



THE IMPACT OF THE CONGOLESE FORCED MIGRANTS'
'PERMANENT TRANSIT' CONDITION ON THEIR RELATIONS WITH
MOZAMBIQUE AND ITS PEOPLE

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the partial requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Forced Migration Studies



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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand and analyze the ways Congolese (Democratic Republic of Congo) forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo. To do this, the study will: (i) document the Congolese forced migrants livelihoods strategies while in Maputo city; (ii) examine the social, cultural, economic and political relations between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans living in Maputo city, and (iii) analyze the impact of the Congolese forced migrants 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo city. Due to their length of stay in Mozambique, the study expected to observe strong relationships between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans living in Maputo city: a certain level of integration, assimilation, and attachment to social, cultural, political, and economic ways of living of the Mozambicans living in Maputo city. However, the argument of this study is that the 'permanent transit' condition of the Congolese forced migrants living in Maputo city weakens their relationship with the Mozambicans living in the same space. Because of this 'permanent transit' condition, Congolese forced migrants tend not to get attached to Mozambicans through marriage and children, they often do not get a job and are dependent on remittances from relatives in the country of origin and tend to engage in social and cultural activities with other Congolese rather than with Mozambicans. This study employed a multi-methods approach, including the use of questionnaires, open-ended interviews, and written sources. The study is valuable for two main reasons. Firstly, it has generated systematically analyzable data on self-settled urban forced migrants in Maputo city. Secondly, it reveals the impact of the forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with host countries and peoples.

Key words: Forced migration, urban refugees, livelihood strategies, transnationalism, remittances, 'permanent transit', integration, Congolese forced migrants, Maputo city, Mozambique.

DECLARATION

I declare that this Research Report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Forced Migration Studies, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Denise Maria Malauene

October 2004

DEDICATION

To my baby son Eric Silvino Tale.

Your constant smiles enriched my soul
and your cries reminded me of my responsibilities
as a parent and made me work even harder.

To my late grandmother Albertina Cuamba.

I wish you were here to see me flourish.

You will always be in my heart.

May soul rest in eternal peace.

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To Tale family: *nhi bongide* for your support and advise.

To Prof. Joel das Neves Tembe: I thank you for your encouragement, support and belief in me.

To the refugee community in Maputo city, especially the Congolese forced migrants, who gave up their time to be interviewed and without whom this research report would not have been possible. I appreciate your willingness to openly disclose your lives to my scrutiny.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BIM - Mozambique International Bank

DRC - Democratic Republic of Congo

FIFC - Feinstein International Famine Center

FCC - Fundo de Crédito Comunitário (Community Credit Fund)

IDP - Internally Displaced Person

INE – Mozambique’s National Statistics Institute

NAR - Núcleo de Apoio aos Refugiados (Government’s Department for Refugee Support)

n.d. - No date

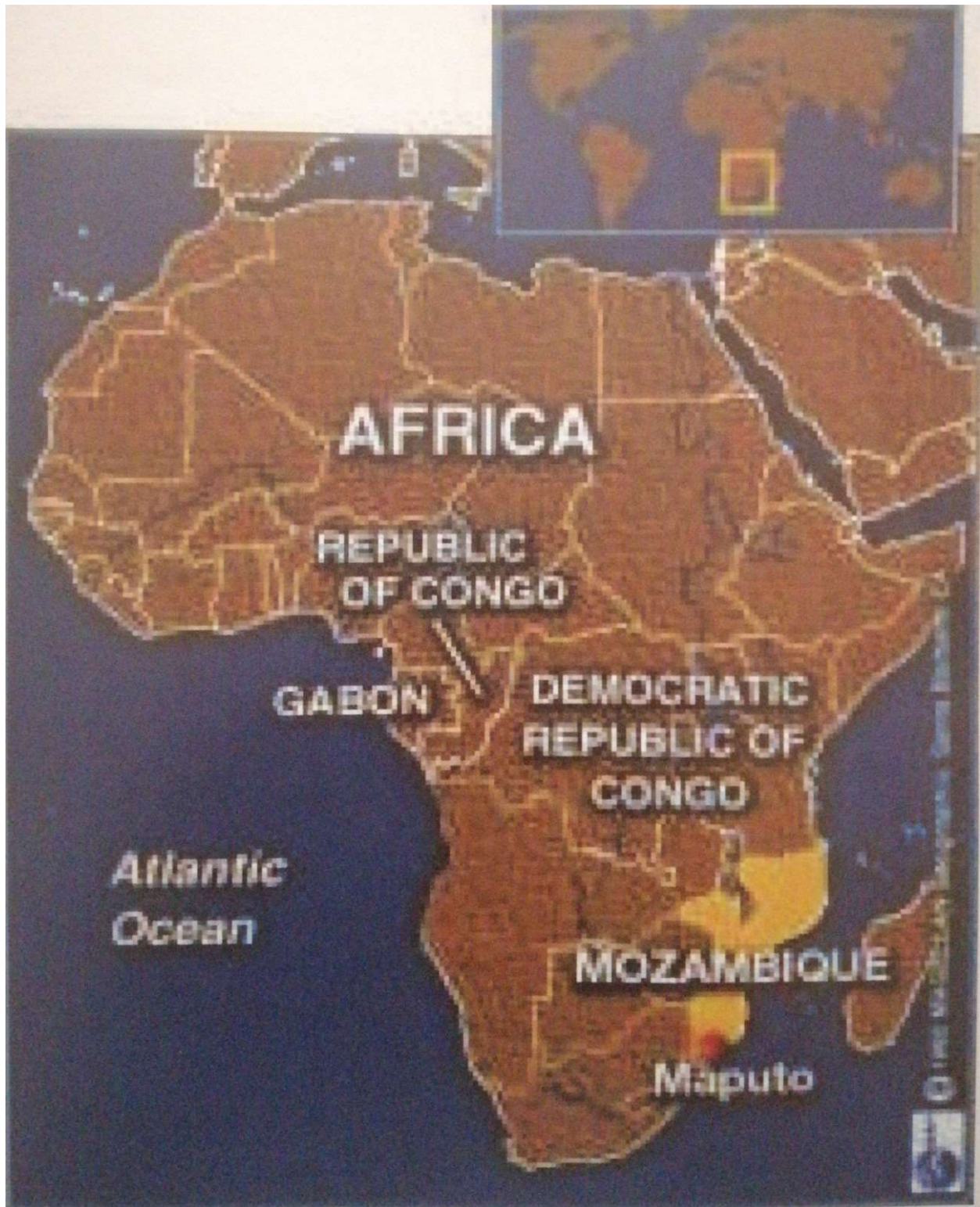
UN - United Nations

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USA - United States of America

WR - World Relief

Figure 1. Mozambique in Africa



Source: www.kontrokultura.org/archivio2001/stampaaficana/mozambique.maputo.jpg

Figure 2. Map of Mozambique



Figure 3. Map of Maputo city



CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In recent years many African countries have been involved in wars and internal or external conflicts. These conflicts forced people to move and seek asylum in neighboring countries or other countries further afield. As a result of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where other five countries, namely Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda and Uganda were involved, Mozambique is increasingly receiving forced migrants from that country. Some of them head to Maratane Refugee Camp in Nampula in the Northern part of the country, the only refugee camp in Mozambique where they can get protection and assistance from the Government's Department for Refugee Support – NAR¹ and from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). NAR is responsible for safeguarding refugees' basic needs by assisting with food, shelter, household items, transportation, protection, health services, and basic education. It is also responsible for issuing documentation for refugees. UNHCR provides international protection and promotes durable solutions to the refuge problem. Another organization that deals with refugees in Mozambique is the World Relief (WR), UNHCR's main implementing partner. This organization has several programs targeting refugees. It has always been involved in activities for refugees in Maratane refugee camp: agriculture, chicken breeding, and micro finance managed by the Community Credit Fund (FCC). In Maputo, FCC has a micro finance program with 67 refugee clients, while in Maratane camp it has 254 refugee clients, predominantly from Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, following the general refugees' nationality trends in Mozambique.

Other forced migrants who do not choose to stay in the refugee camp self-settle in urban settings, especially in Maputo city, the country's capital, if they have means of survival, since NAR only provides legal support for refugees living in urban settings. While self-settled, it is expected of the refugees to integrate into the host community, to connect with the host population, to support themselves and their families, and to network socially.

Contrary to these expectations, in Maputo city some forced migrants tend not to integrate in the host community. They live in a state of 'permanent transit', in which they stay in urban

¹ NAR stands for *Núcleo de Apoio aos Refugiados*.

settings and live for a couple of years (around 3 to 5 years) but continue to see their situation as temporary, holding on to hopes of resettlement, and waiting to leave at any moment for a third country of asylum. They are physically living in Maputo city, but their focus and futures are presumed to be elsewhere, because they do not want to stay there.

The present study seeks to analyze and understand the ways the Congolese (Democratic Republic of Congo) forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their social, cultural, economic and political relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo city. More specifically, this study:

- Documents the Congolese forced migrants' livelihood strategies while in Maputo city;
- Explores the social, cultural, economic, and political relations between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans living in Maputo city; and,
- Analyzes the impact of the Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo city.

This study's central argument is that the Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition weakens their relationship with the Mozambicans living in Maputo. Because of this 'permanent transit' condition, Congolese forced migrants tend not to get attached to Mozambicans through marriage and/ or children, they often do not get jobs despite being qualified to do so and tend to engage in socio- cultural activities with other Congolese rather than with Mozambicans.

This study is valuable for two main reasons. Firstly, it has generated systematically analyzable data on self-settled urban forced migrants in Maputo city that can be compared with data on urban forced migrants around the world. The study will add to the data currently being collected on self-settled migrants and refugees in Johannesburg and other African urban settings. Secondly, this study is important because it reveals the ambiguous relationship developed by forced migrants with the space they occupy in exile, and the impact of their 'permanent transit' condition on their relations with host populations in exile.

In order to accomplish the study's objectives, it is important to first look at the background of forced migrants' situation in Mozambique. Mozambique is in Southern Africa and has a total area of 801,590 sq. km, being 17,500 sq. km of water and 784,090 sq. km of land. According to the CIA World factbook (2002) Mozambique has a population of 19,607,519 inhabitants, 54.7% between 15-64 years old, and a population growth rate of 1.13%².

Mozambique is a party to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (ratified on December 16,1983), the additional 1967 Protocol (ratified on May 1, 1989), as well as the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention governing Specific Problems of Refugees (ratified on February 22, 1989).

Mozambique is rarely the first place of asylum for refugees, since most of them have passed through at least one other country before arriving in Mozambique. Since Africa does not have a European-style first-country-of-asylum system, Mozambique accepts asylum seekers, regardless of whether they have resided in another country before arriving in Mozambique. However, legally, asylum seekers who have already received refugee status in another country might not be eligible for refugee status in Mozambique³.

By the end of May 2003, official statistics revealed that Mozambique was hosting 7,405 refugees/ asylum seekers (7,399 asylum seekers and 213 holding refugee status), 2,841 of them living in Maratane Refugee Camp in Nampula Province, and 4,564 living in urban settings throughout the country⁴. This forced migrants' population is very small compared to other African countries. Isen and Halperin (2003) mention that South Africa hosted around 90.000 refugees while Namibia was hosting around 20.000 refugees⁵. While most of the forced migrants' population comes from the DRC, Burundians and Rwandans account for the majority of the rest of the forced migrant population.

Mozambique has a Refugee Act, approved by the Republic Assembly on December 31, 1991 (law 21/91), where refugees' rights and obligations, and the competencies in the refugee

² CIA World Factbook, 2002.

³ Isen and Halperin, 2003: 1.

⁴ Interview with Laila Adamo, UNHCR Mozambique, 17 June 2003.

⁵ Isen and Halperin, 2003: 2.

determination process are defined. Isen and Halperin (2003) describe how the refugee determination process works:

... Mozambique does not have a *prima facie* status determination process; all cases are determined on an individual basis. In addition, Mozambique does not screen asylum seekers at its borders. When refugees arrive in the country, they are invited for an interview, after which they pass in front of an "Eligibility Commission," which decides on a case by case basis whether they are eligible. If the asylum seeker is eligible, he or she is transferred to the "Minister of Home Affairs" who will decide whether or not to grant the applicant refugee status. If the case is rejected by the Minister, the asylum seeker is given a second chance, after which he or she becomes illegal if they remain in the country⁶.

Once asylum seekers receive refugee status, they enjoy the same socioeconomic rights of a foreigner residing in the country, among which are the rights to education and health care, and has to respect and observe the Mozambican laws, including any instructions relating to the maintenance of public order, and should abstain from any subversive activities against the state.

However, most of the asylum seekers do not have their status determined. Isen and Halperin (2003) indicate that only 207 asylum seekers had their refugee status determined in 1999. Since then, all cases have been pending, and asylum seekers are still waiting for a ministerial decision. While they wait for the refugee status determination, forced migrants receive a piece of paper from NAR, called a declaration, which allows them to circulate in the country. This declaration must be renewed every two months at the asylum seekers' expenses. Since very little information is given about the whole process, asylum seekers find themselves waiting without knowing what will happen to them, causing many to have a feeling of long-time-insecurity⁷.

Nevertheless, Mozambique is attractive to refugees largely due to the relative beneficent position taken by the government towards refugees as compared to other countries in the southern Africa region, since refugees are allowed to work, they have free access to all markets, and enjoy freedom of movement⁸.

⁶ Isen and Halperin, 2003: 2.

⁷ Ibid: 3.

⁸ Ibid.

This research report is organized in five chapters. The first chapter introduces the study, outlines the study's objectives, rationale and justification, and provides a general background of the forced migrants' situation in Mozambique. The second chapter reviews the literature on the relevant concepts discussed in the study such as refugee movements, durable solutions, livelihood strategies, transnationalism, remittances, and refugee relations with the host country and the host population. The literature review leads to the theoretical framework's chapter which explores the different theories on refugees' relations with host communities and identifies research gaps. Chapter four explains the research methods and the data collection techniques while the last chapter outlines and discusses the findings, explores the explanations for the Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition, and reveals evidence of weak relationships between the Congolese forced migrants and the urban Mozambicans living in Maputo city. The study concludes with the proposal of a theoretical framework of the possible explanations for the relationships between refugees and host populations while in exile. The interview guide is presented in appendices prior to the list of sources used for this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature on refugee movements, durable solutions, livelihood strategies, transnationalism, remittances, and refugee relations with the host country and population. Its goal is to explain the refugees' distinct degrees of mobility and integration, refugees' economic interactions in host countries to produce means of survival, and refugees' relationships with the host countries and its peoples. Ultimately, this review identifies research gaps on the relationships developed by refugees and local peoples in asylum countries.

The current study seeks to understand the ways the Congolese (Democratic Republic of Congo) forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their social, cultural, economic and political relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo city. In doing so, it engages with active literature on **urban refugees** who can be defined as people displaced outside of their national borders for reasons related to persecution or violent conflict, who have requested refugee status in the country of asylum, reside in an urban setting, and are dependent on other non-refugee means of survival.

In terms of their characteristics, Geddo (2000) notes that urban refugees in South Africa tend to be "educated, single young males, predominantly with an urban socio-economic background"⁹. This phenomenon is chiefly due to these refugees' unwillingness to remain in rural settlements in the countries next to their country of origin, where they feel that no suitable durable solution would be open to them, considering their urban origin and corresponding expectations.

Refugees in urban settings face many obstacles while at the same time have a great deal of opportunities at their disposal. As Miamidian and Jacobsen (2004) observe, the main obstacles faced by urban refugees include legal documentation, resistance from local communities, resistance from law enforcement agencies, government policy towards refugees, cultural issues, and language barriers. On the other hand, urban refugees' skills,

⁹ Geddo, 2000.

business knowledge, and knowledge of other countries markets gives them an advantage to undertake import-export activities and to grow micro enterprises into small businesses¹⁰.

An important element of the urban refugee dynamic is the problem of irregular movements¹¹. According to the Human Rights Watch, there is an assumption in the Urban Refugee Policy that the majority of urban refugees are irregular movers. UNHCR defines **irregular movement** as “the movement of refugees without the consent of the authorities concerned from a country where they had found protection to another country¹²”. As Geddo (in Landau and Jacobsen, 2004) more accurately puts it, **irregular movers** are “people who for ‘non compelling reasons’ leave their country of first asylum where they have obtained ‘effective protection’ usually in the form of refugee camps”. In this context, Landau and Jacobsen (2004) also mention **asylum shoppers**: people looking for the easiest or most profitable place to make an asylum claim. Nevertheless, it is not easy to support the contention that urban refugees are irregular movers or asylum shoppers. Even though they have traveled through countries where they could have claimed asylum and stayed there for more than a week, to qualify as an irregular mover they should have applied for and received effective protection, which may not be the case¹³.

Nevertheless, because of this assumption that urban refugees are irregular movers, UNHCR policy towards them is that the agency should generally not provide direct individual assistance. Rather, refugees should use the host government’s services and their own resources whenever possible and, they should also not be eligible for settlement (or given any prospects of resettlement) without approval of the Resettlement Section at the UNHCR Headquarters¹⁴.

This study also engages with literature on refugees’ livelihood strategies, because refugees’ abilities to sustain livelihoods can be seen as an element of integration. **Livelihood**

¹⁰ Miamidian and Jacobsen, 2004.

¹¹ Read UNHCR, 1997; Geddo, 2000; Landau and Jacobsen, 2004; Human Rights Watch.

¹² UNHCR, 1997: VII/9.

¹³ Landau and Jacobsen, 2004.

¹⁴ Such approval is likely only if it is determined that the person would already have met the criteria for resettlement in the previous country of asylum (UNHCR, 1997: VII/9).

strategies are the ways in which people combine and use assets in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes that meet their own livelihood objectives. In general terms, livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs from livelihoods strategies. They will probably fall into some of the following categories: more income; increased well-being; reduced vulnerability; improved food security; more sustainable use of the natural resource base¹⁵. Achieving **livelihood outcomes** depends on people's use of a range of assets, and positive livelihood outcomes results from assets being combined in different ways¹⁶. The diversity of livelihoods strategies results from dynamic processes of combining activities to meet various needs from available asset stocks. While a sustainable livelihood relies on all these things, financial capital is ultimately key to forced migrants' entitlements, especially in urban settings. Most of the literature, however, focuses on refugee camps or rural settlements, where they engage on subsistence farming, selling in the local market, starting small businesses, or working as maids, constructors, herders, and farmers for the local population or for the wealthier refugees¹⁷.

Rakodi (2002), UNDP (n.d.), and Majale (2002) reveal that in urban settings it is difficult for the most vulnerable (a category in which forced migrants are included) to pursue **sustainable livelihoods**, because they have constraints accessing labor; they lack a robust social network that could be effective in providing support and assistance; they are unable to access adequate housing which denies them the opportunity to earn livelihoods through home based entrepreneurial activities; they face problems accessing credit in the formal financial sector; and, if they find employment at all, they depend on their labor for income that is needed for daily needs such as to pay for rent, transportation, food, health care, which increases their living costs. This situation is worsened for self-settled forced migrants considering the additional challenges they face such as their legal status, difficulties getting a work permit, etc., which leads them to the informal sector, starting businesses or working for small businesses. Although they have those livelihood strategies, refugees often remain

¹⁵ Resources Index page, [Sustainable livelihoods](http://sacoast.uwc.ac.za/education/resources/sustain-livelihoods/).
<http://sacoast.uwc.ac.za/education/resources/sustain-livelihoods/>

¹⁶ CASE, [Sustainable livelihoods: towards a research agenda](http://www.case.org.za/htm/liveli2.htm).
<http://www.case.org.za/htm/liveli2.htm>

¹⁷ Read Hiiraan Online, 2002; Id21 Insights, n.d.).

more marginalized since they lack the rights that accompany citizenship, rights that in some countries even the national citizen do not enjoy¹⁸.

The situation of being a refugee is understood as being temporary, and as such, long-term solutions must be found for their problem. In this context, the study engages with literature on the three **durable solutions** promoted by UNHCR: voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country¹⁹. **Voluntary repatriation** is emphasized as the most desirable durable solution. However, its success depends on the promotion of general improvements in the refugees' origin countries situation in order to create the necessary conditions for the voluntary repatriation²⁰.

Local integration means that the host government offers permanent asylum to refugees and full integration into the host society. The host government grants membership and residency status to refugees. Local integration takes place through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating with the granting of citizenship²¹. As referred by Jacobsen (2001), refugees with this status enjoy a range of human and civil rights which includes the right to marry, to practice one's own religion, to own property, to work and seek employment, to have access to education and housing. However, in reality, despite the insecurity of their legal status and the temporariness of their stay, over time refugees integrate unofficially into host communities²².

Refugee **third country resettlement** is the process through which refugees are allowed to leave a county of asylum and start life anew in a third country that is willing to receive and protect them on a permanent basis²³. No country is legally obliged to resettle refugees. According to the UNHCR (1997), only a small number of states, including The United States of America, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, do so on regular basis, allocating budgets, devising programs, and providing

¹⁸ Forced Migration Refugee Studies Programme, 2003: 4.

¹⁹ Harrell-Bond, 1989; Jacobsen, 2001; Van Hear, 2003a.

²⁰ Hocke, 1986 as quoted in Harrell-Bond, 1989:55.

²¹ Kibreab, 1989 as quoted in Jacobsen, 2001.

²² Jacobsen, 2001.

²³ Newland, 2002.

annual resettlement targets. Since 1998 another eight states started to cooperate with the Office of the UNHCR in providing resettlement places. Four additional states, namely Belgium, France, Germany and the United Kingdom accept refugees for resettlement on *ad hoc* basis²⁴.

Many people seek third country resettlement through both official and unofficial channels because refugee rights such as freedom of movement, right to employment or to higher education, enshrined in the 1951 convention cannot be realized in the first country of asylum. It may also be that many refugees do not feel safe in their first country of asylum precisely because they fear the possibilities of *refoulement*²⁵.

Despite the existence of these three forms of durable solutions, Congolese forced migrants in Maputo city tend not to follow any. They exist in this form of transnationalism, of 'permanent transit'. But what do we know about transnationalism? **Transnationalism** in amongst the seven main trends in international migration, as migrants are able to live effectively in two or more countries at the same time²⁶. Indeed, there is a growing body of literature on transnationalism. Shami (1996) defines transnationalism as,

...an analytical perspective that privileges as its object of study, as well as its primary premise, the accelerating circulation of goods, people, money, information and ideas through and across national borders and cultural boundaries²⁷.

Malkki (1992) has delivered a trenchant critique of what she terms "the rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity". Based on her work among the Hutu refugees in western Tanzania who fled the 1972 massacres in Burundi, she contests what she terms 'the national order of things'. Arguing from the perspective of transnationalism, she states that,

²⁴ Newland, 2002.

²⁵ Harrell-Bond, 1989:54.

²⁶ The other six trends in international migration are as follows: the growing economic integration and globalization; changing geo-political interests in the post Cold war era; changing demographic roles and gender roles; increasing technological innovation; growing reliance on smugglers, traffickers and other intermediaries; and, harmonization of migration policies through regional and international mechanisms (Martin, 2003).

²⁷ Shami, 1996: 5.

There has emerged a new awareness of the global social fact that, now more than perhaps ever before, people are chronically mobile and routinely displaced and invent homes and homelands in the absence of territorial, national bases²⁸.

Crisp (1999) observes that refugees are part of global networks and transnational communities linking together people of the same family, community, ethnic group or country, and incorporating a variety of different migrant categories. These transnational networks act as *sources of information*; provide means of mobilizing the *financial resources* required for a person to leave a low or middle-income country and seek asylum in more prosperous states; provide the *organizational infrastructure* required for people to move from one part of the world to another, especially when those movements have to be arranged in irregular or clandestine ways; and, provide asylum seekers and irregular migrants with *subsistence and support* (especially employment) when they arrive at their final or desired destination.

As scholars of transnationalism have shown, people at home and in exile may operate in a single social field, or at least in linked social fields. Van Hear (2003a) points that a single household may have members at 'home' in the country of origin, in neighboring countries of first asylum, and in the wider diaspora in countries of resettlement. One might term this a **transnational household**. Among wider, extended families, those at home may find financial or other support for those who go abroad to seek asylum, and those already abroad may help newcomers²⁹. Once established, those abroad may support those at home through remittances and other transfers.

Van Hear (2003a) goes further referring to a strong relationship between the homeland or place of origin, the neighboring country or first asylum countries, and countries of asylum further afield, perhaps in other continents, into which people seek entry, either directly from the homeland, or via neighboring countries. These relations consist of movements or exchanges of people, money and information.

²⁸ Malkki, 1992: 24.

²⁹ Van Hear, 2003a: 2.

It has been observed that over time complex and enduring relations develop among these different domains of the diaspora emerging from a combination of migration compelled by circumstances or pursued by choice, as refugee migration transmutes into economic migration for betterment or opportunity, or vice versa³⁰. On this regard, Van Hear (2003) questions:

If transnational activities across locations at home and in exile are... pervasive ...does the continued use of the categories home, country of first asylum, and resettlement country, which accompany the notion of 'durable solutions', make sense?

He goes further suggesting an answer to his question. He contends that,

Perhaps it is time to go one step further and acknowledge that transnationalism may in itself be a 'durable solution' for conditions of displacement - or at least an 'enduring' solution. This might mean considering the encouragement or promotion of transnationalism ... arguably a 'solution' favoured by the displaced, since it is the practice often pursued by them in everyday life (although of course, just because something is popular does not mean that it is right)³¹.

Money flows between immigrants and those who remain at home is another aspect of transnationalism, which is frequent in urban settings. There is a growing body of literature on remittances focusing on interpersonal transfers of money or goods from migrants to their relatives left behind in the country of origin³². However, this study did not come across readings on remittances from the countries of origin to forced migrants in exile, and the study aims at filling this gap. As for the relations between refugees and host populations, there is a great deal of literature, focusing mainly on the impact of the refugee's presence for host populations, and the hosts' environment and economy. Depending on their daily interactions (socially, culturally, economically and politically) refugees and their hosts can develop weak or strong relationships. It is important to consider some scholars who discuss the factors which can influence negatively or positively the relations between refugees and their hosts³³. This aspect is developed in detail in the coming chapter which examines the theories on refugees' relations with space and people while in exile.

³⁰ Van Hear, 2003a: 12.

³¹ Van Hear, 2003a: 14.

³² Martin, 2003; Black, 2003; Rapoport and Docquier, 2002; Van Hear, 2003b; Wilson and Ballard; 2003; Ahmad, 2000; Migration News, 2000.

³³ Whitaker, 1999; Malkki, 1999; Kibreab, 1999; Jacobsen, 2001; Van Hear, 2003a; Hastrup and Olwig, 1997)

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study's theoretical framework is drawn from academic work on refugees' relations with space and people in exile³⁴. Regarding daily interactions (social, cultural, economic and political) between refugees and their hosts, some scholars demonstrate the development of either weak or strong relationships³⁵. According to these scholars, refugees' relationships with the host population can be strengthened or weakened, depending on several factors including (i) the perceptions among the host population of the impact of refugees on their socio-cultural environment; (ii) refugees' new settlement conditions in the country of asylum; (iii) refugees' view of a long-term solution and their ability to be economically active and thus to sustain livelihoods; and (iv) refugees' identity and sense of belonging.

Focusing mainly on rural areas, some scholars refer to factors conducive to strong relationships between refugees and the host population such as the incorporation into the local community, refugees' assimilation of the host population's ways of living, refugees' manipulation of multiple identities (Malkki, 1999), joint socialization (visit one another, attend social functions together, share cultural activities), intermarriage between refugees and hosts (Whitaker, 1999), mixing for the purposes of trade, seasonal work and entertainment (Jacobsen, 2001).

However, other factors can lead to weak relationships between refugees and hosts. Hastrup and Olwig (1997) and Mandaville (1999) refer to the lack of refugee attachment to place, and the forging of 'homes away from home' in exile through the reconstitution of territory by reproducing identity practices which invoke its affiliation to the country of origin. On the other hand, Van Hear (2003a) refers to refugee attachment to place in the new context, but at the same time building socio-cultural structures similar to the country of origin.

Kibreab (1999) goes even further when referring to a number of host population's attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of refugees. These aspects can also lead to weak relationships between refugees and hosts and includes (i) the host countries' inability to incorporate

³⁴ cf. Hastrup and Olwig, 1997; Whitaker, 1999; Malkki, 1999; Kibreab, 1999; Jacobsen, 2001; Van Hear, 2003a.

³⁵ Whitaker, 1999; Malkki, 1999; Kibreab, 1999; Jacobsen, 2001; Van Hear, 2003a; Hastrup and Olwig, 1997.

refugees in their societies; (ii) the host government's unfavorable policies towards refugees; and (iii) the hosts' perceptions of negative impacts of the refugee presence in the host country³⁶. According to Kibreab (1999), some host governments pursue restrictive immigration and refugee policies to make its territories inaccessible to asylum seekers by closing borders and adopting reception and (re)settlement strategies which prevents those who have already entered the country from being incorporated into host communities³⁷. Several other aspects deserve consideration such as the hosts' unwillingness to accept refugees as equal members since they see them as temporary guests; the hosts' hostility towards refugees on grounds of diminishing resources; income-generating opportunities and employment problems; and lastly, lack of opportunities to enable refugees to sustain themselves³⁸.

Similarly, refugees' perceptions of their belonging and identity can also weaken their relationships with the host population and the host country. Kibreab (1999) describes how refugees see no future for themselves or their offspring in their countries of asylum. They do not imagine themselves as part of the host population, and they make efforts to maintain and develop their national collective identities and passing them to their offspring. In sum, they do not work to develop roots in the new place³⁹.

By studying how local integration can be a better solution to the refugee problem in developing countries, Jacobsen (2001) develops theoretical perspectives on the relationship between hosts and refugees. She mentions factors which negatively affect the relationship between refugees and hosts, such as security problems; refugees' economic impact in the host community; hosts' fear of social and cultural flooding by refugees; shared identity in the form of cultural, linguistic or ethnic affinity; and the beliefs and expectations held by both host communities and refugees on the temporariness of refugees' stay in exile.

³⁶ Host populations often perceive refugees as causing economic hardship and social ill such as theft, prostitution, and illegal cross border trade (Kibreab, 1999: 400).

³⁷ Kibreab, 1999: 388.

³⁸ Ibidem: 388-401.

³⁹ Kibreab, 1999: 389.

This study's interest is on potential changes in interactions between refugees and the host population caused by perceptions and expectations about the temporariness of refugee presence in host countries. In relation to host communities' perceptions and expectations, Jacobsen (2001) argues that these communities generally view refugees as their guests who have left their countries due to conflict or political problems, and who will subsequently return, when possible. This belief motivates local peoples' initial willingness to assist and accommodate refugees within the community. If the belief in temporariness proves to be false as refugees either do not return, or new influxes take place, host communities may resent the refugee presence among them, either on grounds of security threats or competition for scarce resources. Locals then pressure authorities to send refugees into asylum camps or other segregation strategies⁴⁰.

Regarding the refugees, there are many who, having fled their countries, wish to establish new lives as "normal" people among new host populations. Jacobsen (2001) argues that, when allowed free movement refugees are expected to connect with the host population, to live as part of the host community, to sustain livelihoods through land or employment and support themselves and their families, to maintain social networks so that intermarriage can occur, and everyone attends ceremonies such as weddings and funerals. The result being little distinction between refugees and hosts' living standards⁴¹.

Although refugees may initially view their stay in the host country as temporary, as their situation becomes protracted, this view begins to change, and some give up on the idea of repatriation and seek local integration. Despite their insecure legal status and the temporariness of their stay, refugees become *de facto* integrated after living with and being accepted by the local population.

Nevertheless, refugees who wish to maintain their national identity and attachment to their countries of origin choose to remain marked out with special status and treatment, thus valuing and emphasizing their refugee status⁴². The firm belief in the temporariness of their

⁴⁰ Van Hear, 2003a: 14.

⁴¹ Read Jacobsen, 2001.

⁴² Blackwell, 2000, as quoted in Jacobsen, 2001.

stay explains why some refugees do not easily nor quickly become integrated in host communities. They hold on to hopes of repatriation or resettlement and continue to view their situation as temporary, thus resisting integration or any form of settlement that would either obstruct their chances at repatriation⁴³ or jeopardize resettlement. This study did not come across a study examining the effects of this kind of situation on refugees' relations with the host population and aims at filling this gap.

This study will also build on the existing literature by revealing the ways forced migrants' perceptions of the temporariness of their refuge situation in exile weakens their relationship with space and people in exile.

⁴³ Jacobsen, 2001.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

4.1. Introduction

This study's overall goal is to analyze and understand the ways Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their relationship with Mozambicans living in Maputo city. In order to assess if the 'permanent transit' condition weakened or strengthened their relationship, the study looked at the forced migrants' length of stay in Mozambique; their level of integration in the local community; their daily social, cultural, economic, and political interactions with Mozambicans living in Maputo city; their livelihood strategies; the importance they place on place, ethnicity and language; their sense of belonging and political affiliations; and their future plans.

The study adopted a multi-methods approach, relying on questionnaires, interviews, and written sources to gather information to answer the research questions. This approach gave the researcher distinct perspectives on the subject matter and allowed for data corroboration or questioning through data comparison (triangulation).

The fieldwork was conducted in Maputo city, the capital of Mozambique. Maputo city has an area of 172 km² and is divided in 5 urban districts (UD) and 53 neighborhoods. Being the country's largest urban setting and economic center, Maputo has proven attractive to forced migrants, mainly from the Great Lakes Region. Compared to the refugee camp, Maputo offers better economic opportunities, and physical and social infrastructures. Its proximity to South Africa, considered the land of opportunities also contributes to attract forced migrants to Maputo.

Official statistics report 790 asylum seekers and/or refugees living in Maputo⁴⁴. However, this number does not correspond to reality on the ground. It is difficult to determine the exact numbers and proportions of forced migrants in urban settings due to their unwillingness to be counted and reluctance in revealing their exact locations to the authorities in order to remain flexible on their options. The study assumes that the number

⁴⁴ Laila Adamo, UNHCR Mozambique, interviewed on June 17th, 2003.

of forced migrants in Maputo city is higher than the official numbers. Whereas a certain proportion of forced migrants who flee across borders find accommodation and settle with official assistance (in camps or organized settlements), Jacobsen (2001) notes that, “most forced migrants bypass official assistance and find ways to settle themselves amongst the local population, in a pattern known as ‘self-settlement’ or ‘dispersed settlement’⁴⁵”. Most of those have preference for urban settings where they have better economic opportunities.

The choice of Congolese forced migrants was motivated by the fact that they constitute the largest group of the recent flows of asylum seekers to Mozambique. Mostly from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)’s eastern Kivu Region, the migrants were forced into exile by the complex regional war which broke out in 1998. Kivu is one of the hardest hit parts of the war-torn country⁴⁶.

Forced migration is a generic concept that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced person (IDPs), those displaced by conflict, as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, and development projects. These people are often forced to move unceremoniously and suddenly from their home and can either move across borders or within the country. Forced migration is an increasing phenomenon in Africa, a result of acute political, economic and environmental crisis.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of forced migrant not only includes asylum seekers and refugee status holders, but also all people coming from a given refugee producing country. Three reasons justify the use of this broader definition. Firstly, some people coming from a given refugee producing country are not running away due to “well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a political social group or political opinion” nor because of “external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or nationality⁴⁷”, but because of war related hardship and economic conditions that compel them to move. Secondly, methodologically it would be impossible to

⁴⁵ Jacobsen, 2001: 7.

⁴⁶ www.unhcr.ch

⁴⁷ OAU convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, 1969, Article 1.

determine who is and who is not a forced migrant in Maputo city before conducting interviews, since very few people hold refugee status. Thirdly, there was a need to compare the results of this study with the Johannesburg Project – *Johannesburg in the 21st Century: Forced Migrants, Survival Strategies, and the Socio-Politics of Urban Space* – based at the Wits University’s Forced Migration Studies Programme, conducted in Johannesburg, South Africa’s largest urban area and home of thousands of asylum seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants.

The study employed snowball sampling, a non-probabilistic sampling method to determine the interviewees. This method is useful in “studying social networks and groups of people who are hard to locate⁴⁸”. Sixty (60) informants living in Maputo city were interviewed. Twenty-nine (29) forced migrants and eleven (11) Mozambicans responded to questionnaires, and twenty (20) forced migrants were interviewed based on a non-structured interview guide. Although this sample is not representative of the whole forced migrant population in Maputo, it may be indicative of a more generalized reality.

4.2. Data collection techniques

Following the multi-methods approach, the study was conducted in five steps as described below.

Step 1

The first step consisted on the literature review, research proposal writing and public presentation prior to the submission for approval by the University of the Witwatersrand. Literature review allowed the understanding of previous studies on the same issue. NAR and UNHCR documents and reports provided statistics on forced migrants living in Mozambique in general, and particularly in Maputo city, and general information on the forced migrants’ situation in the country. UNHCR documents also allowed an insight on the durable solutions

⁴⁸ Peil, 1982: 32.

promoted by the agency. Mozambican legislation on refugees enabled the understanding of forced migrants' protection strategies in Mozambique. Mozambican Statistics National Institute's (INE) official statistics provided data on the Mozambican population census. Secondary literature in the form of published books and articles on refugees, durable solutions, irregular movements, transnationalism, remittances, and the relationship the refugees and the host country and population were also crucial for the completion of this phase.

Step 2

An exploratory study in Maputo followed the literature review and proposal writing⁴⁹. The survey's objective was to gather general data on forced migrants in Maputo city, specifically the demographic profile; location and living conditions; levels of integration in the local community; livelihood strategies; the nature of links with their countries of origin; and loyalties and affiliations. Forty (40) people responded to questionnaires.

To do research on refugees in urban settings is not an easy task due to access problems. These problems are heightened by legality and security issues. Forced migrants do not want to be known as such in order to avoid xenophobia or other types of societal and/ or official hostilities and discrimination, or even other sensitivities such as psychological problems attributed to displacement and/ or violence⁵⁰.

Since there was no clear knowledge on the forced migrants' whereabouts in Maputo city, the initial informants were chosen "purposefully and accidentally⁵¹" in Estrela Vermelha Market, one of the town's largest markets where several migrants and locals sell goods. From then on, each informant provided information that led to other informants, allowing the sample to grow following snowballing sampling steps, as described by MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000):

⁴⁹ Due to its size, the survey was not included in this research report. However, it can be obtained through the Johannesburg Project at Wits University.

⁵⁰ Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Program, 2003: 2.

⁵¹ Ibid.

The researcher first establishes his neutrality, then keeps up regular contact in informal settings and builds up bonds of trust and friendship to make it possible to move from one to another. In this way it is possible to get access to a wide range and number of informants...⁵²

From these initial contacts other respondents were identified and interviewed in eight additional sites located in different city districts, which reveals the refugees' dispersion levels in Maputo:

1. *Estrela Vermelha* Soccer Club where Congolese, Angolan, and Somali forced migrants play soccer on Sundays with the local population
2. *Xiquelene* informal market, where Burundi forced migrants funded through FCC sell goods
3. *Malhangalene* neighborhood where a great number of Congolese and Burundi forced migrants live.
4. 'Glory to God' barber shop, a business place owned by a Congolese where forced migrants from several nationalities, mostly Congolese gather, cut hair, use the public phone, listen to Congolese music, interact with local Mozambicans, and play games such as chess.
5. *T3* Market, where FCC funded Burundians sell goods.
6. *Primavera* Bakery, a public place chosen by some informants as the site for the interviews.
7. *Angola* avenue where FCC funded Burundi and Rwandan shops are located; and
8. *Zimpeto* neighborhood where Burundians sell goods.

Three students from University Eduardo Mondlane administered the questionnaires. Even though the use of local researchers can potentially increase data collection's reliability and validity, some methodological and ethical problems may arise. To reduce bias in the data collection process, local researchers chosen were neither refugees nor respondents' co-nationals.

Ethical issues were considered while conducting the survey. Respondents were informed of the study's purpose and granted informed consent for the administration of the

⁵² MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2000: 24.

questionnaires. It was explained to them that the interviewers were not working for the government or any form of development agency. Researchers also assured respondents that their names would not be published without authorization, and that they would have the right to terminate the interview at any time or choose not to answer questions they would feel uncomfortable with.

The researcher also conducted open-ended interviews during the exploratory study. The interviews with no pre-specific set or order of questions, little or no direction from the interviewer were conducted with the UNHCR, NAR, Home Affairs, and WR/FCC representatives. They provided general information regarding the forced migrants situation in Mozambique, the process of obtaining refugee status, refugees' settlement process, and the kind of support from these institutions for their integration and livelihood strategies. Nibona Sylver spoke about WR/FCC's micro-credit programs and showed some examples of successful Burundi and Rwandan businesspeople.

Step 3

The following step consisted on data entry and analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Data analysis focused on descriptive analysis: frequencies and cross tabulations. Frequency analysis provided percentages of questions responses. In cross tabulation analysis, variables *forced migrants' country of origin* and *forced migrants' length of stay in Mozambique* were cross analyzed with other variables to answer the research questions.

Step 4

Preliminary findings emerging from exploratory work led to the fieldworks' second phase. In all, 20 Congolese forced migrants responded to semi-structured interviews, with a clear list of topics to be addressed and questions to be answered⁵³. Nevertheless, the researcher was flexible in the application of the questions, in the order of topics, and by allowing the interviewed to develop ideas and speak broadly on the issues raised. Probing, prompting,

⁵³ The interview schedule is Appendix A.

and checking were employed to allow more detail, depth, and clarification. Semi-structured interviews were employed to develop questions from the questionnaire in greater detail and depth, as a complement to quantitative data, and as a triangulation method to corroborate facts.

Apart from personal details (age, sex, nationality, ethnicity, academic qualifications, language, marital status, and number of children), the following issues were addressed in the interviews: reasons for coming and settling in Mozambique; length of stay in Mozambique; refugee status determination and types of documents held by respondents; their trip's story, including countries and borders crossed, refugee camps stayed, and previous contacts in Mozambique; employment status; survival strategies and expenses; links to the country of origin including remittances; daily interactions with local Mozambicans; perceptions on Mozambique (political, economic, social and cultural); perceptions about the sense of belonging; loyalties and affiliations; future plans.

The following indicators were used to select respondents: forced migrants; Congolese; residing in Maputo; living in a state of 'permanent transit'. Appointments were made in advance by phone, email and in person. Interviews were conducted in different settings: a soccer field; a barbershop; a bakery; a market; and on the street in *Malhangalene* neighborhood.

Although human memory is unreliable as a research instrument, given that it is prone to partial recall, bias and error, most of the interviews were not tape-recorded due to the respondents' refusal to do so. Consequently, field notes were drafted during and soon after the interviews. Field notes also covered information related with the context, such as the location, the climate, and the atmosphere under which the interviews were conducted, clues on the intent behind statements, and comments on non-verbal aspects, relevant to the interview.

Since the data consisted on information conveyed by respondents' words, and there is no absolute way of verifying what someone tells about his/ her thoughts, feelings and experiences, a process of crosschecking was used for accuracy⁵⁴.

Having in mind the protection of the informants' identity, informed consent was obtained, study purposes were clarified to respondents, and, over the interviews the researcher was careful to not identify respondents by their full names in the notebook and used codes to protect them in case the notebook would fall in the authorities' hands.

Step 5

The last phase consisted on data analysis and report writing. May (1993) refers that, by moving chronologically through a person's account of an event and their experiences of it, a picture is constructed. A comparison of peoples' accounts can be made focusing on the ways in which people relate their experiences according to the circumstances they find themselves in⁵⁵. In order to find patterns, processes, commonalities, and differences, the interviews were coded⁵⁶ and categorized. As some explanations emerged, the researcher had to return sometimes to the field to check the validity of these explanations against reality. Through the reflection process on the data and cross checking against the reality on the field, the researcher developed a set of generalizations that explain the themes and relationships identified in the data. The new generalized statements were compared against the existing theories to answer the research questions.

Extracts from the interviews are used in this report to give the reader a flavor of the data and to let the reader "hear" the points as stated by the respondents. The extracts will also serve as an illustration of a point and as arguments' supporting evidence⁵⁷. In report writing, the

⁵⁴ It is important to note that crosschecking is not a watertight method to detect false statements given during interviews.

⁵⁵ May, 1993: 106.

⁵⁶ Coding has been defined as the general term for conceptualizing data; coding includes raising questions and providing provisional answers (hypothesis) on categories and relations. Code is the term for any product of this analysis (whether a category or a relation among two or more categories). May, 1993: 105.

⁵⁷ It is important to note that is very unlikely that an extract from an interview transcript can be presented as a proof of a point for two main reasons. First, the significance of extracts from transcriptions is always limited by the fact that they are to some extent presented out of context, since the data is plucked from their context

confidentiality of those who did not agree in publishing their names is guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms.

within the rest of the interview. Second, the process of selecting extracts involves a level of judgement and discretion by the researcher, because it is an editorial decision that reflects the needs of a research report.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS' ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter demonstrates the ways Congolese forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their relationship with the Mozambicans living in Maputo. In order to do so, it is important to first understand the Congolese forced migrants' demographic profile, livelihood and survival strategies, motivations behind their 'permanent transit' condition, and, lastly, analyze their interactions with the Mozambicans living in Maputo. Following this methodology, the study demonstrates that, because Congolese forced migrants live in a state of 'permanent condition', their relationship with the Mozambicans living in Maputo is weakened, since they do not get attached to Mozambicans through marriage and children, they often do not get a job and are dependent on remittances from relatives in the country of origin, and tend to engage in socio-cultural activities with other Congolese rather than with Mozambicans.

5.2. Demographic profile of urban forced migrant population

All forced migrants' demographic profile suggests that they should be able to integrate but they tend not to. They are male, young, skilled (computer and language skills), academically educated, and ready to work.

Forced migrants went to Maputo because they are overwhelmingly urban in origin. Almost 90% of all forced migrants surveyed (50% Congolese) reported living in cities before going to Maputo. Another 10% spent their lives in towns.

For the interviewed, Mozambique was not the first country of asylum. Most of the forced migrants sampled traveled through countries where they could have claimed asylum. Over 57% of the respondents reported staying in another country for more than a week, namely Zambia (25%) and Tanzania (15%). However, only 40% have ever stayed in a refugee camp (30% in Mozambique and only 5% in Zambia). An even smaller number, just over 2%

reported receiving aid from an international organization. In this context, they could be qualified as irregular movers or asylum shoppers. However, it is not easy to affirm it categorically, because to qualify as irregular movers they should have applied and been granted effective protection in the first countries of asylum, which they reported not doing.

The forced migrants sampled tend to speak French, English, and Portuguese, considered international languages. Although 27% of the Congolese reported speaking French, and 20% reported speaking or learning to speak English, 16% speak fluently Portuguese, enough to allow their survival in Mozambique, but not an indication of integration tendencies.

Most forced migrants have lived in Maputo for some years without refugee status, holding only a declaration issued by the Mozambican authorities as an identification document (55% of the respondents). Documentation is a huge constraint for forced migrants. Due to lack of proper documentation, forced migrants reported facing problems accessing employment (58%), government social grants (10%), bank accounts, financial credit, education, and restricted movement and psychological fear of arrest as they frequently must bribe police officers to avoid going to jail.

Over 78% of the forced migrants reported being stopped by the police to check their identity documents and immigration status. They reported having problems with the police caused by the declaration they hold. According to the respondents, the police does not acknowledge the document's validity alleging that it is false. Hassan reported that several police officers do not know of the document's existence, and those who know of its existence never saw the document⁵⁸. Some forced migrants agree with the police and question the document's validity, because it is renewed bimonthly, and it is just a piece of white paper in A4 size with the asylum seeker's name, nationality, picture, a note stating that he/she is under NAR or UNHCR protection, and NAR Director's signature. Nday goes further by questioning, "how can one hold a declaration renewable bimonthly for five (5) years?"⁵⁹ NAR delays in

⁵⁸ Hassan interviewed on January 19th, 2004.

⁵⁹ Interview with Nday on January 22nd, 2004.

renewing the declaration affects the refugees' relationship with the police authorities. As stated by Nday,

NAR takes two weeks or more to renew the Declaration. Over this period, we do not have any document to protect us. If the police stop us in the street and find out that we do not hold documents, we are arrested. NAR can help us when we are jailed. They can confirm that we are asylum seekers, but only do so during regular office hours (from 7.30am to 3.30pm, Monday to Friday). If you are arrested in the evening or over the weekend you must stay in jail or bribe the police officers to release you⁶⁰.

5.3. Congolese refugee's relationship with Maputo city and the Mozambicans living in the city

As referred elsewhere in this report, the Congolese forced migrants live in Maputo in a condition of transit for three to five years. They live in a 'permanent transit' condition waiting to leave the country at any moment, thus not integrating into the host community. This goes against what is expected when refugees are allowed free movement. They are expected to live as part of the host community, to be able to sustain livelihoods to support themselves and their relatives, and to network socially.

Regarding the ability to sustain livelihoods, since forced migrants in urban settings only get legal assistance from UNHCR and depend on other non-refugee related means of survival, it is expected that they find employment. In general, forced migrants' employment status in Maputo is diversified. Over 33% of the respondents said that they were working full time in either formal or informal sectors. The activities reported by those employed full time include teaching French and English languages, voluntary work in NGOs, locksmith, police officer, microfinance officer, electrician, doctor, lawyer, and mechanic. Forced migrants can access jobs due to an exception created by the Ministry of Labor to allow them to work, despite the legal indication that they can only work in Mozambique when holding the refugee status⁶¹. Over 34% of forced migrants reported being employed by Mozambicans while 28% are employed by other immigrants, 14% from the same tribe or ethnic group.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Read Miamidian and Jacobsen, 2004.

Twenty three percent (23%) of the sampled forced migrants reported being self-employed, running small businesses (barber shop, selling groceries), and doing occasional work. According to Jacobsen (2004), urban refugees often bring with them new or different skills, knowledge of markets in their home countries, and are more experienced in business than their local counterparts, which constitute a competitive advantage for the Mozambican business environment. Lack of access to social welfare, family support, and formal employment opportunities means that forced migrants are more willing to take financial risks to make their businesses prosper.

Notwithstanding, forced migrants in 'permanent transit' condition are predominantly unemployed. Some study English and computer skills, and survive with remittances from friends, relatives, and family in the country of origin or in the wider diaspora. They receive between US\$100,00 and US\$200,00 monthly through Western Union in the Mozambique International Bank (BIM) that charges 20% tax fee. To access the money, forced migrants must show the identity declaration issued by NAR and the transfer code.

Remittances for Congolese forced migrants are eased by their transnational networks. They use telecommunication centers to establish contact with relatives back home or in the wider diaspora, and to organize visits, money transfers, and other transactions. As reported by some forced migrants, they communicate on a regular basis with friends and relatives in the country of origin or in Europe through email, land lines, and mobile phones to get updated news and to inform about financial needs and constraints. Over 38% of the forced migrants mentioned that they had contact with their kin or family member in the previous month.

Regarding accommodation, forced migrants find it in buildings or garages transformed into rooms, mostly in Malhangalene neighborhood (28%), Central neighborhood (21%), and Alto Maé neighborhood (10%), where they live mostly with friends from the country of origin (35%) and members of their pre-flight household (17%). Forced migrants pay higher rent costs compared with the amounts paid by local Mozambicans, just because they are foreigners and perceived to have more money. Over 31% of the forced migrants reported spending between 1.000.000,00 *meticais* (approximately US\$45,00) and 1.999.999,00 *meticais* (approximately US\$90,00) on rent, while 17% spend between 2.000.000,00 *meticais*

(approximately US\$90,00) and 4.999.999,00 *meticais* (approximately US\$225,00) renting an apartment where they can live alone or with relatives.

To overcome accommodation constraints and considering that they do not wish to spend more than necessary on accommodation and furniture since they can leave at any moment, it is common to find between three to seven forced migrants sharing a single room. Others who lack money for rent depend on friends for lodging (7% of respondents). In case of delay in rent payment the landlord attitude towards forced migrants is very rude. Forced migrants reported having their goods thrown outside the apartments and being insulted by landlords in front of their neighbors⁶².

As for food expenses, it was difficult for the respondents to estimate how much they spend on a monthly basis because they buy small amounts of food daily, instead of buying enough to last one or several months.

Although Congolese forced migrants consider Mozambicans as being good people and almost 41% of the respondents are proud of living in Mozambique, they do not get attached to the country or its people. Most of them are single, and few reported having children: 43% did not report any children, 23% reported two (2) children, and 20% reported one (1) child.

Forced migrants reported having female Mozambican friends with whom they have sex occasionally, but no girlfriends nor wives. Jimmy Jean even had a girlfriend who got pregnant and had a daughter. His baby mother wanted to marry so he left her. After this episode, he never had a girlfriend because he does not want to get attached⁶³. Olivia Shannon reported that some forced migrants even refused refugee status because it would jeopardize resettlement⁶⁴.

In case of need of help or small amounts of money, forced migrants reported often turning to friends from the country of origin instead of Mozambicans.

⁶² Interview with Dodo, January 22nd 2004.

⁶³ Interview with Jimmy Jean, January 19th, 2004.

⁶⁴ Interview with Olivia Shannon, UNHCR, February 23rd, 2004.

In terms of socialization, forced migrants tend to cut hair in Congolese hair salons, they seek entertainment at Chez Temba, a nightclub known by playing Congolese music and where the Congolese community gathers to dance. They also tend to play soccer at *Estrela Vermelha* soccer field with Mozambicans as opponents, with teams divided by nationalities.

Mupedziswa (2000) states that, while in exile, refugees tend to recreate their communities: they tend to respond to diversity by sticking together as manifested by their preference to settle in the same geographical area, and as far as possible to interact almost exclusively with their own ethnic groups⁶⁵. Forced migrants also use their rich cultural heritage – music and dance – to try to rebuild their cultural identity in Mozambique.

As for politics, the data collected suggests that forced migrants have more interest in Congolese political affairs rather than Mozambican. However, there is a very narrow difference between the percentages of respondents' perceptions on Mozambican political affairs. While 35% of the respondents never follow Mozambican political affairs, 25% follow from time to time, and 25% follow regularly. On the other hand, a significant percentage of forced migrants follow regularly the country of origin's political affairs and news.

In terms of political affiliations, the data collected suggests that forced migrants do not get involved in Mozambican politics. They reported not being a member of a political organization or party (80%), and not being a member of a saving group or rotary credit association (83%). However, more than half of the respondents (63%) reported being members of religious organizations. Over 48% reported being Protestant (24% Pentecostal), 28% Muslim, and 14% Catholic.

As for ethnic and national belonging, almost half of the surveyed forced migrants (48%) said that they have strong bonds with their ethnic group or tribe, and proudly identify with their ethnic group. Most of them never try to hide their tribal or national identity (69%).

In relation to the sense of belonging, less than half of the respondents (48%) feel part of the Mozambican society while at the same time are proud of identifying as a citizen of the

⁶⁵ Mupedziswa, 2002: 15.

country of origin. However, the other half does not feel as part of the Mozambican society because they do not enjoy the same rights as the locals.

Furthermore, forced migrants do not view themselves living in Mozambique in the future nor teaching or bringing up their children according to the Mozambican culture. Almost 41% of the forced migrants wanted their children to consider themselves citizens of the country of origin, 48% want their children to be taught in English in a Portuguese speaking country, 21% in French and only 10% in Portuguese.

As we have shown, Congolese forced migrants' relationship with the local people is weak. They do not get attached to Mozambicans through marriage or children, often do not get a job, are dependent on remittances from relatives in the country of origin and tend to engage in socio-cultural activities with other Congolese rather than Mozambicans. They also do not view themselves living in Mozambique in the future, nor having children and raising them according to the Mozambican culture.

But what could be the explanation for the Congolese forced migrants' lack of integration and consequent weak relationship between them, the space they occupy in exile, and the host population? Data collected point to two main factors to explain the weak relationship between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans living in Maputo city.

The first factor is the Congolese forced migrants' belief on the temporariness of their stay in Mozambique. Most of the forced migrants (almost 72% of the forced migrants surveyed, 52% of them Congolese) reported leaving their countries of origin to escape from war or conflict. Only 14% came to Mozambique for economic reasons such as getting a job to improve their life standards. Even though the aforementioned reasons contributed for their decision to stay in Mozambique, other reasons were mentioned such as the facility to get a passport and visa to a third country of asylum, the need to attain political freedom, and the lack of money to continue traveling.

In Maputo they live for three to five years waiting to leave at any moment for a third country of resettlement, they are physically living in Maputo, but they are theoretically travelling

abroad. They do not want to stay in Mozambique, and they hold on to hopes of resettlement, consequently resisting integration or any form of settlement that might jeopardize or obstruct resettlement opportunities.

Forced migrants reported wanting to go to Western countries for economic and welfare betterment, job and education opportunities, and to join their relatives, friends, and family. Some even tried South Africa but eventually returned to Mozambique for fear of crime and xenophobia. There is also a perception that in Mozambique it would be easier to get passports and visa to European countries, the United States of America, and Australia. As stated by Luc, from Congo it is difficult to go to Europe. In South Africa it is even more difficult to get visa because of the substantial numbers of forced migrants wanting to go to western countries through that country⁶⁶. Jimmy wants to study in Belgium because he has contacts there that tell him about the optimum opportunities he will have there. He reported that UNHCR promised to give him a scholarship to a western country, but so far, five years later he is still waiting⁶⁷.

When questioned on how they plan to reach western countries, the answers given include working for an international NGO and travel through it; resettlement through UNHCR as a student; waiting for refugee status, work and pay for the trip; use illegal traffickers or agents; and marry a white foreigner with help of friends in the diaspora.

The second factor could be the forced migrants' economic flexibility anchored on remittances from relatives and friends from the country of origin or the wider diaspora. With this source of income forced migrants disregard the need to work and consequently to integrate.

⁶⁶ Interview with Luc, January 14th, 2004.

⁶⁷ Interview with Jimmy Jean, January 19th, 2004.

CONCLUSIONS

This study's overall goal was to analyze and understand the ways Congolese (from Democratic Republic of Congo) forced migrants' 'permanent transit' condition affects their relations with the Mozambicans living in Maputo.

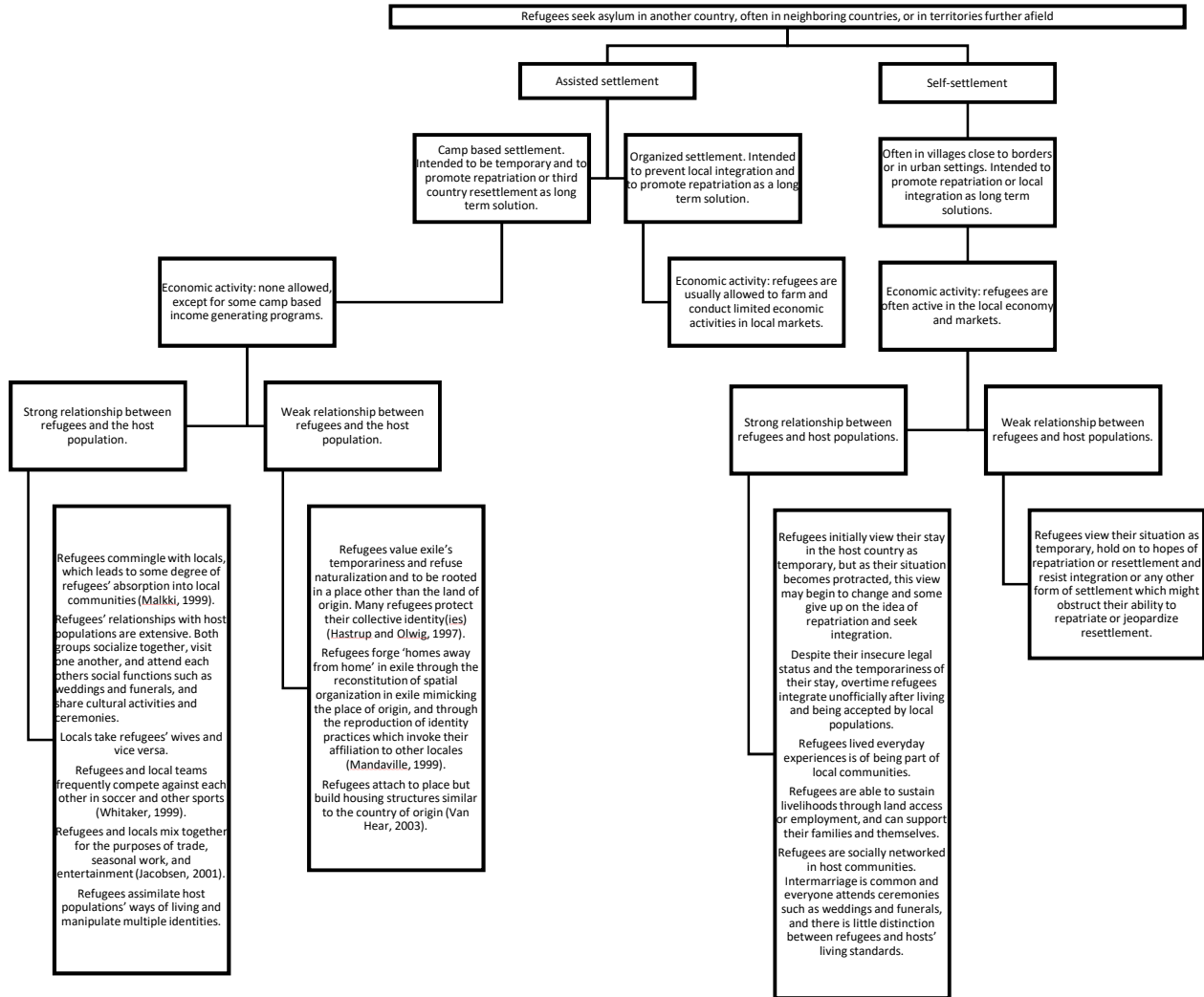
According to the theories on refugees' relationships with host communities, though initially refugees settled in urban settings may view their situation as temporary, overtime they become *de facto* integrated and are accepted by the host community, building strong relationships which includes the ability to sustain livelihoods and support themselves and their families, and develop socio-cultural and political interactions between them. In this context, and considering their length of stay in the host country, the study expected to observe strong relationships between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans living in Maputo city, consubstantiated in levels of integration, assimilation, attachment to social, cultural, political and economic ways of living of Mozambicans residing in Maputo city.

However, what was observed and constitute this study's argument is that Congolese forced migrants continue to view their situation as temporary and, for years hold on to hopes of resettlement, living in a state of 'permanent transit'. As a result of this 'permanent transit' condition, the relationship between the Congolese forced migrants and the Mozambicans residing in Maputo city is weakened. This 'permanent transit' condition prevents Congolese forced migrants from getting attached to Mozambicans through marriage and procreation. Congolese forced migrants in 'permanent transit' tend not to work, are dependent on remittances from relatives in the country of origin or the wider diaspora and tend to engage in sociocultural activities among themselves rather than with Mozambicans. It was also observed that they do not view themselves living permanently in Mozambique nor having children and educating or bringing them up according to the Mozambican culture.

Nevertheless, this may be only one side of the problem. Other aspects could explain the relationship between forced migrants, the space they occupy in exile, and the people with whom they live. Under different circumstances, for example without access to remittances and with changes in their intentions of leaving the country at any time, distinct outcomes

could be observed as demonstrated in figure 2, through a framework of possible theoretical explanations for the relationships between refugees and host communities in exile, opening avenues for future research.

Figure 4. Theoretical framework of the possible explanations for the relationships between refugees and host populations in exile



Source: Developed by the author.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interview guide

University Of the Witwatersrand
The Graduate School for Humanities and Social Sciences
Forced Migration Studies
Interview guide

Good day/ morning/ afternoon/ evening. Thank you for your willingness in taking part in this interview. My name is Denise. I am a student at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits University) and I am doing research for my master's degree. The objective of this study is to understand the lives of Congolese forced migrants in Maputo city. I do not work for the government of any form of development agency.

This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have 'correct' or 'incorrect' answers. I only want to know about your life and your ideas. Please tell me honestly what you think. Your information will be kept confidential. I will not give it to the government or the police.

I cannot promise you any form of compensation for your participation except for my appreciation.

Altogether, this interview should take about 45 minutes. Are you ready to go ahead?

1. Can I ask you some personal details for statistical purposes? Take details of...
 - a. Age
 - b. Sex
 - c. Where do you belong to (nationality/ ethnicity)?
 - d. Ethnic group/ tribe
 - e. Highest level of education achieved
 - f. Additional training or education. Where did you receive this training?
 - g. What languages do you speak? What is your mother tongue?
 - h. What is your marital status? Do you have any children? How many
2. How long have you lived in Mozambique? When did you apply for refugee status in Mozambique? What kind of documents do you hold?
3. Tell me the story of your trip from your country of origin until you settled in Maputo city (probe until the topic is exhausted).
 - a. Why did you come to Mozambique?
 - b. With whom did you come from your home country?
 - c. When you were living your country of origin, did you consider going to live anywhere else other than Mozambique? Where? Why?
 - d. Why did you ultimately decided to stay in Mozambique?
 - e. Did you stay in refugee camps?

- f. Which borders did you cross?
 - g. Did you have any contacts in Maputo before you came? How did they help you?
 - h. How did you pay for the trip?
4. Are you working now? If yes, give details of ...
- a. What kind of work do you do?
 - b. To whom do you work for (nationality, ethnicity, refugee or not)? If the person has his own business, ask: what kind of people do you hire?
 - c. How much do you earn per month?
 - d. How much do you spend on rent/ accommodation, food, and clothing?
- If not, ask –
- a. How do you survive in Maputo?
 - b. How do you pay for your accommodation, food, and clothing?
5. Are you in contact with relatives in the country of origin?
- a. When you last were in contact with relatives in the country of origin?
 - b. Approximately how much do you send monthly to your family members or friends outside of Maputo? How do you send those funds back home?
 - c. Approximately how much do you receive monthly from your family members or friends outside of Maputo? How do you receive the funds?
6. How do you relate daily with Mozambicans? (Probe until the topic is exhausted).
- a. Where do you live?
 - b. Whom do you live with?
 - c. Do you have children born since coming to Mozambique? How many?
 - d. What languages do you speak?
 - e. Which activities do you engage in on your free time?
 - f. To what group does the person or people with whom you do these activities belong?
 - g. How important do you think is to marry someone from your ethnic group/ tribe or country of origin?
 - h. How important do you think is to marry a Mozambican?
 - i. Where do you go in the following circumstances: you need to borrow 1.000.000,00Mt or 10.000.000,00Mt; you need legal advice; you need health care or advice; you are having trouble with the police; you are having trouble finding a place to live; you are having trouble getting immigration documents.
7. How do you see Mozambique? (Probe until the topic is exhausted).
- a. How often do you follow political affairs in Mozambique?
 - b. How often do you follow political affairs in the country of origin?
 - c. Do you belong to any political, social, cultural or sports organization in Mozambique?
 - d. Would you put yourself at risk to defend Mozambique, the Mozambicans, your country of origin or members of your tribe/ ethnic group?

- e. To earn a decent life in Mozambique, what ethnicity/ tribe do you think it is important to belong to?
8. Where do you consider to be your homeland?
 - a. Are you proud to identify yourself with your ethnic group?
 - b. Are you proud to be living in Mozambique? Do you feel as part of the Mozambican society?
 - c. Does it bother you to reveal your national/ ethnic identity?
 - d. Do you want your children to consider themselves citizens of your country of origin/ members of your ethnic group?
 - e. How often do you hide your tribal/ national identity?
 - f. Do you think it is better for immigrants only to maintain their customs and traditions or to maintain them but also adopting the host country's customs and traditions?
9. What are your plans for the near future? (probe until the topic is exhausted).
 - a. Do you have plans to leave Mozambique in the near future?
 - b. Where do you think you will go?
 - c. Why are you going to leave?
 - d. Where would you like your children to grow up?
 - e. In what language would you like your children to be taught in school?
10. Thank you very much for helping me and giving up your time for this interview. Can I finally ask if there is any aspect of your life experience here in Maputo which hasn't been covered in this interview?

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