990-1992 (Department of Social Welfare, 1990; 1991; 1993). The drought within Mozambique was experienced most harshly in the Southern Provinces of Gaza, Sofala, Inhambane and Cabo Delgado. Chambuta was also established to receive the additional numbers of refugees who were transferred from the other four camps, particularly Tongogara, which by this time had exceeded its carrying capacity.

This camp is located in Chiredzi District, the largest of the seven districts comprising Masvingo Province in the south eastern portion of Zimbabwe. Chiredzi district shares the border with Gaza Province on the Mozambican side. With a total of 1,221,845 residents, Masvingo province had the third largest proportion of Zimbabwe's population by the end of 1992. The province's population is thus 11.8% of the entire country's population.

Of this number, 573,968 (47.0%) were males and 647,877 (53.0%) female (CSO, 1992:11). The province covers an area of 56,566 sq. km and has a population density of 21.6. The average size per household as of December 1992 was 5.26, the fourth highest in the country, with Matabeleland North Province leading with 5.53 (CSO, 1992:14).

Chiredzi District had a total population of 183,228, of which 87,806 (47.9%) were males and 95,422 (52.1%) females. By comparison at that time, the ratio of locals to refugees stood at 1:10. Using the 1992 Census data, Chambuta camp hosted a total of 19,005 persons, of which 8,530 (44.9%) were males and 10,475 (55.1%) females. These came from 4,070 registered households within the camp, with an average household size of 4.7 family members (CSO, 1992:114). When the survey was carried out during March 1993 at Chambuta camp, the numbers of refugees had increased to 25,900. According to the CA at this camp, most of the refugees, particularly those arriving after 1991 onwards, fell in the category of "environmental" refugees. He explained that their lands were barren due to prolonged war, and this situation was exarcebated by the ongoing drought (Chokuwenga, 1993).

Unlike Tongogara and Mazowe River Bridge, Chambuta camp falls within Natural Region IV (Moyo, 1986:170; Department of Conservation and Extension, 1984), which is characterized by very hot weather with sporadic rainfall seasons. The camp lies on a flat area covering about 900 hectares. It is crossed by seasonal rivers, and received its main water source from the Runde River, which is located seven kilometres north of the camp (Chigudu, 1990:39). There are continuous water supply problems at this camp. Sometimes, as is the case in many Zimbabwe's districts, water rationing is necessary. Many refugees have experienced great difficulty in accessing water for domestic use, unlike in Tongogara camp.

The camp was established to hold a maximum of 20,000 refugees, with some additional hectares spared for communal agricultural production of green vegetables to augment the dry WFP rations. The camp is located 74 km far from the nearest town Chiredzi.

It has similar facilities as found in Tongogara and Mazowe River Bridge, although on a much lesser scale. For instance, the only skills-project building researchers saw at Chambuta belonged to HelpAge Refugee Programme, where some elderly refugees assembled weekdays every morning until mid-day, to engage in various skills-training activities. HelpAge Refugee Programme is the only NGO within the camps solely focusing on integrated assistance programmes to this population.

Many of the refugees at Chambuta camp originated from Gaza province, however, some also came from Inhambane and Sofala provinces (UNHCR, 1993). About 17.3% of the sampled refugee household within this survey came from Chambuta camp.

Criteria for the Selection of Case Study Areas

Access

First, by selecting the oldest camp, Tongogara (1984) and the newest, Chambuta (1990), this study investigated the impact of "length of residence" in the camps, to determine whether any variation occurred among the elderly refugees concerning "innovative coping mechanisms". Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, it became clear that the longer the period of camp residence for some refugees, it seemed to have increased the possibilities of this group in managing their self-survival mechanisms, under very difficult circumstances.

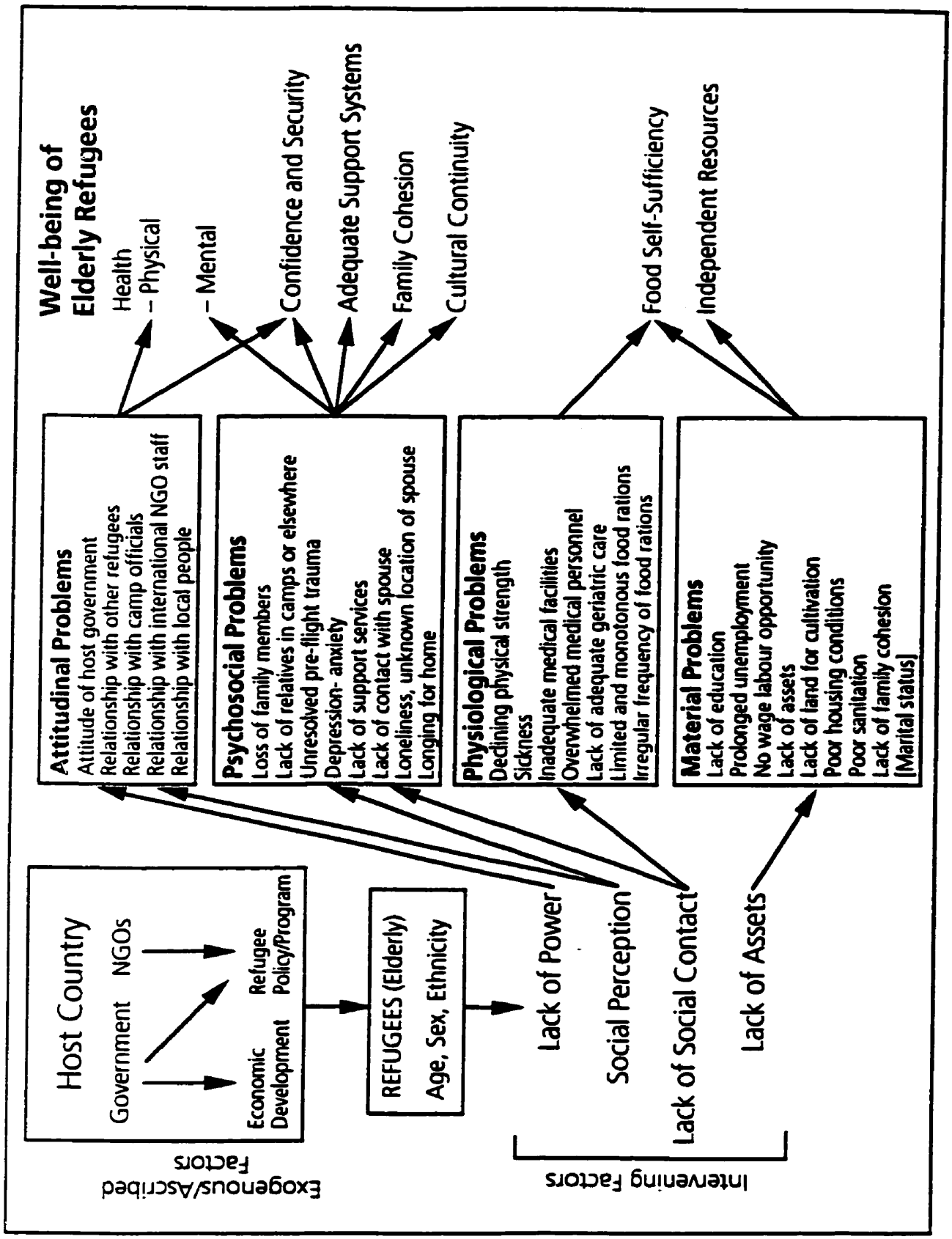
Second, for purposes of this, study "access" refers particularly to physical or material resources, for example, agricultural and other skills-training tools; land for small gardens next to refugee homesteads; adequate water supplies and regular food rations; access to skills-training projects themselves. Of interest is whether any one of these resources, or a combination of some or all of them increased the elderly refugees' control over their lives during camp residence.

These aspects cannot be adequately understood in isolation. It is therefore important to situate their scrutiny within the examination of national policies and institutions.

In many Sub-Saharan countries policies and institutions have built-in biases which tend to deprive the rural poor from the benefits of development, accentuate the impact of other poverty-related processes and fail to recognize the productive potential of small-holder farmers which could be realized with the right kind of support. Zimbabwe learned its lesson soon after independence in the early 1980s, government support to the rural African farmers became one of the cornerstones of rural development. Due to training and agricultural extension support as well as high levels of self-motivation, small-holder farmers were enabled to harness their capacities, and this resulted in bumper maize harvests for the period 1984/85. However, there are still some problems concerning resource distribution in the rural areas due to existing irregularity and inadequacy of extension support to communal farmers (Moyo, 1986; Mumbengegwi, 1986).

The institutional processes which tend to perpetuate rural poverty include: lack of access to land and water, inequitable share-cropping and tenancy agreements, underdeveloped markets, lack of access to credit and inputs, including technological packages, and limited and ineffective extension services (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1992:9). Other constraints may be a shortage of human resources, an absence of or inadequate training facilities, a lack of applied research findings on activities oriented towards small holders, and lack of grassroots institutions to encourage effective people's participation in development. In regards to rural refugees in Zimbabwe, Figure 3.3 outlines a casual diagram of factors affecting the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps. On the left side of the diagram are structural and institutional problems. Some of these factors are ascribed and therefore exogenous. Then there are the intervening factors which are sometimes a direct result of the ascribed factors. In the middle of the diagram are four basic areas affecting the lives of the elderly refugees, namely; attitudinal problems, psychosocial problems, physiological problems and material problems. The interaction of the exogenous and intervening factors, as well as past history in the daily lives of refugees, have in the long run resulted in the presence of the various problem areas. On the far right of the diagram are those sectors of the elderly refugees which have been adversely affected. These issues are dealt with in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Figure 3.3 Causal Diagram of Elderly Refugee Well-Being



In Zimbabwe, there are numerous grassroots organizations which promote people-centred development strategies. As Moyo (1986) stated, the major problem is that of land hunger experienced by African peasant farmers within the country. This is equally so among the refugees who are mainly subsistence farmers. Within the communal areas where refugee camps are located, similar constraints are faced by the local peasantry as well as by encamped refugees. Even where communal gardening is practised, elderly refugees always complained of being the last to be considered when distribution of produce took place, except in the case of HelpAge communal gardens. Elderly refugees often experienced similar constraints and institutional biases which tended to perpetuate rural poverty, in spite of the presence of refugee assisting agencies. Most glaring instances during data collection in the camps were their apparent total lack of control over their lives, partly due to being easily pushed around, and more so in the case of elderly refugee women (Munyai, 1990; Motsisi, 1995).

Lack of regular water supplies combined with very hot climatic conditions where the camps are located made it impossible for most elderly refugees to grow any green vegetables next to their huts. This was particularly the case at Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps. Thus, due to lack of access to land, control over agricultural and other work tools, as well as their overall status in the camp refugee hierarchy, all these elements combined increased the vulnerability of elderly refugees. However, since 1988, HelpAge Refugee Programme staff have always intervened on behalf of elderly women and men refugees (HelpAge Programme, 1992). The next criterion used to select the case study areas was Government policy and economic opportunities for elderly refugees.

Government Policy and Economic Opportunities for Elderly Refugees

Zimbabwe is both a signatory of the United Nations Convention of July 1951 as well as the Organization of African Unity Protocol of 1967. In pursuance of the spirit of these two international instruments regarding the protection of and assistance to refugees, but also due to the escalating Mozambican refugee problem in the early 1980s, the government of Zimbabwe adopted a Zimbabwe Refugee Act, No. 13 in 1983.

The major provisions of the Act govern the rights of refugees to asylum and protection, as well as their obligations under the law of the country (Government of Zimbabwe, 1983).

Whereas many African governments, including Zimbabwe, historically preferred "local integration" as a "durable" solution towards refugee crises facing them, they also have tended to view these crises and the presence of refugees in their countries as "temporary", even after providing together with NGOs care and maintenance programmes for extended periods of time.

Two very important clauses in the Act refer to first, acquisition of land, and the second, right to employment. By law, rural refugees in Zimbabwe (Mozambicans) are not permitted to work in the country. At the same time also, agricultural plots cannot be allotted to individual refugee households. However, within all refugee camps communal gardens were run by NGOs such as the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), Redd Barna and HelpAge Refugee Programme to augment food rations for their clientele.

It could be argued that in practical terms, Zimbabwe could never satisfy the land requirements of every refugee household in the five camps. Besides, the country's own African peasantry still experience land hunger sixteen years after independence. However, at least those refugees who had the desire to work and the capacities to maintain their families independently should have been granted permits. The process of issuing rural refugees with work permits could have been governed by suitably constructed legal labour control mechanisms.

Both institutional policies regarding landlessness and the lack of rights to employment for rural refugees have inadvertently undermined the capacities of Mozambican camp refugees to become self-supporting and therefore less dependent on Government, UNHCR and NGO maintenance. These policies have also weakened the contribution of Mozambican refugees to the local economies in the regions where the camps were established.

The experience of Sudan in creating wage-earning settlements as well as agricultural settlements in the 1970s might have lent some institutional and practical insights to their counterparts in Zimbabwe, as far as implementing diverse local integration strategies for refugees. Whereas employment opportunities for Mozambican refugees were prohibited officially, thousands of these refugees, including some elderly, nevertheless jumped the fence to work "secretly" on the tea and cotton state farms surrounding Tongogara camp. Consequently, encamped Mozambican refugees have silently contributed to the socio-economic development of the eastern highlands, particularly in Chipinge District of Manicaland province for the last decade. However, the national statistics might not reflect this experience as it was not legally sanctioned. The final criterion for selecting the case study areas was the absence of social support systems.

Absence of Social Support Systems

In traditional rural African communities, the elderly often provide their wisdom, cultural orientation and life experiences to the younger generation. Older women frequently receive special recognition. However, when social dislocation due to armed conflict takes place and the elderly become displaced, they experience severe difficulties in adjusting to alien social environments, as in the case of elderly refugees in the camps. In the new environment, the elderly may experience a lowering of their social status in the community, and their influence upon the younger generation's values diminishes. This is particularly the case when the elderly can no longer perform their social responsibilities due to the impact of displacement upon them and the entire community (Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994:32-33).

Traditional extended family support may also have disintegrated in the refugee situation, having enormous adverse effects on the mental and physical health of the elderly and their ability to cope (POPLINE, 1991:3). Without sufficient knowledge and understanding of the socio-economic and cultural background of the elderly refugees, western planners may overlook their situation when planning assistance strategies.

In villages within Mozambique, the political and socio-economic interests of the elderly were often protected and presented by the local Headman to the traditional Chiefs. Such structures of traditional authority were absent in the five camps. As a result the elderly refugees were often "pushed around" in the camps. However, for administrative purposes, each dwelling zone elected its official representative who was called a "base leader". The base leaders and other figures, such as the traditional healers, were recognized refugee leaders who temporarily substituted the roles of the erstwhile traditional leaders. Some of the base leaders displayed leadership capacities and represented the interests of the elderly to the best of their ability under difficult circumstances. There were, however, some who negotiated deals with the authorities out of self-interest.

In those camps where the base leaders were incorruptible, as researchers observed in some instances at Tongogara camp, the leaders jointly provided much needed moral and physical support to elderly refugees within the camps. In such instances base leaders worked closely with the trained Social Workers, Counsellors and Rehabilitation officers employed by the HelpAge Refugee Programme.

In addition to the absence of the invaluable support provided by traditional leadership structures, the elderly were also experiencing flight-induced disintegration of their family units. The nurturing of emotional and physical support systems that evolved within the rural village in Mozambique among families and neighbours was not evident in the camps. In the refugee camps circumstances of general deprivation prevail and affected all refugees, the young, those with disabilities and the elderly alike. Without paying adequate attention to family unification, on the one hand, and on resuscitating the role of traditional healers as authority figures, assistance programmes might not impact effectively on the lives of refugees. Also, the possibility of regenerating familial support to the elderly from the younger relatives may be lost. In many cases, however, the Zimbabwe Red Cross Society, the Department of Social Welfare and Save the Children (USA) collaborated and in a number of cases managed successful family re-unifications.

Whereas the re-unification system brought kin groups together, their overall lack of material resources as well as psychological services located within the camps, most of the camp assistance activities to the elderly refugees were undermined, and the possibilities for refugees to become self-supporting were diminished. In all the three camps, the research team was affected to see several mentally disturbed elderly men and women wandering about aimlessly.

Primary Sources of Data

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources of data generated for this thesis consisted of a semi-structured questionnaire schedule with elderly women and men refugees within three camps, as well as unstructured interviews with senior officials from government ministries including Health, Agriculture and the Department of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. In addition, among non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Directors or their Deputies and sometimes both informed about their particular programmes in the refugee camps. These officials served as key informants about the policies and nature of their assistance programmes to camp refugees in general, and to the Elderly in particular. HelpAge Refugee Programme became the major focus of study as their activities are directly focused on elderly refugees in the five refugee camps. This first phase of data collection took place primarily in Harare, where most of the government ministries and NGOs, both domestic and international have their national offices. Information was gathered from the key informants between August and October, 1992.

The second phase of primary data collection took place within the refugee camps themselves. Government officials located in the refugee camps, including the Camp Administrators or their Deputies, the Camp Clinic staff in charge, who work for the Ministry of Health, and Agricultural Officers were also interviewed. In addition, two sets of questionnaires had been developed, one for elderly women and the second for elderly men were administered in Tongogara, Mazoe River Bridge and Chambuta refugee camps.

The elderly women's questionnaire was more extensive as it included aspects related to their willingness and ability to foster Unaccompanied Minors. According to the perception of the Department of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare and HelpAge Refugee Programme in Zimbabwe, this study is important since, in the words of the Commissioner of Refugees (COR) and the Director of HelpAge because it is the first major study focusing on the condition and position of elderly Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe. The questionnaire administered in the camps were done in local dialects spoken by the informants.

The information extracted from these questionnaires provided valuable date on the demographic profile of elderly women and men refugees in Zimbabwe. In addition, useful information about their socio-economic conditions and capacities in Mozambique, prior to flight, as well as their situation within the three selected camps, gave an indication as to whether the varied assistance activities had any impact at all in improving their overall status.

Discussions with Refugee Camp Leaders at the "bases" also took place. These were all male refugees. Some women were found to be in leadership positions among different project activities, especially rug-mat making, sewing, tailoring and knitting. The base leaders were extremely helpful in assisting the team of researchers in identifying respondents according to the sampling frame. Also, in all three camps, the CAs or their Deputies provided information about the history, development, problems and challenges facing their particular camp. They also exposed the writer to their staff and official records, and also provided overall support, with instructions from their superior in Harare, the Commissioner for Refugees (COR).

It should be mentioned that in all three camps, the CAs were very supportive to this study and that facilitated the researchers' ability to carry out the questionnaire survey. The CAs attitudes also facilitated the researchers' capacity to indulge randomly in discussions with individuals and groups of elderly refugees, particularly in the evenings when the elderly had their leisure time.

Apart from the information gathered through structured interview schedules, participant observation in the camps was a vital extra source of first hand information. Participant observation of elderly women and men in their home settings, in the Old Age homes, clinics, and places of project activity took place. Participant observation was perceived as an additional vehicle to supplement the other methods of data collection during the second phase in the refugee camps. This phase of data collection took place between November 1992 and April 1993.

Secondary Sources of Data

There were several sources of data in this area. As mentioned earlier, the objectives of this study received tremendous support from the COR's office in particular, the Department of Social Welfare, as well as the School of Social Work. Because of the COR's support, many officials within the NGO community and ministry officials within the refugee camps were eager to cooperate wherever possible.

Consequently, the CAs provided their records from as far back as possible. For example, in Tongogara camp, Annual Reports covering the period 1986 until 1991 were provided. The same records were not available however for Mazoe River Bridge camp. In any case, Chambuta camp was established only in 1990. In some instances, Government records and reports often lacked updating and consistency. In other cases, there were some questions of accuracy on some of the data provided. In spite of this, there were some questions of accuracy on some of the data provided. In spite of this, these reports constituted official sources of information and statistical data, and in this sense were valuable to this study.

Four Annual Reports of the Refugee Programme in Zimbabwe for the years 1985, 1986, 1989 and 1990 were provided by the COR's office in Harare. Information and discussions with personnel from the UNHCR office in Harare also took place. In additions, the CSO in Harare provided two major documents, the 1982 and 1992 Zimbabwe Census Reports. These were invaluable in giving an overview of the changing population ratios in the regions where Mozambican refugees had settled since 1983.

The 1982 Census Report did not have any refugee statistics because it predated the first recorded influx of Mozambicans into Zimbabwe. The 1992 Census Report, however, illuminated several factors including the following: sex ratios, number of households, provincial and district figures and regarding population growth within and outside the camps.

Among the surveyed domestic and international refugee assisting agencies, published and unpublished reports of their work in the camps were consulted. Particular focus was concentrated on the records provided by HelpAge Refugee Programme in Zimbabwe because of their directed focus on Elderly refugees. The WFP Harare office provided data concerning the daily food rations provided to individual refugees, as well as the annual refugee figures which they shared with the government and the UNHCR, and upon which food and non-food commodities are planned for annually. It should be stated, however, that not all NGOs were willing to provide copies of their records nor allow the writer to consult these. For example, Save the Children (UK), based in Harare.

For the most part, there was overall cooperation on the part of NGOs during several visits culminating in an unstructured interview held with the Director or the Deputy Director. This schedule lasted anywhere between 40 and 60 minutes, and with the consent of the respondent it was openly recorded.

Three documents published by staff at the School of Social Work, and other collaborative research projects between the School (University of Zimbabwe), the Refugee Studies Programme (Oxford University) and Chancellor House (University of Malawi) concerning assistance to camp refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe were consulted. Documents, books, journals and reports from other sources were also consulted. Of particular value were the Annual Reports of UNHCR Activities reported to the Executive of the UN General Assembly for the years 1983 until 1992. These Annual Reports provide significant information about the changing refugee figures, the divergent needs and capacities of receiver-countries in relation to refugee influxes, the volume of UNHCR contributions in food and non-food items, as well as presenting problems, challenges and prospects on a country by country basis.

The secondary data were used mainly to describe the history of Mozambican forced migration into Zimbabwe, their stay in the camps with particular reference to the Elderly, assistance programmes provided to the camp refugees and the dimension of "vulnerabilities" resulting out of the extended camp life.

Sampling Framework

First, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) are stationed in all five refugee camps in Zimbabwe. They conduct a weekly head count of individual refugees and their families. This pattern of refugee enumeration was regularized for several reasons. Between 1985 and 1987, several incursions by RENAMO had occurred within Zimbabwe and into the refugee camps. Some of the RENAMO rebels entered the camps posing as refugees. RENAMO atrocities against refugees within the camps and against civilians in the villages surrounding the refugee camps, particularly in the North and the Eastern Highlands took place, where Mazoe River Bridge and Tongogara camps are located, respectively. Officially, these incursions were viewed as potential threats to the country's own stability, and possible sources of potential misery and devastation in the camps and in the rural areas. Evidence of such horrendous experiences were readily observable in the unfolding reality of Mozambique.

Refugee enumeration procedures were intensified especially in Tongogara and Mazoe River Bridge camps, and security precautions were enacted in the two districts, Chipinge and Rushinga, respectively. Due to security concerns regarding the nature of this screening process, these documents were not made available for the purpose of this study.

Second, there were other sources of camp population estimates. The CAs office in each camp is responsible for keeping regular registers of refugee entries, births, deaths, transfers and abscondments. Whereas these figures were in general helpful in providing an overview of refugee influxes into the country, figures pertaining to the category of 18 years and over needed further breakdown to be of any use for designing a sample framework.

The list revealed nothing about the specific target group for this study, which is camp refugees who were either 55 years or older, and who either currently participated in any of the projects activities or had previously done so. Careful consideration of the Camp Administration Records meant that the list of sample households could not be drawn from these records, because either the population records were often out of date or highly variable from year to year.

Third, another source of camp population figures was obtained from the 1992 Zimbabwe Census. These figures are given in Table 3.1. These statistics were valuable in providing refugee information for each camp broken down by totals, gender, household numbers and average family size. Even then, it was difficult to isolate the near exact numbers of elderly women and men within the given figures.

There is a glaring disparity between the population figures provided by the 1992 Census Report (96,117) and those from the Department of Social Welfare (138,804). As can be noted, the CSO figures were far below those quoted by the CAs offices in the camps. Refugee figures for Nyamatikiti camp were not reflected in the census report. In addition, the CSO figures may reflect that some repatriation has taken place before the census was taken in October 1992. Indeed this had happened in some camps, for example at Tongogara.

On the one hand, many of the refugees coming into Tongogara from the Eastern border with Mozambique were transferred to Chambuta camp because the former had reached its carrying capacity. On the other hand, the variation in camp figures may partially be explained by abscondments, mortality and high unofficial mobility of refugees between the camps and neighbouring towns in search of better conditions of living and particularly employment in the agricultural sector.

Fourth, the WFP data were essentially drawn from the Department of Social Welfare. The Government provides this agency with annual figures and they in turn plan their assistance programmes based on the data provided. As stated before, this data was useful for other purposes but not for drawing a sample frame.

Finally, for purposes of this study, the camp statistics by numbers of elderly refugees and their gender that were most useful were found at the HelpAge Refugee Programme head office in Harare, and in the field offices in Tongogara, Mazoe river and Chambuta camps. According to the UNHCR and HelpAge sources the following figures obtained in all five camps. In January 1992, the total population of the camps stood at

Table 3.1

Total Population by Sex, Household numbers, Average Household Size

	Population				
Refugee Camp	Male	Female	Total	Household	Average Size
Tongogara	16,207	21,891	38,098	8,236	4.6
Nyamombe	6,371	7,596	13,967	2,950	4.7
Mazowe River	11,735	13,312	25,047	5,433	4.6
Nyamatikiti	-	-	-	-	-
Chambuta	8,530	10,475	19,005	4,070	4.7
Total	**42,843**	**53,274**	**96,117**	**20,689**	

-- = no figures given

Source: Central Statistics Office, Zimbabwe Census Report 1992.

98,245 with about 8,980 of that population comprising elderly women and men. In July 1992, the camp totals had swollen to 116,201 with 13,159 of this figure representing the elderly and disabled combined. By November/December 1992 the numbers had risen to 138,804 with approximately more than 13,500 elderly and disabled for all five camps. According to HelpAge Officials in Harare and the surveyed camps, these figures show that their target group forms about 11% of the total refugee population (HelpAge Refugee Programme, 1992).

Sampled Population Groups

Table 3.2 gives a breakdown of the elderly population by gender in all five refugee camps in Zimbabwe. In addition to providing the same information but only for

Tongogara, Mazoe River and Chambuta camps for October 1992, Table 3.3 also illustrates a breakdown of the sample population of elderly women and men refugees all 55 years and above for the camps visited.

Using the figures representing totals for March 1991 (7,670) and December 1991 (8,767), the difference means that HelpAge's overall clientele in 1991 increased by 1,117. This does not include the elderly figures for two camps, Nyamatikiti and Chambuta where figures were not available. Assuming that these figures were available at the time of data gathering, it is conceivable that at the end of December 1991, the elderly population in all camps exceeded ten thousand. In all the camps, it was quite evident that even among elderly refugees, elderly women always outnumbered elderly men.

The sampled households in all three camps were based on the October 1992 figures presented in Table 3.3, which had slightly increased or decreased at the commencement of the camp survey in November 1992. The identified households were selected according to a stratified two-stage random sampling procedure, in which the "villages" or "bases" were selected in the first stage. The households were then selected in the second stage. The Camp Administration offices at Tongogara and Mazoe River Bridge had sketches of the camp layout indicating the different "bases". These were useful in locating the selected households in the sample.

Table 3.2

HelpAge Elderly Population figures for Five Refugee Camps in Zimbabwe

	March 1991			December 1991		
Camp	**Elderly Male**	**Elderly Female**	**Total**	**Elderly Male**	**Elderly Female**	**Total**
Tongogara	1,339	3,207	4,546	1,315	3,124	4,439
Nyamombe	561	643	1,204	497	558	1,055
Mazowe	824	1,096	1,920	1,058	1,811	2,869
Nyamatikiti	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chambuta	-	-	-	191	233	424
Total	**2,724**	**4,946**	**7,670**	**3,196**	**6,082**	**8,767**

-- = no figures available

Source: HelpAge Refugee Programme, Report ODA/4.92, p.3

The sampling frame containing the names of all refugees and their demographic particulars such as year of arrival, province of origin, marital status, gender, location within camp according to "villages" or "bases", was taken on site from the resident HelpAge Refugee Programme records at each visited camp. The HelpAge staff at all camps keep as near complete profiles of the particulars of their target groups, which includes elderly refugees. This sampling frame was taken to be most inclusive of the universe under investigation. The next step was to determine the size of the sample in each "village" or "base" from this universe. After selecting the first household, by the use of a random table, every eleventh households in each "village" or "base" was selected for interviews. Furthermore, within every household either the elderly woman or man would be the key informant during the interview.

Table 3.3

Sample Population of Elderly Women and men in HelpAge Programme by Camp

Camp	Elderly Male	Elderly Women	Totals	Sampled Elderly		Total Number	Percent of Total
Tongogora	1,044	2,167	3,211	104	216	320	52.8
Mazowe	782	990	1,772	82	99	181	29.9
Chambuta	393	650	1,043	40	65	105	17.3
Total	**2,219**	**3,807**	**6,026**	**226**	**380**	**606**	**100.0**

Source: HelpAge Refugee Programme Camp Statistics, October 1992

At Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps, those elderly women and men who were transferred from saturated camps were recorded. Those refugees transferred to Tongogara camp mainly due to family re-unifications were recorded in most cases. For all the cited reasons, it seemed more plausible to draw the sampled household from the records provided by HelpAge Refugee Programme in Zimbabwe.

The Questionnaire

Structure

This questionnaire investigated factors associated with the socio-economic adaptation of elderly Mozambican women and men refugees in Zimbabwean camps, and the impact that refugee assistance had on their lives. The questionnaire administered was a fairly structured one. This was seen as an appropriate instrument for several reasons. First, in order to minimise costs and to facilitate data collection, processing and analysis, the closed-end or structured questions were considered appropriate as opposed to unstructured or open-ended ones. Second, in order to reduce any inflexibility and to permit "freedom of response" (Harrell-Bond, 1986), in the majority of questions, the category of "other" was included. As indicated earlier, participant observation and informal discussions with the elderly refugees, at their homes in the evenings, or at the project sites during the day, provided additional information which the questionnaires failed to generate. The author assisted by three Research Assistants administered the surveys.

There were two sets of questionnaires generated for this study. The elderly men's questionnaire contained 53 questions, and a lengthier one for elderly women with 74 questions. The questionnaires were divided into six sections covering the following areas: personal characteristics, socio-economic characteristics, physical health and nutritional status, socio-cultural dimensions of adaptation, psychosocial support systems, unmet needs and problems, and finally, elderly refugees' perceptions of repatriation to Mozambique and prospects for their reintegration.

Gaining a demographic profile of the groups under study was the first important step. In this section, information about the age, marital status, family size, province and town/village of origin, length of stay in camps, number of dependent living with the respondent and those absent, everyday language spoken was gathered. The second part concentrates on socio-economic characteristics, including educational background, occupation and employment for both before and after flight, access to income, shelter,

participation in skills training projects, experienced role change, acquired or not acquired experiences, and their perception of the usefulness of acquired skills in Mozambique after repatriation.

The third part focused primarily on the physical health status of the elderly women and men, and their immediate relatives and dependants sharing the hut with them. The health status of refugees in camp situations is often influenced by their access or lack of access to varied food types. Depending upon their social status and position in the camp power relations, if they are viewed as "having no power" their access to food in general might be precarious (Christensen, 1982; Keen, 1992), and the situation might be worse for women if they are not participating actively in the food distribution process (Spring, 1982; Hall, 1982, 1988; Christensen, 1982, 1986; Chigudu, 1990; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994; Motsisi, 1995). Those agencies which recognized the vulnerability of the elderly, including World Vision (Zimbabwe), provided supplementary feeding schemes to ensure that the elderly women and men have some access to food. It is not to be assumed, however, that all elderly refugees have adequate access to food within the camps. Even as some elderly, particularly "the frail" were brought to the feeding centres, in the "villages" and "bases" there were still many more unnoticed who experienced hunger. Issues pertaining to sanitation, availability of water and wood fuel for domestic purposes were also investigated.

The fourth section examined the socio-cultural dimensions of refugee adaptation within camp environments. As Kibreab (1987) observed, refugees in settlements usually develop their own independent mechanisms for communication among themselves for purposes of general survival. Refugees will "...leave no stone unturned" (Kibreab, 1991:10) to ensure their own independent means of survival. But their efforts to survive independently are sometimes determined by their relations with others within the camp, particularly as their livelihood is dictated by those who have power, and not themselves (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Wilson, 1992; Keen, 1992). Social interaction with other refugees,

particularly refugee leaders is crucial. That is, "being in the good books" of these leaders ensures at least some form of security. In addition, social interaction with staff from the CA's office, staff from domestic and international NGOs, is also very important for their own survival. Finally, it was noted that in Zimbabwe, a silent but vibrant bartering economy existed for years between refugees and locals who reside in villages surrounding the camps. The relationship between camp refugees and their neighbours is crucial to the survival of both groups (Rogge, 1985, 1987; Kibreab, 1985, 1987; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Callamard, 1993, 1994).

The fifth section of the questionnaire focused on identifying some of the psychosocial support systems of their absence in the three camps, and how this affected the mental health condition of the elderly women and men. The absence of effective social support systems within refugee camps affects the overall well-being of refugees in general, and vulnerable groups in particular. The presence of an established ethnic community in exile is often crucial as some measure of available social and emotional support when established institutions fail to provide this (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Goitom, 1987; Nyakabwa, 1989; Mpumlwana, 1991; Makhanya, 1992; Motsisi, 1995).

In addition, adaptation problems encountered in the refugee camps often are not attended to adequately if the camp officials are not responsive to refugee needs, problems and capacities. However, where the overall camp administration does allow some degree of refugee leaders' participation in some areas of decision-making, the situation may be different. Informants were asked to list, in order of priority, the four most pressing needs or problems they were encountering continuously, in spite of their participation in the various skills-training projects. Indeed, the majority of them encountered problems related to both the lack of satisfaction regarding material resources, as well as psychosocial problems. These are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

The final section solicited their ideas about the desire to return to Mozambique. For instance, not all refugees might have wanted to repatriate to their villages of origin

(Stein, 1982; Stein and Clark, 1990; Rogge, 1990; Makhanya, 1992). In conflict-induced disasters, many refugees including the elderly may still have vivid memories of the atrocities of war that displaced them. Consequently, even after living in exile for several years, memories of murders of family members may not have been erased from their lives. For cultural reasons, that is respecting the "ancestral roots" and the desire to "die at home" (Harrell-Bond, 1986), as well as practical economic factors such as land ownership, many elderly refugees unlike the much younger generation, would likely opt to return home even in times when civil conflict in their countries of origin have not been overcome (Cuny, 1991). Copies of the two questionnaires are attached as Appendices 1 and 2.

Relevance of Questionnaire to NGOs and Practitioners in Zimbabwe

During consultations with several refugee-assisting NGOs, some of them requested that questions related to the readiness or possibility of foster-parenting by elderly refugee women be incorporated into the female questionnaire. They said it was crucial for them to know in view of the pending repatriation exercise, and also because of the existence of hundreds of unaccompanied minors in the refugee camps who would need older care-givers before and after repatriation. By addressing such questions within this study, NGOs in Zimbabwe felt that their own concerns would be at least partially addressed as well, and that the study was directly useful to their own programming. In particular HelpAge felt that the male and female questionnaires would provide invaluable information which they otherwise would not have generated themselves, particularly due to lack of resources. HelpAge officials were also interested in gaining insight about the elderly refugees' perceptions regarding repatriation and reintegration in Mozambique. They argued that if this study undertook to address all these concerns, it would highlight several factors in the area of appropriate NGO responsiveness towards both the needs as well as capacities of elderly refugees in holding camp situations.

Factors Associated with collecting Data from Elderly Informants

Obtaining data from the elderly generally requires special skills, techniques and instruments that are not normally needed for the other groups. For this reason,

> For example, it is especially important to establish rapport, since older people may be sceptical of research and unsure of scientists of their staff, perhaps suspecting they may be some kind of "spies" of government (McPherson, 1990:122).

This may even be more the case within the refugee camp context where countless external and domestic researchers have come to extract information from informants for research purposes, where they purport not to have benefited from giving information about their lives (Kibreab, 1987; Munyai, 1990).

Second, many elderly refugees may not understand the purpose of questionnaire surveys. This therefore calls for the enumerators to be fully trained in enumeration skills, and particularly in becoming sensitive during the process of soliciting information from the elderly, by understanding the questions thoroughly prior to the interview, in order to reduce the level of possible intimidation of the informant (Harrell-Bond, 1986). Often lack of local language communication skills may increase problems in establishing rapport between enumerators and informants. This was not the case in this survey. The enumerators employed were Mozambicans themselves and were fluent in the languages spoken by the elderly informants.

Another concern when conducting research among elderly informants is that, the elderly may also be more likely, as are children, to respond in socially approved directions, to respond with a "no opinion" or "don't know", or to be unwilling to admit to the true state of their moods or of their poor economic, social and health conditions (McPherson, 1990). This is likely to be the case in situations where the elderly are not totally in control of their destinies, as is the case of elderly women and men refugees in he camps. This may also be a display of their degree of vulnerability, in so far as in general, elderly refugees are at the bottom of the ladder of persons receiving assistance in the refugee camps (Munyai, 1990).

There is also the possibility of encountering elderly refugees who, because of the severity of traumatic experiences that prompted their initial flight from their villages inside Mozambique, may be displaying confusion, inability to recall memories or experiences. This may also be the case due to general fatigue or short attention spans. All these situations were discussed with enumerators, who were trained to exercise patience and respect towards refugees who might display such symptoms, without losing sight of the study's objectives.

At times, it may be difficult during interviews with elderly refugees who live in extremely stressful conditions over extended periods of time in the camps, to restrict their conversation to the items in the interview schedule. This is often the case because they are generally "pushed aside" and few officials in the camps have "adequate time" to listen to them relating the problems which affect them on a daily basis. In such situations, the interviewer becomes an opportunity for long-sought "emotional out-pouring". This often happened during data collection for this study. Enumerators were encouraged to listen carefully to the elderly men and women, and to record only the relevant answers to the specific questions put to the informant.

The use of Mozambican third year Social Work students commanding fluency in the Mozambican dialects, as well as in understanding the political, social, cultural and economic aspects of displacement was of real benefit to this study. For their part, after completion of their studies in Zimbabwe, these enumerators went back to Mozambique to work with returnees. In this way, the research experience within the camps in Zimbabwe prepared them to understand the dynamics of adaptation in exile; preparing them for the repatriation and re-integration of returning refugees, as well as assessing the different special needs of refugees determined by their differing degrees of vulnerability. In this way, the knowledge of cultural factors such as language differences and customary rituals pertaining to ancestral "spirits" and the elderly informants' attachment to ancestral lands, offered the enumerators invaluable learning opportunities. The experiences of elderly refugees and the interaction between them and the writer together with the enumerators, increased the level of trust and credibility of the enumerators in the perception of the elderly women and men refugees.

Of central concern to this study was the condition and overall situation of elderly refugees, including social attitudes of camp and NGO officials towards them. Among the elderly refugees there were those who were frail due to poor physical health and lack of adequate food and proper care. They are often excluded from research studies and yet they constitute an important segment of the elderly population, especially when matters such as independence, elder abuse, social support, and care-giving are being considered.

The administration of the questionnaires among the elderly women and men refugees took into account that the enumerators had to receive express consent from the informant and also ensure the required privacy of the interviewee, before commencing with the schedule. Also, the cooperation of the care-givers, particularly from the CA's office, the HelpAge staff in Harare and on site in the camps, and also the refugee leaders was appropriately solicited and provided.

Procedure for Conducting Camp Surveys

All domestic and international researchers who intend to carry out surveys in the five refugee camps in Zimbabwe are by law required to obtain a Research Permit in advance. This document is supplied by the National Research Council in Zimbabwe and it enables the researcher to apply for and obtain a temporary residence permit. The writer finally received her Research Permit in September 1992. In this entire process, the logistical support from the Department of Social Welfare, in particular the COR's office was crucial.

In addition to the overall permit granted to conduct research on refugees within camps, extra group permits were issued for the team of researchers which gave clearance for the group to enter, reside and work within the three camps at varying intervals. Upon arrival at each camp, the Camp permit was given to the CA. The researchers were then permitted to stay within the bounds of the camp, interact with staff in the CA's office, HelpAge staff and other NGO personnel within the camp. The CA informed all his staff and all NGO personnel to assist in carrying out the survey.

For the duration of our stay in each camp all four researchers lived in the premises of HelpAge Refugee Programme. Separate meetings with HelpAge staff as well as refugee leaders, both women and men, were held in these premises in order to explain in great detail the objectives of this study, as well as outlining the types of assistance we would need from the different constituencies.

Prior to our departure to Tongogara camp, the enumerators spent two weeks with the writer in October 1992 for training purposes on how to interview elderly informants, including exposure to ethical considerations and the significance of establishing rapport first before administering the questionnaire. A pilot survey was thereafter administered at Tongogara camp with about 30 informants, 15 men and 15 women, to test the suitability of questions and the appropriateness of their formulation. An assessment of these questionnaires was undertaken. Consequently, it became necessary to delete all questions related to land availability of individual households. The questions were thus reduced from 93 to 74 in the case of elderly women, and from 73 to 53 in the case of elderly men. Some questions were reformulated for improved clarity.

After attending to all technicalities, the writer proceeded with HelpAge offices in each camp to collect information about the group. The next step was to determine the size of the sample in each camp. The proportion of the sample was 52.8% in Tongogara, 29.9% in Mazoe River Bridge and 17.3% in Chambuta. In each camp, the first household was selected by the use of a random table, and every tenth household in each "village" or "base" was selected for interviews. However, there were some problems encountered since the huts were not always in rows, thus their haphazard arrangement often made the identification of the selected household difficult. HelpAge intervened by providing us with their trained base leaders and health scouts, some young and elderly women and men, who knew the "bases" very well and were excellent guides. In this way the confusion was effectively overcome.

The assistance provided by the base leaders and the health scouts was tremendous. As regular home visitors, who carried out regular family counts they were also responsible, particularly the latter for the delivery of medicines and health check follow-ups.

They located the huts of the selected sample households easily, and introduced the enumerators to the families. The enumerators were also instructed to interview the heads of households. In every camp, particularly in Tongogara, there was a considerable number of elderly widows who were heads of households. However, if neither the elderly man or woman who was identified from HelpAge records as head of household was absent, we passed on to the next and returned in the evening. In the event of us failing to reach the respondent after two visits, we passed on to the next family. There were some elderly women and men who refused to be interviewed. These were negligent in number. With due respect to their feelings, enumerators then passed on to the next identified family.

After consultation with the elderly base leaders, HelpAge staff and some elderly refugees themselves, it was unanimously agreed that all the heads of the sampled households would be interviewed at the project offices of HelpAge. The elderly refugees felt content that these sites in all the camps were neutral ground. The elderly refugees were pleased to be interviewed by their own compatriots, because they also mentioned that it gave some members of their community opportunities to document their experiences, to learn about their history and also to derive economic benefits in order to continue with their studies. Also, this increased the confidence of the elderly refugees in the survey and the credibility of results, since there was no need for translation from English to Portuguese, Ndau, Barwe, Sena or Shangaan. The enumerators spoke all these languages fluently. Whereas the enumerators were primarily responsible for administering the questionnaire, the writer was always present to answer all questions raised. Also, the writer accompanied the enumerators to assess their performance and to provide guidance whenever needed. In addition, in all three camps every evening after supper was used for debriefing purposes. Any problem of procedure and content was discussed and strategies were developed to overcome these inadequacies. This in itself was a learning experience.

Data Analysis and Presentation

Due to the nature of this study, the analysis of data gathered from secondary and primary sources employs both a qualitative and quantitative analysis. Some of the secondary sources of data were inconsistent or incomplete and did therefore not lend themselves to any quantitative evaluation. The nature of data generated from the questionnaire survey was detailed enough to employ quantitative analysis. For the range of categorical-type data collected during the sample survey conducted for this study, chi-square tests were used to identify relationships and test levels of significance. A logistic regression model was used to analyze survey data in order to assess the relative importance of factors which were hypothesised as significant contributors to the general well-being of elderly refugees in the three camps in Zimbabwe. Chapters Six and Seven discuss most of the analysed data.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to this study. First, the statistics kept by the CAs' Offices at the camp sites were very general. Even though they were broken down by age groups, still they were not immediately helpful to the writer for the identification of the 51-90 years age group. Consequently, the more reliable figures were obtained from HelpAge Refugee Programme.

Second, the findings for this study would provide more powerful arguments for policy changes at UNHCR, within government and other NGOs towards building capacities of elderly refugees, if the study was of a longitudinal nature. It has been observed that "longitudinal designs can give a more accurate and complete explanation of the aging process because they follow the same individuals or groups for a number of years". (McPherson, 1990:117). It should be noted, however, that this type of research is expensive and time-consuming. In some cases, longitudinal studies have involved aspects of risk because some of the original subjects may be lost through death, relocation, or refusal to continue (Harrell-Bond, 1986; McPherson, 1990; Hansen, 1990).

Third, some of the responses from the elderly women and men may, partially be influenced by the respondents' "research-fatigue" syndrome. Given the existence of these feelings, the respondents may likely give answers that they perceive would "make the interviewers happy" thereby not giving true details about their real condition. Within such situations where the research subjects have literally no control over their fate because their livelihood is completely within the hands of Government, UNHCR, WFP, local and international NGOs, the elderly may also be more likely, as are children, to respond in socially approved directions (McPherson, 1990).

Fourth, the recent severe drought of 1991-93, which affected more than ten countries in Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe, had serious health effects on all groups of people in society. Within Zimbabwe, the hardest hit population groups were those without adequate food purchasing power, including the poor and landless in the urban and rural areas. It also included those who lived within refugee camps, who were dependent on food aid distributed by the WFP through the Social Welfare offices in all five camps. Among refugee populations themselves, the most vulnerable groups identified were the elderly women and men, widowed elderly, refugees with disabilities, children under five years old, single mothers who were also heads of households and unaccompanied minors, including orphans, pregnant and lactating women (Newhouse and Szynalski, 1992:28). The responses to the survey given by the elderly women and men may have been influenced indirectly by the prevalence of drought and the resultant food shortages experienced in the camps and in the country as a whole. The interview process took place at the time when in Tongogara and Mazoe River Bridge camps, for instance, outcries of the inadequacy of the WFP food packages were registered. The recent severe drought also exarcebated the situation and this meant that many elderly refugees were going hungry and their health was frail.

Fifth, between November 1992 and January 1993, there were several outbreaks of cholera in the refugee camps, particularly in Tongogara and Mazoe River Bridge. Consequently, these refugee camps were quarantined which meant no one from outside was allowed to enter. This decree affected everyone, except for UNHCR, WFP, Government and NGO personnel who were either bringing in food and non-food supplies to the camp. The survey in Mazoe River Bridge was postponed by one month. This new condition simply meant the research procedure had to adapt itself to unpredictable changes in the field.

Sixth, data related to the "income" and "wealth" of refugee households were not available. These data could have been a major source of information in determining the level of economic independence the respondents had achieved over the years. However, government policy prohibited encamped refugees to seek employment outside the refugee camps. Hence, all sampled household informants responded that they were not employed within the camp. Within camps themselves there are extremely limited opportunities for "formal" employment. Most of the refugees who found some type of occupation were limited to working as domestic helpers in the houses of NGO personnel and in the yards as gardeners. These types of employment opportunities are largely open to the younger refugees who are mostly below fifty. Even this market is closed for the participation of elderly refugees. As a result most of them are involved in several types of self-employment ventures which have become innovative projects. Among the men the most prevalent are black-smithing, tin-smithing, basketry and bartering of food stuffs. Among the women basketry, ragmat-making were predominant. Due to existing official policy, the interviewed respondents were reluctant to declare any income they acquired if they were engaged in some of the "innovative projects". It was consequently extremely difficult to assess their wealth. However, from observing the interior of their huts and the structures themselves, it could be safely concluded that among encamped refugees, the elderly women and men in general, tended to be the poorest because they had, in the majority cases, virtually no possessions such as radios, bicycles, buckets, pots and so forth, which some of the younger refugees possessed.

Summary:

This Chapter attempted to indicate the extent of and the types of vulnerability endured by elderly refugees at Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps. Discussion on the choice of selected areas illuminated the variation of geography and the potential that existed for refugees to feed themselves, if government policy permitted. The procedures for conducting camp surveys informed about the difficulties often encountered in carrying out survey research, and the discussion on study limitations reflected how questions of keeping useful camp statistics might be of help in this process. Also, unanticipated circumstances happening in the field during the administration of surveys can have an impact on the time-line. The need for researchers to become adaptable to existing fields conditions, without necessarily losing the main focus of the research process, is an important aspect related to the gathering of primary data.

CHAPTER IV

MOZAMBICANS FLEE INTO SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the Mozambican refugee crises and to briefly discuss the patterns of flight that ensued as the war that caused the flight escalated. The intention is also to highlight the various coping mechanisms that he Mozambicans have adopted at different phases of their exile. However, in order to create sufficient understanding of the causes and nature of recent forced migrations, (i.e. 1983-1992) as well as their impact on individuals and institutions in society, it is necessary first to examine the historical background of forced migrations in Mozambique. This will be done in three stages: first, during the pre-colonial era, second, refugee migrations resulting from the colonial experience, and third, displacements that occurred post-independence from Portugal.

The discussion on the political, social, economic and environmental causes of the disintegration of civil society in Mozambique during the early nineteen eighties to the early nineteen nineties becomes more coherent when understood within an historical context. The different dimensions of the crises are directly linked to the sixteen year internal war. In addition, by tracing the historical background of conflict and refugees in Mozambique from the fifteenth century to the present, an attempt is made to illuminate the brutality of some of the historical causes of vulnerability in this region, namely, the creation of colonial boundaries. Furthermore, by exploring the interrelated causes of forced migration in the nineteen-eighties and nineties, the numbers and directions of flight in Southern Africa, as well as discussing the host responses in respect to their settlement in Zimbabwean camps, the reader is enabled to understand the elderly refugees in Zimbabwe, from an historical context.

Fifteenth Century pre-colonial Forced Migration in Mozambique

Mozambicans have a long history of migrations, both voluntary and involuntary. Different patterns of migration have evolved both within and outside their territory. In the fifteenth century, before the arrival of the Portuguese in Mozambique, wars were fought between the kingdoms and tribes for such reasons as territorial conquest as part of empire-building strategies, or simply when communities were searching for better lands. Socially, the consequences of forced migration were diverse for both the victors and the defeated. Under attack, masses of people were forced to flee to territories where they could find security. During those times, present day borders did not exist. The types of migrations then were fuelled more by the need for imperial expansion, but also by the need for better and larger grazing areas especially for nomadic and pastoral groups.

The conquered ethnic groups had to surrender some territory to the mightier local kings and chiefs. Loss of territory also meant loss of social dignity within their own domain and externally. Sometimes, it also meant giving up lands where their ancestors were buried. Whenever conflict-resolution mechanisms prevailed, the ancestral lands would be returned in exchange of other payment in kind (Da silva, 1992; Lassailly-Jacobs, 1992). Due to these back-and-forth migrations, and also as a result of inter-marriages and trade relationships among the different ethnic groups, kin-groups were established on both sides of the conflicting ethnic groups. For instance, the flow of Mozambicans to South Africa, like the flow of Mozambicans into other neighbouring countries, is rooted in the historical patterns of migration in southern Africa, and in the family and ethnic relationships that have developed throughout the region as a result of these movements (Brennan, 1986:5).

By the time the Portuguese arrived, the following settlement patterns had been established (Pelissier, 1988). The North of the Zambezi is largely inhabited by the Makua-Lomwe people. At the end of 1988, they were estimated to be comprising about 40% of the total population and they lived mostly in the provinces of Zambezia, Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado.

It is reported that the most prevalent religion in this region is Islam. The Yao (or Ajaua) live in Niassa province as well as across the border within Malawi. Besides practising Islam, the Yao people are known to be keen traders. Then the Makonde, who were the fiercest opponents of Portuguese colonial settlers during the ten year was of liberation (1964-1974). The Makonde live on either side of the Ruvuma river, and as a result, they exist both within northern Mozambique and also in Tanzania. Other northern ethnic groups compose of the Nyanja and the Chewa people, who are settled around Lake Nyasa and in Tete province. Along the coast of Cabo Delgado province there are numerous Swahili-speaking people, and several other ethnic groups along the Zambezi valley.

South of the Zambezi are mainly the Thonga who feature prominently as contract mine labourers in South Africa. Along the coast of Inhambane Province are the Chopi people, who had some opportunities of education, unlike the rest of the African population whose educational needs were deliberately neglected by the Portuguese regime as a consequence of its official policy towards the Africans (Munslow, 1985; Chigudu, 1990; Makhanya, 1990; Motsisi, 1995). North of the Tonga live the Shona people who numbered slightly over a million in 1988. The Shona in Mozambique have historical and cultural ties with their kin-group in Zimbabwe. The Tsonga and the Shangaan, other southern groups, had relative advantage since through contract mine labour, some became exposed to basic education in South Africa. Then there are also several smaller ethnic groups who also contribute to the complex but rich cultural diversity of Mozambican society.

Whereas the Tsonga and the Shangaan have relatives inside South Africa, migration of warriors from South Africa during the nineteenth century competed with them for more grazing land, and this triggered off several land-based conflicts. As a result of these skirmishes, the Tsonga within Mozambique suffered greatly because their cattle-herd was almost decimated. Since they were largely a pastoral people, their ways of life were affected because their capacity to accumulate cattle was nearly destroyed. Historically, the Tsonga have owned cattle to fulfil several purposes, for example, to gain milk and meat for domestic use, to gain draught power for tillage for their oxen, as well as to exchange goods in kind during marriage ceremonies (Brennan, 1986:5).

Forced Migrations resulting from Portuguese Colonization

It is not possible within a few paragraphs to capture succinctly the extent of human suffering caused by the Portuguese settler regime upon the people of Mozambique during the colonial period. However, it is necessary to briefly highlight the impact of colonial relations on the socio-political and economic organisation of Mozambican society, whose effects are still visible in the current situation of this nation. A brief description of the forced migration and internal population displacements that ensued as a result of the local colonial administration's policies enables the reader to understand the historical reasons for the ten years of popular struggle against Portugal. It also helps to distinguish between the different causes of flight during earlier refugee migrations of the 1960/70s from the latter ones of the 1980/90s. For example, whereas the earlier refugee migrants were clearly victims of an anti-colonial struggle, the latter were largely victims of insurgencies perpetrated by a domestic aggressor, RENAMO. The coping mechanisms of the African peasantry in the face of Portuguese oppression, enables the reader to understand the historical background of the now elderly women and men refugees, most of whom lived through part of the twentieth-century part of the colonial epoch.

Much earlier on in Mozambican history, Arabs from the Middle East invaded the country to engage in the slave trade. With the arrival of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century, Vasco da Gama, on his visit to India in 1498, reprovisioned on the coast of Mozambique and bombarded an Arab town as a warning that the Portuguese were prepared to challenge Muslim control in the area (Brennan, 1986:5). By 1505, the Portuguese returned to occupy another Arab town and began construction of a fort at Sofala on the Zambezi river, which became the first European settlement in southern Africa. Within five years, the Portuguese controlled every major port between Sofala and the Horn of Africa, located 3,000 miles to the north (Brennan, 1986:6). Later, with the advent of "pacification campaigns" which began in the late 1800s, the Portuguese sought to conquer the entire territory of what became the colony of Mozambique (Da Silva, 1992:2).

Essentially, this activity set the stage in determining the political-economy of the relationship between Portugal and Mozambique, with the former being the *center* and the latter, the *periphery*. The political, social and economic relations that unfolded over the period of colonial domination followed the lines of "master and servant" power relations. In terms of understanding vulnerability as stemming from historical processes of under-development, rather than one-time spontaneous events, the colonial era became the second period in the creation of vulnerability within Mozambican society.

In order to prevail in Mozambique, the Portuguese were required to conquer and to subjugate the African kings and chiefs throughout the territory. In addition, during Salazar's regime in Portugal, the Portuguese failed to generate wealth in order to effectively exploit its colonies' resources, as a result, they developed Mozambique to serve foreign interests (Economic Intelligence Unit, 1989). It was only at the beginning of the First World War in 1914, that the Portuguese conquest was completed, thereby laying the foundations for colonial rule, which lasted until 1975 (Isaacman, A. and B, 1983; Brennan, 1986:5-8; Da Silva, 1992:3). As Portugal sought to reconcile its visions of an empire with its extremely limited resources, there was however, a demand for salves in Brazil, Madagascar, and overseas. French territories precipitated a transformation of Mozambique's economy that would enrich the Portuguese authorities, and that has profoundly affected its population, particularly the peasants. In effect, "Mozambique became an international labour reserve" (Brennan, 1986:7). For the colonial administration, the rise of the slave trade established a precedent to derive profit from indigenous human labour power. However, the peasants' flight from enslavement reinforced the patterns of migration established during the centuries of civil conflicts. As slavery was abolished, these patterns were largely maintained by migration for wage labour and by flight from Portuguese colonial rule which had shattered their land (Brennan, 1986:8).

After the abolition of slavery in 1878 (Brennan, 1986:8; Da Silva, 1992), both the colonial administration and the settler plantation owners needed a system of securing a regular and cheap supply of labour.

As a result, the Labour Code for the Indigenous Colonies of Africa *(Codigo de Trabalho de Indigenas nas Colonias Portuguesas de Africa)* of 1928 was formally established. According to this Code, in principle, all Africans were eligible for forced labour since under colonial legislation native work was to be considered as a moral duty. However, it was particularly the rural peasantry who bore the brunt of forced labour (*Chibalo*) (Mozambican Studies, 1984).

During the colonial period, African men and women were forcibly removed from their homelands by national policies (Urdang, 1989:14). Portuguese colonization decided to regroup the scattered and isolated village compounds for strategic purposes, and as the administration stated, in order to develop the rural areas (De Araujo, 1985; Hanlon, 1984). Strategic rural settlements called *Aldeamentos* were established in order to control the rural population and to keep them away from the influence of FRELIMO's politicization campaign. Simultaneously, *Colonatos* were built surrounding the rural settlements as some form of buffer zone, in order to accommodate Portuguese farmers and to contain the African settlements. The authorities had managed to implement their "villagization programme" and, by the beginning of 1974 nearly one million Mozambicans had been resettled into 600 "villages" (De Araujo, 1985). The *Aldeamentos* were perceived as areas for the continued supply of a labour reserve army that was designed to work and develop the settler plantations of cotton, sugar and cashew nuts. In addition, the plantation economy was established to fuel rural development strategies which were not directed at satisfying local needs, but rather whose production was geared for the export market in Europe. Consequently, it was observed that

> cotton production was forced upon the people too, at the expense of food production, ... both women and men were forcibly recruited to work on settler plantations to produce cotton for Portugal's failing industries (Chigudu, 1990:12).

This system of forced labour extraction from the *Aldeamentos* to the settler plantations was protected by official policy of the colonial Government in Lorenzo Marques (now Maputo).

The coercive methods of rounding up people for *Chibalo* consisted of beatings and arrests by *Cipaios*. Once arrested, the peasants were forced to work on plantations and projects for the colonial administration such as building roads and bridges.

Theoretically, they had to work for periods of up to twelve months and thereafter were allowed to return to the subsistence sector where they would be able to cultivate food crops for their families for a period of six months. In reality however, the peasants were often forced to work for longer periods or would otherwise be arrested soon after arriving at the subsistence sector and taken back to *Chibalo*. (Melo, A., 1978;41; Da Silva, 1992:3). The combined effect of economic oppression, including the pittance in wages they received and the compulsion to pay "hut taxes" to the colonial authorities, forced many Mozambicans to leave their country in search of work and a better life in neighbouring territories where they worked as farm labourers and miners. For those who left their homeland, leaving was perceived as a coping strategy but not a most desirable choice. It is clear that the forced migrants of this time fled not only political indignation, but also economic humiliation suffered at the hands of the colonial administration. And as others put it, the Mozambicans left their country motivated by a desire to escape the violence of *Chibalo*. In the contemporary situation, these migrants would probably be classified as "economic refugees" (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983:121).

By comparison to her more industrialized neighbour in the South, the system of forced migrant labour deployed in Mozambique in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is reminiscent of similar policies that created an African labour reserve army in the "Homelands" or "Bantustans" within South Africa (Motsisi, 1981; Davies, 1985; Buthelezi, 1988). The Mozambican system of forced labour became a precursor for the more rigid and sophisticated migrant labour system of the twentieth century in the Southern African region, which came to be internationally well-known as it dominated labour laws and the political-economic systems across several countries.

From the foregoing account it becomes clear that the impact of colonialism on Mozambican society was widespread and pervasive.

Its impact on the rural peasantry in the country had far-reaching effects which continue to be a legacy that persists to the present times (Da Silva, 1992:4). The traditional system of agricultural production was effectively disturbed, almost completely decimated by the enforcement of *Chibalo* as well as by the planting of single-crops for the export market in Europe. Peasant production and commerce came under the control of the colonial administration within a relationship which tied the producer to the supplier of manufactured goods (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983; Da Silva, 1992:4). The under-development of Mozambique, with particular reference to the rural peasantry, can only be adequately understood within the unequal development which devastated the country, its economy as well as its human resource base for decades to come.

In addition to disrupting social production in the rural areas, the authority structure of African society itself had been destroyed and manipulated to suit the interests of the colonial masters. The Portuguese replaced the accepted traditional leaders within the indigenous communities by appointing African *Regulos* (African figureheads who ruled their *regulados*). Although *Regulos* could be appointed according to their succession norms, they had to be cooperative and subservient to the colonial authorities in order to be recognized by the latter (Da Silva, 1992:5). Furthermore, the new social structure was militarized and maintained by force as one scholar observed

> Once an appointment was approved and recognized by the colonial administration, the *regulos* were supplied with an armed militia which enabled them to enforce their "authority" on the "*regulado*" (Da Silva, 1992:5)

This situation led others to believe that such tools of indirect Portuguese rule were indeed a mockery of the traditional system, although the *Regulos* saw themselves as having "indigenous political power" (Coelho, 1989:28-29). In addition, the colonial administration introduced a system of bureaucratic authority which was completely alien to the Africans. Traditional figures who were meaningful to the colonizers, such as the chiefs, were later replaced by district administrators, policemen and soldiers.

The position of Mozambican women within this system of social control needs special mention. Their subjugation to humiliating circumstances was devastating, as it also created conditions which established and also influenced their vulnerable position in general society. Whereas the men were equally exposed to severe maltreatment through *Chibalo*, by contrast, the women's emotional and psychological development was affected by the repeated sexual abuses they were forced to undergo. Often, women were sexually abused by colonial soldiers and the *Cipaios*, and if they refused to comply they were threatened with forced removal to the penal colony of Sao Tome (Isaacman and Stephen, 1980; Hanlon, 1984:149; Chigudu, 1990:12). For these women, therefore, compliance to the sexual demands of the colonial soldiers and the *Cipaios* was a painful coping strategy to ensure their continued survival. In order to preserve their families and to continue to care for and maintain them, they had to cope with tremendous physical and emotional abuse. *Chibalo* therefore, not only meant forcible extraction of women's labour power, but also, persistent psychological abuse through forced sexual relations between them and the soldiers, as well as the *Cipaios*. Here are some of the historical roots of their vulnerability as some elderly women respondents attested during interviews in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe. Some women were deployed as domestic workers in the households of the plantation masters. A significant number however, were forced to give free labour to the *Regulos*.

Another form of their coping mechanisms during this time was through a family-based division of labour as demanded by the imposed overall situation. While the one partner would be away working on *Chibalo*, the remaining one would take care of family needs including working the land to produce food and caring for the children and the elderly. In many cases, the presence of extended family members somewhat reduced the burden on the spouses as it was a positive mitigating factor. However, it was particularly hard on widows as well as those women who simply did not have husbands to maintain family food production during their absence (Chigudu, 1990).

Mozambican women worked under slave-like conditions and without remuneration in cash or kind for their labour input. In addition, they wore clothes made out of unhygienic sack material (Manghezi, 1982:164-172). Some women also travelled to the urban centres to work for low-wage opportunities such as in the light industries. Others ended up as domestic workers in Portuguese households. Also, a sizeable number worked as prostitutes (Isaacman and Stephen, 1980; Chigudu, 1990).

In the 1960s and throughout the early days of the nationalist struggle against Portuguese occupation, several political movements with divergent opinions emerged. These early movements were characterized by regional and ethnic biases including distinct political and ideological platforms. Three movements merged into the popularly known Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). The founding organizations of FRELIMO were the Mozambican Makonde Union (MANU); National African Union of Independent Mozambique (UMANU) and, the nation Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983:78-80). When the colonial regime was overthrown by the Portuguese pro-democracy revolution in 1974, the new Government granted the independence to the former colonies. At this time, the 1964-1974 struggle for an independent Mozambique had been successfully waged, and FRELIMO won political power with an overwhelming majority, and had also gained national as well as international recognition and legitimacy. However, the war of liberation itself had caused massive population displacements internally. In addition, thousands of refugees left the country and found asylum in Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi (Chol, 1983; Magaia, 1983; Hanlon, 1984; Brennan, 1986; Chigudu, 1990; Da Silva, 1992) and returned home after independence in 1975.

Post Independence Politics and Forced Migrations

During the anti-colonial struggle the ultimate aggressor was Portuguese foreign domination. The most visible and openly violent cause of the recent waves of Mozambican refugees in the early 1980s until the early 1990s was perpetrated by an internal aggressor - the Mozambican National Resistance Army (RENAMO).

Whilst it is recognized that other opposition groups existed within the country, they did not however, allow themselves to be manipulated by external forces to the extent that RENAMO did, and they did not fall prey to outside control for destabilising Mozambique. However, the internal political, economic and social climate also contributed to the disintegration of society. The shifts in the causes of the protracted conflict suggest that the causes of the recent conflicts are very complex, and also that

> the earliest research tended to document forced migration primarily as a consequence of Mozambican external destabilisation, in the belief that this would lead to international pressure to halt the war. But despite achieving some reduction to RENAMO, the war continued to escalate. And field studies increasingly showed that the causes of flight were more complex than just RENAMO terror (Wilson, 1992:2).

Towards an Integrated Understanding of the Causes of Flight

In order to understand more fully the different but inter-related causes of any forced migration experience, it is essential to understand various perspectives relating to the causes of flight. There is also need to discover the changing roles that are assumed by victims of armed conflict, at different stages of the war, which processes explain their coping strategies for purposes of their continued survival. Wilson (1992) made a significant contribution towards the understanding of the different paradigms used to explain the nature of causes of forced migration from Mozambique since the early 1980s. He proposed three general categories under which Mozambican works could be classified. These schools of thought and their proponents are discussed briefly and separately.

First, Wilson noted that initial studies focused upon Mozambican refugees and displaced people "as the human tragedy of the destabilisation of independent Mozambique through RENAMO by South African and other forces" (Wilson, 1992:3). This presentation tends to reinforce the perception of Mozambicans only as victims but not as people who were capable of resisting the invaders.

The second school of thought went beyond the simple "RENAMO destabilisation approach" to examine the issue of the causes of processes of flight. Some scholars and researchers have located the causes

> ...within a wider political-economic context...sought the root causes of displacement within wider struggles over production and the distribution of the social product within Southern Africa, and arguing that current movements were only the extreme end of dislocations and migrations that this inevitably entailed (Wilson, 1992:3-4).

A third perspective emanated from empirical research. Some detailed field work among displaced and refugee communities has taken place, in order to "...develop a more nuanced understanding of the varied and complex socio-political processes generating flight" (Wilson, 1992:4). This approach places greater emphasis on the social dynamics of displacement, by observing that there are differentiated causes and, that flight is prompted by an interaction between the different social forces, the deployment of violence and flight (Wilson, 1992:4). This school also highlights the coping strategies that Mozambicans adopted in order to ensure their continued survival during the armed conflict between the government soldiers and RENAMO insurgents.

The Transition Period and Problems of Political Participation in Mozambique

At independence, the demographic composition of Mozambican society had changed dramatically. In addition to the local Africans, there were also other ethnic groups residing in the country. In 1974 and 1975, the European (largely Portuguese) and Asian population in Mozambique declined drastically after the change in Portuguese overseas policy. Following independence on the 25 June 1975, and the subsequent nationalisation of land, schools, hospitals, businesses and private property, the European population, primarily the Portuguese settlers repatriated themselves (Hanlon, 1984; Buthulezi, 1988). By the end of 1983, the European population in Mozambique was estimated at only 20,000. In addition, among other foreigners living in the country were Tanzanians (400), Zimbabweans (14,500) and about 800-1,000 military advisors from the erstwhile Soviet Union (Pelissier, 1988). The presence of refugees from Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) need special mention here.

The Mozambican Government was faced with multiple problems at the dawn of independence in 1975. Not only were there difficult problems of managing the political transition and the daunting tasks of rehabilitating and reconstructing society from economic and social chaos, there were also urgent issues pertaining to the resettlement of returning Mozambican refugees as well as the growing influxes of Zimbabwean refugees. The liberation war in Zimbabwe had escalated and had also induced population displacements internally and externally, so that

> at the end of 1975 the number of refugees from Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in Mozambique had reached an estimated to over 25,000. There are also refugees from South Africa, and individuals of other regions (UNHCR Report on Assistance Activities in 1975-1976:30).

At the request of the Government, the UNHCR contributed towards the establishment of a rural centre for refugees in Gaza province to accommodate the majority of refugees who previously lived in Maputo. The UNHCR also contributed emergency funds to assist with the care and maintenance of Zimbabwean refugees living in Manica, Sofala and Tete provinces (UNHCR, 1976:30; Makhanya, 1995). The common experiences of both Mozambican and Zimbabwean resistance against colonial domination, as well as the mutual support afforded during these struggles, laid the grounds for strong ideological, political, economic and cultural ties between the two Governments and nations.

During this period, local political groups emerged representing various interests and political ideologies, in an attempt to alter the path taken at Lusaka by granting Mozambique her independence. Two such groups were FICO and the National Coalition Party (PCN). FICO represented a Portuguese settler movement which campaigned for a federal union with Portugal, while the PCN called for a referendum on the country's future (Vines, 1991:304). Both parties were in agreement as far as their ideological and political opposition to a FRELIMO Government. FRELIMO's socialist ideology, expressed in its political agenda for an independent Mozambique, had already made many European settlers uncomfortable.

This nervousness was manifested in a series of events which began to unfold and were typical of the aftermath of decolonization processes elsewhere in Africa. Following the Lusaka accord, the white settler population started a reactionary movement called "Mozambique Livre" (Free Mozambique) which culminated in the take-over of the radio station at Lourenco Marques. An uprising was replicated in other provincial capitals such as Beira, Tete and Quelimane.

Racial tensions between the Europeans and the Africans increased and a climate of social unrest prevailed until the entire "Mozambique Livre" movement was formally dissolved. Sentiments of betrayal by Portugal were rife among the Portuguese settlers, who felt that Portugal "handed them over" to "terrorists" and "puppets of international terrorism" (Da Silva, 1992:7). Due to their dissatisfaction with the treatment from their government in Lisbon, as well as their political and ideological difference with FRELIMO government, a mass exodus of the Portuguese settler population followed. In addition to their self-expulsion, the settlers "vowed, in many cases, to give all their support to anyone or any organisation that would help topple FRELIMO" (Da Silva, 1992:7). Another dimension of the settler uprising was their hope for military support from Rhodesia and South Africa. However, at this juncture, South Africa's policy of "detente" in the region did not facilitate military aggression against neighbouring states (Buthelezi, 1988). The Portuguese settlers continued to flee across the borders to South Africa, Rhodesia, Malawi and Swaziland, while others migrated back to Portugal.

Da Silva (1992) notes that, in addition to the disgruntled Portuguese settlers, there were many Mozambicans who had fought and supported FRELIMO whose personal ambitions and expectations had not been fulfilled after independence. These individuals, perhaps more than those who had been unjustly treated, such as those who were sent to "re-education" camps and victims of unfounded denunciations, often became instant candidates for joining the opposition groups. While inside the country, they were persecuted for their opposition to FRELIMO, outside they became refugees living in exile (Da Silva, 1992:9). Some examples of criticism directed at the government were

> the unquestionable and dogmatic diffusion of socialist ideology which often included erroneous interpretations. There were also some cases of abuse and injustices which only fostered discontent and dissent often among those who had been committed FRELIMO supporters or among the most "*engajados*" (Da Silva, 1992:8).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s opposition continued to be expressed at the level of groups which began to denounce FRELIMO's errors and weaknesses, even if this only meant good propaganda for the opponents of the Government. Several groups, for instance, the Makua and Makonde ethnic groups detested the imprisonment of a prominent leader, FRELIMO's Vice President, Lazaro Nkavandane, who originated from Cabo Delgado province. Another organization called MAGAIA "publicised FRELIMO's internal disputes and denounced its southern Mozambican origins in its clandestine publication. Magaia's Voice" (Vines, 1991:14-15). By 1977, three opposition groups were claiming to be active in the country namely, the Democratic Front of Mozambique (FUMO), the *Partido Revolucionario de Mocambique* (PRM) which later came to be known as "Africa Livre" and the Mozambique National Resistance Army (MNRA). The MNRA claimed to be active throughout the country under the leadership of six former FRELIMO commanders. It is suspected that this group later developed into RENAMO (Vines, 1992:14-15). Some Mozambican scholars, including Da Silva, have concluded that, at the level of participation in political debate about the country's future "dissidence or mere divergence of opinion was not tolerated and those who expressed it, were labelled reactionaries, fascists and enemies of FRELIMO and the Mozambican people" (Da Silva, 1992:10). As a result of political intolerance, they conclude that the seeds of deep political discontent were sown from the onset of independence.

Militarization, Apartheid Destabilization and RENAMO

Contemporary Africa has, since independence from colonial rule, been the scene of an unremitting spate of armed conflicts and violence. These events in themselves have encouraged unmitigated military build-ups.

One perspective that has become a persistent problem contributing to armed conflict in Africa is the level of militarization and violence in some areas and states (Awua-Asamoa, 1991:10-11). Whereas for several decades the Horn of Africa was the leading region for inter-state warfare, in the early 1980s with the insurgencies perpetrated by South African backed RENAMO, Mozambique took the lead, both in terms of extreme armed conflict, and as the main producer in the sub-continent (Bengu, 1991; Brennan, 1986).

A second major cause of Mozambican forced migration in the early 1980s arose out of a combination of three factors: militarization, its link to *Apartheid* domination in Southern Africa, as well as South African Destabilisation and support from RENAMO insurgencies (Davies, 1985; Brennan, 1986; D'Souza, 1986; Quan, 1987; Buthelezi, 1988; Knight, 1988; Mazur, 1989; Bengu, 1991; Awua-Asamoa, 1991).

Whereas these scholars, one the one hand, attempted to establish the links between the existence of racial discrimination perpetrated by the former South African regime within and outside its territorial boundaries, and the level of its sophisticated military capacity which was effectively deployed to destabilise the economy, as well as the moral fabric and social organization of Mozambican society through RENAMO, they also showed that, "colonial policies often deliberately initiated or reinforced the tendency for the educated, powerful ruling class to be dominated by a specific ethnic group or tribe" (Mazur, 1989:444). Mazur in particular, has clearly demonstrated that, in this context, post-colonial class-conflict and state-sponsored repression are inexplicable consequences of intense local and international pressures to consolidate state power rapidly in response to inherited underdevelopment (Mazur, 1989:444). On the other hand, the United States Department of State Report (1988) by Robert Gersony simply documented the abuse and the use of terror by RENAMO dubbed it "the Khmer Rouge of Africa", through interviews across the region of Mozambicans who had fled (Wilson, 1992:3). The oversimplification of the "RENAMO approach" was repeated by the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR)

> Likewise, the independent United States Committee for Refugees described the causes of flight in the years prior to the Gersony report as a "brutal conflict" with the South African-backed RENAMO destroying infrastructure and abusing people (Wilson, 1992:3).

In Southern Africa however, South Africa is the major regional power both economically and militarily. In 1984, for example, South Africa's military expenditures and arms exports came second after Libya, the main spender and exporter of military equipment on the continent. In this year alone, South Africa spent US$3,387 million dollars which amounted to about four percent of the gross national product of that year (Webster, 1988; Awua-Asamoa, 1991:5). South Africa is the most industrialized country not only in this region but continentally. The erstwhile *Apartheid* regime developed strategies by both the military and the secret service with political blessings from the Government, for the political and economic strangulation of independent African states, in order to coerce them into submission to South Africa's domination. These policies and strategies have led to massive destruction of the political and economic climate within the country itself and in the neighbouring territories (Davies, 1985; Buthelezi, 1988; Bengu, 1991).

To say that Apartheid is the root cause of destabilisation is insufficient. It is necessary to analyze why the Apartheid regime in South Africa had embarked on a policy of destabilisation of the Frontline States. From the complexities of Apartheid oppression and the consequent resistance and armed struggle for national liberation by the black majority inside the country, two fundamental reasons emerged. Both related to the need to preserve white domination and its concomitant privileged lifestyle for the white minority. The first reason is that, the South African economy, based on the exploitation of cheap black labour, was in a deep crisis. Among several other factors is the contradiction that, while cheap black labour could produce commodities and services, it also reduced the size of the internal market that should naturally absorb the goods and services (Bengu, 1991:99).

Similar to the Portuguese labour laws, cheap black labour had been guaranteed by the *Apartheid* state through coercive labour legislation for more than a century, and subsequently entrenched through the migrant labour system (Motsisi, 1981; Bengu, 1991). The absence of a dynamic internal market had discouraged new investments, placing enormous strains on the financial markets and generating high unemployment and inflation. Internationally, the external demand for South African goods and services was constrained by the general economic recession and the fact that the world had already been carved up by the developed capitalist economies (Bengu, 1991:100).

This situation was compounded by the economic sanctions against apartheid South Africa especially with regards to capital and technological flows (Bengu, 1991:100). Internally, an economy run on Apartheid principles had proved to be highly inefficient, extremely expensive and socio-politically disastrous. In addition, financing a defence budget to suppress internal resistance and wage a war against the Frontline States only served to exacerbate the crisis. Inside South Africa, the combination of socio-economic and political factors was perceived by the regime as a total onslaught against white civilization. In response, the regime developed a so-called total strategy, to deal with both the internal and external dimensions of the onslaught. The former through the most brutal repression of internal resistance during the late 1970s and 1980s; and the latter, through a debilitating and protracted was of destabilisation against the Frontline States. The objective of this was to bring the Frontline States into a neo-colonial relationship with apartheid South Africa (Davies, 1985). This, according to the regime, would take them back to the pre-independence days when South Africa enjoyed economic domination over Southern Africa (Buthelezi, 1988; Bengu, 1991). Whereas, on the one hand, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho have been the victims of a low-intensity, state terrorist campaign bolstered by economic blackmail, on the other hand, Angola and Mozambique have suffered the most extreme forms of destabilisation. The agents for destabilisation activities in Angola and Mozambique were, the United National Front for the Independence of Angola (UNITA) and RENAMO, respectively (Davies, 1985; Buthelezi, 1988; Chigudu, 1990).

One study revealed that South African acts of direct state terrorism in the Frontline States resulted in about 746 persons being killed individually or being massacred (Bengu, 1991:104). Another study (Economic Commission of Africa/UNDP, 1989) revealed that, by the end of 1988, the death toll from famine, malnutrition, infant mortality, diseases, destruction of health facilities and civilian and military casualties had reached 1.5 million. In 1989 and 1990, despite attempts at negotiations, UNITA and RENAMO bandit attacks and terrorism in Angola and Mozambique, respectively, had intensified. By the end of 1990, the death toll was likely to reach two million (Economic Commission of Africa/UNDP, 1989). In Zimbabwe, official statistics reported RENAMO killings of 100 rural villagers around Mt. Selinda along the eastern border with Mozambique (Bengu, 1991:105).

From the fore-going discussion, it becomes clear that it is impossible to articulate the causes of the Mozambican forced migration outside the general political economy of the Southern African region (Davies, 1985; Buthelezi, 1988; Bengu, 1991; Awua-Asamoa, 1991; Ibeanu, 1990; Motsisi, 1995).

Peasant Resistance during Destabilisation Processes

Some scholars have also argued that the war in some regions within Mozambique, for instance in Tete province, was a consequence of the "failure of development" that was largely caused by external political economic constraints and influences (Adam, 1991). Yet for others, rural people are actively engaged in struggles to resist control of their lives in the face of destabilisation (Mazur, 1989). These studies suggest, therefore, that to depict the Mozambican peasants simply as "victims of armed conflict" is totally incorrect. In addition, many tales of peasant resistance in the face of enormous destabilisation activities, informs about the inherent capacities of rural peasants to continue with their lives resiliently even in the face of armed conflict (Magaia, 1983).

Many of the earlier theories or descriptions of Mozambican refugees which characterize them simply as victims of the war do not unravel the different scenarios of flight and the inherent spirit of resistance and resilience of affected populations.

Also, this literature does not identify how the peasants were taking risks in order to maximize their "security" as the war developed. The experiences of the members of Jehovah's Witnesses in Mozambique are a classic example which afforded some scholars opportunity to establish a linkage between flight and social agency (Wilson, 1992). By doing so, these scholars have highlighted the coping strategies based within the resistance of such social formations. Consequently, it was observed that

> the Jehovah's Witnesses have existed not as objects of the war, but as active agents struggling for the kind of world they want, creating conflicts with authority and handling persecution and exile collectively as a religious duty. Not only did this enable them to strategically defeat RENAMO, it also enabled them to stand out in refugee camps as economically and socially privileged (Wilson, 1992:6).

The case of the positive coping mechanisms emerging from the Jehovah's Witnesses were captured using seven experiences from their previous migrations between Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia since the early 1960s. For the Jehovah's Witnesses, particularly from their experience in Zambezia, "flight ... has been as much the re-establishment of belonging as it has been a time of disruption" (Wilson, 1992:6).

The Social Dynamics of Displacement

For the most part, rural communities in Africa have often become victims of armed conflict whose sources they do not understand nor have any vested interests in pursuing. This was the case in Mozambique. Whereas some groups within the population were "able" to resist the forces of war, at least to some degree, there were numerous others who were sandwiched between the armies of both sides. Whilst they may not have been party to siding with either faction during the war, they nevertheless got punished by both sides for allegedly helping the other side (Cammack, 1988; Wilson, 1992:4). Also, it has been recorded that as the nature and focus of the war changed within Mozambique, and as there were shifts between the areas controlled either by the Government or by RENAMO, different kinds of people would become refugees (Cisternino, 1987; Finnegan, 1992; Wilson, 1992).

There were explainable reasons why people have moved both into and out of areas controlled by Government and RENAMO at different times (Wilson and Nunes, 1992; Wilson, 1992b; Nunes, 1992). The major concern of migrating populations was the question of security as they perceived it.

When situations of armed conflict emerged, some rural populations initially aligned themselves with RENAMO against the Government, then moved into the rebel-controlled areas. This was done in order that the rival lineages or groups which had captured FRELIMO authority in the new villages or had maintained their dominance in the local administration since colonial times should be avenged (Geffray, 1990; Wilson, 1992:5). During times of armed conflict, rural populations become active in one way or the other. Because of this situation, some scholars have effectively demonstrated that recuperations and displacements can interact with repatriation movements (Wilson and Nunes, 1992). This happens as people respond to changes in the security situation, and in their attempts at preserving or changing alignments in the search for long-term survival and at best, reward (Wilson and Nunes, 1992; Wilson, 1992:5). Several studies carried out in Mozambique have played two significant roles. First, they have helped to illuminate the interaction between social forces, violence and flight, and, second, they have also been instrumental in highlighting the rural peasants' coping strategies at different stages of the conflict.

Some rural communities adopted another coping mechanism. They decided to stay with RENAMO until the security situation collapsed (Wilson, 1992:5). It has been asserted that

> sections of the rural population most rooted to local, social and resource configurations proved to be extremely reluctant to leave not only because this stripped them of their status and identity as well as livelihood in the short term, but also because they believed staying put was the best way to secure their long term links, if necessary with new de facto authorities. In contrast population under state or commercial patronage were usually the first to go natural (Wilson, 1992:5).

These findings are corroborated by Nunes (1992), Wilson and Nunes (1992) and Wilson (1992b). Even under situations of untold suffering, rural people have their own perceptions about what risks to undertake in order to maximize their own future security, after conflict situations have been resolved. They have learned through history to engage in risk assessments for short-run and long-term benefits, all in the search for survival and "improved" security. The works of several scholars and researchers in Zambezia, northern Tete and central Mozambique, also emphasize how with time the collapse of the rural economy in the RENAMO-held areas and the increasing demands of tribute there, coupled with the perception that RENAMO did not present the future authority, led to major flight movements during 1990-92 (Wilson, 1991d; Wilson, 1992b; Wilson and Nunes, 1992; Roesch, 1992).

The Recuperation Policy of Government Forces

As the armed conflict reached critical levels, the Government troops established a policy of recuperation, which "involves the armed forces obligatory relocation of peasants into the garrison towns or guarded settlements' (Wilson, 1992:6). Several studies (Wilson, 1992b; Nunes, 1992; Roesch, 1992; Legrand, 1992) stated that this policy was responsible for a large proportion of the internally displaced population in the provinces for which data were available, and was justified on the grounds of liberating people from RENAMO control. Wilson and Nunes (1992) and Wilson (1992a) also provided material on "recuperations", displacements and return movements which were engendered by the peasant militia in the northern provinces (Wilson, 1992:6).

The Social and Economic Roots of Displacement

After independence in June 1975, the socio-economic transformation which the FRELIMO Government was set to undertake meant that the former political, economic and social structures which were established by the Portuguese during the colonial era had to be dismantled.

In addition, to establish a socialist state required not only ideological clarity and the necessary structures to implement the new development strategies, it also required effective mass politicization campaigns aimed at transforming a former colony into a viable people-centred economic entity. The majority of the people wielded their complete support behind the chosen ideological path. Some people, however, were convinced that capitalism was the only and best mode of production for economic development in Mozambique. In spite of these apparent differences, the Government encouraged the establishment of several community-based social transformation initiatives, which led to the formation and revival of many political as well as social welfare organizations within the country. Some examples of such post-independence organizations are the trade unions, women's and youth organizations, peasant associations and production cooperatives. All of these existed at the village, district and provincial levels, and were closely associated with the ruling party, FRELIMO, (Chigudu, 1990; COCAMO, 1991; Da Silva, 1992).

Massive capital and human resources were injected into the construction of public service institutions and communication infrastructure, such as road networks, re-building of the national railways system and re-vitalization of the ports of Beira and Nacala, all of which had been partially or completely destroyed during the liberation struggle. Urban and rural development programmes encouraged public participation in the construction as well as use of hospitals, clinics as well as schools in both the urban and rural areas. Rural development was based on new forms of village settlement and communal social relations. The concept of *Communal Villages* was introduced. Cooperative production ventures, primarily agricultural, were undertaken, and decision-making on land use strategies as well as coopertive organization remained at the local level, guided mainly by the agricultural cooperative management structures. The old *Aldeamentos* were transformed into communal villages. New villages were created for those people affected by the catastrophic floods of 1976-1978. These new villages also served as resettlement areas for the refugees returning from neighbouring countries.

In addition, communal villages were also established for the thousands of evacuees forced to move from the flooded homelands by the impoundment of the Cabora Bassa dam (Lassailly-Jacobs, 1992:3). In general, positive changes occurred particularly in the areas of health, education and social equality, "but there were also negative effects in those days of fragile and immature socialism" (Da Silva, 1992:8).

The former Portuguese farmlands were nationalized, so were many companies and other economic ventures. By 1977, the Government had begun with implementation of large-scale agricultural enterprises, and "the peasantry was subjected to forced villagization schemes requiring them to be uprooted from their traditional and ancestral lands" (Da Silva, 1992:16). Furthermore, the peasants felt neglected by the Government because of the difficulties they encountered in obtaining seeds and tools from state suppliers. Growing discontentment among the peasants was escalating also because their practices of traditional medicine, religious cults and rituals, some of which have economic significance, were denounced by the Government as "forms of obscurantism which colonialism had exploited in order to maintain a *status quo* of ignorance among the population" (Da Silva, 1992:16). RENAMO was also accusing the Government's policy of dismantling the social structures of traditional rural society.

One of the cornerstones of the FRELIMO Government's policies was to transform gender relations in society. It was stated earlier that under Portuguese administration, due to the enforcement of *Chibalo* and the overall policies of the colonizers, Mozambican women's position in society had been relegated to the bottom of the ladder. The new Government had acknowledged, even whilst it was a party in 1973, that the role of Mozambican women was pivotal to the process of social transformation (Chigudu, 1990:15). At the first conference of Mozambican women held in the same year, with the establishment of the *Organisation de Mulhers Mocambicana* (OMM) it is noted that

> ...Cde Samora Machel paid tribute to women combatants and stated that women's inferior position was identical to that of men workers in colonialist society ... he also reiterated that the antagonistic contradition is not between women and men but between women and the social order (Chigudu, 1990:15-16).

The activities of the *Organisation de Mulhers Mocambicana* (OMM) in attempting to bring about full participation of women were clearly demonstrated after the attainment of independence. In 1976, the OMM was called upon to reorganize itself by FRELIMO. In doing so, the OMM assembled women from almost all sectors of society, they came from the armed forces, factories and the public service. Together they established an educational programme to provide women with productive skills. Consequently, the OMM established training centers for women's literacy courses. Handicrafts and sewing cooperatives mushroomed all over the country and women were trained in a variety of income-generating skills (Gjesrtad, 1989; Chigudu, 1990:16). In addition, in the communal villages, women were encouraged to participate as active members in the debates and policy-making discussions as well as in the implementation of productive agricultural cooperatives. These activities continue even today.

At the state farms, some women were offered basic training and opportunity to participate together with men in these ventures. It was mostly FRELIMO cadres who worked on these farms (Brown and EDA, 1988; Chigudu, 1990:16). The possibility of working on the state farms under new social relations, among others, provided single landless women an opportunity to work productively. It also guaranteed them a place to live and earn and income, as well as contribute to the country's economic development. The rural areas were not only focus of the FRELIMO Government's commitment towards establishing equality of opportunity for both women and men. In the urban areas, within the Ministry of Labour, the Government reserved a quota of places for women on all training courses. At the factory sites, day-care centers were built to facilitate the inclusion of mothers into social production, and for the first time, women gained access to a variety of jobs such as becoming electricians, taxi drivers, carpenters and mechanics.

In the past, women were virtually excluded from these job categories since this type of work was formerly considered a mail domain (Rodriguez, 1983:127-134). From the foregoing account, it becomes clear that the FRELIMO Government had begun to implement its policy on changing gender relations as an integral component of overall social transformation.

Despite the Government's positive orientation, there was opposition from "within the army and also in villages outside the liberated zones where chiefs and elders opposed their participation in the armed struggle" (Chigudu, 1990:15). It became clear to the party and the Government that transforming social attitudes, particularly those which are rooted on century-old customs and patriarchal traditions, is a long-term process in itself. Similar attitudes of opposition to women's equal participation in skills training programmes have been voiced by husbands and others in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe. However, this aspect will be dealt with in Chapter Six.

At independence, when the Portuguese left, the entire trade structure which supported the peasantry collapsed and contributed to Mozambique's overall economic crisis. In addition, as they left Mozambique, it is reported that their paths also left enormous destruction since they took with them all that they could in large crates. In addition, in retaliation against FRELIMO, they destroyed machinery, equipment and other property which they could not take with them (Da Silva, 1992:8).

Also, since all the senior and middle management positions in Government and industry were occupied by the Portuguese settlers, their departure left a serious dearth of managerial capacity in these sectors. And, during the colonial period, little agricultural development for national consumption had taken place due to colonial economic policies. On the education front, more than 85% of the population was illiterate (Brennan, 1986:4).
With the formation of a regional body for promoting economic cooperation among the Frontline States, namely, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC, now SADC) in 1980, Mozambique's economic development saw the revival of its major railways leading to the ports of Beira and Nacala. Mozambique has special responsibility for transport and communications within the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) (Ayisi, 1989:20). The commitment of the members of this economic union to revive the region's political economy was founded also on the need to de-link from South Africa's economic domination of the region. Rich in mineral resources, and with a highly industrious and motivated population, Mozambicans dedicated themselves to re-building their country.

Several modern and well-placed deep-water ports (Beira and Nacala) were linked by rail to the land-locked countries of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland, thus providing an alternative route for the transfer of goods from Europe and North America to these countries. With the economy steadily reviving, Mozambique also earned modest revenue from the export of agricultural commodities such as cashew nuts, cotton, sugar and tea (Brennan, 1986:4), as well as from exporting prawns and shrimps to the Soviet Union (Buthelezi, 1988:8).

However, Mozambique's hope for the economic recovery and peace was not realized as the land was shattered, and, by the beginning of the 1980's on top of worsening terms of trade, mounting foreign debts, the flight of capital and severe drought, Mozambique suffered repeated attacks by South African commandos and RENAMO. After entering into economic arrangements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), the country was tied to the destiny of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). All the conditionalities that come along with borrowing money from these financial institutions were also applied to the country. Thus, the national currency was devalued; and severe reductions in public spending, particularly in the areas of subsidized consumer goods such as maize meal, bread, flour, milk and so forth and the reduction of subsidized education and health followed. All of this resulted in the further impoverishment of an already devastated people. With 80% of the population comprising of the rural peasantry, the impact became particularly severe for them because their purchasing power was effectively reduced since commodity prices had increased.

In the meanwhile, the country's "external debt" was growing, and by 1989, Mozambique's total debt amounted to US$4.7 billion. From the total figure, 60% came from bilateral arrangements, 31% from private and the remaining 9% from multilateral ones. The country's actual debt service account was US$63 millions, out of which 24.4% was in the form of exports. For just one year (i.e. at the end of 1990), the debt service obligations totalled US$613 millions, and the concomitant percentage as exports was an exaggerated 238.5%.

In effect, the debt as a percent of the Gross National Product (GNP) was 474.2% in 1989, when the actual per capita GNP represented only US$80 (World Bank Debt Tables, 1990-1991). All these factors combined disrupted internal production and the distribution of food, as well as hampered the efforts of the SADCC member countries to shift their trade from South African to Mozambican ports (Buthelezi, 1998:8).

Environmental Causes

A direct link between prolonged warfare, the breakdown of agricultural production systems and resultant drought culminating in the outbreak of famine in regions affected by armed conflict has been adequately established (Timberlake, 1985; Cammack,1986; Simmance, 1987; Kibreab, 1987; Akol, 1988; Ayisi, 1988; Awua-Asamoa, 1991; Bagenda, 1991; Rogge, 1992; Wilson, 1992; Keen, 1993; Jacobsen, 1994). In addition, Wilson (1992) quoting from Mandala (1991) and Vaughan (1987) noted that

> research in Southern Africa has demonstrated that long periods of warfare, famines and other crises are not only shaped by existing socio-economic and socio-political relations, they have also in turn changed the wider course of history (Wilson, 1992:13).

Another study raised the convincing argument about the issue that "societies are created by crises as they are threatened by them" (Wilson, 1992:13). The study observed that the famine of 1823-31 substantially altered the timing and manner of Portugese expansion and African socio-political change (Newitt, 1988). However, another position stated that people have also shown phenomenal flexibility and adaptivenss in the face of famine and warfare. They demonstrated their ability to draw upon "cultural archives" from past experience to manage crises. Some scholars on the Mozambican crises maintain that social scientists must examine change as well as heritage if they are to understand the impacts of displacement (Wilson, 1992:14; Nunes, 1992).

In 1985 alone, perhaps as many as ten million people in Southern Africa fled their homes, many of them were environmental refugees (Bagenda, 1991:86).

They fled their homelands because the land could no longer support them, still others fled war, since the connections between wars and drought in Africa are intertwined, it is often impossible to tell which people fled for which reason (Bagenda, 1991:86). Because of these related causes, sustainable agriculture is in many cases no longer possible in war-torn countries, until peaceful conditions are re-established. It was observed that in Southern Mozambique, it has been shown to be impossible to understand the impact of drought and destabilisation, and flight, outside the tight integration through labour migration with South Africa (Hermele, 1984).

In the early 1980s, particularly during the 1983/4 drought in the region, besides armed conflict, drought and the impact of RENAMO in thwarting distribution of emergency food supplies was a major cause of flight (Cammack, 1986). Most of the Mozambicans who left their country at this time fled to Zimbabwe (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988; Mkhanya, 1990). Later, during the 1991/92 and the 1992/93 agricultural seasons, ten countries in Southern Africa were severely affected by drought which resulted in massive crop failures (Drought Emergency in Southern Africa (DESA), 1993:3). The situation caused thousands of people to leave their countries in search of food and security elsewhere. In those countries where large numbers of refugees were held in camps and villages, such as in Malawi and Zimbabwe, the most affected vulnerable groups included the elderly, the chronically ill, children under the age of five, pregnant and lactating mothers and people with disabilities (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1992:5). In addition to refugee populations among drought affected groups, returnees were also present in most countries of the region (DESA, 1993:59). For FAO, and other United Nations organizations, for example, WFP as well as the SADC officials working in the region, it was clear that the food security of refugees, mainly from Mozambique, in Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe was threatened by the drought, as they were required to share their food with country nationals (FAO, 1992:5; DESA, 1993:59). Consequently, they recommended to the FAO, that any emergency relief assistance to ameliorate the situation should focus not only on refugees in camps, but also on local people since the pernicious drought affected both population groups.

In most of these countries, more than 70-80% of agricultural production is provided by women, including the processing, preparation and serving of food. Due to the different but pivotal roles that women play in the establishment of food security at the household, community and national levels, the impact of drought and famine is often greater on women (Christensen, 1986; Chigudu, 1990; Makhanya, 1990; Bonga, 1992; Forbes Martin, 1992; Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi 1994; Motsisi, 1994; 1995).

Whereas in the mainland, people were displaced by the millions as a direct result of war, drought and famine, along the coast of Mozambique, due to flooding, communities faced the destruction of their crops and communication systems. It is reported that due to floods, all ground transport from the provincial capital Beira was cut off. Food had to be flown in by air. Supplies were erratic, and often only 25% of what is considered a reasonable ration of 400g per person per day reached the displaced people (FAO, 1992:15).

From this elaborate discussion on the causes of flight and their impact on society in general, and the peasantry in particular, it becomes clear that Mozambican people have suffered inter-related dimensions of vulnerabilities throughout their historical development. Of significance to this study, however, is the fact that the elderly women and men refugees in Zimbabwe, have "successfully" lived through the vicissitudes of these episodes by utilizing different coping strategies for their own survival.

Direction of Flight and Settlement in Host Countries

The preceding discussion highlighted the different causes of flight for the specific historical periods. The unprecedented new waves of Mozambican refugees were so large such that, as of December 31, 1990 they numbered 1,427,500 or one-fifth of Africa's total refugee population. On the eve of 1992, Mozambicans remained scattered across Southern Africa with half of them being hosted in Malawi. Mozambique had indeed become a principal source of the world's refugees as they ranked third, behind the Afghans and Palestinians in total numbers (Hamilton, 1991:49; Barbero, 1992:1).

Their experiences in the different countries of exile were varied. These ranged from warm receptions in Malawi, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Swaziland, to the harshest conditions in South Africa. In all the host countries except South Africa, the national Government together with the UNHCR, and a host of international and domestic NGOs provided mainly relief-oriented care and maintenance programmes to Mozambican refugees in the respective countries. Indeed, very few agencies had any programming that was geared for long-term rehabilitation and reconstruction of Mozambican society after repatriation (Refugee Studies Programme (Oxford), School of Social Work (Zimbabwe), Chancellor College (Malawi), 1993:4-12).

Zambia

The majority of Mozambican refugees entered Zambia in the middle of the 1980s. Due to historical ethnic relations between the Nyanja and the Chewa living within Mozambique and across in Zambia, spontaneous settlement of Mozambican refugees has been taking place for a long time (UNHCR, 1993:36). By June 1985, over 20,000 received by their kin in the local villages. In November 1986, another 3,000 more arrived, bringing the total to 23,000 (Billard, 1989). These refugees were fleeing from the escalating war, and in 1987 they were moved away from the border villages to Ukwimi Agricultural settlement in Petauke District in the Eastern Province. Some, however, still remained settled along the border villages. As of December 1992, there were a total of 25,434 refugees residing in Ukwimi. Of these, 48% were males and 52% females. There were 30% of them below five years, 31% between the ages of five and eighteen years, and the remaining 39% were above eighteen years. The majority of the adult population had rural a background, and thus 81% of them were farmers, with over 98% of the total population originating from Tete Province (UNHCR, 1993:36). Because they grew crops and kept livestock, it is reported that the Settlement had acquired a degree of self-sufficiency, thereby reducing the UNHCR budget for 1993 considerably.

Many of the useful psychosocial assistance activities aimed at restoring the lives of traumatized Mozambican children and women to normalcy were undertaken at Ukwimi settlement camp (Fozzard and McCallin, 1992; Shumba, 1990).

The repatriation of 25, 434 Mozambican refugees from Zambia was scheduled to begin in April or May 1994 and to last for a period of six months to one year (UNHCR, 1993:8).

Swaziland

In Swaziland, Ndzevane settlement camp was planned in 1980 to host about 5,000 South African refugees. However, since Mozambican refugees fled into the country since September 1984, by 1986, a population of registered Mozambicans at this camp was 10,000. They were transferred from another holding camp, Malindza. In 1989, a second influx took place and total figure was 64,000 (USCR, 1989). At the onset of 1992/93, and in the middle of 1992, a third significant influx occurred, as a result of drought. Along the border with Mozambique there were still several hundreds of unregistered self-settled Mozambicans (UNHCR, 1993:47).

According to the UNHCR, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) offered agricultural training programmes to the Mozambican refugees concentrating mainly on new farming methods. It is reported that the agricultural schemes became somewhat successful and provided some of the refugees with opportunities to rebuild their lives (UNHCR Annual Report, 1987; USCR, 1989). However, Swaziland like Malawi is a small country and land shortages created problems for the refugees. Whereas the ecological impact of large refugee migrations is often highlighted, contrary to expectation, the ecological impact of Mozambican refugees settled in Malindza and Ndzevane camps was actually much more negative than what was observed in the self-settled areas, and along the border villages (UNHCR, 1993).

As at the end of December 1992, it was estimated that there were 24,000 Mozambican refugees living in both Malindza and Ndzevane camps. They were all coming from rural areas, mostly with a farming background. Of this group, 48% were males and 52% females. Children under the age of five years totaled 25%, whereas 36% were between the ages of five and eighteen years. The rest were adult. These refugees came primarily from Southern Mozambique, with 70% from Maputo Province, 10% from Gaza, 3% from Inhambane and 18% from Niassa, Sofala, Manica, Tete, Zambezia, Cabo, Delgado and Nampula provinces.

UNHCR's repatriation programme for the 24,000 Mozambican refugees in Swaziland was to be implemented over a period of six months to one year commencing in August/September 1993 (UNHCR, 1993:8).

Malawi

Through historical migrations, a segment of the Mozambicans in the northern region of the country had crossed the border voluntarily and self-settled among their kin in the south of Malawi. By comparison, among all the host countries, Malawi, a small and poor country experiencing land shortage, has suffered the most impact of huge migrations resulting in environmental degradation and other social problems (Jacobsen, 1994; UNDP, 1992). In addition, camps, especially the very large ones, have devastating effects on woodland in the surrounding areas, as was demonstrated in Malawi (Jacobsen, 1994) and also in Zimbabwe (HelpAge, 1991; Le Breton, 1995).

The first new wave of Mozambican refugees entered the country since September 1986. By May 198, over 227,000 Mozambicans had sought refuge in Malawi (Billard, 1988; USCR, 1989; Bonga, 1992; Dzimbiri, 1992; Government of Malawi, 1992; Machika, 1992; Riley, 1992; Kakhome, 1992). According to the UNDP (UNDP) in Malawi, while Mozambican villagers began seeking sanctuary since 1984, large numbers of refugees only began to arrive after mid-1986. The refugee population grew from 100,000 at the end of 1986 to an estimated 790,000 in March 1990. With an average monthly arrival of more than 10,000, the refugee population reached 800,000 and 900,000 in November 1990 and June 1991 respectively, representing more than 10% of the total population. In Nsanje District in 1992, for example, the refugee population exceeded the indigenous population (UNDP, 1992:1). The influx during 1992 was due largely to conditions of drought and famine in Mozambique and at the end of December 1992, the official population in Malawi totalled 1,058,492 refugees (UNHCR, 1993:26).

Problems of resource allocations invariably arose in those regions where refugee concentrations were found. It was observed that, in the case of Malawi, for example, that

> our visitors have created pressure on public goods and services which have led to the deterioration of the infrastructure of the country including deforestation, land degradation, road damage, livestock diseases, deteriorated health and educational facilities (Bonga, 1992:4).

Problems of malnutrition among the Mozambicans living in the settlements were identified as resulting from the inadequacy of, and poor quality of the food rations (Wilson, Cammack, and Shumba, 1989). However, it was recommended that after carrying out nutritional needs assessments, supplementary feeding schemes should as a priority, respond to the needs of the poorest and most affected groups within the refugee population. Others strongly advocated that refugees themselves be viewed as an important and indispensable human resource for their own development (Mwanza and Seshamani, 1988; Bonga, 1992).

For most of the refugees who lived in the settlements and alongside Malawian villages and in the large camps, very few had any formal education beyond primary level. Most were from the rural areas. The majority, about 69% of the Mozambican refugee populatoin originated from Tete province, 22% from Zambezia and 8% from Niassa (UNHCR, 1993:26). The implementation of UNHCR's repatriation for Mozambican refugees in Malawi was planned to commence in May 1993, for a period of two to three years. It was observed, however, that after the signing of the 1992 Peace Accord by the Government and RENAMO, "large numbers of refugees were returning spontaneously to Mozambique from Malawi unassisted. This number could well have reached 150,000 persons..." (UNHCR, 1993:26-27). The efforts of refugees to repatriate voluntarily without any official assistance are a further indication of their struggles to maintain some degree of autonomy and control of their lives. Malawi also had the largest numbers of self-settled refugees in the region.

South Africa

According to the South African Council of Churches (SACC), there were about 250,000 Mozambican refugees in South Africa. Over 70% of the refugees are said to be women and children (UNHCR, 1993:45). Their situation was very precarious because they were not legally recognized as refugees, and thus received neither protection nor assistance from the former *Apartheid* regime. However, since the UNHCR has established a presence in the country, several studies have been commissioned to understand their socio-economic and demographic characteristics for the implementation of assistance programmes.

For the most part, Mozambican refugees in South Africa have been left to literally fend for themselves. Since they were regarded as "illegal aliens" by the former Apartheid regime, most found themselves without legal protection and were liable for immediate deportation if discovered. The majority are still found in the former-so-called "Homelands" or "Bantustans" of KaNgwane, KwaNdebele and Venda (Brennan, 1986). In 1984, there were about 68,000 Mozambican migrant workers in South Africa. In the same year, between 160,000 and 220,000 refugees fled to the south, particularly coming from the southern provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. In contrast to late 1985 and early 1986, the flow of refugees to South Africa decreased in late 1986 to about 500 monthly (Brennan, 1986:16). Once in South Africa, particularly during 1985, a group of about 1,500 were captured and forcibly deported to Mozambique. Between 1984 and 1986, an estimated 45,000 refugees arrived in Gazankulu, about 25,000 in KaNgwane, and about 5,000 each in Lebowa and Kwazulu (Brennan, 1986:17).

The *Apartheid* regime expelled the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1986. This was a serious blow to the refugees since an important institutional source for their protection and assistance was eliminated. However, over the years, World Vision and Operation Hunger, a domestic voluntary relief organization, and the local member churches of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), have provided material aid and counselling services to Mozambican refugees in the nominally independent "Homelands".

Some of the Mozambican women refugees were able to find work as domestic workers or brick moulders in some projects. Again, the Mozambicans in South Africa, have been to some extent able to rely on their communal tradition of sharing whatever benefits among themselves and their hosts in the villages, where they sought refuge (Brennan, 1986:19). Local communities where the refugees settled also helped, particularly in the areas where the Tsonga and Shangaan live, who share a common culture and language with their kin from Mozambique. Those refugee men who defied the odds of official policy constraints, for the most part, travelled to the urban centres such as Johannesburg where many of their kin work as contract labourers in the mines. Such attempts are to be perceived as autonomous efforts towards establishing self-determination and control over their lives.

In order to survive the wrath of exile, particularly in South Africa, where the political and economic reality was harsh for the indigenous Africans, some of the refugees purchased false papers and posed as legal immigrants, while others simply used their contacts - or traded on the southern Mozambicans' reputation for industriousness - to obtain illegal employment, albeit at lower wages, in the mines, the factories, or on the large estates of farmers in the area (Brennan, 1986:20).

Instead of blaming and labelling refugees as criminals and so forth, all these attempts at sustaining an independent livelihood should be understood as their inherent individual and collective spirit of resistance against external control. These coping strategies also express their desire to remain self-supporting and autonomous from externally imposed aid, even in the face of great adversity. In other countries, for instance, among the Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees in Sudan, or among the Angolan refugees in Zambia, experience has shown that

> in fact all the available studies on refugees in camps show that they leave no stone unturned to earn income, either to supplement their diet, or to make up for the things not included in the aid package or to make material progress (Kibreab, 1991:38).

Since the signing of the Peace Accord in October 1992, it is reported that the refugee influx into South Africa increased and in the following months, an average of 1,000 new arrivals were received in KaNgwane each month.

There is a 63 kilometer long electric fence that separates Mozambique's Maputo province and South Africa. While many have died due to severe exposure to electrical shocks, this has not been a major deterrent for Mozambicans seeking refuge in South Africa. Local communities and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) have campaigned for the electricity to be switched off permanently (Anti-Slavery International, 1993: 33).

In recent years, many Mozambican women and men in South Africa have become victims of a modern-day slave-trade, whereby usually South African

> paid Mozambican guides will lead and deliver refugees to Ressano Garcia, a desolate village in Mozambique on the South African border, which is often cut off from supplies and surrounded by bandits. In the case of women, the guide will sometimes sell them off as brides, concubines or as domestic servants... The women all describe aggressive and violent buyers who claim total ownership and control. Whenever the women objected the buyer would remind that they had been paid for and threatened them (Anti-Slavery International, 1993:33).

Also, the guides take orders for people, usually young boys and girls are being used for prostitution. The Anti-Slavery International group noted that the problem of exploitation and slavery are only an extension of the dilemma which the Mozambican people face in South Africa, and, when they consider flight to this country, little thought is given to the possibility that things might get worse (Anti-Slavery International, 1993:34).

Due to the absence of extensive data on the Mozambican refugees in South Africa, including information regarding their places of origin and intended destination of return, "these circumstances are bound to slow down preparatory activities undertaken in Mozambique to ensure reception and basic assistance for both organized and spontaneous arrivals" (UNHCR, 1993:46). Once the data was available, the UNHCR claimed that plans for the return of the 250,000 or more Mozambicans would proceed.

Tanzania

At the end of 1987, there were some 292,300 refugees in Tanzania as compared to 220,300 estimated at the end of 1986. The increase in the refugee population in 1987 was on account of an influx of some 72,000 Mozambicans (UNHCR, 1987-88:95).

The Mozambican refugees were living in the southern part of the country, in the regions of Lindi, Mtwara and Ruvuma. During 1987, an emergency programme was established to cover the immediate needs of 15,000 new arrivals from Mozambique who settled in Songea District in the Ruvuma region (UNHCR, 1987-88:95). By 1989, the UNHCR was also assisting some 12,500 refugees most of whom were living in Likuyu settlement in Songea District (UNCHR, 1988-89:99). These rural refugees from Mozambique, particularly those who settled at Likuyu were working towards agricultural self-sufficiency.

The UNHCR reported that during 1989, the local settlement appropriation was used to finance the development of infrastructure at Likuyu settlement, as well as basic care and maintenance programmes for the 12,500 refugees. In addition, considerable progress was made, including the transfer of several thousand Mozambican refugees from an outlying district to the settlement, the impoverishment of roads and bridges, and the construction of health facilities (UNHCR, 1989-90:100). The 1990 and 1991 appropriation included funds for the continued development of the Likuyu settlement for Mozambican refugees and the running costs for Kigwa settlement in the Tabora region (UNHCR, 1989-90:1010).

Unlike the situation of Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe, in Tanzania, some 2,550 newly arrived refugees who were transferred from the border areas to Likuyu settlement in 1991, were given plots of land and agricultural inputs to enable them to settle and become self-sufficient in food, probably by the end of 1992 (UNHCR, 1990-91:118). The policy of the Government of Tanzania was to assist rural refugees to become food self-sufficient by providing them with plots of land and agricultural inputs for cultivation. In the same year, a group of 200 Somali refugees had entered the country and were also given land and inputs to farm.

Whereas the Ministry of Home Affairs had the overall co-ordinating responsibility for refugee matters, the actual implementation of various programmes was undertaken by several NGOs. The Tanzania-Mozambique Friendship Association (TAMOFA) and the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) implemented the assistance programmes for Mozambican refugees in Likuyu settlement, while the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) administered the development and counselling services at Kigwa settlement (UNHCR, 1990-91:110). The WFP provided 2,448 metric tonnes of basic food commodities in 1990 to Mozambican refugees at Likuyu settlement (UNHCR, 1990-91:119).

By December 1992, the Mozambican refugee population in Tanzania had risen to 75,152, and the total number of persons at Likuyu settlement receiving UNHCR assistance was 18,152 (UNHCR, 1992-93:176). Following the peace negotiations between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO, the phasing out of the assistance programme at Likuyu settlement began in 1993. The repatriation of Mozambican refugees from this settlement to the northern provinces was begun as from July 1994 (UNHCR, 1992-93:177).

A preliminary survey undertaken on the areas of origin showed that 80% of the Likuyu settlement populatoin originated from Niassa Province in Mozambique. The remaining 20% came from Cabo Delgado Province. Most of these refugees came from a rural subsistence background (UNHCR, 1993:32). As the repatriation programme began in 1994, a case load of 20,000 Mozambican refugees were officially repatriated. However, there were also individual voluntary repatriations and these persons were assisted with transport costs. It was agreed between Governments of Mozambique and Tanzania, and the UNHCR, that "any residual caseload remaining in Tanzania will hopefully, if the Tanzanian government agreed, be naturalised" (UNHCR, 1993:33).

Zimbabwe

Since this study was undertaken in Zimbabwe, a complete historical background to the refugee situation in this country is discussed in Chapter Five.

Summary

This chapter sought to create an understanding of the causes, patterns and directions of flight, as well as the socio-economic consequences of displacement within Mozambique and externally from a historical context. This context enabled the reader to situate the recent crises within the paradigm of development and underdevelopment, while following the experiences of Mozambican people in a historical process of thwarted social development. The fact that the vulnerability of the people emanated from both external as well as internal factors was important to underscore. It also highlighted the coping strategies of Mozambicans, particularly the peasants in the rural areas, who were evidently the most affected by the social crises which evolved in the pre-colonial times, during the experiences as victims of colonial Portugal, and also during the aftermath of independence. By highlighting the various coping strategies adopted by the people during different social crises, Mozambicans are presented not only as victims of mass displacement, but also as participants in the shaping of their own history.

CHAPTER V

ZIMBABWE: A COUNTRY OF REFUGE FOR MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the settlement of Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe from 1983 until 1992. The intention is also to highlight the various coping mechanisms that the Mozambicans have adopted during this period, whilst receiving assistance and protection from the Government and several NGOs, with particular reference to the HelpAge Refugee Programme.

This discussion is preceded by an elaboration of several features of this country. The following aspects are discussed: population, political background, economic issues, land and agriculture, health care and education, all of which impinge upon the possibility of successful integration (or lack thereof) of Mozambican refugees in the new host society. In addition, the refugee situation and the perceptions of both the Government and NGOs towards refugee aid are discussed.

Population

The Republic of Zimbabwe has a land area of 390,757 square kilometers. It is a land-locked country bounded by Zambia on the north and north-west, Botswana on the south-west, Mozambique on the east and South Africa on the south. According to the 1982 Population Census, the estimate of the total population as of August 1982 was 7,501,470 (CSO, 1985:6). Of this figure, 48.97% were males and 51.03% females. By 1987, the officially estimated population stood at 8,640,000 persons, thus giving a population density of 22.1 persons per square kilometers. Broad groups within the overall population comprise of Africans, who are the majority, Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. Among the Africans, there are several indigenous ethnic groups, the major ones being the Shona and Ndebele. In addition, some smaller ethnic groups comprise of the Tonga, Sena, Hlengwe, Venda and Sotho some of whom migrated from Mozambique and South Africa. There are over three hundred thousand persons of European descent, primarily British, and several thousand citizens of East Indian origins (Kay, 1989).

Whereas previously population counts were undertaken in 1962 and 1969, however, no provision was made in the schedules for listing the names of individuals in each household. In both censuses, the Europeans and the Africans were enumerated separately and different schedules were used for Africans and non-Africans (CSO, 1992). Thus the 1982 enumeration was the first post-independence population census undertaken by the Central Statistical Office. It was the first census in which both Africans and non-Africans were enumerated at the same time, using the same schedule. It was the first census in which the names of Africans were listed, and it was also the first census in which information on religion, citizenship and labour force participation was obtained for all the population (CSO, 1985:8). These policy changes reflected the general mood of political and social reconstruction that the new Government had ushered in the country.

The 1982 Population Census report revealed that the total population in August 1982 was 6,973,030 citizens and 528,590 non-citizens. African accounted for 6,827,590 of the citizen population, and 145,440 were non-Africans. Of the latter group, 114,920 were Europeans, 8,930 Asians and 19,990 Coloureds, and a group of 1,600 others (CSO, 1985:12). For the population between zero and nineteen years, there were 29.01% males and 29.55% females, and for the twenty to forty-nine years age group, there were 16.48% males and 18.18% females. For the 55 years and above age group there were only 3,47% males in contrast to 3.32% females. There was little variation in this age group, and overall, the population showed a relatively high youth effect (CSO, 1985).

With an overall growth rate of 3.13% between 1982 and 1992, by the end of 1992 the total population had increased to 10,401,767. Of this figure, 5,075,549 were males and 5,326,218 females. The average size of households in 1992 stood at 4.80, and the population density at 26.62 persons per square kilometers (CSO, 1992:1). Remembering that since 1983 there were significant influxes of Mozambican refugees, the population density was significantly increased in part causing the upsurge in the environmental degradation of the areas where refugee camps were located. Eighty percent of the population lives in the rural areas and twenty percent in the urban centres.

The country is divided into nine provinces. The distribution of the population by province for 1992, indicates that Manicaland, with 15 percent of the population is the most populous province. Harare Province is next with 14%, followed by Midlands (13%), then Masvingo (12%), Mashonaland West (11%), Mashonaland East (10%), Mashonaland Central (8%), Bulawayo (6%) and finally Matabeleland (6%) (CSO, 1992:10).

The sex ratios by province range from 89 to 108 males per females. Masvingo Province has the lowest, while the highest is in Harare. With the exception of Harare and Mashonaland West, the rest of the country has relatively more males in the population than females.

Political Background

The Republic of Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain in April 1980 through a negotiated settlement, the Lancaster Agreement. It was a British colony for approximately ninety years. After independence, the political climate and policy of Government sought to restore trust among the people through confidence-building measures and practice of political and other forms of national reconciliation. The local churches, particularly through the Zimbabwe Christian Council (ZCC), and its relief arm, Christian Care, sought to reconcile the Africans and the Europeans settlers. Christian Care played a major role in the repatriation and re-integration of returning Zimbabwean refugees in the 1980s (Jackson, 1994). The struggle for Zimbabwe although historically necessary, had caused enormous population displacements within the country, and had also resulted in the external displacement of combatants and refugees in neighbouring Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. Many more lives were claimed during the ten year struggle between 1969 and 1979. Similar to Mozambique and other African countries, the liberation struggle was concentrated mostly in the rural areas, and in a sense, the African peasantry bore the major brunt of the scars of war (Mandaza, 1986; Jackson, 1994; Makhanya, 1994).

The first repatriation exercises of Zimbabwean refugees between 1979 and 1980, and between 1980 and 1981, saw a return of a total of 115,000 persons from Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia (Rogge, 1994:16).

Although some of the returnees were skilled and highly educated, many of whom occupied Government positions, there was a significant number of professionally unskilled ex-combatants and refugees. For the latter group, the new Government organized a demobilization fee of approximately Z$185 per person, which they received for two years at a monthly rate. Thereafter, many of the former ex-combatants were disillusioned because they lacked marketable skills to join the labour force. Many started cooperative enterprises (Nyathi, 1991:122), whereas others were demobilised to join the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Zimbabwe National Airforce (ZNA) (Makhanya, 1994; Nyathi, 1991).

Many thousands joined the cooperative movement with a desire to learn productive skills for use either in the formal or informal labour market, as well as to engage in income-generation projects. Many of these cooperative failed due to lack of financial and administrative management skills and experience. Others failed due to other miscalculated social factors, while others succeeded, for example, the Zimbabwe Project. In this project, the ex-combatants learned financial and administrative management, as well as socio-cultural issues essential to successful cooperative development planning. Many of those who succeeded, drew strength from their resilience and experiences gained from the resistance movement during the liberation struggle (Nyathi, 1991:123). Indeed, as Nyathi stated with hindsight, that "over the years ... those cooperatives which they (ex-combatants) formed, and which have been successful, stand out as landmarks to their continued determination to strive for economic independence" (Nyathi, 1991:124). Indeed, for the returning Zimbabweans, as is the case for Mozambicans, for refugees who spent more than a decade in exile, economic independence and freedom from Government and international aid are some of their long-term goals.

Economic Issues

Every country that was once colonized and gained political independence invariably faces major economic problems during its rehabilitation and reconstruction phases.

Zimbabwe's experience was no different. At independence in 1980, and for most of the 1980s, Zimbabwe faced typical situations of a colonial legacy: massive land shortage for the peasantry, high illiteracy and gross unemployment among the African population and high levels of inequity in income distribution between the Europeans and the Africans. Later, the income inequalities between the European *cum* African petty bourgeois class and the landless rural and urban working class emerged, weak labour force participation among the Africans and Coloureds, except in mostly unskilled types of jobs.

Zimbabwe's main exports are gold, chrome, copper, iron ore, silver, asbestos and granite stone. The mainstay of Zimbabwe's foreign exchange in agricultural production has for many years been its fine tobacco industry. Cotton is another commodity which also earns the country significant hard currency. The considerable development in the manufacturing of the textile and metal industries was due to substantial financial investment by the colonial state. The state's share in ownership of the metal industry increased under the colonial government. At independence in 1980, the industrial sector as a whole contained several capitalist monopoly interests both local (Morewear), South African (Anglo-American Company and Stewart and Lloyds), and British (John Brown, British Steel), and many others (Buthelezi, 1988:13). In addition to this situation, by 1979, some two-thirds of the productive investment in the country's national economy was owned by monopoly capital, represented by multinational corporations and foreign monopoly banks. Foreign capital has dominated the economic development of Zimbabwe for decades (Mandaza, 1986; Buthelezi, 1988).

Despite the considerable investment in human development, economic growth, falling commodity prices, and escalating debt crippled the country's economy. In addition, private investment fell as a proportion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the labour force grew faster than employment opportunities. It was common experience in those days that only one out of three school leavers was being absorbed into the formal sector (UNDP, 1994:46). Due to these and other imbalances, Zimbabwe was forced to accept the imposed Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB).

Land and Agriculture

Although there has been no direct redistribution of land or other resources, the Government has given priority to increased social spending to the communal lands where the majority of the African population lives. However, in the mid-1980s, Zimbabwe was hit by the legacy of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As was discussed in the case of Mozambique, similar reduction of subsidies on basic food stuffs occurred, and the currency was devalued, the Government was forced to reduce spending on public education and health. This invariably reduced the effective social policies that the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) Patriotic Front government had established soon after independence.

However, in the agricultural season of 1984/85, with increased Government support and training through extension workers, African peasants produced a maize bumper harvest which proved to the nation and the region, that without internal and external restrictions, Zimbabwe can adequately feed its people. In the region, Zimbabwe has since been seen as the "bread-basket of Southern Africa", with its capacity to export maize to Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. However, the vagaries of recurrent drought in the 1980s and 1990s also affected the country to an extent that, during the recent 1992/93 drought, Zimbabwe was among the ten countries in Southern Africa which were recipients of food aid (FAO, 1993); United Nations and SADCC, 1993).

Rainfall is largely restricted to the period of November to March except in the Eastern Highlands. Disparities in ecological zoning and rainfall patterns, as well as the designated Natural Regions I to V were described in Chapter Three.

Health Care

Between 1982 and 1988, the Government dramatically expanded primary health care programmes in the rural areas. Clinics and hospitals were built in the country-side, and medical personnel were encouraged to take on rural posts. The policy was not without problems and many young doctors and nurses prefer working first in the cities.

Any citizen who earned less than Z$150 per month was allowed free medical care, and those with lesser combined household income are still paying far less than before. Whereas in 1960, there were 182 infant deaths per one thousand live births, by 1975, the figure had dropped to 144, and in 1988 it had sunk to 113 (UNDP, 1990:45).

Education

Education is one of the indicators necessary for positive human and social development. In Zimbabwe, whereas in 1970, the adult literacy rate of males was 63%, for women it stood at 55%. Since 1980, approximately 2,000 primary and 1,200 secondary schools were built to effectively make public education accessible to the nation, especially to Africans in the rural areas (UNDP, 1994:46). In 1985, significant increases in education meant greater access because the literacy for men was 81% and 74% for women. In spite of the gender-based disparities in educational access, Zimbabwe fared quite high in comparison to other members of the Southern African Development Community. And, in 1990, public expenditure on education was 10,6% of the Gross National Product (GNP), when the GNP per capita was US$670 (UNDP, 1990:136). Zimbabwe has higher human development levels than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, life expectancy is eight years longer (UNDP, 1994:136). Whereas this is true, the country's "safety net" for the poorest is still to be adequately developed.

Zimbabwe has made remarkable progress in social integration. Its major achievement lies in the raising the human development levels on the African majority and in creating racial tolerance within the country, in spite of political, social and economic difficulties.

Zimbabwe : Rural Refugees in Five Camps

The situation of Mozambican refugees, their exodus at different times as well as the areas they initially settled in, and their subsequent removal by police to the camps (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988: Makhanya, 1990) has been extensively discussed in Chapter Three.

Suffice to mention here that, in addition to the selected areas of study, Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps, there were also Nyamatikiti and Nyangombe camps. Both camps were also established in 1984.

Nyamatikiti camp is located in Rushinga District within Mashonaland Central Province. Since its inception, Nyamatikiti camp has had fewer refugees than any other camp in the country. Whereas there were only 2,719 Mozambican refugees in Nyamatikiti at the end of December 1990 (Department of Social Welfare, 1990:2), this number had increased to 3,658 by the end of February 1993 (Department of Social Welfare, 1993). Taken in isolation from the rest, an increase of only 939 refugees over a period of more than two years seems marginal for one camp. However, when this increase is understood within a system of planning the distribution of meager material resources to feed an extra nine hundred plus persons, particularly during drought seasons, this increase becomes quite significant.

Nyangombe camp is located in Nyanga District within Manicaland Province. Whereas the total number of refugees at this camp at the end of 1990 was 16,089 (Department of Social Welfare, 1990:2), numbers had swollen to 24,948 by the end of February 1993 (Department of Social Welfare, 1993). For the period 1984-1993, refugee numbers at Nyangombe camp ranked the third highest after Tongogara and Mazowe River Bridge. Nyangombe camp had experienced an increase of about 8,859 refugees within a period of only slightly above two years. This was a significant increase, especially because the rural areas where the camps are situated were experiencing water shortages, and there were transportation problems in the Department of Social Welfare (Department of Social Welfare, 1990:4).

At the end of February 1993, the number of registered Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwean camps totalled 137,848 (UNHCR, 1993:40). Similar to their counterparts in other asylum countries, the majority have a subsistence farming background. The illiteracy rate among this group was very high and only very few have had any formal education (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988; Makhanya, 1990; Chigudu, 1990; Motsisi, 1995). Refugee women made up about 53% of the total refugee population, and the remaining 47% were men.

Table 5.1 provides entry figures for Mozambican refugees between 1983 and 1992, and informs about the total number of refugees per camp disaggregated by age and gender. The limitation of these camp statistics is that the adult age group (18 years and above) has not been further broken down to indicate, for instance, how many of these were either below 55, and so on. Such details were, however, obtainable from the records of the HelpAge Refugee Programme.

Table 5.1

Mozambican Refugee entries to Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1992
(entry figures are calculated at year end)

Year	Number of Refugees	Local Population in Millions	Ratio of Refugees to Local Population
1983	44,000	7,9*	1/179
1985	51,000	7,7*	1/145
1986	66,000	8,4*	1/127
1987	150,000	8,6	1/57
1988	171,000	9,7	1/57
1989	185,000	9,7	1/52
1990	182,000	9,7	1/53
1991	185,000	10,1	1/52
1992	285,000+	10,3	1/36
1993	197,000×	10,3	1/52

* population estimates by mid year
\+ figures provided by the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR) in the World Refugee Surveys.
× figures provided by the UNHCR in its Annual Reports to the General Assembly.

Sources:
1. World Refugee Survey, reports from 1983 to 1993.
2. UNHCR Annual Reports on Assistance Activities to Refugees, Part 1, for the years 1983 until 1993.
3. Central Statistical Office, 1992

Note: The UNHCR figures are compiled after consultation with the host Government. There is an apparent discrepancy in the figure quoted by the USCR in the World Refugee Survey for 1992, and that quoted by the UNHCR and the Government of Zimbabwe. This figure reflects a difference of 88,000 refugees more than the UNHCR and the Zimbabwe Government figure of 197,000. Both these figures include the Self-settled refugees, whose numbers have been estimated at 100,000.

As can be deduced from Table 5.2, in almost every age group in all the camps, refugee women tended to outnumber the men. Unlike the situation of refugees at Ukwimi settlement in Zambia, for example, in 1993 March the numbers of adult refugees (18 years and over) clearly outnumbered those below the age of 17 years. Also, the largest number of refugees in the camps were found in Tongogara camp, whereas Nyangombe carried the fewest. This has been the situation since 1984. In addition, Tongogara settled more refugees in every age group and by sex classification.

Table 5.2 Mozambican Refugees in Zimbabwe as at End of March 1993

(figures given by camp, age and sex)

Camp	Age Group	Male	Female	Sub-Total	Total
Tongogara	0 to 11 mnths	2,546	2,995	5,541	
	1 to 4 years	3,739	3,987	7,726	
	5 to 17	7,245	6,434	13,579	
					47,411
Mazowe	0 to 11 mths	2,294	2,312	4,606	
	1 to 4 years	2,618	3,525	6,143	
	5 to 17	4,083	6,126	10,209	
	18+	6,143	8,160	14,303	
					35,261
Nyangombe	0 to 11 mths	1,608	1,670	3,278	
	1 to 4 years	1,900	2,098	3,998	
	5 to 17	4,192	3,851	8,043	
	18+	4,598	5,031	9,629	
					24,948
Chambuta	0 to 11 mths	1,076	1,003	2,079	
	1 to 4 years	2,004	1,894	3,398	
	5 to 17	4,152	4,066	8,218	
	18+	4,862	6,470	11,332	
					25,527
Nyamatikiti	0 to 11 mths	173	152	325	
	1 to 4 years	357	386	743	
	5 to 17	531	526	1,057	
	18+	789	744	1,533	
					3,658
Grand Totals		**64,696**	**72,109**	**125,222**	**136,804**

Source: Government of Zimbabwe, Department of Social Welfare, Refugee Services Unit, 1993. Refugee Camp Statistics as at End of March 1993.

The Zimbabwe Refugee Act No. 13 of 1983 and Rural Refugees

The Zimbabwe Refugee Act. No. 13 of 1984 regulates the status of both rural and urban refugees within the country. It embodies the basic principles of the 1951 United Nations Convention of Refugees and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (QAU) Protocol regarding the protection and assistance to refugees in Africa. There are several restrictions, however, which on the one hand, influence the future anticipation of refugees, and yet on the other, constrain the ability of rural refugees to engage in meaningful economic activities commensurate with their skills and previous work experiences. As in the case of refugees in Khartoum, Sudan, (Kibreab, 1991), mobility for rural refugees in Zimbabwe is restricted. The Act forbids rural refugees (i.e. Mozambicans) to leave the camps except for emergency situations. The problem here is that the nature of the emergency is often determined by the camp officer and not by the refugees. When the survey was carried out among elderly refugees in the three camps, they repeatedly complained about this situation (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:18). They perceived their lack of free mobility restricted by the authorities as a serious violation of their right to freedom of movement within the country. When further probed, respondents stated their willingness to carry their refugee identification cards with them at all times, but clearly disapproved of the policy restricting their movements.

Many of the elderly refugees also stated that their entry into these camps was not always voluntary. In fact many of them stated that even Mozambicans who had entered Zimbabwe before the major influx of 1983 found themselves being taken into refugee camps if they did not possess a Zimbabwean National Registration Card (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:18).

Every Government has the legal right to restrict the freedom of movement of refugees within their borders by making reference to Article 26 of the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention, as stipulated in Article 42 of the same Convention. The deprivation of the right to freedom of movement imposed by the 1983 Refugee Act, however, is inconsistent with the recommendations of the 1979 Arusha Conference, as well as with the spirit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Charter of Human and People's Rights.

A second major constraint that the 1983 Refugee Act No. 13 puts on rural refugees is the official restriction against engaging in wage labour. Like the local people, self-settled refugees do not receive any international assistance, except for drought relief during emergencies. They are also not restricted to sell their labour in order to increase their ability to become self-sufficient. Commenting on a similar policy constraint with regards to the settlement of Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees in Khartoum, Kibreab noted that

> by placing refuges in spatially segregated sites, the government wants to achieve two things. First, it wants to discourage the refugees from competing with nationals for scarce resources, employment opportunities, consumer goods and physical and social services. Second, it wants the international donor community to meet their needs until they voluntarily return to their countries of origin (Kibreab, 1991:6).

The import of this quote lies in its precision and pertinence in describing another similar experience, that of rural refugees in Zimbabwe. Restrictive policies governing refugee mobility as well as access to opportunities for gainful employment, particularly by enabling rural refugees to exercise their human rights is not limited to Sudan and Zimbabwe alone. In fact, these issues have local, continental as well as global implications for labour migration.

A third major constraint of government policy pertains to the concept of making rural refugees attain self-sufficiency by isolating them from the local population. All refugee camps in Zimbabwe are fenced. This maintains a physical separation of camp dwellers from the surrounding villages. Clearly, the physical structural elements of camp construction militate against the implementation of the adopted policy of "local integration". Particularly during times of scarcity, locals were envious of seeing supplies being brought into the camps when they were left to fend for themselves. Invariably, there were many occasions of conflicts over the use of common property resources. For instance, when refugees went outside the camps in search of fuel-wood or water, they were often attacked by some locals, because they were seen as infringing on the rights of the villagers by sharing meager resources that belong to the locals only.

A fourth major policy constraint, is the lack of agricultural land for the refugees to grow their own food and attempt to reach food self-sufficiency. This aspect has been dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Three. Suffice here to say that, as far as operationalising the official policy of "local integration", certain contradictions surfaced at the implementation level. It is well established that rural refugees with a subsistence background cannot attain food self-sufficiency at the household level because they were not allocated land. As a result, the rural camps cannot become self-sufficient units because any allocation of agricultural land that can enable refugees to be organised into productive agricultural settlements is not available (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:19).

Whereas on the one hand, it was desirable for the Government to allocate land to the refugees for agricultural production, the shortage of land coupled with its unequal distribution between the commercial farmers and the communal subsistence sector was prohibitive (Moyo, 1986). Besides, the Government is still struggling to resettle many of its own citizens, who after 16 years of independence, still experience inadequate or no access to good quality land. The Government's Resettlement Programme was adopted shortly after independence to redistribute land to internally placed persons and landless peasant households, as well as to resettle returning refugees and demobilised ex-combatants. After several years of implementation it had gained only partial success. For example, out of the identified 325,000 households eligible to benefit from this scheme, only about a third had been resettled by the end of 1987 (Moyo, 1986; Mupedziswa ad Makhanya, 1988:20). In addition, the quality of land where these families were eventually resettled was poor. The inadequate agricultural extension services caused some problems to the peasant farmers. Already the Government had to purchase land from comercial farmers at great cost. Thus, setting aside land for agricultural settlements to host refugees would obviously antagonise the landless peasant farmers who were still overcrowded in infertile soils of the communal areas (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:20). Several Government officials pointed out that this land dilemma had forced the Government of Zimbabwe to opt for camps rather than large agricultural settlements.

By this acknowledgement itself, and through discussions with officials in the camps as well, the hosting of Mozambican refugees in camps for ten years was indeed to provide care and maintenance programmes, "without any chance for self-help and self-determination" (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:20).

In summary, while the Government did maintain its commitment to provide sanctuary to the refugees in the country, their motivations, however, were influenced primarily by considerations of security, political factors as well as economic realities, rather than inclinations to initiate effective development-oriented refugee programmes. In addition to this, the presence of Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe was always perceived as a transient phenomenon, thus limiting any notions of long-term refugee development programmes.

Self-Settled Rural Refugees

Even before the refugee camps were established, several hundreds of Mozambican refugees had already settled among their kin within villages along the border areas on the Zimbabwean side (Brennan, 1986; Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988; Chigudu, 1990; Department of Social Welfare, 1990; Jackson, 1994). It is reported that the initial refugee arrivals were warmly received by the traditional chiefs as well as local government officials, who ensured their general welfare within the local communities. The refugees were given plots to build their own shelters. Also during that period, refugees were enabled to select their own representatives who were trained in such areas as communal health promotion and legal proceedings (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:8).

Several studies on the issue of self-settled refugees in Africa have argued that, in many cases, these refugees have proved to become economically self-sufficient much faster than their counterparts in camps or organised settlements (Chol and Mbago, 1990; Hanson, 1979; 1990; Mijere, 1990; Kibreab, 1991; Freund and Kalumba, 1992). These studies also highlighted some common findings. For example, in Zaire (Sudanese),
Zambia (Angolans), Sudan (Eritreans), Tanzania (Burundians and Rwandese) and now in Zimbabwe and Swaziland (Mozambicans), the decision to relocate self-settled refugees always came after they refugees had already re-established themselves in the border villages.

In every case, the refugees refused to be relocated to distant inland settlements or camps, because they perceived official relocations as mechanisms of alienation from a familiar environment along the border areas, where they were among their kin, and could easily reproduce their traditional farming methods (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Kibreab, 1991; Freund and Kalumba, 1992). In addition, they refused relocation because their hard-won autonomous existence free from international aid was being threatened. Government relocations were also perceived by rural refugees as second or third instances of the painful process of uprootal. In all the cited examples, Government responses were effectively meted through forcible round ups. In Zimbabwe too, some of the elderly refugees indicated that they were rounded up from the eastern border villages. Two studies (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988; Munyai, 1990) carried out in Zimbabwe among camp refugees indicated that even those within the camps actually preferred their previous surroundings, that is, living among their kin in the border villages and due to the familiarity of the villages. It is necessary however, to also state that at the height of RENAMO insurgencies in the mid-1980, the Government's concern was certainly to follow security measures by attempting to separate genuine refugees from RENAMO infiltrators, as well as to protect national and genuine refugees from RENAMO atrocities.

Whereas as early as March 1984, there were 46,000 Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe, only some 15,000 opted to move into the camps where they received assistance under Government supervision. The majority, 31,000 preferred to settle along the border villages where they had integrated with the local people (UNHCR, 1985:20). As at December 1992, the Government estimated that an additional 100,000 Mozambicans in a refugee-like situation were spontaneously settled along the border with Mozambique (UNCHR, 1993:208).

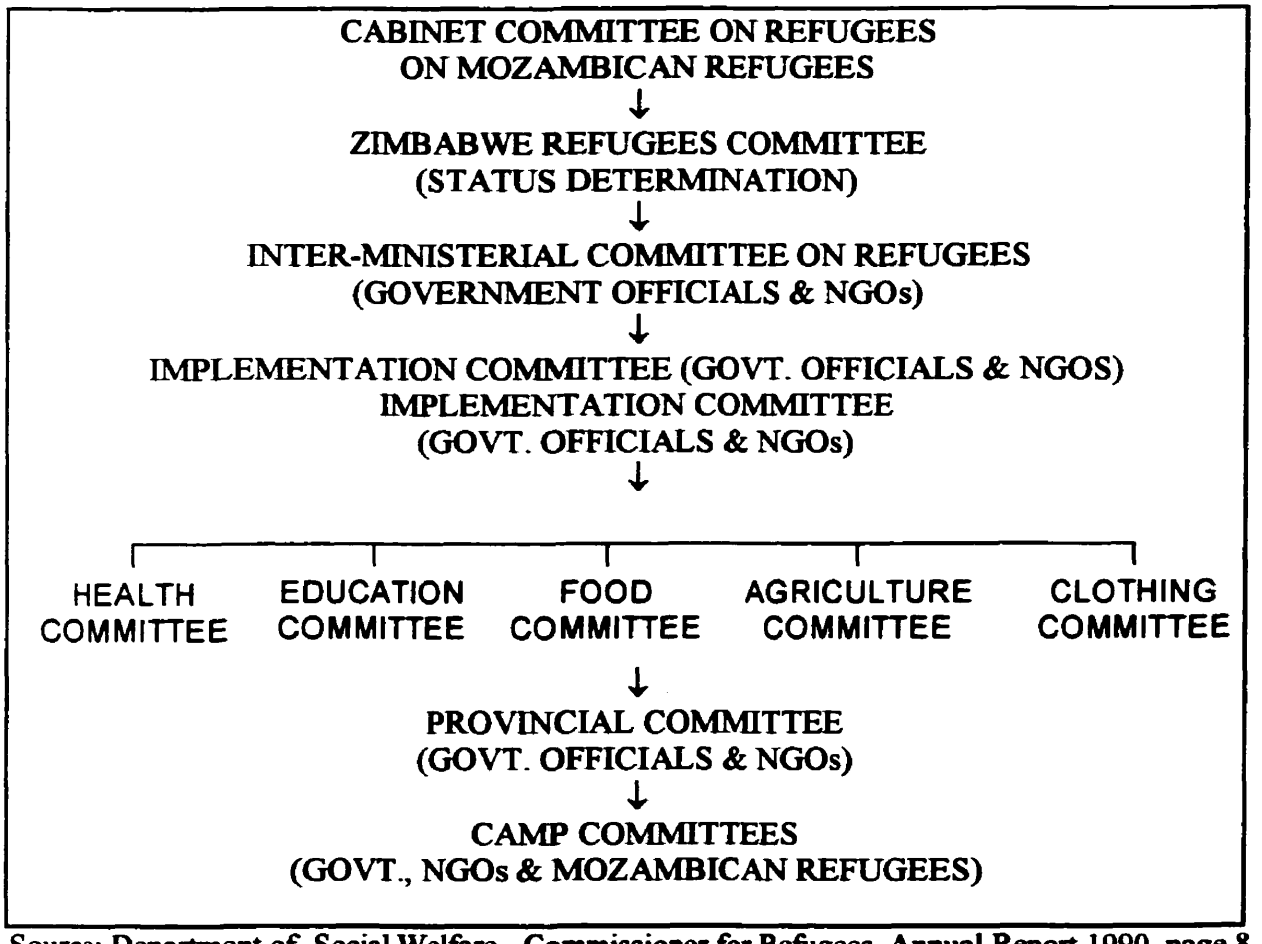
There is no major official or unofficial study on self-settled refugees in Zimbabwe. This is one area that could be examined, particularly in the aftermath of the recently concluded repatriation exercise. Such a study could reveal the numbers, socio-economic background and preferences of self-settled refugees who opted to remain in Zimbabwe. It could possibly lead to interesting new policy directions by questioning the economic and socio-cultural feasibility and appropriateness of "local integration" as a preferred durable

solution that is followed by host governments in Africa.

Assistance to and Protection of Mozambican Refugees

As stated earlier, official assistance to Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe was limited only to camp refugees. Refugees had to be visible in order to receive material assistance from the international community. Assistance to camp refugees was administered by the Government and the UNHCR, as well as domestic and international social development agencies.

Figure 5.1 Structural Organization



Source: Department of Social Welfare - Commissioner for Refugees, Annual Report 1990, page 8

Government Aid and Administrative Structures

Before the establishment of the four camps in 1984, the local government structures and traditional leaders shouldered the responsibility of caring for, maintaining and protecting Mozambican refugees in Zimbabwe (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:8). The UNHCR, as well as various agencies, came into the picture after the camps were established. Henceforth, Government assistance and protection to these refugees was made possible by the annual grants allocated by the UNHCR to the responsible ministries, through the Refugee Services Unit in the Department of Social Welfare. These programmes fell under the annual assistance activities and proposed voluntary fund programmes of the UNHCR budget, and were earmarked for care and maintenance, as well as "local integration" activities. Through its Social Welfare offices stationed at all the five camps, and administered by the CA and his staff of trained Social Workers, in addition to care and maintenance activities such as, the distribution of food, blankets, utensils, gardening equipment, the Social Workers also provided counselling services to the refugee population. Besides the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, there were also the Ministries of Health, Home Affairs, Water and Agriculture (Department of Social Welfare, 1990; 1995; Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:10), with each ministry giving services in their designated field of expertise.

It is essential to understand that these funds were intended for relief-oriented programmes and not for long-term development-focused activities. Upon several discussions with Government officials both in Harare and in the camps, all highlighted the fact that their mandate was to provide care and maintenance programmes. The relief programmes were largely the domain of domestic and international NGOs.

The Government also played a co-ordinating function between its different ministries, and among the various NGOs that worked in the camps since 1984. Figure 5.1 gives a breakdown of the Ministries and NGOs, their areas of communication and collaboration, as well as the services provided and refugee participation within the administration system. The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Refugees met once every month to tackle policy issues, and to recommend proposals to the Cabinet Committee on Refugees.

In 1990, for example, the Committee dealt with such vital issues as "the employment of Mozambican refugees, opening of the fifth camp, Chambuta and the establishment of reception centres along the border with Mozambique" (Department of Social Welfare, 1990:8).

The Implementation Committee is the platform for the coordination of the entire Refugee Programme in the country. According to the COR, it is the pivot around which all matters involving refugees are discussed and the Committee then recommends practical procedures to the COR, who also chairs this Committee. It is composed of all the NGOs and Ministries involved in the Refugee Programme. Its main function is also to receive and discuss the reports passed on to it by the different sub-committees on health, education, agricultural, food and clothing matters in the camps.

The Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare administers the Refugee Programme through its Refugee Services Unit, located within the Department of Social Welfare. The administration of the camps and the role of the Department, as well as Camp Administrators and their Staff were discussed in Chapter Three.

Non-Governmental Assistance and Perceptions of Refugee Aid

In order to transform refugees from a liability to an asset and also enable them to become an important factor in national development, at least three conditions need to be met (Kibreab, 1987:278). First, the performance of the national economy must improve so that the host country is able to cope with the challenge placed by the presence of refugees, and so that the refugees can become productive members of the host society. Second, the host Government's policy towards refugees is a critical factor. If the Government treats the problem of refugees as separate from national development problems, this will influence how assistance programmes are given and to what end, for long-term care and maintenance, or towards long-term development-oriented programming. Third, of great importance also, is the role that policy assigns to refugees. Besides policy issues, the availability of land, water, agricultural equipment and most of all settler co-operation is essential in making refugees self-sufficient in food in the shortest possible time (Rogge, 1987).

In Zimbabwe, those NGOs assisting camp refugees were all expected to work with refugees within the parameters of Government policy. As was noted earlier, Government policy was restricted to care and maintenance programmes, in addition to providing physical protection to refugees by stationing police offices at every camp. It was also noted that the Government's orientation, similar to many of its counterparts in Africa, was bent on the belief that the Mozambican crisis "was a transient phenomenon".

To a large extent therefore, Government policy influenced, but did not limit the perspective of many NGOs in relation to the types of activities they offered the refugees in the camps. In essence, the types of refugee programmes, in spite of needs assessments that were carried out by some agencies, were primarily relief-oriented and not focused on linking the capacities of refugees to neither Zimbabwean nor the Mozambican economy. For example, except for the Association of Women's Clubs (AWC), Save the Children (USA), Zimbabwe Red Cross Society (ZRCS), the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), Catholic Development Commission (CADEC) and HelpAge Refugee Programme, the writer was not informed about long-term follow-up activities of skills training programmes.

To become meaningful, these skills training programmes for returning refugees needed to be commensurate with local economic development priorities in Mozambique. There were no indications provided on how these NGOs envisaged working with their Mozambican counterparts in order to assist returning refugees to reintegrate with as little disruption as possible. In addition, Government polices of treating refugees as a separate entity, particularly rural refugees, did not help matters much. The labour power and human capital that the many thousands of refugees represented was not effectively tapped for the social development of refugees themselves, as well as the regions where these refugees were concentrated, thereby contributing to the country's economic development.

Various NGOs were engaged in diverse activities, ranging from provision of food and clothing, to running functional literacy programmes, health and sanitation training activities, and other skills training projects. In general, NGOs assisting refugees have assumed a high profile in the last two decades (Zetter, 1995:26).

In Zimbabwe, these agencies, domestic and international, came into the picture when the refugees were settled in the camps (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:8). Whereas most of these agencies provided essential basic services to the refugee population with most of them operating in all the five camps, as depicted in Fig. 5.2, very few of these and other agencies had any long-term planning beyond the care and maintenance programmes they provided in the camps. As a rule, these agencies were following the conventional approach to humanitarian assistance which is relief-driven rather than developmental, emergency rather than long-term (Zetter, 1995:26; Anderson and Woodrow, 1989).

By 1990, there were about twenty agencies operating in the refugee camps (Department of Social Welfare, 1990:7). Eleven of these NGOs were international and nine were domestic. Out of the twenty, six were visited for purposes of learning about their developmental programmes. Some whose headquarters are in Europe or North America also had a Zimbabwe programme, for instance, World Vision International, the Lutheran World Federation and HelpAge Refugee Programme. Out of the total number of NGOs visited, discussions were held with either the Director or Deputy Director. From the sixteen very few were prepared to share their policy documents, except for HelpAge, World Vision International, Women's Institute, the Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe, Save the Children (USA), Christian Care and the Young Men's Christian Association of Zimbabwe. Save the Children (UK) flatly refused to share with the writer any of their written policy and programming material. Information about the co-operative NGOs specifically regarding their policies on relief and development was also deduced from the interviews with their senior personnel.

According to many observers, there was a widely held view that with the increasing involvement of the majority of these NGOs in the camps, particularly the large ones, this situation resulted in the effective displacement of refugee's traditional institutions. Also, with the disappearance of refugee institutions, for example, traditional chiefs and healers were often replaced by new elected officials, base leaders. For some of the elderly refugees, this posed for them difficulties of identification with some of the younger base leaders, who often did not fully understand the exile experiences and vulnerabilities of the aged.

In addition, there is an apparent power struggle between the international and domestic NGOs. On the one hand, it is often generally presumed that northern NGOs, whether in the development al or refugee relief domain, have a greater impact in responding to beneficiary needs, better than local agencies (Zetter, 1995). Some of the cited characteristics of northern NGOs are: provision of greater managerial efficiency and effectiveness, having more direct access to donors and professional expertise, posing wider experience, with better networking opportunities through the use of technological innovations, and thus being able to mobilise more speedily, funds and equipment that is especially important in the emergency situations of refugees (Zetter, 1995:25). In addition, these agencies offer project and, crucial programme and core management capability, and also having developed the ability to respond more easily to the demands of accountability and financial probity (Zetter, 1995:26-27). On the other hand, domestic NGOs are often resource poor, have no direct access to donor agencies, have no proven record of financial and administrative management capacity nor extensive technological know-how and are sometimes run on volunteer basis (Zetter, 1995:26-27).

However, they frequently show extreme sensitivity to the socio-cultural nuances that govern the domain of flight and exile. This is their potential for greater long-term impact. Besides, they are often accountable to local government and people's interests whereas most northern NGOs are not transparent, and their accountability mechanisms lie with donors, and not the victims of disasters.

Figure 5.2 Non-Governmental Organisations operating in the Camps

ORGANIZATION	CAMP	PROGRAMME
Adult Literacy Organisation of Zimbabwe	All the five camps	Adult literacy training
Association of Women's Clubs	All the five camps	Pre-school, skills training, clothes production, health education and women's projects
Baptist Relief Ministries	Tongogara, Chambuta, Mazowe River Bridge	Supplementary feeding, water and re-afforestation
Catholic Development Commission	All the five camps	Sanitation, health, pre-school, supplementary feeding, agriculture and clothing
Christian Care	All the five camps	Agriculture, health, supplementary feeding and clothing
Child Care Ministries	Tongogara, Chambuta and other camps	Food, shelter (Tents), supplementary feeding and health
Compassion Ministries	All the five camps	Clothing, multi-purpose centre at Nyangombe Camp
HelpAge	All the five camps	General care of the aged and disabled
Lutheran World Federation	Tongogara	Agriculture
Plan International	Tongogara	Health and skills training
Norwegian People's Aid	Mazowe River Bridge and Nyamatikiti	Skills training, education and constructions of a multi-purpose center at Mazowe River Camp
Redd Barna	All the five camps	Tracing, family re-unification, shelter and clothing
Red Cross Society of Zimbabwe	All the five camps	Tracing, family re-unification, shelter and clothing
Save the Children (UK)	All the five camps	Health, sanitation and shelter
Save the Children (USA)	Tongogara and Nyangombe	Supplementary feeding and pre-school education
Otto Benecke Foundation	All the five camps	Education (teacher training)
Women's Institute	Tongogara and Nyangombe	Supplementary feeding, food, clothing and health
World Vision International	All the five camps	Supplementary feeding, food, clothing and health
Young Men's Christian Association	Chambuta	Skills training

Source: Department of Social Welfare - Commissioner for Refugees, Annual Report 1990, p.7

Nonetheless, in the African context, evidence confirms that northern NGOs are not necessarily better placed than local agencies to render effective refugee assistance (Zetter, 1990). In Zimbabwe, as it is the case in several other African countries, research demonstrates that

> it is the local coping mechanisms, linked to a local understanding of the capacities of refugees and the adaptive response of their hosts, which are crucial elements in refugee survival and the response to refugee influxes - often well before the situations become internationalized (Zetter, 1995:26).

By developing from grassroots responses, local resources and coping mechanisms can be tapped more effectively and there is likely to be greater cultural sensitivity to the needs of both hosts and refugees.

The only agency directly involved with the elderly was the HelpAge Refugee Programme. Others, for example, Christian Care, World Vision International, the Catholic Development Commission (CADEC) and Child Care Ministries were indirectly assisting with the elderly by providing supplementary feeding to the frail in the camps, including elderly refugees. According to other sources (Jackson, 1994; Makhanya, 1994), Christian Care, the relief arm of the Zimbabwe Christian Council (ZCC) had historically played a major role in the return and reintegration of Zimbabwean refugees after their exile in Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia in the late 1970s and during the 1980s.

One disturbing finding in the refugee camps was a remarkable expansion of projects. In many cases these were not proposed by the refugees themselves. And even more disturbing was the realisation that, there was actually little evidence to suggest that NGO-sponsored projects were self-sustaining (RSP et al, 1990). There was also no evidence that these projects could be replicated elsewhere, for instance, in Mozambique after repatriation. Third, there was no evidence that these projects introduced any significant multiplier effect in the local economy (Refugee Studies Programme, 1993:8). What became clear during the survey was that, many refugees survive on the local informal economy they created for themselves within the camps, by selling and bartering

among themselves basic foodstuffs. Sometimes they bartered some of their foodstuffs with the local people, in return for other essentials they did not receive within the WFP food basket.

The participation of elderly refugees in the relief and emergency programmes will be discussed in great detail in Chapters Six and Seven. However, at this point it necessary to articulate a few guiding principles for consideration by emergency assistance NGOs working in the refugee camps. Figure 5.3 suggests several basic principles that might be useful to both domestic and international agencies which are involved in providing emergency assistance to refugees. These principals are meant to be part of the overall operational guidelines that emergency assistance NGOs should consider, especially when they interact with vulnerable groups among the refugee populations they serve.

Figure 5.3 Principles Guiding Project Implementation

EMPOWERMENT OF ELDERLY REFUGEES

- SATISFACTION OF BASIC NEEDS
- EQUITY AND ACCESSIBILITY
- OPPORTUNITY AND SECURITY
- FREEDOM OF CHOICE (REAL AND PERCEIVED)
- COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
- PROMOTION OF SELF-RELIANCE
- RESPECT FOR AND INCORPORATION OF LOCAL CULTURE AND KNOWLEDGE
- RECOGNITION AND INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL NGOs INSTITUTION BUILDING
- POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF VULNERABLE GROUPS
- PROMOTION OF SUSTAINABILITY

Source: Adapted from Planning and Design in Developing Countries Research Group, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Faculty of Architecture, University of Manitoba, 1991:12.

It is also essential that NGOs working with refugees should empower this community by actively promoting the internalisation of such guiding principles within their own organisations. It is believed that if emergency assistance agencies were to follow such guidelines in their operational programming within the camps, a likelihood of greater refugee participation and interest in the projects might increase. In addition, the refugees might begin to feel a greater sense of ownership of both the administration as well as the implementation and monitoring of these projects.

Summary

This Chapter sought to provide background information about Zimbabwe as one of the countries which hosted Mozambican refugees since the early 1980s. It also discussed the different perceptions held by the Government and the NGOs regarding refugee aid and the purpose of refugee camps located in the rural areas of the country. It is essential to have this background information prior to discussing the data gathered from the survey. In addition, a list of basic guiding principles are proposed for consideration by emergency assistance NGOs that work in the refugee camps. The data analysis provided in Chapter Six and Seven elaborates the point further, indicating that the different skills-training projects were conceived from an underlying premise of the provision of emergency relief assistance.

CHAPTER VI

ELDERLY WOMEN AND MEN AT TONGOGARA, MAZOWE RIVER BRIDGE AND CHAMBUTA CAMPS IN ZIMBABWE

Introduction

Whereas the preceding chapters were primarily reviewing the vast literature of secondary sources on refugee integration in host countries through the establishment of refugee camps in the rural areas, the major purpose of this chapter is to present an analysis of the primary sources of data. These data have been tied to the rest of this study in several chapters, particularly Chapters Two, Three and Four.

Whereas a vast amount of information has been gathered through the use of personal interview schedules with key informants from Government ministries and NGOs, and this was discussed in Chapter Three, in this chapter the primary focus is to report on the situation of elderly refugee women and men in the three camps. The information presented here was gathered largely through an extensive questionnaire survey whose details were discussed also in Chapter Three.

The areas covered in this chapter are: refugee leaders and participation in administration; a demographic profile of the elderly women and men; family size and children in household; children in household; language spoken; culture and ethnicity; marital status; age; duration in camp; education; children in household and economic activity; health status and sanitation; food and nutrition; shelter and security.

Refugee Leaders and Participation in Administration

The camps are divided into a number of sections called "bases" for administrative purposes. The number of bases varies with each camp as stated in Chapter Three. Each camp has some community leaders elected by the refugees themselves, whose major function is to maintain peace and tranquillity among the refugee community. Each base has one community leader. These leaders organise and convene meetings regularly to discuss problems in the community as a whole.

The next step of social organisation below the community leaders are the base leaders. Each base elects its own base leaders and their function is to report to the community leaders about the problems and requests from the people, as well as to pass on the recommendations to the community leaders on how best to respond to people's requests and problems. The community leaders are the final body which ratifies any decision taken before possible implementation of ideas. The base leaders constitute the principal vehicle of communication between the people and higher authorities in the camp (Mupedziswa and Makhanya, 1988:12). In all three camps, it was interesting to note that all the community and base leaders were male. Whereas at the project level, some women held leadership positions.

There are also base health committees, and this aspect will be taken in the discussion of health, food and nutrition. In addition, each camp has a community security committee which liaises with the base security committees. The community security committee deals with matters of security in each camp. The activities of this committee compliments those of the state security personnel in all matters of security.

Demographic Profile of the Elderly Women and Men

The demographic profile of the elderly refugee women and men in Tongogara, Mazoe River Bridge and Chambuta refugee camps is presented in Table 6.1. In order to profile the background and personal information of this population, these data are presented according to frequencies and percentages by gender, marital status, age, education, province of origin and duration in camp.

As stated in Table 3.3 of Chapter Three, 52.8% of the total sample came from Tongogara camp, whereas only 29.9% and the remaining 17.3% came from Mazoe River Bridge and Chambuta camps respectively.

As in the other age groups of refugees in the camps in Zimbabwe, women tended to be over-represented. Similarly in the case of the elderly, whereas only 34.8% of the entire sample were men, women comprised of 65.2%. There were more married respondents certainly far more than a combined total of those who were either separated, divorced or single.

After those who were married at the time of the interview, the next largest group (39.90%) comprised of the widows.

The majority of the elderly (75.1%) fell within the 51 - 70 age cohort. About fifteen percent were between 71 and 80 years old, and there were only about ten percent elderly who were 81 years and older. A significant majority of elderly refugees (89.3%) had no functional literacy or numeracy skills. They had not obtained any formal school education even at the primary level in Mozambique, indeed a striking example of the Portuguese colonial legacy. On the contrary, only slightly more than ten percent of the elderly had some primary education, which meant that they had gained access and completed school only up to grade three. Out of a total of 598 respondents in this survey, less that one percent had completed grade seven successfully. A discussion of the impact of this extremely low functional literacy status upon the livelihoods of the people of Mozambique, and in particular the peasantry and women was discussed in Chapter Four.

In terms of their province or origin, more than fifty-three percent came from Manica province, followed by almost thirty percent who were displaced from Tete province in Mozambique. The third highest group came from Gaza province in the South, and less than three percent from Sofala. The remaining six provinces of Mozambique combined had an insignificant representation among the sampled elderly population. In terms of geographical proximity between provinces of origin and region or camp of destination, the majority if not all refugees who came from Manica province in Mozambique ended in Tongogara camp. This was probably more convenient for them since Manica province borders the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe where the camp was established. Similarly, Tete province in Mozambique is closer to Rushinga District in the North of Zimbabwe, and so most of the refugees in Mazowe River Bridge camp were from Tete. In the South of Zimbabwe, Chambuta camp had received almost all refugees whose origins were traceable to Gaza Province in the South of Mozambique, and some who were transferred from Tongogara camp.

The majority of the elderly refugees surveyed had lived in the three camps for periods ranging between one and five years.

Table 6.1

Demographic Profile of Elderly Refugees by Gender, Marital Status, Age, Education, Province of Origin and Duration in Camp

GENDER	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Male	208	34.8
Female	390	65.2
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 1.652
MARITAL STATUS	**FREQUENCY**	**PERCENT**
Single	7	1.1
Married	305	51.1
Separated	18	3.0
Divorced	29	3.9
Widowed	239	39.9
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 3.312
AGE	**FREQUENCY**	**PERCENT**
51 - 60 years	250	41.8
61 - 70 years	199	33.3
71 - 80 years	92	15.4
81 years and above	57	9.5
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 1.926
EDUCATION	**FREQUENCY**	**PERCENT**
completed Grade 7	3	0.5
completed Grades 1 - 3	61	10.2
no education	534	89.3
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 3.884

Table 6.1 (continued)

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Zambezia	3	0.5
Sofala	17	2.8
Tete	175	29.3
Niassa	1	0.2
Gaza	69	11.6
Inhambane	7	1.2
Manica	318	53.3
Cabo Delgado	1	0.2
Nampula	2	0.3
Maputo	4	0.7
DURATION IN CAMP	**FREQUENCY**	**PERCENT**
6 months - year	84	14.0
1 - 3 years	257	43.0
3 - 5 years	256	42.8
5 years or more	1	0.2
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 2.291

These represented about 85.8% of the entire sample, with an almost equal proportion for those who had been in the camps for one to three years, and those whose residence had lasted between three and five years. Those who lived in the three camps for less than one year comprised only fourteen percent of the total, and those who had lived in the camps for more than five years were insignificantly represented. Table 6.2 describes the situation of elderly refugees as it relates to numbers of children per household, language spoken and ethnic group.

Family Size and Children in Household

According to the CSO 1992 Census Report, the mean average family size of households in the refugee camps ranged between 4.3 and 4.7. Among the sampled elderly, however, the mean average number of children per household was 1.3. These included only those children who were living with the elderly in the camps at the time of the survey.

From the presented data, slightly more than forty two percent of the elderly households had at least one to three children living with them. Another group of approximately thirty five percent lived with four to nine of their children. In was apparent that in the second group, grand-children were being counted in as "own children". These would be children whose parents either died during the war or who were in the custody of their grandparents for whatever reason. Nineteen percent of the entire sample reported to be living without any children in the camps, and these were mainly represented among the widows. Those families with ten or more children included those couples from polygamous marriages, although as a group, they represented a mere two percent.

Children in Household

In Africa, among many rural households and often communities as well, people pride themselves with their traditional customs and belief systems. In Sub-Saharan Africa, a rural household with many children (five and more) is generally perceived with great admiration by other members of the village; people often remark that such a family is "blesses" or "well-bestowed". In real terms what these qualifications signify, among others, is the assumption that the parents of such children will be well-looked after by their progeny in old age. Thus the reproduction of the notion, that the "more the children the better", and the greater possibility of security for the elderly in the future. However, these notions are rapidly changing. As many children grow up, and with the shrinking employment opportunities in the rural areas, they tend to be increasingly attracted towards seeking gainful employment in the towns and cities, leaving their elderly parents behind.

Table 6.2

Elderly Refugees by Children in Household, Language Spoken and Ethnic Group

CHILDREN LIVING WITH RESPONDENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
No children	118	19.2
1 - 3	252	42.2
4 - 9	212	35.3
10 and above	15	3.3
Total	**597**	**100.0**
missing cases: 1		
		mean: 1.298
LANGUAGE SPOKEN	**FREQUENCY**	**PERCENT**
Ndau	318	53.2
Nyungwe	141	23.6
Shangaan	88	14.3
Barwe	9	1.6
Sena	6	1.0
Nyembane	6	1.0
Korekore	4	0.7
Shona/Mafue	3	0.5
Tonga/Batonga	1	0.2
Tsonga	1	0.2
Other	20	3.4
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		mean: 6.042

Table 6.2

ETHNIC GROUP	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Ndau	315	52.8
Nyungwe	146	24.5
Shangani	69	11.2
Hlengwe	17	2.8
Barwe	6	1.0
Tsonga	5	0.8
Korekore	4	0.7
Nyembane	4	0.7
Shona/Mafue	3	0.5
Other	29	5.0
Total	**598**	**100.0**
		standard deviation: 0.915
		mean: 4.682

Not only do children provide some form of future insurance for the care and security of the elderly, in the absence of state organized social security programmes in many African countries, the children also provide physical support for tasks that the elderly can no longer perform, such as, fetching water, woodfuel and food rations. In addition the children also provide emotional support to the older parents whenever possible. These factors are critical in situations of emergencies and disasters, as in the case of refugee camps in Zimbabwe.

Language Spoken, Culture and Ethnicity

Whereas the elderly in emergencies and disasters often have sustained losses of assets during the process of displacement, in the refugee camps, through cultural activities and ceremonies at which the traditional leaders or other elders preside, the language spoken and the specific cultural clan customs performed, tend to boost the otherwise low

morale of the refugees. Many elderly refugees, both women and men, openly expressed tremendous vitality, joy and self-confidence whenever they performed their cultural dances in the camps. These opportunities are important coping strategies for the elderly refugees to reproduce their culture.

Some attested sadly to the fact of their material dispossession, but spoke with joy and brightened faces when they discussed some of the dance and story-telling activities they undertook with children in the community. Within such revelations, as one elderly woman proudly noted, "through the dances and stories of our culture, we always try to keep the history and culture of Mozambique alive in the minds of the young". They talked about their culture and history as the only things they controlled. It is in this context that the daily spoken language as well as belonging to a specific ethnic group gains such importance in the refugee camps, especially if the duration in the camps is protracted.

Similar to the province of origin as previously discussed, the majority (53.2%) of the elderly refugees who spoke Ndau came from Manica Province in Mozambique. Ndau, however, is also spoken in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. Due to the cultural affinity between the Shona in Zimbabwe, some of whom also speak Ndau, and the Ndau-speaking Mozambican refugees, it is safe to assume that communication between these elderly and local people might have been facilitated by their common language. In addition, refugee studies literature suggests that knowledge of the major communication languages in the host country often facilitates better integration of refugees (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Goitom, 1987; Kibreab, 1987; Nyakabwa, 1989; Hansen, 1990).

The next largest language spoken was Nyungwe (23.6%) and the majority of respondents speaking Nyungwe came from Mazowe River Bridge camp, with origins mainly in Tete Province. Finally, the Shangai people (14.3%) from Gaza Province in Mozambique were the third largest group and they were hosted in Chambuta camp. The remaining ethnic groups were insignificantly represented among the surveyed elderly refugees. However, they are an illustration of the diverse and rich cultural heritage of Mozambique, which persevered through the harsh periods of Portuguese colonialism and post-independence destabilisation and war.

Degrees of variation become apparent when some or all of the variables in Table 6.1 are cross-tabulated with gender as the dependent variable. The cross-tabulation of gender and marital status, age, duration in camp and education provide useful information in terms of showing the differential vulnerability factor between the situation of elderly women as compared to elderly men. Second, the cross-tabulations also indicate whether all or some of these factors are positively related to gender, and the degree of significance.

The data presented in Table 6.3 to 6.6 outline marital status, age, duration in camp and education by gender.

Marital Status

In this survey, it was discovered that all the interviewed elderly household had family members living in the same village prior to their displacement from Mozambique. Except for the migrant workers who were mostly husbands and sons who had previously worked in South African mines or in the public service sector there, everyone was always present in the village. The strength of the household unit was often directly reflected by its physical proximity to other family members. The family type organization which existed here was mostly the extended family, which also included households where the arrangement was polygamous.

In these villages, mainly clumps of relatives lived close to each other forming a more or less homogeneous support group. Whereas a household in an extended family setting was generally regarded as the strongest entity economically, there was greater and easier sharing of entitlements to land or other assets. The relationships which ensued by marriage and blood formed a strong bond of support in all crises.

In the refugee camp, however, these strong family bonds and kinship ties had quite often disintegrated due to the effects of war, drought and displacement upon the composition of the family. Nevertheless, from discussions with the interviewed households, it became clear that, those who were still married and had their spouses living with them in the camps were slightly better-off and protected emotionally, than those who were either single (1.1%), separated (3.0%), divorced (4.9%) or widowed (39.9%).

The weakest households, in terms of their lack of protection and assets were among the widowed.

Table 6.3 outlines the cross-tabulation of marital status by gender. The majority (51.1%) of respondents were married, and within this group, a greater proportion of men (82.2%) men were married compared to women (34.4%). However, 55.0% of the elderly women in contrast to only 11.5% of the men were widowed. Similarly, more women were divorced compared to men. There was a significant positive relationship between marital status and gender (0.000). The strong relationship between marital status and gender suggests that marital status is significant in accounting for differences.

Table 6.3

Marital Status by Gender

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total Number	Percentage
Single	4 1.92% *	3 0.76%	7	1.1
Married	171 82.21%	134 34.44%	305	51.1
Separated	5 2.40%	13 3.33%	18	3.0
Divorce	4 1.93%	25 6.46%	29	4.9
Widowed	24 11.54%	214 55.01%	238	39.9
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 32.36545		DF:4	Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages

Age

The cross-tabulation of age and gender reveals some interesting points as shown in Table 6.4. An equal proportion of women and men was found among those between 51 and 60 years. No remarkable difference occurs between the percentages of elderly women and men in the 61 -70 years group.

However, elderly women comprised a greater proportion (12.0%) compared to only 3.0% among the men in the 81 years and above category. Elderly men exceeded the proportion of women among the 71 - 80 years group. This situation is somewhat similar in rural areas both in Zimbabwe as well as in Mozambique (Ramji, 1987; Chigudu, 1990; Nyanguru, 1990). Overall, it is widely acknowledged in refugee literature that refugee women account for approximately 70 - 80% of many refugee populations. However, this fact had previously not been broadly established in relation to refugees who are 50 years old and above. The cross-tabulation revealed that there is a strong association between age and gender, and the relationship is statistically significant (.000). Because age is perceived as one of the important measures of differential vulnerability in this study, it is retained in the subsequent analysis.

Table 6.4

Age by Gender

Age	Male	Female	Total Number	Percentage
51 - 60 years	87 42.00% *	163 42.00%	250	41.9
61 - 70 years	72 35.00%	127 33.00%	199	33.3
71 - 80 years	41 20.00%	51 13.00%	92	15.4
81 years and +	8 3.00%	48 12.00%	56	9.4
Total	**208**	**389**	**598**	**100.0**
Chi-square: 14.41210		DF: 3	Significance: 0.0020	

* column percentages

Duration in Camp

The duration of elderly refugees in the three camps in Zimbabwe was their actual location for the number of years given. It is acknowledged that the place where a household lives is often the key factor in shaping its economic well-being (Winchester, 1992).

The physical geography of the three refugee camps, Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta was discussed in detail in chapter three. The most common denominators about their location are first, the vast distances between the camps and the next town, and due to this factor, second, the inaccessibility of formal employment opportunities to the refugees in camps. In addition, the policy of the Government of not allowing camp-settled refugees to earn independent livelihoods through gainful employment should be kept in mind as an economic adversity factor for the refugees.

In order to have an idea of exactly how many elderly women and men were kept in this state of near complete dependency, a cross-tabulation of duration in camp by gender was run as shown in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5

Duration in Camp by Gender

Duration of Camp	**Male**	**Female**	**Total Number**	**Percentage**
6 months - 1 year	24 12.00%	60 15.00% *	84	14.1
1 - 3 years	95 46.00%	162 42.00%	257	43.0
3 - 5 years	89 42.00%	167 43.00%	256	42.9
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**

* column percentages

The majority of respondents (85.9%) had resided in the camps for periods ranging between one and five years. There was no remarkable difference between the proportions of women and men's duration in the camps for this period of time. However, more women compared to men had lived in the camp for less than one year. The results of the chi-square test reveal there is no strong relationship between duration in camp and gender.

Education

Education is acknowledged to be one of the major indicators of positive human development in any given society and also an important variable in socio-economic adaptation. On the one hand, it often happens that the more diversely educated a society, the greater the opportunities for its citizens to participate meaningfully in the formal labour market, and thus the more chances for social advancement and progress, and the overall promotion of personal and social security. On the other hand, wherever there is under-development in the educational sphere, this situation hampers social and economic advancement, and also breeds conditions that are conducive to the growth of poverty, the violation of human rights and increasing social unrest. This is often the general situation in some poor countries. Poverty frustrates other possible aims for education, especially in the case where education is connected with the wider definition of development that includes social justice. In turn, the personal development of the people in such countries, as well as the position of women, and even the levels of sickness and mortality are all affected (UNDP, 1994:32).

The UNDP Human Development Reports have for the decade 1985 - 1995 reported with concern the increasing disparity in the education of girls versus boys, particularly in developing countries. Shockingly, more capital in these countries is annually allocated towards military spending and strengthening defense budgets rather than in promoting national security through investment in health and education (UNDP, 1994). This is particularly the case in Africa (Awua-Asamoa, 1991).

The male-female gaps in several Sub-Saharan African countries suggest that, in spite of the UN Decade for Women's Conferences (1975-95), and the repeated proposals for the increased enrolment of girl children at primary and secondary school levels, many countries have failed to fulfil such recommendations. Their policies, which inform the allocation of national resources, indicate that the education of girl children is a lesser priority.

In the case of Mozambique, the problem was exarcebated by colonial policies of the erstwhile colonizer, Portugal, and after independence, by the protracted sixteen year war.

In the former era, the education of the African population was never a major priority . Many of the respondents in this survey lived through part of this period. Whereas both men and women were so deprived, African women were at the bottom of the social ladder. Among the worst personal threats to women's social advancement is the lack of functional education. In the household, they are also often the last to eat, and at school, they are the last to be educated (UNDP, 1994:31). In addition, at work they are the last to be hired, and in many of these countries, from childhood through adulthood, they are abused because of their gender (UNDP, 1994:31).

It is important to note that in some developing countries, women are getting better educated and entering formal employment, often as heads of households. For example, whereas globally one-third of households are now headed by women, in Africa up to one-half of households in some countries are headed by women (UNDP, 1994:32), where women produce as much as 90% of the food in the country. However, there are still many indicators of gender insecurity and institutional violence against women reflected in the denial of basic rights to elementary education. Certainly, the example of Mozambican women is a case in point.

Table 6.6 presents the educational data of the sample by gender. Slightly over 89.0% of the surveyed elderly women and men had no formal education. The proportion of women within this group was 95.0% compared to 78.0% among the men. According to the presented data, there is a strong relationship between education and gender. This association is statistically significant (.000). Since education is considered an important factor in the economic and social well-being of the family as well as in the process of socio-economic adaptation in exile, it was selected for inclusion in the analysis.

Table 6.6

Education of Elderly Refugees by Gender

Educational Status	Male	Female	Total Number	Percentage
Completed Grade 7	2 1.00% *	1 0.25%	3	0.5
Completed Grade 1 - 3	43 21.00%	18 4.75%	61	10.2
No Education	163 78.00%	370 95.00%	533	89.3
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-square: 0.25200		DF: 1	Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages

Children in Household and Economic Activity

The importance of children in rural households generally, and those affected by disasters and emergencies in Sub-Saharan Africa was already discussed in relation to Table 6.2. Perhaps one additional aspect is that, in the rural areas, children often begin household and other chores at an early age. They are extra hands for various activities such as weeding, seeding, harvesting, as well as marketing some of the surplus agricultural items, usually green vegetables, for the purpose of earning cash for the families. This happens whether families are involved in subsistence farming or minor commercial farming. Some begin these activities before they reach twelve years, depending on family circumstances, would continue performing these household chores into their adulthood. Hence, their labour power is highly valued in such activities, and because of that, it is believed that the more children a household has, the less dependent it will likely be from hiring external labour.

In the camps, it is often the case that the household with more children will receive more rations per capita. It is also in this sense, that households with more children were expected to have more food available than those with less or no children at all.

But because the rations were inadequate, in fact it would seem that those families with more children would often experience more hunger.

Table 6.7 outlines the cross-tabulation of children in household by gender. The majority of elderly women (52.0%) had 1 - 3 children living with them in the camps, in contrast to 24.0% among the elderly men. In addition, more elderly women had no children living with them in comparison to men. This group of women represented largely widows. This meant that for the execution of daily chores such as fetching water and wood-fuel, as well as cooking at least one meal per day, and doing their laundry; they had to rely on some other refugees, friends or relatives. For those who had neither, they were receiving help from the teams of the younger men and women (also refugees). These elderly helpers were organized by HelpAge staff within a community-based programme, with the sole purpose of looking after the needs of elderly refugees. These services were provided especially for the weak and frail among elderly refugees in all three camps.

Table 6.7
Children in Household by Gender

Number of Children	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
No children	33 16.00%*	85 22.00%	118	19.8
1 - 3	51 24.00%	201 52.00%	252	42.2
4 - 9	72 35.00%	86 22.00%	158	26.5
10 or more	52 25.00%	17 4.00%	69	11.5
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-square:	84.04439	DF: 3	Significance:	0.000

* column percentages

From the data presented, the proportions of elderly men who had more than three children in their households exceeded those of the women. One explanation of this situation is the existing institution of polygamy in certain regions in Mozambique. Another possible explanation could be that some elderly respondents had counted their grand children as their "own children". Whatever the case, there was clearly a strong relationship between children in household and gender, and the relationship was statistically significant (.000). Since children in the household are viewed as a contributory element in the area of psychosocial support, this variable was included in the analysis.

Health Status and Sanitation

As stated previously, in each camp health committees were established in the bases. The primary responsibility of these committees were to look after matters related to refugee sanitation, and to report to the camp clinics all cases of identified ill health. Their reports were received either through the community health committees, or if necessary, directly to the responsible authorities. In turn, the community health committees liaised with the health personnel in each camp and together, it was reported, they made recommendations towards the improvement of the health standards of the entire refugee community. The two committees also look out for any health hazards and reported these immediately to the camp authorities.

In spite of the seemingly well coordinated structures which related to the camp administration, in all the camps it was observable that, especially among the elderly households who had camp residence of less than a year, there was a dire shortage of blair toilet facilities. For those elderly who were in the camps between three and five years or more, they were supplied with proper blair toilets. In many cases, these toilets were built by teams of refugee builders under the supervision of qualified Zimbabwean builders, who were contracted through Redd Barna, a Norwegian NGO.

At the largest camp, Tongogara, for example in bases 13 and 14, there were hardly any toilet facilities. The elderly in these bases had to either use the bush, or walk long distances to the next base to gain access to the facilities.

For those who were either disabled or frail, this presented a challenge indeed.

In several locations in the bases at all the camps, there were visible open drainage systems with stagnant smelly water. These facilities were often close to the central water collection points. The water collection points were also located far away from the dwellings of the elderly households. The open drains often proved to be spots for health hazards, such as providing breeding grounds for mosquitoes, and increasing the incidence of repetitive bouts of malaria within the camps. Huge open pits were often dug out to serve as refuse collection depots. These large open pits were likely to present health hazards also, particularly at night for anyone, but especially for the unassisted elderly person who was trying to get back to their shelter.

Food and Nutrition

According to the information gathered from the World Food Programme's head office in Harare and the CA's office in Tongogara camp, the following food basket outlined in Table 6.8 was provided to individual refugees per day. In general, the food that is given to the elderly, especially the elderly women does not meet their nutritional needs. At times, as in the case of beans, the food although served cooked is often too hard to chew for the frail digestive systems. However, if cooked properly, this food supply provided them with the necessary protein which they lacked since they did not receive any fresh meat in their rations.

As most of the elderly reported, their food basket consisted primarily of maize meal. However inadequate, at least everyone reported to have received this staple food. A diet consists largely of maize meal and many times not accompanied by any green fresh vegetables or dried fish was clearly nutritionally inadequate. This nutritionally inadequate diet exposed the elderly women and men to a susceptibility towards repeated disease attacks as their immune systems were very low. Although the clinics at all three camps kept data on the most prevalent diseases among all refugees, the availability of the information was restricted only to Government personnel or NGOs such as HelpAge.

Table 6.8

Daily Food Ration Basket per Individual provided by the World Food Programme

FOOD ITEM	AMOUNT PER DAY	AMOUNT PER MONTH
Maize Meal	400 g	12 kg.
Cooking Oil	22 mls.	600 mls.
Salt	0.005 g.	0.15 g.
Dried Fish *	30 g.	900 g.
Tinned Fish	-	2 tins
Beans	30 g.	900 g.
Dried Skimmed Milk (DSM) +	50 g.	1,500 g.

* dried fish also locally called Kapenta.

\+ although included in the daily food basket, this item is provided to person who are registered in the supplementary or therapeutic feeding programmes. This food basket is distributed by the Camp Administrators office in all camps.

Source: World Food Programme, Head Office, Harare, October 1993.
Department of Social Welfare, CA's Office, Tongogara refugee camp, December 1993.

However, at Tongogara refugee camp, the Chief Nursing Sister in charge, reported that among the elderly, the most prevalent diseases were: anaemia; deficiency in vitamins A and D; lack of niacin (vitamin B3); diarrhea; general malnutrition, due to lack of regular supply of vitamins and minerals; cataracts; backaches; depression and general lethargy. Such deficiencies, shown by malnutrition and other types of hunger, can cause widespread suffering and health problems especially among the elderly. Often due to poor health, their mobility within the camp is restricted, thus increasing levels of social isolation.

In order to determine approximately how many elderly refugees had any serious sickness or disability, they were asked whether they had experienced any serious illness and/or disabling conditions in the camps. Table 6.9 gives a breakdown of serious sickness or disability by gender.

Table 6.9
Serious Sickness or Disability by Gender

Condition of Elderly Person	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
No sickness	169 81.00% *	353 91.00%	522	87,7
Some Sickness	39 19.00%	34 9.00%	73	12.3
Total	**208**	**387**	**595**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 12.47976		DF: 1	Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages

Although the majority (87.7%) of women and men had reported not to have been sick at the time of interviews or six months before, nine percent of the women and men compared to 19.0% of the men had visited the camp clinic at least more than six times in the period 1992 - 1993. They reported mainly about respiratory problems and infections, backaches as well as dental problems and lack of bodily strength. The problem of poor nutrition for the elderly refugees often led them to experience bodily weakness, apathy, depression, and for some frail elderly, loss of appetite. In addition, the lack of minerals and vitamins in the body also caused some to develop mental deterioration. Among those who reported to be without any sickness or disability, the proportion of women (91.0%) was higher than that of men (81.0%).

In addition to the problems stated, the elderly were also pushed aside in terms of participating actively in the distribution of food rations in the camps. As noted earlier, in Africa, over 70 percent of the responsibility for food production, processing and serving rests on the women. This is a very important function not to be overlooked (Christensen, 1982; 1986). However, this fact is often quite ignored in many refugee camps, thus especially the elderly women become stripped of their significant social role. Unfortunately, this situation further increased their isolation, powerlessness and alienation within the camps, and generally contributed to the increased levels of psychosocial problems among elderly women.

Inadvertently, the food distribution system in the camps was discriminatory against the active participation of the elderly in general, and the elderly women in particular. This responsibility was often given to the younger and middle-aged men, a situation which is largely not compatible with role performance in food distribution in Mozambique.

A further problem related to food and nutrition among elderly refugees indicated that, although elderly men had opportunity to eat two meals a day (albeit without any relish), the women were eating less as many reported to have at least one meal a day. This finding generally corroborated Hansen's (1990) study among camp-settled Angolan refugees in Zambia, when he noted that village men, whether refugees or hosts, were more likely to eat two meals a day than women. As for refugee women, they ate less frequently than men. This reflected the relative poverty of women, particularly those who were unmarried. This finding does suggest that poor physical health related to malnutrition is positively related to gender as well as to marital status.

In this survey, the elderly women did not report any violations of their human rights in terms of having to provide sexual favours to men in order to get food in exchange. It is important to mention, however, that in many refugee camps in Africa, according to some reports (Chigudu, 1990; Moussa, 1991; Wali, 1993), the sexual abuse of refugee women by refugee men has frequently occurred in the camps. However, in Zimbabwe, a few elderly women reported that some sexual abuse of younger women or their own relatives had taken place in the camps.

As a result, the vulnerability of refugee women to hunger and hunger-related illnesses are highlighted as follows: female refugees are especially vulnerable to be being forced to grant sexual favours in exchange for food, other assistance and documentation of their refugee status. Single women without male protection are among those most at risk. Some female refugees often do not receive their share of food, since men are usually the primary recipients of food distribution systems in camps. Refugee food aid programmes tend to ignore the special nutritional needs of pregnant and nursing women, even though they make up a substantial proportion among of the refugee population (Wali, 1993:56-57).

Shelter and Security

The elderly women and men informed that back in Mozambique, the responsibility for constructing their huts was usually a family task in which everyone participated, either in collecting the long grass for thatching of the roof, or going out into the woods to gather strong reeds and poles from the trees. The women, however, also emphasized that hut construction was often a responsibility that was left to them and their children.

In the camps, however, a different scenario existed. Those elderly refugees who were still able to construct their huts were supplied with building materials by the Department of Social Welfare and UNHCR. They were given tarred poles for centering the hut, and in many cases, had to collect the thatching grass themselves. In the case of the elderly who either had disabilities or were frail, as well as those who were widowed and had no relatives, the CA's office together with HelpAge staff saw to it that their huts were built. Many of the widowed elderly were also sheltered in a compound consisting of several huts, which was identified as an Old Age Home. It was explained that the home was designed for the care of incontinent, very frail and mentally unstable group of elderly, whose daily needs were met by younger refugee women and men, including health scouts, under the supervision of HelpAge staff. As is suggested by some researchers (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990; Thorn, 1991), an attempt was made by HelpAge staff to promote community-based care services for the elderly within the camps.

As far as the elderly were concerned, particularly the women, they reported that they missed the social event of hut-building as they used to experience it in the villages prior to their displacement from Mozambique. Due to the impact of war, drought, and the losses of assets and loved ones, the joy of building huts together had diminished significantly.

In Tongogara camp, many of the residents who were there for less than a year lived in make-shift huts whose roofing was a plastic sheet provided by UNHCR. They complained of insecurity of shelter, particularly during the winter and rainy season. This was particularly the case in bases 13 and 14, also where there were no blair toilets.

As for the other bases, the elderly who were in the camps for two years or more had more stable dwellings, with properly thatched roofing. However, they also complained of cracking mud-walls which covered the wooden reeds. In short, there was a general displeasure voiced by the elderly regarding their shelter, especially those who were in the camps for less than one year.

Summary

As stated earlier, the purpose of this chapter was to inform mainly about the demographic profile of the surveyed elderly in Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps in Zimbabwe. In addition, however, it was essential to expand somewhat on the overall living conditions within the camps, by identifying the place of the refugees in the camp administration system, as well as discussing the situation as it pertained to health and sanitation, food and nutrition, language spoken, culture and ethnicity as well as shelter and security. By understanding the overall conditions of their daily existence in the camps it is envisaged that the reader might discover their differing areas of vulnerabilities (powerlessness) as well as their capacities (coping strategies). This chapter is also meant to create a stepping stone for the next which focuses on the tested hypotheses.

CHAPTER VII

THE GENERAL WELL-BEING OF ELDERLY REFUGEES IN TONGOGARA, MAZOWE RIVER BRIDGE AND CHAMBUTA CAMPS IN ZIMBABWE

Introduction

There are several factors which account for the general well-being of elderly refugees or the absence thereof in camps in Africa. Age, gender, occupation or income, education, marital status, number of children living with elderly, access to health facilities, food and nutrition, participation in skills-training projects and relationship with others in the camp (for example, camp and NGO staff, other refugees and local people) are some of the significant factors which are widely acknowledged to impinge on the general well-being of rural refugees in these camps. Chapters Two, Three and Six dealt with some of these factors in greater detail.

In her pioneering study on the impact of international emergency assistance to Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan, Harrell-Bond (1986) critically examined the social, economic, cultural and psychosocial well-being of refugees using many of the cited indicators. A comparison was drawn between the relatively successful integration of self-settled refugees, whose success rested largely on their own self-help strategies as well as support from communities in which they settled. Unlike the self-settled, scheme-settled refugees had to contend with externally imposed aid, from well-meaning agencies and donors. In some instances these agencies and donors misunderstood the social structure and organization among refugees, as well as the cultural patterns of their self-help strategies, and the sexual division of labour among them. Among the major conclusions that this major study arrived at was, that without sufficient knowledge of these and many other factors, external aid was imposed within a milieu that was promoting dependency rather than helping the refugee community to develop themselves. The power of the agencies and the resources they command are critically reflected upon in contrast to the powerlessness of the intended beneficiaries.

Hansen (1979, 1990) carried out a similar longitudinal study among Angolan refugees in Zambia, those who were scheme-settled and the self-settled. Some of his major findings were, that the self-settled refugees were quicker in attaining food self-sufficiency than those who were made dependent on food aid supplies in the refugee settlements. These self-settled refugees depended largely on self-help and self-support mechanisms they had developed among themselves as well as their resilience by struggling to make ends meet, just as ordinary Zambians did. As a result, Hansen (1979, 1990) maintains that, those living independently in the Zambian villages with kin helping them whenever possible were often economically better-off than those refugees who lived on government and UNHCR sponsored schemes. Some of the former self-settled refugees had accumulated various assets, such as bicycles, radios, wheelbarrows and so forth, which many households in the organised settlements lacked.

Several other studies done in Eastern Africa, (Kibreab, 1987; Chol and Mbago, 1990) and Southern Africa (Freund and Kalumba, 1985; Mijere, 1990) have corroborated such findings. However, it has been reiterated that in the case of vulnerable groups continued support to these groups provided through international assistance in the settlement schemes and refugee camps may still be warranted (Kibreab, 1990; Rogge, 1992; Kuhlman, 1994).

Testing the Hypothesis

The first hypothesis posited that, there is a positive **relationship between participation in skills-training projects and the improved general well-being of elderly refugees in camps.** The well-being of refugees is defined under the "definition of terms". In order to test the validity of this hypothesis, several questions had to be asked.

First of all, respondents were asked whether they had noticed any improvement in their overall well-being from the time they entered the camp in which they resided at the time of the survey. The respondents were also asked to inform whether they had learned any skills during their stay in the camps, that is, skills which might facilitate the process of their reintegration in Mozambique in terms of sustaining their livelihoods.

Table 7.1 shows the responses regarding the improvement of the general well-being of the surveyed elderly.

Table 7.1

Level of General Well-being Improved

General Well-being	Frequency	Percentage
Did not improve	227	38.0
Some improvement	370	62.0
Total	**597**	**100.0**
		mean: .620

The majority of the elderly refugees remarked about the situation of peacefulness and security in the camps, as opposed to the conditions of war and other types of violence in Mozambique. In their view, this constituted the most important dimension of their understanding of "general well-being". Although many of them complained about the inadequate food rations, lack of employment opportunities, lack of decent shelter, lack of money and their longing for Mozambique and family members as well as ancestors who remained there, for the majority of these elderly persons, the provision of some lasting safe conditions in the camps meant the difference between life and death.

Less than forty percent were completely dissatisfied with their overall economic and social conditions in the three camps. This group of elderly refugees was extremely eager to repatriate to Mozambique. Some even voiced that, after signing of the Peace Accord between FRELIMO and RENAMO in October 1992, developments in Mozambique's rehabilitation and reconstruction were beginning, and they felt that they were being left behind in this process.

Table 7.2 gives an idea of exactly how many elderly refugees were able to participate in the skills-training projects as well as those who did not.

Table 7.2
Participation in Skills-training Projects by Gender

Participation	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Yes	178 85.58%*	329 84.58%	507	84.9
No	30 14.42%	60 15.42%	90	15.1
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 0.10609		DF:1	Significance:	0.7440

*column percentages

The majority of elderly refugees in this study (84.9%) participated in any one of the more than fifteen skills-training projects offered to them by HelpAge Refugee Programme in the camps. An almost equal proportion of elderly women (84.58%) as men (85.58%) participated in these projects. The projects were divided into different activities, taking part only weekdays, from 8:00 am until 12:00 noon. They were administered by a staff contingent comprising of Social Workers, Rehabilitation Technicians and Community Development Workers located in every camp. The Social Workers and Rehabilitation Technicians were all trained in their specific disciplines. However, the Community Development Workers did not have proper qualifications, except for their long-tested volunteer work, enthusiasm, dedication and experience working with refugees.

Overall, 64.89% of the survey respondents who had participated in the skills-training projects were elderly women, in contrast to less than 35.11% men. Proportionally there were almost as many women who did not participate in any skills-training project as men. This group represented a mere fifteen percent of the entire sample. A chi-square to determine whether a statistically significant difference between the number of males and females who participate in the skills-training projects yielded a probability value of 0.744. This result indicates that there is no statistically significant difference in the number of males and females who participate in the skills-training projects.

To determine whether there was a tendency for a particular gender to specialise in certain types of skills-training projects, a cross-tabulation of project type by gender was run and the results are shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3

Type of Skills-training Project by Gender

Project Type	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Tailoring	98 47.11%*	139 35.&3%	237	39.7
Ragmat-making	8 3.84%	94 24.16%	102	17.1
Sandal-making	43 20.67%	3 0.77%	46	7.7
Knitting	5 2.40%	32 8.23%	37	6.2
Poultry-breeding	13 6.25%	12 3.08%	25	4.2
Carpentry	2 0.96%	18 4.63%	20	3.4
Basket-weaving	7 3.36%	13 4.37%	20	3.4
Fence-making	3 0.14%	17 4.37%	20	3.4
Making claypots	0	16 4.11%	16	2.7
Traditional midwife	0	14 3.60%	14	2.7
Gardening	9 4.33%	9 2.31%	18	3.0
Health Scouts	4 1.93%	8 2.05%	12	2.0
Building	5 2.40%	2 0.51%	7	1.2
Doll-making	0	6 1.54%	6	1.0
Haircutting	5 2.40%	0	5	0.8
Leadership	0	4 1.93%	4	0.7
Counselling others	0	2 0.51%	2	0.3
Tin-smithing	3 0.14%	0	3	0.5
Nursery keeping	2 0.96%	0	2	0.3
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 175.39302	DF: 19		Significance: 0.0000	

*column percentages

Overall, more elderly women seemed to be involved in the skills-training projects than men. However, the proportion of men (47.11%) in the tailoring project exceeded that of women (35.73%) as well as in the sandal-making project. Women's participation (24.16%) by far exceeded that of men (3.84%) in the ragmat-making project, and in the knitting, carpentry and fence -making projects. The tailoring-sewing project participants accounted for almost forty percent of the entire sample, whereas the ragmat-making project attracted slightly above seventeen percent.

There were however, some projects which attracted either women or men only. For example, women were solely represented in the doll-making, making clay pots, counselling other elderly refugees, and participation in group leadership training and traditional midwifery projects. Consequently, these projects tended to be associated with women in the refugee camps. Whereas, haircutting, woodlot management and tin-smithing tended to be typical male projects. Elderly women, in addition to being involved in other projects, tended to cluster mostly around the caring/nurturing type of projects, such as counselling other refugees, traditional midwifery, health scouts and leadership training. Interestingly, however, elderly women participants also featured in a few non-traditional skills, such as carpentry and fence-making. Thus there was a noticeable pattern of a new sexual division of labour emerging in the camps. This was not the case in respect to the elderly men. Their participation in the "caring or nurturing" type of skills-training was lacking.

In order to determine whether the elderly refugees had learned any skills from participating in these projects, a cross-tabulation of new skills learned by gender was run, and the results are presented in Table 7.4. The majority of elderly men (42.79%) stated that they learned nothing new from participating in the various projects. The proportion of women in this category was 30.59%. In general, however, a larger proportion of elderly women stated that they had learned new skills than did men in the following projects: ragmat-making, sandal-making, carpentry, vegetable gardening and cooperative farming, basket weaving and finally preventative medicine. Except for the tailoring project (18.75%), proportionally few men in most of the projects mentioned that they had learned something new from participating in the various skills-training projects.

Most of those who learned something new were clustered in the ragmat-making, tailoring-sewing, carpentry, gardening, claypot-making, basket weaving, fence-making and poultry breeding projects. Upon further probing, the elderly women and men felt that, these were some of the activities that would probably increase their income-generating capacities, if employment by others or self-employment possibilities would open up later in Mozambique. However, for the present time in the camps, very few if any were able to generate any income for themselves and their households with the skills they had gained.

When the HelpAge staff were asked to inform the writer about the link between the skills-training projects offered to the elderly and the potential for employment in Mozambique after repatriation, there was no explanation given. It became clear that, the design of projects for the elderly had not been sufficiently thought out in relation to the repatriation and reintegration process. These projects were largely meant to keep the elderly busy in the camps. The association between new skills gained from project activities and gender was a significant one (0.000). From the foregoing discussion, it would seem that a positive relationship between participation in skills-training projects and the improved general well-being of older women in the camps has been supported by that data, but not in the case of elderly men.

The second hypothesis noted that **a significant relationship exists between the problems experienced by the elderly refugees in camps and their gender**. To test this hypothesis, the following cross-tabulations were run: first, level of general well-being by gender; second, level of general well-being by marital status; third, problems in the camp by gender and finally, problems in camp by age.

Table 7.4

New Skills learned from Skills-Training Projects by Gender

Skills Learnt	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Ragmatmaking	24 *11.54%	64 16.45%	88	14.8
Sandal Making	1 0.48%	67 17.22%	68	11.4
Tailoring	39 18.75%	0	39	6.5
Carpentry	1 0.48%	29 13.94%	30	4.9
Poultry breeding	14 6.74%	10 2.59%	24	4.0
Knitting	5 2.40%	19 4.88%	24	4.0
Gardening	4 1.92%	19 4.88%	23	3.9
Preventative medicine	4 1.92%	17 4.37%	21	3.5
Basket weaving	3 1.44%	17 4.37%	20	3.4
Fence making	9 4.33%	8 2.06%	17	2.8
Making pots	0	12 3.08%	12	2.0
Making buckets	3 1.44%	4 1.03%	7	1.2
Hair cutting	6 2.44%	0	6	1.0
Building	5 2.40%	0	5	0.8
Leadership	0	4 1.03%	4	0.7
Conservation	2 0.96%	0	2	0.3
Nothing new	89 42.79%	119 30.59%	208	34.8
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-square : 194.54405		DF: 20	Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages.

Table 7.5 presents the results of the cross-tabulation between level of general well-being and gender.

Table 7.5
Level of General Well-being by Gender

General Well-being	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Not improved	114 54.80% *	113 29.04%	227	38.0
Some improvement	94 45.20%	276 70.95%	370	62.0
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 38.168033		DF: 1	Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages

These results of the cross-tabulation between level of general well-being and gender revealed that elderly women (70.95%) were in the majority among those who had expressed some improvement in their overall situation, in contrast to about 45.20% percent among the men. However, 54.80% of elderly men reported that their overall situation had not improved since they entered the refugee camps, in contrast to 29.04% women. In general, the level of general well-being was strongly related to gender, with women showing a greater tendency for improved well-being than men.

The next step in testing the second hypothesis involved determining whether a relationship exists between the general well-being of the elderly refugees and their marital status. The underlying assumption being that the marital status of the elderly will have a positive influence upon their overall security in the camp. The results of this cross-tabulation are presented in Table 7.6.

In the previous chapters, it was argued that those elderly refugees who lived with their spouses in the camps were likely to experience lesser problems, because of the presence of physical and emotional spousal support. It is assumed that their general well-being would be higher than those whose spouses were absent. As presented in Table 7.6, it was surprising to find that those who attested to be enjoying a relatively higher level of well-being in the camp were found among the divorced, the separated and the widowed.

Table 7.6

General Level of Well-being by Marital Status

General Well-being	Single	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widow	Total	Percent
Improved	4	160	14	26	166	370	62.0
	*57.14%	52.46%	77.7%	89.6%	69.75%		
Not	3	145	4	3	72	227	38.0
improved	42.86%	47.54%	22.22%	10.34	30.25%		
Total	7	**305**	**18**	**29**	**238**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 29.22755			DF: 4		Significance: 0.0000		

* column percentages

As surprising as these results may be, it should be remembered that, in the context of the protracted Mozambican war, the conditions in that country were of complete destabilisation and insecurity. In spite of the hardships faced by all refugees in the camps in exile, the threat of death and destruction was no longer as immediate as it was in their country of origin prior to their flight. Notwithstanding the surprising results, a significant association between general well-being and marital status occurred. In general, people who were divorced, separated or widowed were more likely to report improved well-being.

The next point of interest was to find out about the types of problems elderly refugees had encountered during their residence at Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps. Having knowledge about these problems would help both the NGOs (for example, HelpAge Refugee Programme) and the Government (in particular the Refugee Services Unit) to identify these and to initiate gender-sensitive programmes that would improve the general well-being of the elderly in the camps. It was envisaged that identifying these problems by gender would also help the authorities to gain a deeper understanding of the differential vulnerability factor as affected by gender. The results of the cross-tabulation between types of problems and gender are presented in Table 7.8.

Many studies have been carried out to illustrate the influence of emergency assistance upon camp refugees and the differential impact this has according to the gender of the beneficiaries.

The following have been among the most useful: Spring (1982) in relation to Angolan refugees in Zambia; Harrel-Bond (1986) in regard to Ugandan refugees in South Sudan; Moussa (1990) in discussing the situation of Eritrean and Ethiopian women; Makhanya (1990), Munyai (1990) and Chigudu (1990) in relation to Mozambicans in Zimbabwe.

The nature of the problems experienced by the elderly refugees resulted from their economic and psychosocial vulnerability, as well as some related to their position in society in the case of elderly women. In general, as presented in Table 7.7, elderly women experienced more problems during their stay in the camps than did elderly men. However, 81.0% elderly men cited "lack of money" as their major problem compared to 43.0% women. Overall, those who continuously experienced this problem represented the majority (56.4%) of the entire sample. Without cash in hand, the elderly refugees were unable to make choices in terms of being able to purchase whatever goods they most needed. This aspect was pointed out by the elderly as the most important aspect of their economic vulnerability.

The second most important problem was also related to economics. Approximately 17% of the entire sample reported that they lacked the bare necessities for their survival. They cited, for example, "lack of decent clothing, lack of utensils (pots, plates, spoons and buckets), lack of soap and their traditional cloth:. And an overwhelming majority in this group were women (82.0%). Elderly men also needed these items on a daily basis. However, due to the sexual division of labour found in the camps as was in the villages, it was the elderly women who are most likely to wash the children and family laundry. It was the women who needed the buckets to fetch water and it was also the women who needed the pots, pans and plates in order to cook and serve their families. These and other facts may explain why the need was greater among the elderly women.

The third major problem experienced by the elderly was related to their psychosocial vulnerability during their stay in the camps. Nearly seven percent of the entire sample reported the following problems: "loneliness, longing for home, loss of loved ones and disrespect from camp staff". Elderly women accounted for the majority of those who encountered these problems. In addition, this group of women were mostly widows.

Table 7.7

Types of Problems Experienced by Gender

Problem	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Lack of money	169 * 81.25%	168 43.19%	337	56.4
Lack of decent clothing; utensils, blankets; soap; traditional cloth	18 8.64%	83 21.34%	101	16.9
Loneliness; longing for home; loss of loved ones; disrespect from camp staff	5 2.40%	36 9.25%	41	6.9
Lack of tools	0	35 8.10%	35	5.9
Lack of relish	11 5.29%	19 4.89%	30	5.0
Lack of sewing machines; accreditation	0	18 4.63%	18	3.0
Lack of land, seeds, water, firewood	2 0.96%	14 3.60%	16	2.7
Feeling sick always, dental problems	0	11 2.83%	11	1.8
Lack of shelter	3 1.44%	4 1.03%	7	1.2
Husband polygamous	0	1 0.26%	1	0.2
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 95.44730	DF: 9		Significance: 0.0000	

* column percentages

Although this group was not significantly large in terms of percentages, the types of problems and the interaction between these problems presented an area of serious psychological concerns among the elderly. These features were also noticeable in discussions with other refugees in the camps.

An almost equal proportion of the refugees complained of "lack of agricultural, building and tin-smithing tools", as well as "lack of relish" in the form of green vegetables, salt and meat. Whereas the elderly men were the ones trained in tin-smithing and building, or had brought these skills along with them into exile, it was the elderly women who voiced the problems of lacking the tools to practice the skills in order to earn some income for their families. It was only the women who voiced this deficiency and none of the elderly men. Some of these elderly men had indicated that they had asked for these tools repeatedly and had grown tired of asking for something that was not forthcoming. The elderly women however, had not given up on voicing their needs.

As far as food is concerned, both elderly women and men had clearly stated that, on a per capita basis, their rations were inadequate. They also mentioned that their rations were monotonous and often stale. Among this group also, women were represented in greater proportions than men. Given the traditional sexual division of labour, it is the women who grow the food, prepare and serve it. It was also the women who were in many cases actively engaged in, for example, bartering tins of canned fish with refugees, or even local people, in exchange for fresh meat and vegetables. They always stated that the children needed to eat green vegetables. They also mentioned that, whenever possible, some received green vegetables from the HelpAge communal garden, but that these were inadequate, since the number of elderly refugees who were being cared for was too large. In order to cope with this situation, many of them felt it was their responsibility to devise innovative means to acquire leafy vegetables for their households. It was also the women who primarily experienced the lack of land, seeds, water and firewood.

Women were the only respondents who reported about their health-related problems. In addition, among those who experienced a "lack of sewing machines and accreditation of skills", as well as having family problems, elderly men were not represented at all.

The results of cross-tabulation between types and problems and gender revealed a strong relationship between the two variables. Clearly, elderly women were the ones most likely to report on problems in the refugee camps than men.

The final step in testing this hypothesis was to establish whether an association existed between the types of problems experienced by the elderly refugees and their age. The results of the cross-tabulation between type of problem and age is presented in Table 7.8. Whereas the types of problems experienced by the elderly in the camps were featured among all age groups, it would seem that most of the clustering prevailed within the first two age groups, that is, the groups of elderly between fifty-one and seventy years. For example, among those who had stated lack of money as a major problem, 72.8% were between fifty-one and seventy years old. Similarly, among those who reported lacking basic needs such as clothing, utensils, soap and the traditional cloth, more than 74.0% percent of these were fifty-one and seventy years old.

Even among those who reported having psychosocial problems (loneliness, longing for home, loss of loved ones, disrespect from camp staff), more than 80.0% out of a total of 41 belonged to the younger elderly group. It is safe to conclude that, whereas all the elderly refugees experienced a variety of problems during their residence in the three camps, a pattern evolved in relation to the types of problems and the age group experiencing them. It would seem then that most if not all the problems cited had a greater impact for those elderly persons between fifty-one and seventy years.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that, although age had some effect on the types of problems that were experienced by the elderly refugees in the three camps, there is no statistical significance between the types of problems and age (0.533). When taking into consideration the sum total of the cross-tabulation results of the level of general well-being by gender and by marital status, as well as the types of problems experienced by gender, it would appear that the second hypothesis has been partially supported.

Table 7.8

Types of Problems by Age Groups

Problem	51 - 60	61 - 70	71 - 80	81 yrs. +	Total	Percent
Lack of money	127 50.80%	119 59.80%	53 57.60%	39 68.42%	338	56.5
Lack of decent clothing, utensils	40 16.08%	35 17.60%	18 19.60%	8 14.03%	101	16.9
Loneliness, longing for home	23 9.20%	11 5.53%	6 6.52%	1 1.75%	41	6.9
Lack of tools	16 6.40%	8 4.20%	7 7.61%	4 7.01%	35	5.9
Lack of relish	14 5.60%	10 5.02%	4 4.39%	2 3.50%	30	5.0
Lack of sewing machines	11 4.40%	4 2.01%	2 2.17%	1 1.75%	18	3.0
Lack of land, seeds, water	10 4.00%	4 2.01%	0	2 3.51%	16	2.7
Feeling sick always	5 2.00%	6 3.01%	0	0	11	1.8
Husband polygamous	1 0.40%	0	0	0	1	0.2
Total	**250**	**199**	**92**	**57**	**598**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 25.72952		DF: 27		Significance: 0.5330		

* column percentages

Psychosocial Vulnerability

The third hypothesis posited that, **the presence of social support for the elderly refugees in the camps is positively associated to their psychosocial well-being.**

In terms of coping with disaster, it has been observed that the level of social cohesion among families and communities, and the willingness, conviction or ability to organize collectively in order to confront common problems related to socio-economic and psychosocial development are of fundamental importance (Lavell, 1991:19). However, in those families and communities where the social cohesion has been disrupted by the impact of war, destabilisation and drought, it is often the case that the psychosocial well-being of those individuals and families becomes affected by the different types of relationships they develop with others. For example, in refugee camps often the traditional family structure as known in the villages back home no longer exists.

These support systems are often replaced by new relationships between the elderly, other refugees, camp staff, local NGO staff, and even with local people.

Table 7.9

Level of General Well-being by Children in Household

Response	No children	1 - 3 children	4 - 9 children	10 or more children	Total	Percent
Yes	91 25.00%	160 43.00%	83 22.00%	36 10.00%	370	62.0
No	27 12.00%	92 41.00%	75 33.00%	33 14.00%	227	38.0
Total	**118**	**252**	**158**	**69**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 20.52103			DF: 3	Significance: 0.0000		

In order to test this hypothesis in this context, there was need to establish the nature of the relationship between the following: first, presence of kin (children in the household; relatives in camp and the presence of a spouse) in the camp and the level of general well-being of the elderly. Second, to determine the relationship of the elderly to others in the camp (other refugees; camp staff; staff from local agencies and local people) and its impact upon the psychosocial well-being of elderly refugees.

In order to establish whether the presence of kin in the camps had any impact on the psychosocial well-being of the elderly surveyed, "children in household" was cross-tabulation are presented in Table 7.9. The data reveal that 38.0% percent of the entire sample registered no increase in their general well-being accounted for the presence of their children. Within this group, 53.00% had three children or less living with them. On the other hand, whereas 62.00% of the entire sample reported some improvement in the level of their general well-being, 68.00% of these had three children or less living with them. In the group that responded positively, it would seem that the level of well-being increased for those with one to three children, then began to decrease as the number of children increased, and was low for those with ten or more children.

Table 7.10

Relatives living in camp and elsewhere in Zimbabwe by Level of General Well-being

	Well-being Improved		Total	
Relatives	**No**	**Yes**	**Frequency**	**Percent of Sample**
Yes	155 69.00%	248 67.00%	403	67.6
No	71 31.00%	122 33.00%	193	32.4
Total	**226**	**370**	**596**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 0.15534		DF: 1	Significance: 0.6930	

* column percentages

It would seem that the more the number of children increased, the lesser the general well-being of the elderly became. There seems to be a strong relationship between children in household and the general well-being of the elderly in the camps, and this association is statistically significant (.000).

Next it was important to establish whether the presence of relatives in the camps contributed to the general well-being of the elderly. Results of the cross-tabulation between general well-being and relatives living in camps are presented in Table 7.10.

More than sixty percent of the sample had relatives living with them in the camp or elsewhere in Zimbabwe, in contrast to slightly above thirty-two percent who did not. Having relatives in the camp, however, did not contribute to the general well-being of the respondents, as there was no significant difference in the proportion of those reporting improved well-being and those reporting otherwise.

This situation could be partially explained by the fact that in general, all refugees in camps face more or less the same difficulties. Some of these are: lack of employment, inadequate food supplies, lack of utensils and other basic necessities of life. Whereas emotionally the presence of relatives in the camps in rewarding, at the material level however, everyone faces similar conditions of poverty. Under such circumstances, there is often very little that relatives can do to help out and consequently the traditional phenomenon of mutual support is greatly diminished.

Table 7.11
Presence of Spouse by General Well-being

	Improved general well-being		Total	
Spouse present	**No**	**Yes**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Yes	132	141	273	79.8
	86.27%	74.60%		
No	21	48	69	20.2
	13.73%	25.40%		
Total	**153**	**189**	**342**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 7.15169		DF: 1	Significance: 0.0070	

* column percentages

The final aspect to consider in the contribution of the presence of kin to the general and psychosocial well-being of elderly refugees was the presence of a spouse. Not all elderly refugees were eligible for this question, only those who had stated that they were married and lived with their spouses were considered in this case. The results of the cross-tabulation between the presence of a spouse and its contribution to the well-being of other partner are presented in Table 7.11. The data shows that of those elderly refugees whose well-being did not improve, 86% had their spouses living with them. Of those whose well-being increased, only in 75% of the cases were the spouses present. In the case of those elderly whose spouses were absent either because they were somewhere in Mozambique, or in South Africa, or lived with the second or third wife (in the case of polygamous marriages), it would seem that the absence of the other spouse meant less emotional support. This situation may have further decreased their level of emotional well-being. The absence of a spouse has a positive relationship with the general and emotional well-being of the other in the camp situation.

The second part of the hypothesis dealt with the contribution of relationships with others to the psychosocial well-being of elderly refugees in the three camps. A scale ranging from one to five was used to measure the range of the relationship, with one being poor, two being satisfactory, three being good, four very good and five representing an excellent relationship. The results of the cross-tabulation between level of general well-being and relationship with other refugees is presented in Table 7.12.

Among the elderly who had reported some improvement in their general well-being, 57% stated that they had "good" relationships with other refugees in their respective camp. Whereas among those who had not registered any improvement in their general well-being in the camps, also more elderly in this group (47%) reportedly enjoyed "good" relationships with other refugees. From the data presented, it would seem that "good" relationships with other refugees is positively related with the general well-being of elderly refugees. This relationship is also statistically significant (0.000). However, 27.00% of the respondents in the entire sample had reported that they had "poor" relationships with other refugees in the camps.

Table 7.12

Level of General Well-being by Relationship with other Refugees

	Poor	**Satisfactory**	**Good**	**Very Good**	**Excellent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Yes	56	50	213	38	13	370	62.2
	15.14%	1.35%	57.55%	10.30%	3.50%		
No	103	9	105	7	1	225	37.8
	45.00	4.00%	47.00%	3.00%	1.00%		
Total	**159**	**59**	**318**	**45**	**14**	**595**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 80.12765			DF: 4		Significance: 0.0000		

Staff from Government departments and local agencies residing and working with refugees in the camps often enter into different kinds of relationships with them. Evidently, because of their economic status and social standing the staff persons are invariably in powerful positions compared to the refugees. Most of these people are generally supportive towards the plight of the refugees, but there were also people from Government departments and local agencies in the camps who behaved in a paternalistic manner towards the refugees, especially the elderly ones. Those who behaved this manner generally belong to the non-progressive group which largely views refugees as "objects of pity". Whereas those members of staff among local and international agencies, as well as in Government departments who were progressive in their attitudes, have in many cases

tried to acknowledge both the capacities as well as vulnerabilities of refugees. This group has over the years perceived refugees as displaced persons who nevertheless can still be assisted to become active agents in their own development.

Table 7.13 outlines the results of the cross-tabulation between level of general well-being and relationship with camp staff. In this study, camp staff refers primarily to the Social Workers and Clerks as well as clinic staff, all of whom represent various Government departments in the camp administration.

Table 7.13

Level of General Well-being by Relationship with Camp Staff

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good	Excellent	Total	Percent
Yes	14	17	211	69	6	370	62.0
	4.00%	19.00%	57.00%	18.00%	2.00%		
No	28	79	102	17	1	227	38.0
	12.00 %	35.00%	45.00%	7.50%	0.50%		
Total	**42**	**250**	**313**	**86**	**7**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 46.60297			DF: 4		Significance: 0.0000		

The majority (57%) among the elderly had noted that they had "good" relationships with camp staff. This group had initially reported that their general well-being had somewhat improved since entering the camp due to an increased feeling of security. In this group, an equal proportion had reported that their relationships with camp staff were either "satisfactory" (19.00%), on the one hand, or "very good" (18.00%) on the other.

Among those who had reported that their general well-being had not improved in the camps, about forty five percent mentioned that they nevertheless had "good" relationships with camp staff. It is important to highlight that seven percent of the entire sample did mention that their relationship with camp staff was "poor". Some of the elderly in this group had previously complained of the lack of respect displayed towards them by younger clerks in the CA's office. Only 14% of the surveyed elderly reported to have "very good" relationships with camp staff. The proportion of those who reported an

excellent relationship with camp staff was negligible. The relationship with camp staff and particularly their attitudes and overt behaviour towards the elderly did show a positive association with the general well-being of the latter. The relationship was also statistically significant (0.000).

Besides the camp staff, elderly refugees also interacted with staff members from local agencies. For assisting the elderly and refugees with disabilities, HelpAge Refugee Programme was the lead agency in the five camps since 1988. Hence, in this specific context, reference to local agencies refers to Social Workers, Rehabilitation Technicians and Community Development Workers who were employed by this agency. All these officials resided in the camps alongside refugees. However, they lived in comfortable durable houses, had a regular monthly salary and three relatively good meals daily. Nevertheless, in all three camps visited, the majority of these workers showed great compassion and respect towards the refugee population comprising the elderly and people with disabilities.

Table 7.14 shows the results of the cross-tabulation between relationship with people from local agencies and the level of general well-being of the elderly in the three camps. The majority (54%) among those whose well-being had improved had "good relationships" with local NGO staff members, and 27% reported "very good" relationships. A greater proportion (44%) of those whose well-being did not improve also reported to have "good" relationships with local NGO staff, with only 13% having "very good" relationships. On the other hand, 35% of those whose emotional well-being did not improve had "satisfactory" relationships with the local staff.

Table 7.14
Level of General Well-being by Relationship with People from Local Agencies

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good	Excellent	Total	Percent
Yes	6	58	198	99	9	370	62.0
	1.60%	15.00%	54.00%	27.00%	2.40%		
No	15	79	100	30	2	227	38.0
	7.00%	35.00%	44.00%	13.00	1.00%		
Total	**21**	**137**	**298**	**129**	**11**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 50.29880			DF: 5			Significance: 0.000	

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the depressed socio-economic conditions in the rural areas often affect the general well-being of both the local people and the refugees who settled among them (Kibreab, 1985, 1987, 1990; Harrell-Bond, 1986). To some degree, scheme and camp-settled refugees are somewhat cushioned from the devastating effects of material deprivation, for the simple reason that they receive international emergency assistance, like the WFP supplied food aid. Their counterparts in the local villages surrounding the camps do not receive any international assistance.

In order to reduce the possibility of tensions and feuds among the locals and camp refugees, the UNHCR, host Governments and other agencies have proposed and sometimes implemented the principle of local parity. Where local parity is practised, it means that the camp-settled refugees and the local people should enjoy a more or less similar level of livelihood. Whether this principle is adhered to strictly or not, in many countries, refugees and local people have over the years developed independent relationships with one another. These relationships have been developed primarily in the area of trading goods through a system of mutually agreed bartering rules (Kibreab, 1987; Munyai, 1990; Callamard, 1994). This was also the case in Tongogara, Mazowe River Bridge and Chambuta camps in Zimbabwe.

In order to purchase other essential commodities which the assistance programme did not provide, refugees entered into trading arrangements with locals, often trading some of their food rations in exchange for fresh vegetables, goat meat and soap (Munyai, 1990; Chokuwenga; 1993; Motsisi, 1995). Although not actively encouraged, even some of the camp staff benefited from these interactions. These trading relationships often helped to offset the tensions which arose from seeking water and woodfuel sources from a common and often depleted resource base.

Table 7.15 outlines the results of the cross-tabulation between level of general well-being by relationship with local people.

According to the results shown in Table 7.15, first, the majority of elderly refugees (48%), whether they had perceived their overall circumstances in the camps to have improved or not, reported that they had "good" relationships with local people.

Second, unlike in the relationships with either camp staff, or other refugees or with people from local agencies, 19.4% of the entire sample of the elderly reported that their relationships with local people were "excellent", and 23% of the whole sample enjoyed "very good" relationships with local people. These findings suggest that a positive association exists between the general well-being of elderly refugees and their relationship with local people. As this relationship grows positively, so does the likelihood increase in the improvement of the emotional well-being of elderly refugees.

Table 7.15

Level of General Well-being by Relationship with Local People

	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good	Excellent	Total	Percent
Yes	2	37	178	101	52	370	62.0
	0.54%	10.00%	48.11%	27.30%	14.05%		
No	5	15	108	35	64	227	38.0
	2.20%	6.60%	48.00%	15.00%	28.20%		
Total	7	**52**	**286**	**136**	**116**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 28.37198				DF: 4	Significance: 0.0000		

In conclusion, it is clear from the data presented that the improving state of the overall situation of the elderly refugees in the camps in also affected by the different types of relationships they develop with the various groups of people over a period of time. When these relationships are positive, this tends to improve the general well-being of the elderly. Inversely, when the elderly experienced difficult relationships with others in the camps, this situation tended to impact negatively on their emotional status and general well-being.

The evidence provided leads to the conclusion that, due to the lack of traditional social support mechanisms for elderly refugees in the camps, their psychosocial well-being becomes dependent upon the kinds of relationships they develop with others in that environment. The evidence supports the hypothesis.

Economic Vulnerability

The existence of a close relationship between poverty levels and human vulnerability to disasters has been widely acknowledged. In fact, poverty is the single most important factor in characterizing the more vulnerable sectors of the population to disasters (Lavell, 1991; Winchester, 1992).

According to Lavell (1991), the situation unfolds primarily because the economic status of a family in many ways determines their location. Inversely also, the place where a household lives is one of the key factors in shaping their economic well-being (Winchester, 1992:132). In addition, the economic status of a household also determines under what material conditions the family lives, and also their capacity to reduce their vulnerability to disasters.

It should not be forgotton that, when the elderly refugees were asked, "what do you consider to be the principal problem that you and your family experience in the camp", the majority of the elderly men (81.25%) and women (43.19%) had unanimously cited "lack of money" as the principal burden. The combined total of elderly women and men who felt the need for having cash at hand was 56.4% of the entire sample. For these elderly refugees, the lack of money meant lack of choices to purchase a variety of goods that they needed. This lack of choice was a clear indication of their extreme economic vulnerability and powerlessness in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe. Similar situations of refugees who were experiencing economic vulnerability in other camps in Africa have been cited elsewhere (Keen, 1992).

The fourth hypothesis stated that, **the lack of income and employment encountered by elderly refugees in the camps affects their economic well-being in exile**. The variables selected in order to amplify this settlement are the following: type of employment in Mozambique, employment in camp by gender and employment in camp by type of work done previously in Mozambique. First, by determining the various occupational background of the elderly, it is anticipated that information about their different skills would be highlighted. These are the skills which they had brought with them to exile.

Lack of employment during their residence in camps meant that these skills were prone to deterioration, but also, that their capacities were being ignored.

Second, a cross-tabulation of employment in camp by gender would indicate whether any linear relationship exists between current employment and gender, and the statistical significance of this association. Third, it is necessary to determine whether any significant association existed between current employment in the camp and previous type of work done in Mozambique. This would explain whether the elderly experienced any occupational deflection.

Table 7.16 shows the different job categories of the elderly during the pre-disaster phase in Mozambique. As could be expected, an overwhelming majority of the elderly (70.9%) were subsistence farmers in Mozambique, prior to their displacement. They cultivated their own fields from which they drew a livelihood. When asked whether they coped with their produce or the sales of some of their crops in the market, the majority had responded that they were able to live on the fruits of their hard work. That was the order of things then.

Table 7.16

Type of Work done previously in Mozambique

Job Category *	Frequency	Percent
Subsistence Farmer	423	70.9
Migrant Workers +	113	18.9
Artisans #	59	9.9
Domestic Worker	2	0.3
Total	**597**	**100.0**

Notes:

* The total number of job categories cited were 23. These were collapsed into the four major groups: subsistence farmers, migrant workers, artisans and finally domestic workers.

\+ Migrant workers included the following: people who were formerly employed as migrant labour in South Africa, such as mine workers (the majority), hotel waiters and waitresses, drivers, policemen and security guards.

\# Artisans included the following: tinsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, electricians, shoemakers, builders, sewing and tailoring specialists and basket weavers.

The next largest group were previously employed as migrant labour (18.9%) in South Africa, working in different capacities in the mining industry and within the public service. These migrant workers and a host of others outside the given sample were responsible for remitting large sums of foreign currency to their respective families in Mozambique, which boosted the local and national economy of the country for decades.

Although not very many, there was a considerable proportion of artisans (9.9%) of the elderly in the sample. In the refugee camps, many of these artisans derived their livelihoods by practising their skills independently for either the individual local agency staff or other refugees in return for minimal cash, and mostly food, bars of soap, or other essentials. These skills were their major outlets for gaining some degree of independent livelihoods outside the formal assistance programme.

The elderly who participated in the survey were also asked whether they were employed in the camps or not. This information was cross-tabulated by gender and the results are presented in Table 7.17. Elderly men appeared in greater proportions (72%) among the unemployed compared to the elderly women (64%). Among those elderly who had some work opportunity in the camps, the women (36%) appeared to have slightly more opportunities than the men (28%). Some of those elderly persons who responded positively noted that they were self-employed in their artisan skills. They also mentioned that these skills were not recognized by the authorities, and thus they could not perform them formally. However, from time to time, the camp staff and other refugees sought their services, for example, as electricians, blacksmiths, tinsmiths and hair cutters.

Table 7.17

Employment in Camp by Gender

Employed	Male	Female	Total Number	Percent
Yes	59	139	198	33.2
	28.00% *	36.00%		
No	149	250	399	66.8
	72.00%	64.00%		
Total	**208**	**389**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 3.318		DF: 1	Significance: 0.0680	

* column percentages

They also stated that they offered their labour mostly in return for payment in kind. In the majority of cases, they would receive other food stuffs, such as fresh meat, peanut butter, eggs, and for the men, also cigarettes. Since theirs was a great need for cash to buy these goods, where payment in cash was not possible, they exchanged their labour for payment in kind. Less than twenty percent of those who were subsistence farmers were occasionally employed by HelpAge and other agencies in the various communal gardening projects. The majority, however, were retrained in other skills-training projects.

It seemed important also to determine whether any relationship existed between employment in camp and the type of work done previously in Mozambique. Answers to this question would explain whether aid agencies did or did not take into account the skills that refugees brought along with them, when they designed the skills-training projects. Table 7.18 shows the cross-tabulation between employment in camp by work done in Mozambique.

Table 7.18

Employment in Camp by Type of Work done in Mozambique

Employed	Subsistence Farmer	Migrant Workers	Artisans	Domestic Workers	Total	Percent
Yes	184	5	7	1	197	33.0
	93.00%	2.00%	4.50%	0.50%		
No	243	106	50	1	400	67.0
	60.00%	27.00%	12.90%	0.10%		
Total	**427**	**111**	**57**	**2**	**597**	**100.0**
Chi-Square: 367.87488			DF: 8	Significance: 0.0000		

Employment in the refugee camps was related to the type of work done in Mozambique, but this situation affected only thirty-three percent of the entire sample. Within this group, the majority were subsistence farmers (93%). Artisans comprised only seven percent and migrant workers only two percent. Sixty seven percent of the entire sample were unemployed, and within this group, 60% were subsistence farmers, 27% migrant workers and 13% artisans. As for the migrant workers and artisans, in general, their skills did not find any recognition in the camps.

The occupational skills which the elderly refugees, particularly the men, had brought with them into exile, for example, artisans and migrant labour workforce, were not put to good use in the formal camp system. This does indicate that the elderly refugees in general, and some elderly men in particular, did experience occupational deflection. Instead, in their continuous search for independent survival, they offered their labour to individuals and other interested parties to perform specific tasks upon mutually agreed terms. The agricultural type of workers were more likely to get occasional employment in the camps than were the former migrant workers or artisans.

The evidence provided in the foregoing discussion which focused on the economic vulnerability of the elderly refugees in the camps clearly supports the hypothesis which stated that, the lack of income and employment encountered by elderly refugees in the camps affects their economic adaptation in exile.

Data and Method: The Logistic Regression Analysis

Multiple regression analysis and discriminant analysis are two related techniques that can be used to predict for various statistical relationships between a dependent variable and independent ones. However, these techniques pose difficulties when the dependent variable can have only two values, that is, an event occurring or not occurring (Norusis, 1990:45). The logistic regression model is used in this study because it required fewer assumptions than discriminant analysis. In logistic regression, the relationship between the independent variable and the probability is non-linear (Norusis, 1990:46). Thus, the parameters of the model are estimated using the maximum-likelihood method. This means that, the coefficients that most likely matches the observed data are selected. Since the logistic regression is non-linear, an iterative algorithm is necessary for parameter estimations (Norusis, 1990:47).

In the construction of a possible model that describes the major independent variables explaining the general well-being of elderly refugees in the camps, it is necessary to analyze these variables beyond the cross-tabulations that were done earlier in this chapter.

The cross-tabulations of data in the preceding sections are "zero-order" differences whose computation resulted without controlling other variables (Haque, 1988:320). It is therefore, necessary to perform a multivariate analysis for the simultaneous evaluation of different possible explanations (Halli, 1988:16; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981:359-390).

In this study, the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps was found to be influenced by several factors. These factors are: gender, age, marital status, duration in camp, level of education, number of children in household, health status, relationship with other refugees, relationship with camp staff, relationship with local NGO staff, and finally, relationship with local people. It is possible however, that some other variables may contribute to the explanation of variation in the overall well-being of elderly refugees in camps. For example, if data were available for the net income per household, this information may likely have played a significant role in explaining variation in the economic well-being of elderly camp refugees. In this study, concentration is only on the principal variables available in the data set. The model is not an exhaustive one, rather it is limited to explaining a significant portion of the variance in the depend variable (i.e. general well-being).

In logistic regression, the probability of an event occurring in the case of more than one independent variable can be written in the following form:

$$\text{Probability (event)} = \frac{e^z}{1 + e^z} \quad \text{..... (equation 7.1)}$$

In this equation, e = event; z = is the linear combination of independent variables (Norusis, 1940:46). Thus, for this study, the variables contributing to the well-being of elderly refugees in camps occurring may be written as:

$$Z=B_0+B_iX_i+B_{ii}X_{ii}+B_{iii}X_{iii} + \ldots B_pX_p \quad \text{..... (equation 7.2)}$$

or

$$Z = B_0+B_1SEX_i+B_2M/Sts_i+B_3AGE_i+B_4DUR_i+B_4DUR_i+B_5CHD_i+ B_6H/Sts_i+B_7EDUC_i+B_8RwR_i+B_9RwCS_i+B_{10}RwLP_i+ B_{11}PST_i \quad \text{.....(equation 7.3)}$$

where

Z = well-being of elderly refugees ..... Independent variable

B_0 = constant

B_1SEX_i = gender of the elderly refugee;

B_2M/Sts_{ii} = marital status of elderly refugee;

B_3AGE_{iii} = age of elderly refugee (in years);

B_4DUR_{iv} = length of duration in camp (in years);

B_5CHD_v = number of children in household;

B_6Hsts_{vi} = health status of elderly refugee (sick/with disability or not sick)

B_7EDUC_{vii} = level of achieved educational status;

B_8RwR_{viii} = relationship with other refugees (whether good or bad);

B_9RwCS_{ix} = relationship with camp staff (whether good or bad);

$B_{10}RwLS_x$ = relationship with local NGO staff (whether good or bad);

$B_{11}RwLP_{xi}$ = relationship with local people (whether good or bad);

$B_{12}PST_{xii}$ = participation in skills training projects (positive or negative);

Chapter Three described how the primary data for this analysis were obtained by field surveys in the study areas. It was also explained that the sample size was a total set of 598 households. Stratified random sampling was used with proportional allocation according to the population size of the strata. Thus, 216 sampled households came from Tongogara camp, 181 from Mazowe River Bridge and 105 from Chambuta. Whereas the aggregate figure comes to 606 households, data analysis was restricted to 598. The remaining eight questionnaires were not adequately completed and were thus excluded from the analysis.

The elderly members of these households provided data in relation to the status of their general well-being. In addition, specific information was gathered on the following data: their gender, marital status, age, length of duration in camp, number of children in the household, health status, educational status, relationship with other refugees, relationship with camp staff, relationship with local NGO staff, relationship with local people, and finally, participation in skills-training projects within the camps.

Logistic Regression Analysis and the Selected Model

There are several ways to assess whether or not the model fits the data. One of the reliable ways is to use the "goodness of fit" of the model (Norusis, 1990:50). This simply means that, to assess how well the selected model fits, a comparison between the predictions and observed outcomes are made.

From Table 7.19, 127 elderly refugees who reported that their well-being had not improved since entering the camps were correctly predicted. Similarly, 307 elderly refugees with positive well-being were correctly predicted to have improved well-being since entering the camps. The off-diagonal entries of the table tell how many of the elderly refugees were incorrectly classified. Thus, a total of 159 elderly refugees were misclassified, and of these, 97 were without improved well-being and 62 with improved well-being. In the final analysis, 56.70 percent of the elderly refugees without improved well-being were correctly classified. Of the elderly refugees with improved well-being, 83.20 percent were correctly classified. Overall, 73.19 percent of the 593 elderly refugees were correctly classified. From the total of 598 elderly refugees, five cases were rejected in the analysis because of missing data.

Table 7.19

Classification Table: Logistic Regression Well-being of Elderly with Sex, Marital Status, Age, Duration in Camp, Number of Children, Health Status, Education, Relationships with other Refugees, Camp Staff, Local NGO Staff, Local People and Participation in Skills-training Projects

	Predicted		
	NO	**YES**	
Observed	N	Y	**Percent Correct**
No	127	97	56.70%
Yes	62	307	83.20%
		Overall:	**73.19%**

Table 7.20 represents the analysis of all the independent variables in the equation. The table contains estimates coefficients under column B and related statistics for the logistic model that predicts the well-being of elderly refugees from a constant and the twelve independent variables. In this study, the dependent variable (well-being of elderly refugees) is dichotomous, with 1 representing a status of improved well-being and 0 representing a status of declined well-being.

From Table 20, it appears that 73.19 percent of variance in the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps is explained by the combined effect of the independent variables. This model is therefore reasonable. The model is also fully supported by the Chi-Square statistic of 134.769 which is significant at the 0.0000 level.

After controlling for other independent variables, the individual effects of the independent variables as represented by the corresponding slopes upon the dependent variable are in the expected direction. Whereas the contribution of individual variables is difficult to determine in logistic regression, it is however, important to note that the contribution of each independent variable depends on the other variables in the model (Norusis, 1990:48). A statistic that is used to look at partial correlation between the dependent variable and each of the independent variables is the R statistic which is shown under column R of Table 7.20. The value of R can range from minus one to plus one. A positive value indicates that, as the variable increases in value so does the likelihood of the event occurring. On the contrary, if R is negative, the opposite is true. In general, small R values indicate that the particular variable has a small contribution to the model (Norusis, 1990:49). The logistic model can be rewritten in terms of the odds of an event occurring, and the logistic coefficient can be interpreted as the change in the log odds associated with a one-unit change in the independent variable (Norusis, 1990:49).

In terms of the effect of independent variables on the dependent variable, Table 7.20 shows that out of the twelve independent variables, four appear to contribute significantly to the variation in the well-being of elderly refugees in camps. These variables are in order of significance, gender, participation in skill-training projects, relationship with camp staff and finally relationship with other refugees. These shall be dealt with individually.

Gender appears to be the most significant predictor of the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps. In Table 7.20, the coefficient for gender is 1.1215. This indicates that, when the relationship changes from 0 to 1, and the values of the other independent variables remain the same, the log odds of the well-being of elderly refugees is increased by 1.12. This is further substantiated by the level of significance (0.0000), and the value of the corresponding R statistic (0.1609), which is the highest among the four independent variables. This finding supported the second hypothesis which stated that, a significant relationship exists between the problems of elderly refugees in the camps and their gender. It will be recalled that earlier in this chapter under Table 7.7, it was clear from the data presented that elderly women experienced more problems during their stay in the camps than did the elderly men. This finding also corroborates the finding of an earlier study carried out among elderly women in Tongogara camp, which stated that, whilst the elderly as a specific group encountered several problems, it was clear that the elderly women were more vulnerable within this group (Munyai, 1990:25).

The next important predictor of well-being among the elderly in the refugee camps is their participation in skills-training projects. The coefficient for participation in skills-training projects is 1.7843. In a similar fashion, this indicates that, when the relationship changes from 0 to 1, and the values of the other independent variables are kept constant, the log odds of the well-being of elderly refugees is increased by 1.78. This relationship is further substantiated by the level of significance (0.0000), and a corresponding R value of 0.1603, which is the second highest among the four independent variables. This finding supported the first hypothesis which stated that a positive relationship existed between participation in skills-training projects and the general well-being of elderly refugee in camps. In spite of not having gained financially from the project activities, these elderly refugees were nevertheless engaged in some productive activity which had an income-generating potential for the future.

Relationship with camp staff appears to be the third important variable which accounts to variation in the well-being of elderly refugees. On the one hand, when this relationship is positive, the probability of the increased well-being of elderly refugees is increased.

On the other hand, when the relationship is negative, the well-being of this population is positive, the probability of the increased well-being of elderly refugees is increased. On the other hand, when the relationship is negative, the well-being of this population group is bound to decline. In Table 7.20, the coefficient of relationship with camp staff is 0.4959, or when rounded off, 0.50. This indicates that, when the relationship with camp staff changes from zero to one, and the values of the other variables remain constant, the probability of the well-being of elderly refugees is increased by 0.50. The significance of this variable is as the 0.0050 level, and the R statistic is 0.0865, the third highest among the four significant independent variables. In the cross-tabulation between level of well-being of elderly refugees and their relationship with camp staff, 57 percent of the entire sample had noted that their relationship with camp staff was "good". Due to the absence of traditional support systems in the camps, the elderly and other refugees try to maintain healthy relationships with the authorities because their livelihoods partly depend on this. These "good" relationships are thus important in increasing the level of well-being of elderly refugees.

The last independent variable that causes significant variation in the well-being of elderly refugees in camps is their relationship with other refugees. According to Table 7.20, the coefficient for relationship with other refugees is 0.3451. This shows that, when all other independent variables are kept constant, and the relationship with other refugees moves from zero to one, the probability of the well-being of elderly refugees is increased by 0.34. This independent variable is significant at the 0.0148 level, and has an R value of 0.0748. In the cross-tabulation between level of well-being by relationship with other refugees, 57% had noted that they had "good" relationships with other refugees. Further, another 10% reported to have "very good" and 3.5% "excellent" relationships with other refugees. These relationships were also statistically significant at the 0.000 level. This finding supports the third hypothesis which stated that, a presence of social support for elderly refugees in the camps is positively related to their psychosocial well-being. Due to lack of the traditional support systems, most refugees tend to rely on the support of relatives and friends within the broader community.

Table 7.20

Logistic Regression Well-being with Sex, Marital Status, Age, Duration in Camp, Number of Children, Health Status, Education, Relationships with Other Refugees, Camp Staff, Local NGO Staff, Local People and Participation in Skills-Training Projects

Independent Variables	B	Level of Significance	Standardized Estimate	R	Chi-Square Statistic	Level of Significance for Chi-Square Statistic
Gender	1.1215	0.0000 *	0.2372	0.1609	134.769	0.0000
Marital Status	0.0849	0.2899	0.0802	0.0000		
Age	-0.0750	0.4733	0.1045	0.0000		
Duration in Camp	0.1095	0.4384	0.1413	0.0000		
Number of Children	-0.1000	0.4189	0.1237	0.0000		
Health Status	0.3565	0.2612	0.3173	0.0000		
Education	-0.1614	0.5484	0.2689	0.0000		
Rel. with other Refugees	0.3451	0.0148 *	0.1416	0.0708		
Rel. with Camp Staff	0.4959	0.0050 *	0.1416	0.0708		
Rel. with Local Staff	-0.0500	0.3231	0.0506	0.0000		
R. with Local People	0.0954	0.3971	0.1127	0.0000		
Participation in train Projects	1.7843	0.0000 *	0.3787	0.1603		
Constant	1.7840	0.1703	1.3009			
-2 Log Likelihood: 651.487				DF: 12		
Model Chi-Square: 134.769				Goodness of Fit: 567.178		

* Significant at the 0.05 or lower level

For example, the protection and support provided by the base leaders, health scouts, relatives and other friends who are also refugees, tend to replace the village structures of traditional support in the camps. These support systems are crucial to the survival of the elderly and other vulnerable groups.

Surprisingly, the remaining demographic variables (age, marital status, duration in camp, number of children in household) appeared to be in significant in causing any variation in the well-being of elderly refugees in camps. In addition, some socio-economic and psychosocial variables (education, health status, relationship with local NGO staff and relationship with local people) also appeared to be insignificant to the well-being of elderly camp refugees.

Perhaps due to the lack of data on household income and wealth, there is therefore, no direct evidence from the multivariate analysis which supports the fourth hypothesis. The fourth hypothesis stated that, the lack of income and employment encountered by elderly refugees in the camps affects their economic well-being. The only evidence which supports this hypothesis is found in the cross-tabulations between employment by gender (Table 7.17), the results showed that elderly women appeared in greater number among unemployed, almost twice the number of men. Finally, in the cross-tabulation between types of problems by gender (Table 7.17), the findings indicated that the nature of the problems encountered by the elderly refugees resulted from their economic and psychosocial vulnerability. In addition, almost an equal number of male and female elderly refugees cited "lack of money" as their major problem.

From Table 7.21, 140 elderly refugees who reported that their well-being had not improved since entering the camps were correctly predicted. Similarly, 298 elderly refugees with positive well-being were correctly predicted to have improved well-being since entering the camps. A total of 157 elderly refugees were misclassified, and of these, 85 were without improved well-being and 72 with improved well-being. In the final analysis, 62.22 percent of the elderly without improved well-being were correctly classified. Among those with improved well-being, 80.54 percent were correctly classified. Overall, 73.61 percent of the 593 elderly refugees were correctly classified.

Table 7.21

Classification Table: Logistic Regression Well-being of Elderly with Sex, Relationships with other Refugees, Camp Staff and Participation in Skills-training Projects

	Predicted		
	NO	YES	
Observed	N	Y	Percent Correct
No	140	85	**62.22%**
Yes	72	298	**80.54%**
			Overall: 73.61%

Table 7.22 represents the analysis of only the four most important predictor variables in the equation, gender, relationship with other refugees, relationship with camp staff and participation in skills-training projects.

Table 7.22

Logistic Regression Well-being with Sex, Relationships with Other Refugees, Camp Staff and Participation in Skills-training Projects

Independent Variables	B	Level of Significance	Standardized Estimate	R	Chi-Square Statistic	Level of Significance for Chi-Square Statistics
Gender	1.2202	0.0000 *	0.2002	0.2111	128.220	0.0000
Relationship with other Refugees	0.3279	0.0127 *	0.1316	0.0731		
Relationship with Camp Staff	0.4917	0.0041 *	0.1714	0.0888		
Participation in training projects	1.7744	0.0000 *	0.3616	0.1673		
Constant	-2.0591	0.0003	0.5699	-0.1673		
-2 Log Likelihood : 660930				DF: 4		
Model Chi-Square: 128.220				Goodness of Fit: 568.175		

* Significance at the 0.05 or lower level

In order to test the goodness of fit for this model, all the insignificant independent variables were removed from this analysis. From Table 7.21, it appears that 73.61 percent of variance in the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps is explained by the combined effect of the four predictor variables. This figure has improved by 0.42 percentage points. This model is therefore adequate. The model is also fully supported by the Chi-Square statistic of 128.220 which is significant at the 0.000 level. After controlling the other independent variables, the individual effects of the independent variables as represented by the corresponding slopes upon the dependent variable are in the expected direction. Gender and participation in skills-training projects remain the most important indicators, followed by relationship with camp staff and relationship with other refugees.

Summary

The purpose of this Chapter was to perform the various cross-tabulations and logistic regression procedures in order to determine the independent variables which caused significant variation in the well-being of refugees in the camps. The different relationships between combinations of several sets of independent variables indicated that, in order to determine the most important independent variables in the equation a multivariate analysis was essential. The choice of a particular multivariate technique for analysis is also important in terms of analysing the type of data in the study. For example in this study, since the dependent variable was dichotomous, the multivariate technique most suitable for this analysis of the categorical type data appeared to be the logistic regression analysis.

CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter has several purposes. First, to present a summary of the major findings of this study, in relation to the identified vulnerability factors discussed in Chapter Two, which impinge upon the quality of life of the elderly women and men refugees in the camps in Africa. Second, the major macro-policy implications for emergency assistance to elderly refugees in general will be discussed. Third, policy directives and proposals for the protection and care of the elderly in camps are proposed with respect to the study area, Zimbabwe, both for consideration by Government ministries involved with the administration of the camps, as well as the NGOs involved in assisting refugees. Finally, several recommendations for future research in refugee-related issues are proposed.

In the light of the discussions in Chapters Two and Four concerning historical processes of underdevelopment and their impact on creating political, social, economic, environmental and institutional vulnerability among colonised populations, it may serve a better purpose to begin this discourse by briefly addressing one of the major root causes of forced migration, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, namely the structural causes of poverty, unemployment and social disintegration and environmental degradation. This brief discussion on the dominant neo-liberal system of global development creates an overall framework for discussing the more specific proposals and recommendations discussed below.

The Dominant Neo-Liberal System as a Model for Development

The Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) popularly known as the World Bank recently celebrated their fifty years of existence. Thus, for 50 years they had an opportunity to effectively influence the economic development policies and programmes in many countries to become more people-oriented.

However, according to many scholars, researchers, policy makers in both government institutions and NGOs, as well as development activists and communities both in the South and North, the dominant neo-liberal system as a universal model for development, has failed.

The current debt burden of dozens of countries is unsustainable, especially in the developing economies, as it is draining them of the resources they need to generate economic and social development. The SAPs imposed by the IMF and the WB have consistently undermined economic and social progress by suppressing wages, underming the contributions and livelihoods of small producers, and placing social services, particularly health care and education, out of the reach of the poor (UNECA, 1991). In dismantling basic services, these programmes have shifted an even greater burden onto women, who care for the nutrition, health and well-being and harmony of the family, as well as community relations (Chitsike, 1992; School of Social Work, 1992). In promoting the rapid exportation of natural resources, deregulating the economy, and pushing increasing numbers of poor people onto marginal lands, adjustment has contributed to the process of ecological degradation (Le Breton, 1994; Jacobsen, 1994).

In addition, this economic system has also resulted in an even greater concentration of economic, political, technological and institutional power and control over food and other critical resources in the hands of a relatively few transnational corporations and financial institutions (Franke and Chasin, 1980; Wijkman and Timberlake, 1986). Many case studies in Africa provide evidence of the adverse impact of SAPs (Chidzonga and Chigudu, 1992; Dufite-Bizimana, 1992; Gettu, 1991; Grobler, 1992; Haji, 1992; Kaseke, 1992; Kasere, 1992; Mokhtar, 1992; Mupedziswa, 1992; Nyanguru, 1992; Okoli, 1992; Oyeh, 1992; Robinson, 1992; Sanders, 1992; Siamwiza, 1992) on quality of life of citizens in general, and the elderly and other vulnerable groups in these countries, by placing growth above all else, including human well-being, by wrecking economies rather than regenerating them, by exploiting women's time, labour and sexuality. This system has also created incentives for capital to externalise social and environmental costs.

It has generated jobless growth, derogated the rights of workers, and undermined the role of trade unions (Loxley, 1994). In the process of being implemented, this economic system has placed a disproportionate burden on women and jeopardises their health and well-being and consequently that of people in their care. Finally, it has led to an unequal distribution in the use of the resources between and within countries (Loxley, 1994) and generated social apartheid, encouraged racism, civil strife and war (Richmond, 1994), and undermined the rights of women and indigenous peoples.

Without the radical transformation of these Bretton Woods institutions, in the long run, there is little hope for any meaningful social development occurring in those countries affected by the SAPs. Unfortunately, the majority of countries in Africa affected SAPs are simultaneously refugee-producing and sending areas. It is also in this light that the contemporary root causes of forced migration in Africa are directly inter-twined with the creation and sustaining of poverty by the policies of these two financial institutions.

Main Research Findings

This section details the major findings in respect of older refugee women and men in the refugee camps in Zimbabwe. Highlighting the historical, political, economic, socio-cultural and psycho-social as well as demographic factors was important, as these illustrated that the vulnerability of elderly refugees in the camps in Zimbabwe is a direct and indirect interplay of these factors in their daily lives. In addition, the adaptation of elderly refugees in camps to their conditions in exile is affected by economic, cultural and psycho-social issues impacting on their lives.

Demographic Issues

The findings indicated that the overwhelming majority of elderly refugees in the camps came from a subsistence farming background. Among the elderly men, however, there was a group of artisans. The majority of the elderly refugees were also functionally illiterate. Due to the over-representation of refugee women in camps, the surveyed population had a significantly higher representation of elderly women than men. The majority of the sampled population were either married or widowed.

The three major ethnic groups represented among this population were the Manica, from Manica Province in Mozambique, second the Ndau from Tete Province, and finally the Shangaan from Gaza Province. The provinces of origin and the large numbers of refugees who fled from those areas indicated that the intensity of war and subsequent drought had impacted those provinces much more than others. The family size varied from three members to over ten. Many of the surveyed elderly had relatives relatives living in the same camp or elsewhere in Zimbabwe. The length of residence in the refugee camps varied between less than one year, with the majority being in the one to five years category.

Economic Issues

The findings indicate that, among other things, Government policy of restricting employment opportunities to the studied population affected their economic well-being in the camps significantly. Among the various problems the elderly refugees cited, "lack of money" was cited as the major problem by an almost equal number of women and men. The lack of employment for the majority meant that they had no cash at hand, and as a result, no capacity to purchase any goods that they needed. This economic vulnerability is one area which illustrated their powerlessness.

More women than men participated in the various skills-training projects. As a result, there were more elderly women who stated that they had learned some useful skills by participating in these projects. However, a significant number of women and men who were formerly engaged as subsistence farmers in Mozambique and participated in the gardening project in the camps, had mentioned that they had learned nothing new. Among the elderly men some were artisans before their displacement. They complained that their skills were not recognised and they could not sustain any livelihoods utilising those skills in the camps. For this group, the skills-training projects were perceived as not being responsive to their capacities. Whereas the skills-training projects had imparted some skills to those who participated in them, it was however, not clear to the elderly how these skills were going to be utilised after repatriation. Neither the HelpAge staff nor the elderly refugees had any information whether any support programmes for reintegration would be available in Mozambique. As a result, many stated that they

would continue to engage in subsistence farming to sustain their livelihoods in their country of origin.

Some of the elderly refugees who had various artisan skills that were not acknowledged offered their services independently to other refugees, and particularly to camp staff from different NGOs working in the camps. Others relied on the trading relationships between themselves and other refugees, as well as local people to gain whatever goods they needed.

Psychosocial Issues

From the literature survey undertaken, it became clear that the emotional well-being of refugees in camps is affected not only by their economic status, but also by the presence of kin, be it spouses or their children and relatives. There was a large number of widows among the elderly who participated in this survey. Due to lack of traditional social support mechanisms in the camps, many elderly often experience social isolation and emotional problems.

The majority of the elderly refugees had their relatives living either in the same camp with them, or elsewhere in Zimbabwe. From an emotional point of view, the presence of children and other relatives provided some support to them. From a material position however, the presence of relatives in the camps did not really matter much because everyone was faced with the same problem of material deprivation resulting from lack of income and purchasing power. Camp staff, and in particular, the HelpAge staff provided whatever support they could, but in fulfilling their tasks they were overwhelmed by the large numbers of people who needed their attention, and the absence of psychological services in the camps.

Apart from the problems of loneliness and isolation experienced by elderly widows, for example, it was observed that the different types of relationships that the elderly develop with various groups of people in the camps have an impact on their emotional well-being. A step-wise logistic regression was run on several key indicators of refugee well-being: sex, marital status, age, duration in camp, number of children, health status,

education, relationships with other refugees, camp staff, local NGO staff and finally with local people. The results of the logistic regression run revealed that, first, the gender of the elderly refugees and second, their participation in skills-training projects, third, their relationship with camp staff , and finally their relationship with other refugees were all positively and significantly associated with their general well-being in the camps.

It is clear from the data gathered in this study, that to be of meaningful assistance to elderly refugees, protection and assistance programmes have to encourage the development of innovative self-help coping strategies and income-generating projects that are directed by the refugees themselves. Agency staff may assist in providing administrative and financial management expertise at the request of the refugees, and also along the guidelines proposed for the project implementation in Chapter 5. These coping strategies usually take place within dynamic systems of independent communication that evolves between elderly and other refugees, on the one hand, and the elderly refugees and local people on the other. It is largely from these interactions that their independent livelihoods are sustained.

Macro Policy Implications for Emergency Assistance to Elderly Refugees

It is well recognised that social development can be better fostered in an environment that promotes recognition of human rights (civil, political, economic, social and cultural) of all individuals and peoples (Nyoni, 1987; UNECA, 1990). In this context, the primacy of human rights as a pre-requisite for a participatory and meaningful social development for all sectors of society must be recognised, especially for children and marginalised groups such as the elderly, people with disabilities, indigenous peoples, people in occupied territories, refugees and internally displaced persons. In those countries where the SAPs dominate the socio-cultural and economic development sphere, the human rights of citizens have been undermined and that has often led to their repression.

In Africa, many examples abound (Uganda, Kenya, Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia, Zimbabwe) where the internal displacement of citizens and the creation of refugees is connected to the linkages between the impact of militarisation of society and the disintegration of civil society. In addition, the militarisation of these

and countries on the continent created an enormous waste of human, natural and financial resources (Awua-Asamoa, 1991; Bengu, 1991), which could have otherwise been channelled towards improving the quality of life for the locals and thereby establishing the basic platform for the creation of democratic societies. The militarization of Liberaia, Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda and Burundi, for example, has caused further inequality and pauperisation, political and social violence, including violations against women's rights (refugees and internally displaced). In addition, the emergence of violent conflicts in these countries has added to the rising global death toll and growing numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons in Africa.

In the light of the need for the restructuring of the international economic system in order to create sustainable livelihoods for citizens within their countries, and thereby mitigating the effects of poverty, militarization and the violation of people's human rights, and the subsequent flows of refugees into neighbouring poor countries, the following recommendations are proposed.

Key Agencies to Effect Changes

International, Regional and National Levels

It is suggested that, rather than imposing a new global economic model, innovative locally devised answers to community needs and capacities should be encouraged, which promote the skills and energies of women in equality with men, and benefiting from valuable traditions, as well as new technologies. The creation of an enabling environment is a major pre-requisite for the establishment of security and peace in war torn countries. Emphasis on conflict-resolution models and strategies between contending parties must be embarked upon as a tenet for social reconciliation processes, which will be implemented at national, regional and local levels. Current examples of such reconciliatory social efforts, albeit wrought with implementation problems, are being pursued in Mozambique and South Africa.

The important question then arises, who should carry out these tasks and how. It would seem that, at both the international and regional levels, the various United Nations Agencies, such as the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Development

Programme (UNDP), United Nations Disaster Management Programme (UNDMP), United Nations Human Rights Organisation (UNHRO) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) with their combined expertise, resources and experience are well suited to provide assistance to war torn countries, in order to establish peace and security. Regional bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) should be consulted and involved to assume responsibility for the resolution of conflict in war torn countries in Africa.

National and Local Levels

At a national and more local level, the afore-mentioned agencies, together with those national Governments involved in conflict situations should participate in conflict-resolution processes with the aim of restoring peace and security, as these are the cornerstones for the establishment of democracy and social development. International and domestic NGOs, as well as Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) should be consulted on the modalities of working jointly to establish peace and development efforts. Appropriate tools for periodic monitoring and evaluation of such efforts should be established and applied to assess progress, with specific time frames. Wherever possible, successful examples from elsewhere should be tested for replication in other geographic regions.

Changes in social relations among citizens should be reflected at three levels: the household level, the community level and the national level.

At the Household Level

- The alternative vision of development requires the transformation of gender relations, in which women are equal participants in the decision-making process.
- Women and men must share the responsibility for the care of children, the elderly and people with disabilities, in general, but more so in situations of disasters.
- The rights of the elderly refugees, people with disabilities and children should be respected and enhanced.

At the Community Level

- The keys to effective development are equity, participation, self-reliance, sustainability and a holistic approach to community life
- The capacities of communities to protect their own resource base must be restored, and the wisdom and experience of the elders in these communities should be listened to and enhanced.
- Governmental and intergovernmental decisions should be built upon the full participation of social movements, citizen's organisations and communities at all stages of development, paying special attention to the equal participation of elderly women and men.
- Communities must gain control over the activities of all enterprises that affect their well-being.
- The political, social and economic empowerment of the elderly in general, and elderly refugees in particular should be fostered.

At the National Level

- All forms of oppression based on gender, race, ethnicity, age. Disability and religion must be eliminated.
- Governments must ensure the full and equal participation of women, including the elderly refugees, in power structures and decision-making at all levels.
- Governments must ensure the full and equal participation of civil society in the processes of economic policy-making and other development decision-making, implementation and monitoring.
- Wherever possible, appropriate education and training should be regarded as the main instrument to empower the elderly refugees and people with disabilities to take their rightful place in society, thereby enabling them to take control over their lives.

Policy Implications for Zimbabwe

Experience has shown that at the global, continental and country levels, people-oriented refugee programmes cannot be successfully implemented unless there are some basic guiding principles. To avoid paternalism, urban and professional bias, it is essential at the three levels, but also at the local level that staff from UNHCR, WFP and other sister UN organizations, Government departments in host countries as well as domestic and international NGOs observe these principles in their continuing work with the elderly in refugee camps:

- show respect for local people, elderly refugees and their organizations
- show respect for adult learners, particularly victims of mass displacement
- build upon their knowledge and experience as a basis for skills-training projects and programmes
- be good listeners who encourage individual and collective participation of elderly refugees
- identify both the vulnerabilities as well as the capacities of elderly refugees and local people, and as far as possible, with the direct participation of the elderly refugees design projects which increase their capacities towards self-help and self-sufficiency
- encourage both women and men to share their views openly
- allow for difference of opinions regarding critiques of projects to surface
- be non-judgemental but offer own opinions as a professional.

Food Production, Distribution and Security

In recognition of the pivotal role that African women play in the production, processing, distribution and storing of food in their countries of origin, it is proposed that:

- In order to combat malnutrition and increase self-reliance, wherever possible, refugee women should be given access to small land holdings for cultivation. Wherever possible, the overall plan should focus on household food security.
- In addition, elderly refugees, many of whom are experienced agriculturalists, should have an opportunity to produce, trade or otherwise acquire food.

- To the extent that food assistance continues to be needed, elderly women should play key leadership roles in its distribution within the camps.
- Elderly refugee women and men should be seen as a resource in the distribution of food, and in proposing strategies of how to achieve this equitably.
- The group of marginal households should be identified and regular food distribution ensured to these.
- Younger and older women should be delegated to represent each section (base or village) in the women's committees to list all poor households which have faced irregular food supply during the previous two to three months.
- Organizing food checks among the vulnerable groups utilizing the trained community health workers.
- Reorganizing formally the food distribution to the refugees by making the women delegates solely responsible for the redistribution at the sub-section level. In many refugee camps, the women are the best informed about disadvantaged households and they also appear to demonstrate more community spirit and neighbourhood loyalty than the men.

Nutrition

In recognition of the diverse needs of elderly refugees in regards to a well-balanced physical state of health, it is recommended that:

- Food rations should be nutritionally balanced, have adequate caloric content and be consistent with traditional dietary practises
- Special attention should be placed to the dietary needs of elderly refugees, with even greater attention towards the needs of the frail and elderly refugees with disabilities.
- The WFP and other donors of food aid should be encouraged to fortify these supplies with necessary vitamins and minerals
- Systems of monitoring the nutritional status of elderly refugee women and men should be established. Refugee women and men should be trained to monitor their nutritional status and that of their children

- Where nutritional deficiencies are detected, immediate steps should be taken to improve the nutritional contents of the rations.
- Programmes to educate elderly refugee women and men, as well as refugee workers who are care-givers in the camps, regarding nutrition should be established and strengthened as needed.

Health

In order to increase the ability of elderly refugees to take care of themselves, at least those who are in relatively good health, and to encourage the rehabilitation of the frail, the following measures are proposed:

- Health programmes should be designed within a general preventative public health programme as is provided for locals.
- These primary health care programmes should be community-based, and refugees should be trained in the content and delivery of basic primary health care programmes at the camp level.
- Younger and older refugee women and men should participate fully in the design, implementation and monitoring of all refugee health programmes at the camp level.
- Older women with experience in safe traditional birth attendance practices should be encouraged to become home visitors for young expectant women, such programmes should be included in the focus on primary health care and community-based programmes.
- All institutions operating health care programmes for refugees should be encouraged to increase significantly the numbers of women staff in the camps. Among the refugees, efforts should be made to identify and train adolescents of both sexes, as well as middle-aged and older women, as health workers.
- Family planning education and services for the elderly, as well as gynecological services should be made available for older refugees. Education on the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases with emphasis on AIDS, and also linked to the harmful traditional practices should be made accessible to the elderly.

- Rehabilitation programmes for all elderly refugees should be considered, in particular for the frail and those with disabilities.

Psychosocial Issues, Support and Training of Refugees Workers

It has been widely argued that the multifaceted and interactive nature of physical, emotional and social problems in the elderly in general, and those affected by emergencies and disasters in particular, demands a multi-disciplinary approach to assessment and treatment (Kleh, Lange, Karu and Amos, 1978; Gerner, 1979; Pheiffer, 1980; Berkman, Campion, Swagerty and Goldman, 1983; Reeler, 1991; Reeler and Todd, 1992a; Reeler and Immerman, 1993a).

In view of this basic requirement, it is recommended that:

- Whenever human resources are offered to elderly victims during emergencies and disasters, the team approach to geriatric services should be the preferred mode of practice.
- In addition, geriatric psychosocial assistance and support to elderly refugees should be provided within a primary health care community-based model, both in the camps and upon return to Mozambique.
- Essential human services to the elderly must include long-term monitoring of physical and mental health, activities of daily living, social functioning, and economic resources.
- To meet these multiple care needs, multi-disciplinary teams of care givers are necessary whose members should include internists, psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses, social workers, traditional healers and community development workers who are employed as refugee workers either with Government departments or NGOs based in the camps.
- All professionals on the team need special geriatric training to enable them to understand well both the need and capacities of elderly refugees, before administering their psychological treatment and support services.

- Health workers in particular and other refugee workers located in the camps, should be trained by qualified psychiatrists and psychologists in the techniques of early detection of psychological disorders.
- In addition, medical staff at the camps should also be trained in the techniques of early detection of psychological disorders among refugees in general, and the elderly and other vulnerable groups in particular. In the case of elderly refugees, it may be important for the medical staff and other para-professionals to note that "...the more physical symptoms that a person complains of, the less likely they are to have a physical disorder and the more likely they are to have a psychological disorder" (Reeler, 1991:9).
- Since a sizable number of African rural refugees consult traditional healers within their communities for symptoms that seem to have been difficult for western medicine to diagnose, it is also likely that traditional healers will be a frequent route for sufferers of psychotrauma among elderly refugees in camps. It will thus become increasingly important, therefore, to include traditional healers among the teams of care givers (World Health Organization and UNHCR, 1992).
- In the course of administering mental health care services to the elderly within refugee camps that would lead to effective development and management of these programmes, the match between the helper and the helped may well be crucial, and it will be essential to develop interventions that prove to be acceptable to both groups (Reeler, 1991:12).
- Regular counselling and mental health programmes should be administered for elderly refugees, particularly for victims of torture, rape and other sexual abuse, trauma and physical violence.

Spiritual Issues and Support

Although this survey did not particularly focus on investigating spiritual issues and support as these affect the elderly refugees in the camps, with the experience of staying in the refugee camps for an extended period of time, it became clear to the writer that both

the local and refugee pastors played a significant role in supporting the elderly refugees emotionally and spiritually.

For many rural refugees in Africa, in particular among older population groups, religion and increased participation in church activities within the camps tend to become an important coping mechanism. Faced with: material poverty; forced decisions to go into exile; loss of relatives; loss of identity; displacement from ancestral lands; mistrust of other people except their own kin which might develop due to reasons of fear and betrayal; and overwhelmed by feelings of being unwanted; an increasing number of elderly refugees join the conventional religious denominations and independent African churches, such as for example, the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Assemblies of God, in search for mental peace and spiritual balance.

According to Chakumodzi (1992:10), "in a universe where there are so many refugees, more thought must be given to the pastoral aspects of the work. Where can priests/pastors be found to undertake this work?...the church must move with the people".

In light of such concerns, it is recommended that:

- To the extent possible, within the refugee populations themselves, efforts must be made to look for spiritual leaders who should be recognised by camp authorities, and provided with the necessary logistical support to enable them to administer to the spiritual needs of the refugees in general, and the elderly and other vulnerable groups in particular.
- The local authorities may well consider also to allow local pastors in the areas where refugees have settled, to enter refugee camps in order to provide spiritual support services which may be needed by different age groups in the camps.
- The pastoral care provided should be co-ordinated together with the Department of Social Welfare, in such a manner that it compliments all other counselling services offered to the elderly refugees and other groups within the camps.

Water and Sanitation

In many refugee camps in Africa, including those in Zimbabwe, regular provision of water supplies tends to be problematic. Whereas efforts are made to avail water supplies to the huge number of refugee populations, it is often the women, the elderly, the children and people with disabilities who have difficulties in accessing the water. In view of this problem, it is proposed that:

- Governments and local authorities should ensure to the extent possible, that all refugees, with particular reference to the elderly, women and their dependent children, as well as people with disabilities have access to safe drinking water and sanitary facilities, and taking account of the special situation of uprooted women.
- Since the task of fetching water lies squarely on the women, including some elderly women as well, it is essential that these women be fully involved in the identification of requirements and preferences concerning the type and location of water points, and some should be trained in the use and maintenance of these resources.
- To the extent possible, culturally appropriate resources should be made available to enable younger and older women to collect and use water.
- Within a domestic situation, water is used by everyone in the household, it is essential therefore, that boys, younger and older men be encouraged to participate in the collection and storage of water as well. Such a practice would enable the girls, younger and older women to participate in education and other skills-training projects within the camp, and the social net benefits resulting from such gender-sensitive division of labour would be enjoyed communally.

Shelter and Security

It is common knowledge that in many developing countries, particularly in the rural areas, women are in many cases responsible for the construction of family dwellings. In order to facilitate the full participation of younger and older women in the construction of family shelters in emergencies and disasters, it is proposed that:

- The main function of shelter, protection and provision of security to the household should be upheld, by for example, space for child care and locations for productive work. These communities should function as safe and friendly areas where a group of people jointly can reconstruct life (Parente, 1988:189).
- Due to their pivotal role in hut construction back in the villages in Mozambique and also within refugee camps, during post-disaster training programmes for safe hut construction, older women, like older men, should be given equal importance as participants, given also their crucial experiences in low-income housing. It is clear that such programmes should include only those elderly refugees who are physically capable to perform such hut building tasks.
- For the frail elderly, and often women heads-of-households with large families, as well as the elderly with disabilities, continued support in providing already built dwellings for them is necessary.
- Refugee women should be involved in the maintenance and improvement of existing community facilities, and wherever possible, further training in building safer facilities should be made available to them.
- Older refugee women and men should be consulted as to their needs and priorities in the development of any site plan or community housing infrastructure during emergencies and disasters.
- To the extent possible, plans for placement and construction of housing should provide for as much long-term security as possible and facilitate the daily tasks of older refugees within the camps.

Adult Education, Employment and Income Generation

It is widely acknowledged that continued training of refugee women in skills that merely reinforce their traditional roles as wives and mothers (for example, in homecraft) has very little potential of improving the health and nutritional standards of their families, they have limited scope for economic self-enhancement.

Consequently, particularly in emergency situations and disasters, younger and older women need training in skills that have the potential of expanding their knowledge (including technical know-how), which they can independently use to increase their earning capacity and decision-making power within the household and the community at large.

It is therefore recommended that:

- As a general rule, adult training programmes in refugee camps should be promoted in consultation with the intended participants.
- These training programmes should be promoted with the objective of providing refugee women and men with marketable and business skills, including skills training in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, functional literacy and numeracy, leadership and managerial training.
- In the area of agriculture, food production and security, for example (a sector in which a significant majority of rural refugees are located), in order to improve agricultural production and household food security, extension services have to be provided equally to men and women farmers whenever needed.
- Increased efforts must be made to reach more women farmers in the provision of agricultural inputs such as farming implements, seeds, insecticides and credit.
- More women farmers should have access to training and skills in improved and appropriate methods of cropping and general agriculture.
- More female extension workers are needed to ensure that the women farmers in the rural areas have access to adequate agricultural training, inputs and support. These issues have implications for the return process and integration in Mozambique, as many women there are either engaged in subsistence farming or work as agricultural workers.
- Outside agricultural work, older refugee women and men should be included in the planning, implementation and monitoring of diverse skills training projects, employment and income generating programmes. Due to cultural reasons, special programmes for women may sometimes be necessary.

- Where formal and non-formal training programmes are offered in technical fields, such as building, carpentry, tin-smithing, black-smithing, fence making and so forth, certificates should be provided so that these qualifications can be recognized in countries of asylum, origin, during the repatriation and re-integration processes. These certificates may enable the older refugee women and men to access gainful employment within the labour market and thus increase their level of self-support upon return to Mozambique.
- Wherever possible, viable and sustainable employment creation schemes and income generating activities should be designed and implemented on the basis of sound needs and capacities assessment, research and feasibility studies, with the full participation of older refugee women and men. Projects must be continuously assessed to determine relevance and impact.
- It is very crucial that host governments should be encouraged to issue work permits and other relevant documents to those elderly refugees who are willing and able to compete for jobs in the labour market. The right to earn a decent living through individual or collective family efforts is a fundamental right which induces self-respect and dignity.
- Educational programmes should encourage and actively promote the enrolment of more girls in primary and secondary schools, and in vocational training centers to enable them to acquire diverse technical skills.
- More boys should be encouraged to study subjects such as home economics and child care in order to prepare them adequately for their adult role as future husbands and fathers.
- Support and assistance should be given to elderly women and men to form associations of their choice, including promotion of informal and formal organizations and cooperatives.
- It is crucial that the capacity of information-sharing and coordination among organizations involved in the employment and income generating activities to older women and men refugees should be improved.

- To the extent possible, host governments and other relevant authorities should be encouraged to provide older refugees with opportunities for productive activities, including access to credit facilities, access to land that is at least sufficient for household gardening and supervised livestock farming.

Long-Term Solutions

All of the factors discussed above have serious implications for the return process. On the one hand, if elderly refugees experienced their period of exile in the refugee camps as impowering, it is very likely that they will be able to implement their newly gained skills and knowledge after settling into their villages (Akol, 1988), or wherever else they establish new homes, but also become productive citizens contributing to local economic renewal and development efforts. On the other hand, if the elderly refugees felt that the entire period of prolonged camp life was disempowering, even the skills and other capacities, which they had brought with them into exile will have been depleted. If the second circumstance predominates, there is also a greater likelihood that the reintegration process itself might not only be more difficult, but may also be experienced as a traumatic and frustrating process for the latter group (Majodina, 1995).

It is therefore very crucial that all aspects involved in the protection and assistance of refugees in general, and of vulnerable groups in particular, be reflected upon in terms of not only the exile period, but more so in relation to the process of reintegration in the country of origin.

It is also recommended that, whenever local integration, repatriation and reintegration programmes are designed, the full participation of refugees and especially refugee women should be solicited in planning meaningfully, and adequate information should be provided to the women to enable them to make informed choices for their futures.

Recommendations for Future Research

In the light of the preceding Chapters and the current proposed recommendations in this Chapter, the following areas are suggested for further inquiry as issues that deeply affect

the well-being of elderly refugees in the camps in Africa. Whereas many areas for potential research could be identified, in terms of urgency for attention the following six areas have been identified for possible in-depth future investigation.

Pastoral Services to Elderly Refugees

Organizations such as the World Council of Churches, National Christian Councils and local church organizations should be consulted about the best possible ways to effect a ministry that caters to the spiritual needs of refugees in general. In addition, particular emphasis may be needed to identify the special emotional and spiritual needs of the elderly and other vulnerable groups within refugee camps. Insights are needed in the area of the ageing process, death and dying in exile.

Shelter and Gender-sensitive Training

Whilst gender roles vary in every society, and programmes cannot be transplanted from one setting to another, refugee aid agencies ought to examine the experiences of older women and the current sexual division of labour, as it pertains to shelter. More ways of encouraging the self-help approach, which relies on refugees helping themselves with minimal assistance from agencies, should be investigated in relation to the provision of shelter.

Occupational Training and Recognition of Brought Skills

In many cases, the offered refugee training programmes do not take into account the diverse occupational capacities of older women and men, and this leads to apathy, lethargy and frustration in this population. Particularly in the case of refugee men, some of their skills are not transferable to the camp situation, or do not find recognition. Aid agencies and refugee workers must make special efforts to identify these skills, and design programmes together with the elderly and others, to improve on the already existing capacity.

Learning from and Replicating Positive Lessons from Self-settled Refugees

Further investigation is needed on the best possible ways of using the positive experiences of increased self-sufficiency among self-settled refugees to the benefit of their camp-settled counter-parts. The UNHCR, host Governments and NGOs should pay serious attention to learning about the efforts made by self-settled refugees to achieve self-help schemes and self-reliant development for themselves under very difficult circumstances. In the investigation of these independent efforts by self-settled refugees, all the participating agencies should keep and open mind that these efforts were achieved without any official assistance either from host Governments, UNHCR or NGOs.

Elderly Refugees to be viewed as potential Foster Parents

The problems of thousands of unaccompanied minors and orphans in a serious issue of concern in many refugee camps in Africa. In the villages in Mozambique, for example, this problem was dealt with as a community issue, and these children and youngsters are taken care of by the extended families. Community welfare organizations would provide the additional support wherever needed. Within such communal arrangements, the elderly, and in particular the grand mothers, in the villages provided a distinct social service in raising these children. This is difficult to achieve in the refugee camps because of material deprivation and the accompanying psychological problems facing individuals, families and communities displaced by war, drought and famine.

There is urgent need, however, for further investigation by scholars, host governments, UNHCR, and NGOs to determine how best the foster-parenthood and foster-motherhood capacities of elderly refugees, especially the elderly women, could be resuscitated in the camps.

In addition, an examination of a vast array of support mechanisms to be offered to the foster parents and mothers should be identified. The best possible ways of undertaking such a venture should be researched, taking into account the diverse cultural practises of ethnic groups and clans from Mozambique, and particularly the impact of these on the children upon return to Mozambique.

It is essential that during such investigations the primacy of securing the best interests of the child be always upheld.

Traditional Healers as a Resource in the Psychological Services Programme

Deeper investigation into the positive roles of the traditional healers within refugee camps is needed. The institution of traditional healers is a culturally powerful organization in many Sub-Saharan countries, particularly in the rural areas in Africa. For example, there are politically recognized national traditional healers' associations in Nigeria, Ghana and Zimbabwe. This institution needs to be acknowledged, well studied and understood within its operational context.

With more information about its significance within rural communities, it is envisaged that the prospects for some of its members to participate in the holistic healing processes in regard to psychologically disturbed and traumatized elderly and other refugees should be examined. Perhaps new and innovative co-operative psychological treatment models may be jointly developed and implemented with the consent of the patients. It is not unforeseeable, for example, that psychiatrists, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, traditional healers and other relevant professionals could work together to develop programmes appropriate for displaced and refugee persons in need of such services. In all of the investigations, the guiding yardstick must be to secure the best interest of the affected refugee groups.

Summary

As a final chapter, it was herein envisaged to bring together the major findings of this study at the beginning. In the second instance, a discussion ensued on the major macro-policy recommendations for changes in the delivery of assistance and protection to communities in general, and elderly refugees in particular, with a view of providing an enabling environment for people-driven social development.

Third, recommendations were proposed to be examined by the UNHCR, the Zimbabwean host Government (in particular the Department of Social Welfare, Refugee Services Unit), and NGOs, in terms of improving their delivery of protection and assistance to elderly refugees in the camps. Finally, a set of six recommendations for future research are provided.

A deeper insight into these and related aspects, which have largely been neglected in refugee studies except perhaps in the case of social anthropologists, may in the future make the protection and assistance programmes for refugees more relevant. Attention to these issues may in addition contribute to the mitigation of the psychological problems that displaced communities face in exile. As mentioned earlier, this approach underscores the need for protection and assistance programmes to refugees in camps to be conceived and designed, not only in relation to their presence in exile, but also in consideration of the long-term impact of such programmes for the return process.

APPENDIX 3.1

QUESTIONNAIRE - ELDERLY REFUGEE WOMEN'S SURVEY

Date of Interview: _____

Refugee Camp: _____

Interviewer's Name: _____

Interviewer please fill in according to previously discussed guidelines:

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

First, can you tell us how many persons live in this household, including persons who normally reside with you but are temporarily away. In this section of the survey, we request some basic information about yourself (head of household) and other members of your household. We need to record the names of each person so that we are clear about whom we are talking about.

1. What is your name?
2. What is your marital status?
3. When were you born?
4. Where is your home in Mozambique?
5. How long have you been in this camp?
6. Husband's details

If she has a husband, interviewer ask next question. Otherwise proceed to Q. 9

7. Where is your husband now?
8. How long is it since you had contact with your husband?
9. How many of your children live with you in this camp?
10. Are there any of your children not living with you?

If yes, please state the age and their whereabouts (if known)

11. What is the language you speak everyday, both here and in your village back home?

SECTION B: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

In this section, we would like to get some information about your educational status. In addition, we would like to know about your occupational background, whether you are now employed in the camp or not, and what occupation you practiced back in Mozambique. We also wish to know whether you were able to make ends meet with your single job, or if you had other supplementary jobs. Also, please tell us about other resources which are at your disposal in the camp. It will be important also to know whether you have in the past or present participated in any skills-training project, and whether, in your opinion, you feel you have learnt something from your participating in the projects. We would like to know how you are coping with your situation in the camp.

12. What level of formal schooling have you attained?

    If known, interviewer please write exact number of years or last grade attended in Mozambique

13. What type of work did you do in Mozambique?

14. Did you have any other jobs to supplement your income?

    If Yes, list supplementary jobs. If No, go to Q. 15

15. Did you manage to feed yourself and your family from your income back home?

16. Are you employed in any form right now in the camp?

    If Yes, state whether employed by others or self-employed

17. What type of employment are you engaged in?

18. How are you paid in exchange for your labour?

    Interviewer state whether paid in cash or kind

19. Do you currently participate in any skills-training project in this camp?

    If Yes, proceed to next question. If No, go to Q. 22

20. Which skills-training projects are these?

    Interviewer list the specific projects

21. Have you learned anything new from participating in this (-ese) projects?

List new things learned

22. Do you presently receive any training or have you had some in the past?

23. What type of training do you get (or have got in the past)?

List types of training areas

24. How long did this training programme last?

25. Do you feel that the new skills you learned will be of future use in Mozambique?

26. Where will you apply your new skills in Mozambique?

SECTION C: HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS

In order to understand fully your situation in the refugee camp, it is important for us to get information about your overall health status, including that also of your husband and children living with you. This information will entail, for example, the situation about your shelter, who you share it with, the types of food rations you get and how often you get these.

27. Are any of your children disabled or having serious illnesses?

Please list the types of sicknesses affecting your children.

28. Do you suffer from any serious sickness or disability?

If Yes, list the types of sickness or disability. Otherwise proceed to Q. 29

29. Does your husband have any serious health problem or disability?

30. For the time you have been in this camp have any children been born in your family?

If Yes, list only numbers of girls and boys. If No, go to Q. 32

31. When were these children born?

List years of birth only

32. Have any of your children died in this camp?

If Yes, list numbers of girls and boys

33. Can you remember when these children passed away?

If known, list years of passing away only

34. Can you remember what caused the death of your child (-ren)?

35. Who built this hut you now live in?

36. Where did you get the building material from?

37. Is a non-relative sharing the hut with you?

38. Do you have a plot of land for growing vegetables for yourself and family?

39. Do you receive any food rations now?

40. Which food items do you receive?

41. How much food supplies do you get?

42. Is this food for you only or for your entire family?

43. How often do you receive your food rations?

SECTION D: SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

In this section we would appreciate information from you to enlighten us about the other people in the camp with whom you live and have to communicate for the time that you are still in the camp. This will help us to understand the different types of relationships that you have developed over the years.

44. On a scale ranging from 1 - 5, with one being "very poor" and five "excellent", can you please tell us how you relate with other refugees?

45. How do you relate with camp staff?

46. How do get along with staff from local agencies?

47. How do you get along with staff from international agencies?

48. How you get along with local people in this area?

49. Do you belong to any particular ethnic group?

SECTION E: PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

In order for the organizations that work to help refugees like yourself do their work better, it is important for them to know whether you get any support in the camp when you need it. In addition, it is important for them to know the types of problems that you experience in the camps and how they can best help you to overcome those problems. We do not promise that the Government and the NGOs will deal with all of your problems sufficiently, but at least if they know them, that will hopefully be a beginning for them to start addressing these issues.

50. Do you have any spare time for yourself?

    If Yes, ask next question. If No, go to Q. 53

51. How much spare time do you have?

52. What do you do during your spare time?

53. Do you or have you experienced any problems since entering this camp?

    If Yes, ask next question. If No, proceed to Q. 57

54. What types of problems have you experienced?

55. Did you report to anyone about these problems?

56. Was the problem solved and were you part of that process?

57. When you had problems in your village who used to help you solve them?

58. When you face problems in the camp who do you depend upon for support?

59. Are there any women's groups in the camp?

    If Yes, ask next question. If No proceed to Q. 63

60. Do you belong to any such group in this camp?

61. Do you receive any type of support from the women's group?

62. What kind of support do you get from the women's group?

63. Do you think it is important for refugee women to have support groups in the camps?

    If Yes, ask next question. If No, proceed to Q. 65

64. Why do you think its important? Please give three major reasons.

65. Have any of your roles in the family changed since you came to this camp?

If Yes, ask next question. If No, proceed to Q. 69

66. Which new roles have you adopted?

67. Do you experience any pressures from your new role(-s)?

68. What pressures do you experience from performing your new role?

69. Do you foster any children in your home?

70. Do you have any other needs that are not currently met?

If Yes, please list the four major ones.

71. Do you have any relatives living in this camp or elsewhere in Zimbabwe?

If Yes ask next question. If No proceed to next Section.

72. Please describe the relationship to your relatives, and if possible, please tell us about their sex, age and where they are located?

SECTION F: REPATRIATION TO MOZAMBIQUE

For the UNHCR and other agencies that work with refugees to be able to help you when you go back home, it is important that they get information from you about where you would like to settle. For many people, most likely they will be returned to their former villages. But others may want to be located elsewhere for a variety of reasons. For us to understand these issues, please answer the following questions.

73. When safe repatriation to Mozambique is possible, where would you prefer to be resettled?

74. Why did you prefer this place for your reintegration?

APPENDIX 3.2

QUESTIONNAIRE - ELDERLY REFUGEE MEN'S SURVEY

Date of Interview: _____

Refugee Camp: _____

Interviewer's Name: _____

Interviewer please fill in according to previously discussed guidelines:

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

First, can you tell us how many persons live in this household, including persons who normally reside with you but are temporarily away. In this section of the survey, we request some basic information about yourself (head of household) and other members of your household. We need to record the names of each person so that we are clear about whom we are talking about.

1. What is your name?
2. What is your marital status?
3. When were you born?
4. Where is your home in Mozambique?
5. How long have you been in this camp?
6. Wife's details

If he has a wife, interviewer ask next question. Otherwise proceed to Q. 9

7. Where is your wife now?
8. How long is it since you had contact with your wife?
9. How many of your children live with you in this camp?
10. Are there any of your children not living with you?

If Yes, please state the age and their whereabouts (if known)

11. What language do you speak everyday, both here and in your village back home?

SECTION B: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

In this section, we would like to get some information about your educational status. In addition, we would like to know about your occupational background, whether you are now employed in the camp or not, and what occupation you practiced back in Mozambique. We also wish to know whether you were able to make ends meet with your single job, or if you had other supplementary jobs. Also, please tell us about other resources which are at your disposal in the camp. It will be important also to know whether you have in the past or present participated in any skills-training project, and whether, in your opinion, you feel you have learnt something from your participating in the projects. We would like to know how you are coping with your situation in the camp.

12. What level of formal schooling have you attained?

    If known, interviewer please write exact number of years or last grade attended in Mozambique

13. What type of work did you do in Mozambique?

14. Did you have any other jobs to supplement your income?

    If Yes, list supplementary jobs. If No, go to Q. 15

15. Did you manage to feed yourself and your family from your income in Mozambique?

16. Are you employed in any form right now in the camp?

    If Yes, state whether employed by others or self-employed

17. What type of employment are you engaged in?

18. How are you paid in exchange for your labour?

    Interviewer state whether paid in cash or kind

19. Do you currently participate in any skills-training project in this camp?

    If Yes, proceed to next. If No, go to Q. 22

20. Which skills-training projects are these?

    Interviewer list the specific projects

21. Have you learnt anything new from participating in this (-se) projects?

List new things learned

22. Do you presently receive any training or have you had some in the past?

23. What type of training do you get (or have you got in the past)?

List types of training areas

24. How long did this training programme last?

25. Do you feel that the new skills you learned will be of future use in Mozambique?

26. Where will you apply your new skills in Mozambique?

SECTION C: HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS

In order to understand fully your situation in the refugee camp, it is important for us to get information about your overall health status, including that also of your wife and children living with you. This information will entail, for example, the situation about your shelter, who you share it with, the types of food rations you get and how often you get these.

27. Are any of your children disabled or having serious illnesses?

Please list the types of sicknesses affecting your children.

28. Do you suffer from any serious sickness or disability?

If Yes, list the types of sickness or disability. Otherwise proceed to Q. 29

29. Does your wife have any serious health problem or disability?

30. For the time you have been in this camp have any children been born in your family?

If Yes, list only numbers of girls and boys. If No, go to Q. 32

31. When were these children born?

List years of birth only

32. Have any of your children died in this camp?

If Yes, list numbers of girls and boys

33. Can you remember when these children passed away?

If known, list years of passing away only

34. Can you remember what caused the death of your child (-ren)?

35. Who built this hut you now live in?

36. Where did you get the building material from?

37. Is a non-relative sharing the hut with you?

38. Do you have a plot of land for growing vegetables for yourself and your family?

39. Do you receive any food rations?

40. Which food items do you receive?

41. How much food supplies do you get?

42. Is this food for you only or for the entire family?

43. How often do you receive your food rations?

SECTION D: SOCIO-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

In this section we would appreciate information from you to enlighten us about the other people in the camp with whom you live and communicate for the time that you are still in this camp. This will help us to understand the different types of relationships that you have developed over the years.

44. On a scale ranging from 1 - 5, with one being "very poor" and five "excellent", can you please tell us how you relate with other refugees?

45. How do you relate with camp staff?

46. How do you get along with staff from local agencies?

47. How do you get along with staff from international agencies?

48. How do you get along with local people in this area?

49. Do you belong to any particular ethnic group?

SECTION E: PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

In order for the organizations that work to help refugees like yourself to do their work better, it is important for them to know whether you get any support in the camp when you need it. In addition, it is important for them to know the types of problems that you experience in the camps and how they can best help you to overcome those problems. We do not promise that the Government and the NGOs will deal with all of your problems sufficiently, but at least if they know them, that will hopefully be a beginning for them to start addressing these issues.

50. Do you or have you experienced any problems since entering this camp?

If Yes, ask next question. If No, proceed to Q. 53

51. What types of problems have you experienced?

52. When you problems in your village who helped you to solve them?

53. When you have problems in the camp who do you depend upon for support?

54. Do you have any other needs that are currently not met?

If Yes, please list the four major ones.

55. Do you have any relatives living in this camp or elsewhere in Zimbabwe?

If Yes, ask next question. If No proceed to next section.

56. Please describe your relationship to your relatives, and if possible, please tell us about their sex, age and where they are located?

SECTION F: REPATRIATION TO MOZAMBIQUE

For the UNHCR and other agencies that work with refugees to be able to help you when you go back home, it is important that they get information from you about where you would like to settle. For many people, most likely they will be returned to their former villages. But others may want to relocate elsewhere for a variety of reasons. For us to understand these issues, please answer the following questions.

57. When safe repatriation to Mozambique is possible, where would you prefer to be resettled?

58. Why did you prefer this place for your reintegration?

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