Northumbria Research Link

Northumbria Research Link

DISPLACEMENT LIVELIHOODS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: CONTRASTING MODES IN THE DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DECENT IN BRAZZAVILLE, REPUBLIC OF CONGO AND NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, UK

Evarist   Mbakem Anu

A thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

January, 2008

DISPLACEMENT LIVELIHOODS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
CONTRASTING MODES IN THE DISPLACEMENT OF PEOPLE OF
AFRICAN DECENT IN BRAZZAVILLE, REPUBLIC OF CONGO AND
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, UK

Evarist Mbakem Anu

**A thesis submitted for the partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the University of Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy**

January, 2008

i

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that no part of it has been submitted for any other degree. All information sources have been acknowledged.

15/11/2007

ABSTRACT

The World over, people are forced to move because of natural and human induced disasters. The constant growth in the number of displaced people has made forced migration a major issue of our time. Many factors account for displacement in developing countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, conflicts, political repression and economic marginalisation have through the years forced millions to settle out of their countries of birth. This study examines the link between displacement, livelihoods and sustainable development. Stated differently, it probes into how the displacement process influences post-displacement livelihood reconstruction, as well as the impact of displacement on the communities of origin and the areas where resettlement is sought. Drawing on data collected in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo and Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, the study argues that individual experiences in displacement influence the group displaced people identify with as well as their post-displacement livelihood reconstruction strategies. The research questions originate from the findings of my field work in Brazzaville, and Newcastle, existing literature on displacement and livelihoods, and theories rooted in the political economy of impoverishment. The research questions seek to understand the impact of pre-displacement skills and capabilities on post displacement livelihoods, as well as factors which guide migrants in their experiences in displacement. They further seek to know the effect of the displacement process on migrants' sending and receiving communities, as well as the impact of institutions and policies in countries where resettlement is sought, on post-displacement livelihoods.

The findings of the study assert that self-view in displacement and the subsequent livelihoods strategies are influenced by access to socio-economic participation in the location where resettlement is sought, as well as the range of rights and entitlements conferred to various categories of displaced people. This selective process is influenced by the pre-displacement status, the displacement track and individual experiences in displacement. The findings of this study further depict the complexity of the causes of displacement in Africa South of the Sahara in that, most migrants of African decent are in reality flushed out of their home countries by political persecution, armed conflict, economic marginalisation and livelihood insecurity, and

not absolute poverty as commonly misconstrued. Livelihoods insecurity is a major factor which does not only force these people to move away from their communities of origin in a variety of settings, but equally prompts their re-displacement along the way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 3 Literature Review

Chapter 4 Methodology

LIST OF FIGURES   PAGE

LIST OF TABLES   **Page**

ABBREVATIONS

ACANE	African Community Advice North East
CARA	Council for Assisting Refugee Academics
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CEMIR	Commision d'Entraide pour les Migrants et les Refugiés
CFD	Caisse Française de Dévéloppment
CMRP	Centre Medical de Resources Professionelles
CMIDD	Committee for the Movement of Integrated Democracy and Development
CNAR	Centre National d'Assistance aux Refugiés
CRESSH	Centre de Recherche sur les Etudes en Sciences Sociales et Humaines
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CWP	Congolese Workers Party
DPM	Disaster Pressure Model
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EPAU	Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
EU	European Union
Ex-FAZ	Ex-Force Armée Zairoise
Ex-FAC	Ex-Force Armée Congolaise
FEA	French Equatorial Africa
FOE	Friends of the Earth
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
GEF	Global Environmental Facilities
HIPC	Heavy Indebted Poor Countries
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
ICM	International Carbon Market
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRRM	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model
MCP	Military Committee of the Party

NASS	National Asylum and Support Service
NCRA	National Committee for Refugees Assistance
NERS	North of England Refugee Service
NRC	National Resistance Council
OAU	Organisation of Africa Unity
PAUSD	Pan Africa Union for Social Democracy
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDR	Union for Democratic Renewal
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Cooperation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
NUTLA	National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
US	United States
RAC	Refugees Appeal Committee
RCBOs	Refugee Community Based Organisations
RDM	Re-Displacement Model
RDRRM	Re-Displacement Risk Reduction Model
RSEC	Refugee Status Eligibility Committee
WBOPIR	World Bank's Operations Policy on Involuntary Resettlement
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WERS	West End Refugee Service
WFP	World Food Programme
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Description of the Problem

This study examines the link between displacement, livelihoods and sustainable development. Stated differently, it probes into how the displacement process influences post-displacement livelihood reconstruction, as well as the socio-economic impact of displacement on the communities of origin and destination communities.

From time immemorial, displacement has been a characteristic of individual and collective human behaviour, with people on the move for various reasons. In the second half of the twentieth century, internal migration in general and rural-urban migration in particular, was thought to be a desirable process. In this process, rural surplus labour was gradually withdrawn from traditional agriculture to provide required manpower to the growing modern industrial sectors. In the same period international migration emerged as one of the main factors in social transformation and development the world over, thus questioning the claim of sovereignty over people and territories by states (Iredale, 2001; Torado, 1976). However, many factors account for displacement in developing countries. In Sub-Sahara Africa, conflicts, political repression and economic marginalisation have through the years forced millions to settle out of their country of birth.

Migration may be enforced or more or less free. Under the former category we could list the slave trade, indenture labour, refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). And under the latter are migrant workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, and family reunion. International migrants belong to two broad groups, being voluntary migrants and forced migrants. Fuelled by a combination of push factors in source countries and pull factors in receiving countries, voluntary migration is sustained by well-developed networks that link the supply of labour with the demand of businesses for both highly skilled and unskilled workers. Conflicts, human rights abuses, repressions and natural disasters equally displace people from their home communities causing them to relocate locally, in neighbouring or distant countries. However, since the beginning of the new millennium, migration, whether forced or

voluntary has become even more politicized and a pivotal issue in both national and international politics (Castle, 2003). This, demands a more in depth understanding about the processes of forced migration to solicit the right type of response to different representations of the nature and causes of displacement. This thesis argues that whilst refugees are forced to flee from their homeland by conflicts, political repression and natural disasters, displaced people often depicted as economic/illegal immigrants are in most instances forced to move out of their home countries by social inequalities, marginalisation and global socio-economic transformation. These dynamics influence their livelihood options in the course of resettlement.

Using data obtained from research carried out on displaced people of African decent living in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo and Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, this study investigates the impact of pre-displacement circumstances, the displacement track, and socio-economic dynamics in receiving countries on post-displacement livelihood reconstruction.

A refugee is at the very bottom of the social scale often cut off from normal means of gaining a living and constrained to seek sanctuary in an unfamiliar culture. In their struggle to create a livelihood, refugees become a source of cheap labour and are sometimes exploited in both developed and developing countries (Black, 1998). Developed countries consequently may regard refugees, as well as skilled immigrants as a group capable of filling skilled labour shortages and possibly improving the stock of 'brains' (Iredale, 2001). However, in some Western countries including the UK, immigrants have been at times accused of displacing the indigenous workforce who then go onto state benefits and become a burden to the state tax- payer (Duvell and Jorden, 2003).

This not withstanding, in countries facing an emergence of shortages in key areas of the economy, and the overall impact of negative demographic changes, migration related issues are appraised as a central feature of the global economic environment with potentially significant benefits. Furthermore, migrants are less selective than natives in term of the type of work they will do. In recent years, many studies have acknowledged the creative skills and ingenuity of displaced people (Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobson, 2006, 2005). In a broad sense, displacement as a phenomenon has many causes, occurs in different contexts, acts

upon different peoples, lands them in different predicaments, and brings in to being new social and physical environments, including new institutional orders and labels. This study therefore considers each migrant as a displaced person experiencing varying types of displacement, with varying implications for post displacement livelihoods recreation.

With a focus on displacement, the research builds on literature covering the following aspects of migration and human security:

- Complex political emergencies – rural famine or refugee paradigm; conflicts among combatants; genocides; ethnic cleansings.
- Environmental degradation/natural disasters – droughts; flooding; climate change; depletion of resources; deforestation.
- Autocratic governance – marginalisation; social exclusion; political persecution; nepotism; favouritism.
- Globalization – the advent of trans-national links; growth in educational exports; social cultural aspects of trans-nationalism.

Working with immigrants of African decent living in Newcastle, United Kingdom and Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, the study seeks to investigate livelihoods processes of displaced people by addressing:

- The social economic impact of the presence of immigrants on the receiving community.
- The impact of the displacement process on post-displacement livelihood reconstruction.
- New livelihood opportunities created by the presence of the immigrant population.
- Factors inhibiting immigrants' livelihoods recreation.
- The impact of immigrants' pre-displacement skills capabilities on post-displacement livelihood recreation.
- The impact of displacement on the immigrants' communities of origin.
- The impact of displacement as a contributing factor to human insecurity.

1.2 Classification of Migrants

In this study the terms "displaced people; immigrants; uprooted people; migrants" are used interchangeably to make for smooth reading to refer to people who are forced by a variety of circumstances to leave their countries of origin and move to foreign countries. However, the significance of 'identity' in displacement studies is evident in the diverse range of categories assigned to victims of displacement – political refugee, asylum seeker, internally displaced persons, war-affected population, returnees, temporarily protected persons, stateless people, illegal migrant, development induced migrants, and environmental refugees. This categorisation is for reasons that seldom serve the cause and interest of the displaced. The banality of drawing a clear demarcation between these groups is highlighted in many studies (Brinkman, 2004; Conway, 2004; Schuster, 2003; Hao, 2003; Martin, 2002; Alger, 1999; Myer, 1997).

Because various identities confer different rights and entitlement to recipients, displaced people are often obliged to aspire to particular identities as prescribed by their resettlement livelihood objectives. In the light of the existing international refugee legal framework, people uprooted by a given crisis may be granted different identities. These conferred identities depend largely on the country and regions where resettlement is sought, as well as the pre-displacement social status of the displaced. However, the causes of displacement are as diverse as the categories assigned to uprooted people. In reality, most crises responsible for short, as well as long term displacement are the consequences of complex and interconnected socio-economic upheavals. As shown by the Congo-Brazzaville complex emergency, persistent absolute poverty, social inequality, ethnic rivalry, economic exclusion, political repression and other forms of marginalisation may in due course lead to an explosive situation (Chapter Two).

Furthermore, some victims of humanitarian emergencies often belong to more than one category, or share overlapping characteristics. This may be the case with a war affected population who become re-displaced, or refugees returning to their home country caught in continuing conflict, thus becoming internally displaced (Martin, 2002). For this reason the 1951 UN convention's definition of refugees as individuals fleeing across national borders as a result of war or political repression, is considered

narrow, and encompassing not all of those in a life threatening situation (Walters, 2003; Alger, 1999).

This study thus seeks to shed more light on the interconnected nature of causes of displacement and the paramount importance of this for displaced people's livelihoods reconstruction. While it is impossible to overlook the importance of conferred 'identity' in the management of displaced persons, a shift towards facilitating livelihoods reconstruction rather than investing in simply classifying displaced people, would enable the displaced to resettle sustainable in both their countries and regions of origin or destination.

1.3 Significance of Study

Many factors account for displacement in developing countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, conflicts, political repression and economic marginalisation have through the years forced millions to settle out of their country of birth. The Cold War tensions might have subsided in the continent but resurgent ethnic, nationalist, religious tensions, as well as other factors related to the control of the state have shattered peace in many countries. The structural adjustment programmes that the Bretton Woods Institutions imposed on most developing countries in the 1980s generally boosted social-inequalities, economic marginalisation, favouritism, nepotism and displaced many hitherto settled families.

The importance of livelihoods recreation in displacement has been highlighted in many studies (Campbell, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobson, 2005, 2002; Conway, 2004; Guarnieri, 2004; Macchiavello, 2004; Travis, 2004; Kirbread, 2003; Haug, 2002; De Haan, 1999; Christensen, 1984, 1983, 1982). But the impact of the pre-displacement status and the displacement process on post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction through resettlement, remains an under researched area. In an integrated approach aimed at breaching cross boundary knowledge, the conceptual demarcation of this study is grounded in disasters, displaced people and associated policy environments. Furthermore, no study has yet looked at this dynamic across the displacement process from Central Africa to the UK. The research comprising this thesis seeks to make a contribution in this area. Specifically, the study aims to investigate in which way the task of reconstructing a livelihood in the course of displacement is influenced by pre-displacement circumstances, the migration track, and the socio-economic dynamics inherent in the resettlement environment. In so doing it equally seeks to understand the ultimate effects of displacement on immigrants' hosting and sending communities.

The difficulty in drawing a clear demarcation between the various categories of displaced people is well documented in displacement studies in that the causes of displacement may be as diverse as the categories assigned to its victims. But most displacement crises in developing countries occur as a result of the unwillingness and or inability of the political elite to deal with slow onset human induced disasters. It is thus relevant to acknowledge the direct link between underlying factors such as socio-economic exclusion, ethnic dominance, nepotism and the outbreak of mass

displacement crises in Africa South of the Sahara. The study is important in that it seeks to shed some light on the easily overlooked inter-connected nature of the causes of displacement, which raises ambiguity on the classification of displaced people. Using the Congo-Brazzaville crises, as well as the impact of the presence of immigrants in this war torn country, the study includes bringing to light the complex nature of circumstances which cause people to depart from their communities to embrace the unknown, despite it often being unfeasible they will ever resettle fully in a foreign country

The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as a person who;

> 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside of the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside his country of former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to ....'

(Article 1 of the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees).

However the fact that each nation-state has the prerogative to institutionalise its own system of determination of the status of those individuals who claim to be refugees within its border has provided the option of developing restrictive asylum legislations as in the case of the UK (Cwerner, 2004). Furthermore, regional conventions have been adopted to expand or limit the scoop of the 1951 Refugee Convention. In 1969 the Organisation of Africa Unity adopted a convention that expanded the definition of refugee to include those;

> 'fleeing from external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order' (Article 1 of the OAU Refugee Convention).

As it is suggested that the classification of displaced people may impact on their livelihood chances, this research has engaged people displaced by similar or identical circumstances in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK and Brazzaville, the Republic of Congo, to examine the impact of the diverse interpretation of refugee legislation at regional and national levels on displaced people's rights and entitlements.

1.4 Research Objectives

This study looks at factors which influence migrants' livelihoods strategies during the displacement process. In other words, in which way is the task of recreating a livelihood in the course of displacement influenced by the pre-displacement experience, the displacement track, and the resettlement process? It also seeks to understand the ultimate effects of migration on the migrants' receiving and sending communities.

1.4.1 Research Questions

The research questions originated from three primary sources. The first source is my observation and findings from field research trips in Brazzaville in the Republic of Congo, and my personal experience as a forced immigrant from the Cameroon living in the UK since 2001. The second is built on previous research on displacement, livelihoods and sustainable development informed by multiple authors, but in particular by Castle (2004), Kirbread (2003), Whitaker (2003), Jacobson (2002), Martin (2002), De Haan (1999), and Black (1998). The third source is a number of theories informing the study: the world system theory (Castle, 2001; Wallerstein, 1985), perspective of refugee studies (Jacobson, 2005; Schuster, 2003; Whitaker, 2003; Kunz, 1981, 1973), international migration theories (King et al., 1997; Massey et al., 1993), the dual labour theory (Massey et al., 1998; Proie, 1997), human capital theory (Todaro, 1976; Becker, 1962), and the new economic of labour migration theory (Stark & Taylor, 1991, 1989).

The following specific questions were generated from this process and have been examined for this thesis:

- What are the factors which guide migrants in the way they identify themselves as displaced people in the course of the displacement process?
- What is the impact of individual migrants' pre-displacement skills and capabilities on post-displacement livelihoods recreation?
- What is the impact of the receiving country immigration/asylum policies on immigrants' livelihood opportunities?
- What is the impact of the displacement process on migrants' communities of origin and the receiving communities?

1.4.2 Hypotheses

Hypotheses associated with the above questions were posited as follows:

- Institutional and policy environments where resettlement is sought influence the way migrants identify themselves as displaced people and their livelihood strategies.

- The socio-economic status and capabilities of individual migrants as perceived by the host country immigration/asylum policies has an impact on livelihoods and resettlement.

- Migrants' ability to acquire a pre-knowledge of the areas/countries of destination has an impact on their livelihood strategies.

- Displacement as a process is a setback to sustainable development in migrants' sending and destination communities.

```
┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐
│ Personal experience │───│ Literature review│───│ Previous study  │
│ Existing literature │   │                 │   │                 │
└─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘
              \                    │                    /
               \                   ▼                   /
                ┌───────────────────────────────────┐
                │   Displacement Livelihoods and    │
                │     Sustainable Development        │
                └───────────────────────────────────┘
                              ↕
                    ┌───────────────────┐
                    │     Research      │
                    │     Questions     │
                    └───────────────────┘
                              ↕
                    ┌───────────────────┐
                    │    Hypotheses     │
                    └───────────────────┘
                              ↕
         ┌────────────────────┴────────────────────┐
         ▼                                          ▼
┌───────────────────┐                    ┌───────────────────────┐
│  Fieldwork in     │                    │  Fieldwork in         │
│  Congo Brazzaville│                    │  Newcastle upon Tyne, │
│                   │                    │  UK                   │
└───────────────────┘                    └───────────────────────┘
         │                                          │
         ▼                                          ▼
┌───────────────────┐                    ┌───────────────────────┐
│ Data collation and│                    │ Data collation and    │
│    analysis       │                    │    analysis           │
└───────────────────┘                    └───────────────────────┘
         │                                          │
         └────────────────────┬─────────────────────┘
                              ▼
                ┌───────────────────────────────┐
                │  Discussion of the Research   │
                │  Programme and Findings       │
                └───────────────────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
                ┌───────────────────────────────┐
                │  Conclusion and key findings  │
                └───────────────────────────────┘
```
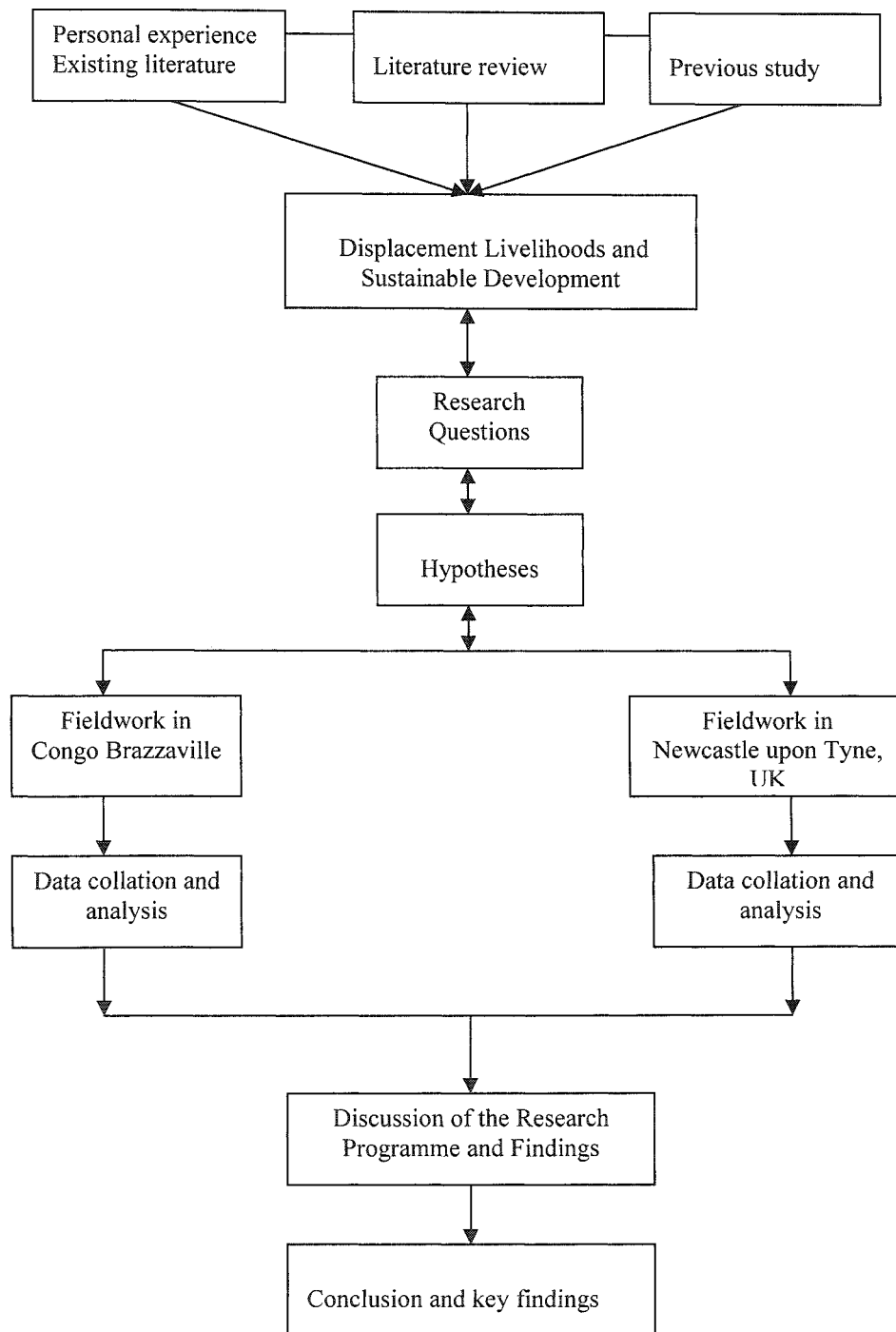
Figure 1.1
Conceptual Framework of PhD Research Programme

1.5 Organisation of Study

Chapter two covers the Congo-Brazzaville crises and its history in brief, including geography, demography and the genesis of the repeated civil wars that have led to severe complex emergencies. The 1994 and the 1997 civil wars caused the greatest disruption to civil and political life in the Republic of Congo resulting in casualties, displacement and looting. The chapter looks at refugees in the Republic of Congo, followed by the Franco-Congo relations during Congo's transition to democracy and post conflict reconstruction and how this has influenced livelihoods.

Chapter three is the literature review which includes a section presenting the theoretical framework. The literature review introduces the subject area and literature on displacement. It looks at internal displacement followed by a review of schools of thought on the rights of internally displaced people (IDPs). The links with forced displacement across national boarders, complex political emergencies natural disasters, livelihoods, and sustainable development inform this review. This is followed by a review of relevant literature on Europe and Immigration that informs the study of the transition of displacement and reconstruction of livelihoods between Congo-Brazzaville and UK.

The second section in chapter three is more oriented towards the theoretical framework of the study and starts with the world system theory, followed by the perspective of refugee studies, the human capital theory of migration, the dual labour theory, the new economic labour migration theory, and other international migration theories which all provide a background for the understanding of the literature on displacement.

Chapter four covers the methodology starting with an overview on how data for the study was collected. This is followed by the methodological approach, which states the philosophical research concepts relevant to this study. The next section describes the selection of the sample population in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo relating to the handling of the preparatory face of the field work in Brazzaville. This is followed by description of how and where the questionnaire interviews were carried out in Brazzaville, and respondents' countries of origin. The process of conducting

interviews, as well as the shooting of video footage and photographs, and observation in Brazzaville is followed by a sub section on how some of the research process was extended to participants in Newcastle upon Tyne.

The Newcastle part of the research is described in terms of its context, how the sample population was selected, and description of the conduct of questionnaire interviews, including countries of origin of the study participants, locations where interviews were conducted, in-depth interviews and observation process. Data analyses, human subject protection, the limitation of the study, personal reflections on research methods and positionality are also provided.

Chapter five provides the first section of the results and analysis of the study. The first section covers the results and analysis of information obtained through the use of face to face interviews in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. The analyses of information provided by displaced people through face to face interviews covers the causes of displacement, the circumstances endured within the displacement track, access and entitlement in host countries, as well as livelihoods reconstruction and resettlement. Information provided by the indigenous population in Brazzaville depicted the perception of the local population on the impact of immigrants on services and natural resources, as well as livelihoods in the post conflict context. The analyses of video footage and photographs covers information on displaced people livelihood activities in Brazzaville. This lead to a sub-section that presents the analyses of information obtained through in-depth interviews with immigrants in Brazzaville. The result and analyses of information obtained from in-depth interviews with members of civil society in Brazzaville includes their perceptions on displacement issues, services provided to the displaced, obstacles encountered, and conceived good practice in dealing with displaced people

Chapter six presents the results and analyses of information obtained in Newcastle upon Tyne through face to face questionnaire interviews. It covers the causes of displacement, the circumstances endured within the displacement track, access and entitlement in receiving country, as well as livelihoods reconstruction and resettlement. Its outlines the results and analyses of information obtained from in-

depth interviews conducted with displaced people, as well as members of the civil society in Newcastle upon Tyne.

Chapter seven discusses the complexity of diverse and interrelated causes of displacement as informed by this study, including the relevance of natural complex crises in the context of livelihoods and sustainable development. The broader theoretical frameworks are revisited, methodology reassessed, four hypotheses examined and the implication for refugee policy environment suggested.

Chapter eight is the conclusion of the study and outlines the contribution to knowledge made by this study with suggested implications for theory and further research on displacement.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE CRISES

2.1 Introduction

The Republic of Congo, often known as Congo-Brazzaville to distinguish it from its neighbour the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), is situated in Central Africa. The country covers an area of 342,000 square Km and has a population of approximately 3,999 million (2005 est.). Congo has been torn apart by a series of armed conflicts in the last decade. But of even greater concern is the presence of involuntary migrants from neighbouring countries equally destabilised by civil strife. Most countries in Africa South of the Sahara share a lot in terms pre-colonial historical settings, as well as post-colonial socio-political fragmentation, which both play a significant role today, in the plethora of unrests ravaging the sub-continent. This chapter explores the historical context, as well as the political settings of rivalry, greed and grievances among elite, which culminated in the outburst of anger, frustration and violence conflict in the Republic of Congo since 1993.

2.2 History

Pygmies originally inhabited the Republic of Congo Between the years 1000-1300. The Republic of Congo was later occupied by Bantu groups which equally inhabited parts of present-day Angola, Gabon, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (UN Report, 2005). The main ethnic groupings which existed within these territories are nowadays represented by the kingdoms of Kongo, Loango, and Teke. Commercial relationships with European established late in the 15th century, centred on the trade of slaves captured in the interior of these kingdoms. The coastal area played a major part in the transatlantic slave trade, and when that commerce ended in the early 1870s, it took with it the power of the great Bantu kingdoms.

Africa is often seen as a doomed continent with inescapable ethnic cleavages and violent tribal conflicts (Elbadawi & Sambanis, 2002). However, the changes imposed on the continent by colonialism contributed in a further fragmentation of Africa. In 1880 French explorer, Pierre Savorgnon de Brazza, secured treaties with local rulers and placed their land under French protectorate. From 1908-1910 this included French colonies of middle Congo, Gabon, Chad and Oubangui-Charie (today Central African Republic), and French Equatorial Africa (FEA) with Brazzaville as the capital (Tiepolo, 1996). Economic development during the first 59 years of colonial rule in Congo centred on natural resources extraction by private companies. In 1934 the Congo-Ocean Railway was completed opening the way for growth of ocean port of Pointe-Noire and towns along the route (Bambi, 1980).

During World War II, FEA forces sided with Charles de Gaulle against the Vichy regime and Germans, making Brazzaville the symbolic capital of free France. In 1944, the Brazzaville conference introduced talks for the reform of colonial rule and heralded a period of major reforms including the abolition of forced labour, granting of French citizenship to colonial subjects, the decentralization of certain powers, and election of local advisory assemblies.

In 1956 the Loi Cadre (framework law) ended dual voting for colonial subjects and provided for a partial self-government for the overseas territories. After the September 1958 referendum approving the new French constitution, FEA was dissolved. Its four members became members of the French Community, and Middle Congo became the

Republic of Congo. Formal independence was granted on the 15th August, 1960 and the country renamed, Republic of Congo (UN Report, 2005; Tiepolo, 1996; Bambi, 1980).

Ethnic rivalries produced sharp struggles among the emerging Congolese Political class after independence in 1960. Fulbert Youlou, a former Catholic priest from the pool region in the southeast was elected president by the National Assemble at independence in 1960. His three years in power were marked by ethnic tensions and political rivalry. In August 1963, Youlou was overthrown in a three days popular uprising led by labour elements and rival political parties. All members of the Youlou government were arrested or removed from office. The Congolese military took charge of the country briefly and installed a civilian provisional government headed by Alphonse Massabat-Debat (U.S. State Department, 2006; Clark, 1993).

Massamba-Debat who was elected President for a five years term under the 1963 constitution, named Pascal Lissouba to serve as Prime Minister. However, President Massamba-Debat's term ended abruptly in August 1966, when Captain Marien Nguouabi and other army officers toppled the government in a coup. After a period of consolidation under the newly formed National Revolution Council, Marien Nguabi assumed the presidency on December 31st 1968. The new head of state continued his predecessor's commitment to socialism. He however created his own political party – the Congolese Workers Party (CWP) – which came in to existence on the 3rd of January, 1970, and adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999; Bambi, 1980).

President Ngouabi thus declared Congo a Marxist People's Republic in 1970. On the 18th of March, 1977, Ngouabi was assassinated outside his residence. Although the coup plotters were tried and some executed, the motives behind the assassination is still not clear till date. An eleven member Military Committee of the Party (MCP) was named to head an interim government with Colonel (Later General) Joachim Yhomby-Opango to serve as President of the Republic. On the 25 March, 1977, ex-President Massamba-Debat accused of being the brain behind Ngouabi's murder was executed. Nguabi was highly respected by the ordinary Congolese for his intelligence, as well as exemplary leadership (Clark, 1993; Bambi, 1980).

Accused of corruption and deviation from party directives, the Central Committee of the PCT, removed Yhomby-Opango from office on the 5th February, 1979 and simultaneously designated Vice President and Defence Minister Colonel Denise Sassou-Nguesso as interim President. The Central Committee directed Sassou-Nguesso to take charge of preparations for the third extraordinary congress of the CWP, which went on to elect him as President of the Central Committee and President of the Republic. Under a congressional resolution, Yhomby-Opango was stripped of all powers, rank, and possessions and placed under house arrest to await trial for high treason. In 1981 Congo and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation (U N Report, 2006). In 1982 political tension started to mount with the detention of Bernard Kolelas in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow President Sassou-Nguesso. The political atmosphere mounted even further in 1987 when Joachem Yhombi-Opango and twenty officers were arrested on suspicion of plotting to overthrow the Sassou's government in a bid to return Yhombi to power.

By the end of 1989, pressure was building up inside the country for political change, including an end to a one-party state. In July 1990 the CWP announced that an extraordinary congress would be convened to formulate multi-party legislation. Congo thus became one of many French-speaking countries to revert to a multi-party system (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999; Quantin, 1997). In August 1990, President Sassou announced the release of political prisoners, including former President Yhombi. In 1991, the Congo National Conference laid grounds for the first multi-party election held in August 1992. Ex-President Sassou-Nguesso stood against other challengers in the presidential election, but failed to secure enough votes to proceed to the second round. Lissouba, a former UNESCO official and veteran Congolese politician was then elected to the office of the president in the second round. Though Sassou-Nguesso conceded defeat and Congo's new president, Prof. Pascal Lissouba, was sworn in on August 31, 1992, this change of political power simple reinforced the existing settings of ethnic tensions and political rivalry (Zartman and Vogeli, 2000).

Lissouba's Pan-African Union for Social Democracy (PAUSD) won the second round of the 1992 presidential election by forging a partnership with former president Sassou-Nguesso. Through this alliance, Lissouba did not only win the presidential

election, but equally controlled the National Assembly. When Lissouba announce the formation of his first government in September 1992, Sassou's CWP received only three minor cabinet posts. Feeling insulted, Sassou left the coalition and made a new alliance with Lissouba strongest challenger, Bernard Kolelas. Kolelas had finished second in the presidential election and the new alliance between his Committee of the Movement for Integrated Democracy and Development (CMIDD) and the CWP had the majority in parliament (Clark, 2002; Zartman and Vogeli, 2000).

2.3 Location and Geography

Situated in Central Africa astride the Equator, the Republic of Congo covers an area of 342,000 square km with a short coast of 170 km on the South Atlantic Ocean. It borders Cameroon and the Central Africa Republic in the north. In the south it is bordered by Angola enclave of Cabinda. In the east it borders the Democratic Republic of Congo, with the river Congo and it tributary Oubangui constituting a natural boundary, and in the west the Republic of Congo borders Gabon and the Atlantic Ocean. Most of the land is covered by tropical rain forest drained by the tributaries of the river Congo. The coastal plain rises to highland separated from the inland plateaux by the Niari River valley, a 320km wide passage. Congo has an exclusive economic zone of 62,900 square km on which it exercises sovereignty both on biological or renewable resources, as well as on renewable and non renewable minerals such as oil. This natural position makes of the Republic of Congo, Central Africa's main port of entry and exit (UNDP Report, 2005).

The Republic of Congo is divided in to nine regions – Bouenza, Couvette, Kouilou, Lekoumou, Likouala, Niara, Plateaux, Pool, Sangha – and the capital district of Brazzaville, each headed by appointed district leaders and an elected council. Each region is further subdivided into communes and villages. Brazzaville, Pointe Noire, Dolisie, Nkayi, Ouesso and Mossendjo are the six urban communes exercising full powers.

2.4 Demography

The Republic of Congo has a population of 3,999 million (2005 est.) which is made-up of 51 per cent female and 49 per cent male. It annual growth rate according to 2004 estimates is 1.4 per cent (OECD, 2006; UN Report, 2005). Congo's sparse population is concentrated in the southwest portion of the country, leaving the vast areas of tropical jungle in the north uninhabited. Thus, Congo is one of the most urbanized countries in Africa, with 85 per cent of it population living in a few urban areas, being Brazzaville (800,000 inhabitants), Pointe-Noire (450,000 inhabitants), and Dolisie (150,000), or one of the small cities lining the 332 miles railway which connects the Pointe Noire to Brazzaville. The series of violent unrest which have ripped the country apart have been fought in these cities with high population density. Before the 1997 war, about 9,000 European and other non-Africans lived in the Republic of Congo, most of them French (U.S State Department, 2006).

There are 15 principal Bantu groups and more than 70 subgroups in the Republic of Congo. French is the official language while Lingala and Munukutuba are the national languages. Fifty per cent of the population are Christian, 48 per cent are Animist, and two per cent are Muslim. Literacy rate is high with 74.9 per cent of the population over 15 being able to read and write. The geopolitical division of the Republic of Congo is made up of the North, South and the Pool situated in the centre, with each region regrouping ethnic affiliations and militia groups responsible for the civil unrest which cumulated in the repeated outburst of armed conflict since 1993.

2.5 Economy

The economy is a mixture of village agriculture and handicrafts, and an industrial sector based largely on oil. The GDP in 2005 was estimated at $5.8 billion and the per capita income approximately $1,300 (2005 est.). The Republic of Congo's growing petroleum sector is by far the country's major revenue earner. The Congolese oil sector is dominated by the French oil company Elf-Aquitaine, which account for 70 per cent of the country's annual oil production. In second position is the Italian oil firm Agip. Chevron, and Exxon are among the American Companies active in petroleum exploitation or production. Oil and timber account 98 percent of exportations (UNDP Report, 2005). The unequal distribution of natural resources by the political elite and the winner take all greed syndrome of African politics are believed to be largely responsible for the civil strife that have ripped the country apart in recent years (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999; Clark, 1993).

Other natural resources include potassium, potash, lead, zinc, uranium, phosphate and natural gas. The country's abundant rain forest is the main source of timber. However, forestry which led Congolese export before the discovery of oil, now generate less than 4 per cent of export earnings. Wood production came to a stand still during the war years but has recommenced, and new concessions were leased in 2001. Despite the rudimentary characteristic of the farming techniques, approximately 40 per cent of the active population are engage in agriculture activities. The main agricultural products are cassava, plantains, peanuts, sugarcane, cocoa, corn and coffee (UN Report, 2005).

Early in the decade, Congo's major employer was the state bureaucracy, which had 80,000 employees on it payroll. However, after 1985 Congo was subjected to massive budgets cuts and economic restrictions because of huge public debts and the fall in oil prices. Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the government was obliged to reduce the number of employees in the civil service (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999). The imposed public reforms led to the laying off of nearly 8,000 civil service employees in 1994, and was the start of severe unemployment which went on to reinforced political divisions and the militia culture.

However, by the end of 1996, Congo had made substantial progress in various areas targeted for reforms. It made significant strides toward macroeconomic stabilization through improving public finances and restructuring external debt. This change was accompanied by improvement in the structure of expenditures, with a major reduction in personnel expenditures. Furthermore, the Republic of Congo benefited from debt restructuring from the 'Paris Club' agreement in July 1996. The reform programme came to a halt in early June 1997 when war broke out. Sporadic fighting in 1998-99 and the following years have hindered the implementation of any real economic reforms. In 2006, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund approved Heavy Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) decision treatment point for the Republic of Congo. The IMF and the World Bank however noted that, Congo need to address serious concerns about governance and financial transparency in a bid to qualify for completion point and irrevocable debt relief (U.S. Department of State, 2006).

2.6 The Geneses of the Civil Unrest

African nationalists agree in general that one root cause of armed conflicts haunting the continent dates back to the arbitrarily drawn boundaries settled by the Berlin conference in1884-85. Practically all Sub-Saharan African states boundaries are artificial and do not coincide with ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious or national groupings which existed prior to the colonial era (Westin, 1999; Clark, 1993). However, as argued by Elbadawi, and Sambanis, (2002), contrary to popular belief that African civil wars are due to ethnic and religious diversity, or fragmentation of its countries, the root causes of these conflicts can be traced to the high level of poverty, failed political institutions, economic dependence and mismanaged natural resources. Both ethnic diversities and weak political institutions account for the armed conflicts that have destabilised the Republic of Congo for close to two decades.

Immediately after independence from France in 1960, the Republic of Congo was plunged into political and human right crises. Virtually all these crises were influenced by power struggle among political and military elite. Most belligerents in the recent Congo crises have been protagonists in previous political crises since the early days of independence. President Denis Sassou Nguesso, Former President Pascal Lissouba, the one time President Jacque-Joachim Yhombi Opango, and former Prime Minister Bernard Kolelas have all been at the forefront of politics in the Republic of Congo. Mutual suspicions, political rivalry, and greed, as well as the disregard for the well being of the masses, can all be traced back to the early days of Congo's independence.

Power struggle within the CWP led to the assassination of charismatic President Marian Nguabi on March, 18th 1977. After a trail by a special court, eighteen people accused of plotting the coup, including the former President Massamba-Debat were executed. Pascal Lissouba and over twenty suspected supporters of Massamba-Debat were sentenced to life imprisonment. Amnesty International called on President Jacques Joachim Yhombi who took power after the murder of Ngouabi, to safeguard the life of Pascal Lissouba and other detainees. In 1979, the central committee of the CWP accused Yhombi of corruption and deviation from the party directives. He was thus deposed and replaced by Army Colonel Denise Sassou-Nguesso. Jacques-Joachim Yhombi was further stripped of all power, rank, and possessions and placed

under house arrest to await trial for treason. In 1982 another belligerent in the Congo-Brazzaville crises, Bernard Kolelas was detained in connection to an alleged plot to overthrow president Sassou-Nguesso. When a National Conference called to debate the country's political future was held in February, 1991, a new constitution providing for multi-party politics was drafted and adopted in March of the same year after approval in a referendum. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, Bernard Kolelas and Pascal Lissouba took part in the presidential and legislative elections held in August 1992.

Lisouba's PAUSD won the elections in the second round after forming an alliance with Sassou's CWP. However, unhappy with the sharing of ministerial posts in the new government, Sassou's CWP pulled out of the coalition and formed a new alliance with the leader of the opposition Bernard Kholela. In June 1993, Lissouba appointed former president Jacques-Joachem Prime Minister, thus bringing in another former player in to the political scene. In the new political setting grouping former rivals each protagonist assembled a private army. Pascal Lissouba's militia group was known as the 'Cocoyes/Zulus'; Sassou named his private army the 'Cobras' and Bernard Kholelas called his fighters the 'Ninjas'. In order to recruit young people based in secondary towns in the provinces, regional and ethnic-national sentiments were evoked to justify the need of ethnic-regional solidarity.

The Cocoyes were trained in the south of Congo by Israelis, South Africans and Congolese military instructors. Similarly, the Cobras were trained by Congolese retired military officers in Sassou's home town of Oyo in the north of Congo. It was equally alleged that Moroccans, Chadians, Libyans and Rwandans military instructors were involved in the training of the Cobras. The Ninjas did not receive any military training outside Brazzaville. However, in the pick of the 1997 war, officials of the Ministry of interior offered training to a group of Ninjas at the Makalu military base in the out skirt of Brazzaville (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999). The complexity of the above historical and geopolitical settings shed some light on the diverse and interconnected nature of the causes of the Congo-Brazzaville crisis.

2.7 The 1993-94 Civil War

Pascal Lissouba's Pan African Union for Social Democracy won the presidential elections in 1992. However, the fact that the PAUSD opponents still held a combined majority of seats in the National Assemble and Senate laid grounds for a new phase of years of political instability. In order to obtain a working majority in the National Assemble and form a Government, the PAUSD needed to form a coalition with at least one smaller political party. It chose Sassou's CWP which soon withdrew from the coalition over a dispute in the sharing of ministerial posts. The CWP then moved on to form an alliance known as Union for Democratic Renewal (UDR), which was made up of seven political parties including Bernard Kolelas' CMIDD. The UDR then demanded the right to form a government.

Instead of naming a Prime Minister from the opposition, Lissouba dissolved the National Assemble and programme new elections for the following year. The opposition rejected this solution and a major confrontation ensured. In December 1992 Pascal Lissouba's presidential guards fired on a group of opposition partisans who were demonstrating outside the presidency, killing three people (Clark, 2002). In the rerun of legislative election in May 1993, Lissouba's new coalition of his PAUSD and the Presidential Domain made up of small parties won a total of 62 seats out of 125 in the National Assemble. The 62 seats gave Pascal Lissouba a majority because 11 seats were still undecided due to the lack of a majority in the first round. However, the opposition held that the elections were marred by fraud and irregularities and rejected the result.

This led to a tense atmosphere in Brazzaville and brought the various militia groups in to action. The Ninja militia group loyal to Kolelas took control of southern Brazzaville neighbourhood of Bacongo and Makelekele largely inhabited by Bernard Kolelas supported – the Laris – and began to purge the quarters of Lisouba's supported. In a similar move Lissouba's militia and supported made up of people from the Niari, Buenza, and Lekoumou regions began the chase out the Laris from their neighbourhoods of Diata and Mfilou (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999).

The second round of voting was held on the 6th of June but the opposition boycotted it. Tension mounted between the Cobra and the Zulus militia groups creating fear of the outbreak of civil war.

The Congolese Supreme Court later annulled the legislative election, followed by two months of mediation talks in which President Omar Bongo, International Diplomats and some neutral members of the Congolese civil society took part. A re-run of election took place in October 1993 and led to a new outbreak of fighting. The result of the re-run elections confirmed Pascal Lissouba's majority in the National assemble, prompting the opposition to boycott the opening of the National Assembly. The bycott led to new confrontation between the militia groups. In a twist of events open fighting broke out between Bernard Kolelas' Ninjas and Pascal Lissouba's Zulus. Former Presidents Sassou Nguesso allegedly supplies the Ninja with weapons. Approximately 2000 people were killed in the course of fighting while a further 50,000 were displaced (CRS, 2001). The fighting degenerated in what appeared to be 'ethnic cleansing' with various members of ethnic grouping fleeing or being forced out of neighbourhoods where they constituted a minority, on grounds that they were spying for rival political leaders. The renewed violence thus led to the barbaric killing in the various counties of Brazzaville, generally on the basis of ethnic origins. At the peak of this new wave of fighting which took place between November 1993 and January, 1994, government forces loyal to Pascal Lissouba shelled Bacongo and Makekele in northern Brazzaville, inhabited by Kolelas supporters (Zartman and Vogeli, 2000).

An inter-regional committee in the National Assembly made up of parliamentarians from the two warring factions mediated and a final accord was arrived at in the end of January 1994. This accord led to the return of peace in Brazzaville and further led to a new agreement between Pascal Lissouba and Bernard Kolelas under which Kolelas CMIDD gained ministerial posts in the new government. There was relative peace in the Republic of Congo till the launching of presidential election in 1997.

2.8 The 1997 Civil War and Subsequent Unrest

The first outbreak of violence during the presidential elections compaign took place in the north of Congo between Denise Sassou-Nguesso and Jacques Joachim Yhombi. In May 1997 Sassou and his partisans went to Owando, Yhombi's home town, to launch the CWP presidential campaign. Jacques-Joachim had joined the Lissouba government in 1993. His supporters resented the presence of Sassou and his entourage in their stronghold and were bent at disrupting the campaign. The ensuing violence spread to Sassou's home town of Oyo causing the dead of many partisans from both camps. Weeks of negotiation followed leading to a cessation of hostilities and an agreement between the two in which Sassou and Joachim accepted to refrain from the use of violence during the presidential election campaign.

In an attempt to end the militia culture after the 1994 violent conflict, the government had announced the integration of 2000 disbanded militiamen in to the army in January 1995. In a bid to oust military officers loyal to the former President Sassou-Nguesso, the government carried out a restructuring of the armed forces in October 1995. A further restructuring led to the integration 1200 militias in to the army in December of the same year. The newly integrated militiamen made up of combatants loyal to the three main political groupings, brought the influences of the various factions in to the army and thus created serious disciplinary crises within the armed forces.

In February, 1997 militia men undergoing training to join the armed forces blockaded the railway line between Brazzaville and Point-Noire, the country's economic capital. In another waves of reforms, Lissouba dismissed the militia men training commander and integrated the trainees in to the army at the rank of sergeants. Several senior military officers from northern Congo suspected of being loyal to Sassou were equally dismissed. This incident was regarded in most quarters as nepotism.

The seeds of displacement in this country are therefore rooted in complex political struggles with local outcomes. As presidential elections scheduled for July 1997 approached, tension between the Lissouba's camp and Sassou's mounted. As mentioned earlier, militia violence flared up in May, particularly after Sassou announce his intention to visit Owando, Jacques-Joachim stronghold. During Sassou's trip to Owando, a man alleged to be Yhombi's supporter was killed in the

confrontation which erupted during the elections campaign. In the days that followed the visit, violent broke out between the two groupings and twenty people mainly Sassou-Nguesso's sympathisers were killed in Owando. Approximately four hundred ex-president's sympathisers fled toward Oyo his home town. Sassous' supporters brought in Cobras reinforcement and Yhombi's sympathisers in Oyo were attacked and forced to abscond toward Owando.

On June 5th 1997, government forces surrounded Sassou's residence in Brazzaville with armour vehicles and the ex-president ordered his militiamen to resist. The fighting degenerated and war camps emerged as the battle went on in Brazzaville. The northern part of the city was controlled by forces loyal to Sassou and Central Brazzaville by Lissouba's forces. The south of the city was the operational zone of forces loyal to Bernard Kholelas. Both civilians and members of the security forces who found themselves in the wrong camp were murdered, detained or driven from their homes and forced to take refuge in areas controlled by leaders of their ethnic groupings. Names on identification documents, as well as the dialect spoken became vital in determining who was safe where.

Attempt by Omar Bongo of Gabon, Muhammad Sahnoun, the then UN and OAU Special Representative to the great Lakes region to bring an end to the fighting failed. Sassou remained opposed to President Lissouba's attempt to prolong his mandate beyond August 1997. Furthermore, both sides could not agree on the formation of a government of national unity. By August fighting had spread to northern Congo were the Cobras reportedly captured Owando, a strategically important city for potential weapons supplies through the airport.

In a political move to lure Bernard Kholelas and his militia men who were until then non-partisan to his side, Lissouba appointed Kholelas Prime Minister with the war still going on (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999). The new alliance resulted in confrontation between the Cobras and the Ninjas. In the face of this new development, Sassou sought the assistance of Chad and Angola government forces. Lissouba's coalition equally sought the support of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (NUTLA). In early October, Angola troupes invaded Congo on the side of Sassou,

and in mid October, the Lissouba government fell. Soon there after, Sasou declared himself president and named a 33 member government.

The 1997 Congo civil war simple set the stage for further rivalry, grudges and the spirit of revenge among the main protagonists. In December, 1998 and January, 1999, fighting between government forces and forces loyal to former president Lissouba erupted in the Bouenza region – Nkayi and Dolisie – where the Cocoyes temporary occupied the towns and the Moukoukoulou electric dam (Ayessa and Pigasse, 1999).

In the Pool region, fighting between the Ninja and government forces started in August 1998 and by Mid-December the Ninja were reported to have occupied Makelekele and Bacongo, the former stronghold of Bernard Kholelas, forcing government forces to shell the densely populated area with heavy weaponry.

In 2001, isolated eruptions of violence were often quickly brought under control by pro-government forces. The Ninja under the new leadership of Pasteur Ntumi carried out sporadic attacks in the Pool in early 2003, causing new waves of displacement once more. A cease fire between the government and Pasteur Ntumi was signed on March 29th, 2003 (Talassa, 2003).

2.9 Casualties, Displacement and Looting

Soldiers may terrorize civilians during war because of the need to augment their resources necessary for sustained war time supplies (Azam and Hoeffler, 2002). The displacement of large numbers of the civilian population exposes the enemy in the deserted areas and reduces their chances of mustering support. The presence of partisan militia men in Brazzaville obstructed the free movement of civilians each time fighting broke out. In the 1993-1994 conflict, 6,800 houses were completely destroyed while 3,700 were partially damaged (UNDP, 2003). Most often the occupants were buried in the rubble because they could not flee to safer areas of the city controlled by opposing militia men. By the end of the fighting the death toll stood at 2000 people, while a further 50,000 fled in to the jungle.

Similarly, in the 1997 civil war, 10,000 people were reportedly dead while 800,000 were displaced (CRS, 2001). The 1998-1999 conflict equally caused the displacement of 250,000 people from Brazzaville south where the fighting was intense. Measuring the overall scope of population displacement during these crises is difficult. This is because most uprooted family members in war torn areas were virtually indistinguishable from residents struggling to rebuild their homes and livelihoods.
Looting in most cases was carried out by militia groups within the territory under their control. In the 1998-1999 fighting, 70.7 per cent of houses in Bacongo from where the Ninja launched their attacked on Brazzaville were looted (UNDP, 2003). Congolese forces supporting the government and particularly the Cobras were involved in the looting of the Ninja strongholds.

In December 1998, Angolan forces were reportedly deployed in Southern Brazzaville to prevent further looting. However, it was reported that some Angolan soldiers had been involved in looting as well. Even though the government announced in December 1998 that looted property will be returned to owners, in January, 1999, the Cobras were seen in their northern Brazzaville stronghold, publicly selling their loot with impunity. It was not known whether the government regular forces were unwilling or unable to take action against these looters. What was particular about looting carried out by the various militias in Brazzaville is that they looted from members of their own ethnic communities, including their leaders (Herbst, 2000).

People forced out of their houses on partisan grounds equally had their belongings looted by those who stayed behind. At the end of the fighting, entire properties were often confiscated and occupied by members of the victorious camps. The civil wars caused the displacement of thousands of people whose belongings were either looted, destroyed, stolen or burnt. Railway transport was interrupted and business activities between the major cities brought to a stand still. This state of affairs led to mass unemployment, reduction of purchasing power, as well as the scarcity of essential commodities.

2.10 Refugees

Wars often throw millions of people on the route forcing them to be constantly re-displaced as they flee from degenerating insecurity. One out of three Congolese has been displaced since the start of the 1997 civil war. In some cases being displaced entailed losing all belongings acquired through out life (UNDP, 2003). The fact that the displaced indigenous population had to live along side refugees from other destabilised countries in the region further aggravated the humanitarian crises. For ease of discourse, the term 'refugee' in this study applies to asylum seeker, refugees and other involuntary migrants who identified themselves differently to these categories.

The National Committee for Refugee Assistance (NCRA) was created in the Republic of Congo by decree number 1978-266 of April 13[th,] 1978, and further re-organised in 1999 by decree number 99-310 of December, 1999. The NCRA is a body attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is in charge of the rational and concrete application of the 1951 UN Convention on Refugee Status, and the 1959 OAU Convention on Refugee problems in Africa. The NCRA equally has the duty of sensitising the public on refugee problems, facilitating refugees' access to education and employment, as well as overseeing the repatriation or reinstallation of refugees (Decree number 99-310 of 1999; Decree number 1978-266 of 1998).

On the 28th of December 2001, the Refugee Status Eligibility Committee (RSEC) was created by resolution 8041, as a body to operate under the authority of the NCRA. Members of the RSEC were made up of representatives of the Minister of Health Solidarity and Humanitarian Action, the Minister at the Presidency in charge of Security, the Minister of Justice, the Director General of Territorial Surveillance and UNHCR (Resolution, 8041 of 2001). Resolution 8040 created the Refugees Appeal Committee (RAC) on the same day the RSEC came in to existence. The RAC main duty was to handle all appeals on refugee status related issues. RAC members were made up of the representatives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of National Defence and UNHCR (Resolution, 8040 of 2001). Article 8 of resolution 8041 states that an asylum application will be processed within a period of three months from the date it is lodged. The resolution further specified that the out come of any asylum claim that is not dealt with within three months will be considered as positive.

In 2005 the numbers of displaced people in the Republic of Congo stood at: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) 61,000; Rwanda 5,900; Angola, 3,881. Voluntary repatriation led to a progressive reduction and by 2006 the new figures were DRC 34,800; Rwanda 4,850; Angola 1,630 (UNHCR, 2006, 2005). There were also refugees from other African countries such as Chad, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Liberia and Sierra-Leon, though in smaller numbers. However, in 2005 only 230 asylum claims were processed in the Republic of Congo with a success rate of 11 per cent – roughly 25 positive cases (World Refugee Survey, 2006). For a variety of reasons it took up to five years in some cases to get some asylum claims processed.

Of the estimated 61,000 refugees from the DRC living in the Republic of Congo in 2005, more than half were surviving without any humanitarian assistance. Their living conditions had been worsened through the years by armed conflicts. The vast majority of these refugees lived scattered along about 500 km stretch of river in northern Congo-Brazzaville, where they remained vulnerable to the violence across the border in DRC, which occasionally spilled over to this areas of refuge. Roads in the refugee hosting zones were poor or non existent making access to assistance difficult. The combination of unreliable aid and poor security caused hundreds of refugees to migrate southward to safer and more accessible areas. Some managed to reach the capital city Brazzaville.

Three UNHCR field offices in the north assisted the refugee population. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) also offered relief aid. Refugees accessible to aid workers were given plastic sheeting for shelter, blankets, soap, mosquito nets, and cooking utensils. Aid programmes also provided farming and fishing equipment, water system, and some school supplies. However, local authorities in some localities restricted refugees' access to farmland and fishing, thus undermining the refugees' attempt to become self-sufficient. Most of the approximately 4,000 Angolan refugees in Congo- Brazzaville fled about eight years ago from northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda, where sporadic fighting had occurred (World Refugee Information, 2005). About two third of the refugee population lived in the economic capital city of Pointe Noire and supported themselves without any direct assistance from humanitarian agencies. However, a significant number of refugees from Angola lived in three

settlements outside Pointe Noire, where aid projects assist them to become self-sufficient. The aid consisted of farmland, small loans, business training for women, and training in managing refugee-run health and education facilities. Poor roads hampered access to refugee site during the rainy season. The presence of Angolan soldiers in Congo-Brazzaville caused protection concerns among the refugee population.

There were about 6000 refugee from Rwanda in Congo-Brazzaville at the end of 2005. Most of them were Rwandans who fled their Country in 1994 and arrived in Congo-Brazzaville in 1997 after living in the Democratic Republic of Congo for three years. Nearly 1000 Rwandans refugee resided in a camp in Kintele village about 25 Km north of Brazzaville. About 2000 Rwandans lived in 16 villages in Loukolela area 500km north of the Brazzaville, where they supported themselves without any humanitarian assistance. An additional 1500 Rwandans were believed to still live in the Republic of Congo Brazzaville without refugee status (UNHCR 2005). The local population in many localities were hostile towards Rwandans refugees. Additionally, about 2000 refugees fleeing political violence in Central Africa Republic crossed in to Congo Brazzaville in 2001. The refugees congregated in Brazzaville and in the Betou and Impfondo areas in the north of Congo (I R C, 2003).

Averting displacement and refugee security featured on the agenda of a security meeting held on the 22nd of April, 2000 in Kinshasa. Representatives of Angola, the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo participating in the meeting reiterated the need to secure their border in a bid to avert the regional spread of conflict and mass displacement (Ayessa & Pigasse, 2000).

2. 11 Franco-Congo Relations during Congo's Transition to Democracy

France had virtually no influence in the democratic wave which led the organisation of a national conference in the Republic of Congo, despite the considerable economic interest it had in the country. In 1993, France held 70 per cent of Congo's national debt and 85 by 1996, despite the rather difficult state of relations between the two countries during Lissouba's term of office as head of state of Congo (Zartman and Vogeli, 2000).

In the early stage of Congo's democratic experience, relations between France and the Prime Minister of Congo Andre Milongo, elected by National Conference to oversee the transition were not the best. The French government resented the fact that their role as a major arbiter in francophone Africa had in the case of Congo been undermined by the Congolese political elite. Furthermore, as the Congolese National Conference unfolded, one of France's worst fears developed into reality, as participants delved deeply into Elf-Congo's relationship with the former regime. When the conference's participants later on called for an audit of Elf-Congo financial dealings with the former government, an American accounting firm – Thierry Anderson – was charged with the task. This state of affairs pointed to a shift in policy by Premier Andre Milongo, who seemed to have developed new ties with the United States (Clark, 2002).

A cross section of delegates at the National Conference suspected that Elf-Congo had over stated it's operating and investment cost in Congo. Equally of concern to France was the warmth with which the United States perceived the democratic transition in the Republic of Congo. When in December 1991, Melongo visited the Unites States he was received in the White House by George Bush who promised him his support for the Congolese Democracy. In a move which was interpreted as a sign of their displeasure with the new Congolese regime, the French Government reduced aid to Congo in 1991 as compare to the previous year (Nsafou, 1996).

Furthermore, when Premier Melongo went to France in July after the National Conference he was treated coolly by the French authorities. While Melongo was still recovering from the shock of his Paris trip, France demanded immediate fiscal reforms from his transition government, insisting on a strict budget control, reductions in civil servants and privatization. This was another surprise in that the French

government had hardly been an advocate of structural adjustment in Africa before then (Menga, 1993).

The financial situation of Congo was particularly difficult in 1991, owing to the profligacy of the Denise Sassou's regime in its final months in office. In a bid to regenerate public support, Sassou had employed twelve thousand state agents bringing the total to eighty thousand. He had equally carried out an increase in the pay scale of public servants in 1990 and 1991. These steps took the government's annual salary cost from 72 to 120 billion Francs CFA in 1990 and to 135 billion in 1991.

The Republic of Congo under the transition of Premier Melongo thus accrued new arrears on its debts and failed to comply with repayment to the World Bank, as well as to the Paris Club. Faced with the new situation, Melongo could not dismiss the new employees without creating social unrest, nor could his government afford to pay them. He went on to borrow two hundred and thirty millions from Elf-Congo and Agip against mortgaged oil earnings (Mokoko, 1995). Franco-Congolese relations reached a low point in 1992 and it was rumoured that France had a hand in the alleged abortive coup d'etat plot of December 1991. However, the French public opinion as echoed in the media held that French security forces had helped to abort the plot. Relations between the two countries did not improve during the following months which led to presidential elections and the end of the transition period.

Shortly after Lissouba was elected in 1992, the French Government through its Cooperation Minister pledged a grant of 110 millions to support Congo's structural adjustment programme and to help with its mounting debts. However, relations between the Lissouba government and Elf-Aquitaine quickly turned sour, and led to a general deterioration of relations between the two countries. In a move to pursue the national conference recommendations that Congo should diversify its oil partners, Lissouba invited Amoco, Chevron, British Petroleum and Conoco for talks. The talks were however disrupted by the collapse of the first Lissouba government after the disputed elections.

In the period prior to the re-run of the elections, Lissouba was desperate to pay employees of the public sector whose salaries were in arrears. Lissouba turned to Elf-

Congo and solicited a loan but his request was turned down. In a smart manoeuvre, Lissouba arranged a loan of 150 million dollars with the America company Occidental petroleum. The loan was to be repaid directly from government's share of oil production, and at ten percent of the world oil price. When the loan money arrived it was disbursed and paid out to civil servants, only hours before the first round of the May parliamentary elections (Clark, 1998; Jeune Afrique, 1993).

Lissouba now harboured bitterness toward Elf and the French government which was equally unhappy with the encroachment in it interest in the Republic of Congo. When the ensuing civil war broke out in 1993, the Lissouba camp held that the French had lent support to the opposition and thus encouraged the outbreak of hostilities. The French on their part witnessed with alarm Lissouba's utter failure to carry out the promised economic reforms and the growing state of corruption in his government. Despite substantial French aid, Congo had not cleared its arrears with the Caisse Francaise de Development (CFD) by the end of 1993. When the Franc CFA was devaluated in 1994, it led officially to about 60 per cent inflation in the Republic of Congo. However, Congolese observers held that the prices of staple food such as bread, manioc, and rice increased between 100 and 200 per cent in the short term (Nsafou, 1996).

Resentment against France grew within the Lissouba camp and it was widely held that the French had no right to punish Congo for its diversified trading partners. The Lissouba's government had indeed brought in new trading partners. The American firm Atlantic Tele Network outbid France Télécom for the privatizing of the Congo telephone network in 1996. South African companies were showing interest in the hydroelectricity, as well as the industrial farming sectors. Chevron and Exxon were gradually getting a firmer grip on the petroleum sector. But, when civil war broke out in 1997, France declared itself neutral and maintained that stance from the start of the war to the end.

However, Lissouba found that position to be unconscionable in that in his view, France ought to have backed him because he represented a legitimate government, while Sassou was a dissident trying to seize power by the force of arms. He had hoped that France would aid his regime as it had done to the regime of Felix Patasse in

Central Africa Republic, the previous year. Throughout the duration of the fighting, Lissouba's partisans accused France and Elf of favouring the return of former president Sassou. They held that the French soldiers who were evacuating foreigners from the Maya-Maya airport in Brazzaville had supplied Denis Sassou Nguesso with arms. Lissouba's supporters equally claimed that French mercenaries were helping Sassou's combatants. Toward the end of the conflict, Lissouba openly condemned Jacques Chirac of France via Congolese National Radio for supporting a coup d'état against him (Soudan, 1997; Clark, 2002).

Furthermore, the departure of French troops from the Maya-Maya Airport – when the operation 'Pélican' which was initiated to evacuate foreigners ended – at the peak of the conflict when their intervention was needed, as well as the United States refusal to back the early deployment of an African force in Congo led to failure of all diplomatic efforts (Zartman and Vogeli, 2000). The above sections illustrate the global nature of some of the underlying factors that in the case of Congo-Brazzaville, contributed to the outbreak of violent confrontation, a heavy death toll, an ill fated democratic experience and mass population displacement in Congo-Brazzaville.

2.12 Post-conflict Reconstruction.

Most post-conflict societies continue to experience high levels of social conflict, violence, human rights abuse and large scale population displacement. Indeed drawing a line between conflict and post-conflict is difficult in that as violent civil strife subsides, the warring factions may still be engaged in sporadic fighting (Chimi, 2003). Verkoren, (2005) suggests that a crucial indicator of whether violent conflict will start again is the degree of economic and social development that has been achieved, as well as a fair distribution of it fruits to different groups within the overall population. The main causes of the outbreak of conflict can not be overlooked when it comes to evaluating the cessation of violence. In situations where the outbreak of violent civil unrest is a result of ethnic rivalry and/or power struggle amongst the political elite, regional and international connections may enable the leaders of the defeated factions to stage a political comeback through the use of force.

Post-conflict life in the Republic of Congo has been beset by absolute poverty, the exclusion of members of certain social classes and a general state of destitution. This is due to the fact that apart from the petroleum section, all the other production sections were affected by the civil wars. Furthermore, the repeated outbreak of hostilities seriously disrupted attempts at reviving the various economic sectors. Reconstruction projects carried out in Congo-Brazzaville were spearheaded by the United Nations Organisations, the European Union in collaboration with the Congolese government and the NGOs. The overall objectives included poverty reduction, gender equality, the fight against HIV/AIDS, restoration of human rights, rehabilitation of the agricultural sector, improvement of food security and nutritional standards, as well as granting special attention to problems affecting families and children. The promotion of employment and income generating activities, the improvement of health, water, hygiene and sanitation, and greater attention to the education problems of the youths was equally prioritised (UN Report, 2005).

In post conflict Congo-Brazzaville, projects such as cultivation of vegetable carried out in the surroundings of Brazzaville, as well as the promotion of small scale animal husbandry with a focus on an increase on the production, supply and consumption of eggs within the various communities were encouraged and extended all over the country (EU Report, 2002). Staple crops seed distribution to war affected families,

supported by seed protection, food packages and training where necessary, was geared toward improving food security and increasing food supplies in Brazzaville (CRS, 2001). The need for restoring rural access roads in order to facilitate the transportation of inputs and products, as well as the marketing of farm produce was prioritised.

The training of agriculture technicians and establishment of agriculture product transformation facilities was being equally prioritised. With two per cent of Congo's arable land being actually cultivated, and providing a living for 40 percent of the population, there was a dire need to encouraged individual and groups to engage in more agricultural activities (UN Report 2005). Post conflict reconstruction in Congo-Brazzaville provides an understanding of the post-conflict economic setting in which displaced people embarked on a variety of livelihood recreation activities to counter widespread destitution.

2.13 Human Rights in the Republic of Congo

The Republic of Congo is currently a Parliamentary Republic ruled by a government in which most of the decision making authority is vested in the Head of State and his administration. The presidential elections held in the 2002 in which Sassou-Ngusso was elected president, as well as the parliamentary elections held the same year, were marred by incidents of irregularities and flaws in the administration of the elections, despite the presence of independent monitors (US Human Rights Report, 2006, Zartman and Vogeli, 2000).

The security forces in the Republic of Congo include the police, the gendarmeries, and the armed forces. The police and the gendarmerie are responsible for maintaining internal domestic order, with the gendarmes operating outside the cities and the police inside. The armed forces are in charge of external security but also have internal responsibility such as the protection of the head of state. The Gendarmerie and the police forces fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defence and the police under the Ministry of Security. However, in practice, the overlapping of operations by these forces makes the functional distinction between them unclear. Furthermore, the government does not always have control over some members or unit of the security forces. Some elements of the security forces were responsible for the repeated physical abuse of detainees, rapes, arbitrary arrest and detention, as well as looting, solicitation of bribe and theft. The traffic police were known for extorting bribe from taxi divers under the threat of impounding their vehicles. There was however, an overall improvement on the professional standards of the security forces in the country in 2006, as compared to the previous years.

In the Republic of Congo, uncontrolled and unidentified armed elements remain active in the Pool region despite demobilization and the reintegration programmes following the March 2003 Peace Accord between the Government and armed opposition National Resistance Council (NRC). The NRC fighters were engaged in extortion of civilians and NGOs workers in the Pool region. In April 2006, NRC forces attacked a UN humanitarian delegation visiting the pool region and stole the delegate's property. On the 13th April 2006, three gendarmes, two policemen and a Chinese trader were killed during clashes between members of the security forces and

the NRC elements in Brazzaville (Amnesty International Report, 2006). There were no reports of the government or its agents committing any politically motivated killing in 2006. However, there were a few incidents in which security forces were alleged to have killed civilians in the Pool region. Furthermore, there were occasional deaths due to mob violence, as civilians took vigilante action against presumed criminals or as individuals settled private desputes.

On July 19th, 2006 the 'Beach' trail in which fifteen members of the security forces were charged with genocide and crime against humanity opened. The security officers allegedly played a key role in the separation of three hundred and fifty three people from their families and subsequently killing them, as they returned from DRC in 1999. The accused members of the security forces were not suspended from their positions before or during the trial. On August 16^{th,} 2006, the court found the government responsible for the 'disappearance' in that it failed to ensure the security of the victims in their return from the Democratic Republic of Congo. However, all the accused, who were high ranking military and police officers, were acquitted.

The state was ordered to pay approximately $20,000 to 86 victims' families. Human rights groups expressed concern that the Congolese criminal court had only pursued the case to avoid the trial of the alleged accused by an independent foreign court. The victims' families appealed about the settlement to the Supreme Court (Amnesty International Report, 2006; US Human Rights Report, 2006).

The above chapter highlights the diverse and interconnected nature of the causes of displacement in Africa exemplified by the case of Congo-Brazzaville. It illustrates the link between global geopolitical settings, autocratic governance and socio-economic marginalisation in Sub-Sahara Africa. These are the foundations upon which issues degenerated into armed conflict in the case of Congo-Brazzaville. Furthermore, the chapter has provided an insight into the political economic of the plethora of armed conflicts as well as livelihoods insecurity which largely account for displacement in Sub Sahara Africa. Building on knowledge of these contexts, the thesis proceeds to enter into an expanded review of the literature on displacement, livelihoods and sustainable development.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This literature review contributing to the basis of this research is drawn from the broader fields of displacement, disasters and complex emergencies, livelihoods, and sustainable development. There is an established literature on 'internally displaced persons,' (Evans, 2007; Loupajarvi, 2003; Haug, 2002; Lee, 2002; Mooney, 2000; Riddle and Buckle, 1998) 'forced displacement across national borders' (Campbell, 2006; Landou, 2006; Brinkman, 2004, Cwerner, 2004; Castle, 2002; Jacobson, 2002; Martin, 2002; Alger, 1999) 'disasters and complex emergencies' (Middleton and O'Keefe, 2007; Turvey, 2007; O'Demsey and Munslow, 2006; Rubin, 2006; Alexander, 2003, 2002; Alaba-Bertrand, 2000; Barker, 2000) and 'displacement and sustainable development' (Dasputa et, al. 2007; Ickowit, 2006; Lutumpa, 2005; Zhouri, 2004; Liddle, 2002; IPCC, 2001a; Blaikie, et, al. 1994; Adam, 1990); and 'post-displacement livelihoods' (Jacobson, 2006, 2005; De Haan, 1999; Jacobson, 2002; Kirbread, 2002; De Haan, 1999). Literature on displacement as a whole is split between scholars appealing for developed nations to adopt more flexible immigration and asylum policies and those advocating the tackling of human insecurity as the main root cause of migration from the South to the North (Crawley, 2005; Morris, 2005; Brinkman, 2004; Castle, 2004; Cwemer, 2004; Castle, 2002; Bloch, 2000).

The structure and nature of institutional support, as well as host governments' restrictive asylum and immigration policies are prominent among factors stated as obstacles to post-displacement livelihoods. Similarly, refugees' inability to secure a livelihood is advocated as enhancing their vulnerability and exposing them to resentful reactions from the host population (Jacobsen, 2006; Castle, 2004; Kirbread, 2003; Jacobsen, 2002). Of significance to the study are the few sources on 'displacement early warning systems' (Smeilder, 2003; Jenkin and Smeilder, 1995; Clark, 1989; Khan, 1981). More work is necessary in this area in a drive to advocate preventive rather than responsive measures, as lasting solutions to the world's displacement related crises.

3.2 Displacement

At the beginning of the new millennium, with the number of international migrants more than doubling from 75 million in 1965 to an estimated 175 million, migration has become highly politicized and a pivotal issue in both national and international politics (Gebre and Ohta, 2005; Brinkmann, 2004; Castle, 2003). About 2.5 per cent of the world's population live outside their country of birth. The significant change in migration patterns during the post-colonial era lies not in the fact of global migration, but rather in the great increase in the magnitude, density, velocity, and diversity of global connections. This has led to the growing recognition of the fact that activities can transcend state boundaries, and the generally improved knowledge of such relationships (Nyberg-Sorensen et al. 2002).

International migration, defined as crossing the frontiers which separates one of the world's approximately 200 states from another, encompasses broad groups, variously ranging from voluntary migrants to forced migrants. Fuelled by a combination of push factors in source countries and pull factors in receiving countries, voluntary migration is sustained by well-developed networks which link the supply of labour with the demand for both highly skilled and unskilled workers. Conflicts, human rights abuses, and repressions also account for the displacement of thousand from their home communities. Mass international migration has become globalized due to the expansion of global communication and information technology, the persistent global inequalities, and the trans-nationalization of migrants' communities (Cwerner, 2004; Castle, 2002; Martin, 2002).

When people leave their usual place of habitation, some move out of the national territory while others stay within the same country forming internally displaced groups. The reasons which influence the decision to stay or move away to a distant land, and the means of achieving such goals are of relevance to this study as these are factors that may influence the resumption of livelihood security in resettlement.

3.3 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

In our increasingly de-territorialized world, internally displaced persons (IDPs) are often caught between a rock and the hard ground. Many sources on the controversy surrounding the fate of IDPs elaborate on the fact that internally displaced people are often vulnerable and exposed, with no legal institutional regime specifically designed to assist and protect them (Evans, 2006; Weiss & Korn, 2006; Castle, 2002; Wilde, 2001; Geissler, 1999; Black, 1998). Internally displaced persons are, according to the current terminology, persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular, as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights, natural and human-induce disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border (Loupajarvi, 2003; Muggah, 2003; Haug, 2002; Lee, 2002; Phaug, 2002).

Displaced persons who flee across national borders can seek protection and assistance under the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. However, the protection and assistance of IDPs from an international law perspective remains the primary responsibility of individual states in accordance with the principle of sovereignity and non-intervention. This controversial disparity has been brought to light by many researchers and has equally featured on the agendas of many international forums (Loupajarvi, 2003; Lee, 2002).

3.4 Rights and Entitlements

The argument advanced by scholars advocating for the rights of IDPs has been that human rights law sets out the obligations of states to ensure the survival, well-being and dignity of all persons subject to their territorial jurisdiction. Its coverage thus encompasses the internally displaced. By virtue of being human beings and citizens or habitual residents of a particular state, the rights and guarantees to which IDPs were entitled prior to their displacement remain intact. Yet, states engaged in armed conflicts, internal strife and communal tensions often have more pressing priorities than the protection and assistance of victims of such upheavals. Thus, the urgent need and constant call for the international community to put in place a legal framework that defines the rights and protection of internally displaced persons (Brun, 2003; Gundy and Siew, 2002; Brennan & Nandy, 2001; Lee, 2001; Riddle and Buckley, 1998).

In 1992, the UN Commission on Human Rights, in response to concerns raised on the dilemma of IDPs, requested the Representative of the Secretary-General on internally displaced persons to study the extent to which international law met the basic needs of the internally displaced. Several years of study by a team of international legal experts in international human rights law, international humanitarian and refugee law, and the representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, culminated in the outlining of areas of insufficient legal protection for the internally displaced. The findings and recommendations of the study proved sufficiently compelling to lead the Commissioner on Human Rights, as well as the General Assemble to request their representatives to develop an appropriate normative framework for the internally displaced. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were thus drafted to fill the existing vacuum (Martin, 2000; Mooney, 2000).

Massive displacement of people, irrespective of their statuses is capable of endangering international peace and security. Thus, if the UN Security Council decides that the nature and scope of a situation of internal displacement constitute a threat to international peace and security, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights can order that appropriate measures be taken to protect or assist IDPs. Such measures would not, under the circumstances, be deemed to compromise national

sovereignty or constitute intervention in the internal affairs of a State (Loupajarvi, 2003; Lee, 2002). However, internal displacement often occurs as a result of systematic human rights violation, internal strife, or armed conflicts, which occur as a result of internal disputes rather than conflict between sovereign states. Governments in such crises are often unwilling and/or unable to provide assistance and protection to the IDPs. In some cases, offers from the international community to assist the internally displaced are rejected on the grounds of state sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of states (Castle, 2003; Luopajarvi, 2003; Lee, 2002).

Critics have attributed the intensified interest in IDPs among policy makers, practitioners and scholars to an attempt at containing forced migrants within their countries/regions of origin. Some political leaders may equally distort numbers and the overall picture of IDPs crises in a drive to obtain funds and food supplies which are in turn diverted to sustain the very conflicts which prompted the humanitarian crisis. Attention to IDPs, it is argued, potentially dilutes the UNHCR mandate and legitimacy with no singled out UN agency responsible for the protection and assistance of the internally displaced (Muggah, 2003; Van Hear, 2000; Geissler, 1999). Despite the abundant literature on the rights and entitlements of IDPs, there is yet to be any international treaty with a legal framework binding signatory states to provide protection and assistance to the huge number of internally displaced persons the world over, as shown in the table below.in Table 3.1

Table 3.1

IDPs Estimates by Regions (2006)

Region	Number of Countries	IDPs (mln)
Africa	21	11.8
Americas	4	4.2
Asia	12	3
Europe	10	2.8
Middle East	5	2.7
Total	52	24.5

Source: IDMC 2007

3.5 Displacement across the National Borders

The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as a person who is out of the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (See Section 1.3).

However, the element of international refugee protection regime that is provided by the nation-states' own implementation of their legal commitments under the Geneva Convention, and the 1967 Protocol that removed the temporal and geographical limitations contained in the 1951 Convention are limited. The fact that each nation-state has the prerogative to institutionalise its own system of determination of the status of those individuals who claim to be refugees within its boarders, has but provided the option for developing restrictive asylum legislations as in the case of the UK (Cwerner, 2004).

In 1969, the Organisation of Africa Unity adopted a convention that expanded the definition of refugee to include those fleeing from external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order. However, other groups of forcefully displaced in need of assistance and protection do exist, and have through time been defined with many terms to specify their situations – internally displaced persons, war-affected population, returnees, temporarily protected persons, stateless people, development induced migrants, environmental refugees. With these categories of forced migrants not being mutually exclusive and often overlapping, much literature on the forcibly displaced across international borders centres on the rights and entitlements attributed to various groups by host governments. Many domestic laws tend towards a restrictive implementation of the Refugee Convention (Crawley, 2005; Brinkmann, 2004; Cwerner, 2004; Hao, 2003; Martin, 2002; Alger, 1999; Myer, 1997). Certain actors adapt the rule in an instrumentalist approach more inclined to promote short-term political goals over long term social objectives. Furthermore, the concept of the individual as worthy of and entitled to protection is constantly challenged by a hostile conception of community turning inward and away on grounds of imagined security threats (Landou, 2006; Selm, 2003; Goodwin-Gill, 1999).

There are many sources on displacement across borders as there have been more than 120 conflicts since the end of the Second World War, with both interstate fighting and civil strife often resulting in mass displacement. The new geopolitical context created

by the Post-Cold War era has shifted the regional and international balance of power, thus becoming contributing factors to the emergence of conflicts in recent years.The fact that conflicts in the 20th century have changed from being conventional to having a low intensity, as well as the tendency of engulfing an entire region, is highlighted in some sources adressing displacement across national borders (Whitaker, 2003; Alger, 1999; Blaikie et al., 1994).

In Africa, conflicts have induced displacement since the 1960s. South Africa, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Tchad, Angola, Mozambique, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, and Sierra Leon are among the major countries where displacement crises have occured. In the former Soviet bloc, Bosnia, Kosovo have generated large scale refugee movement and so have civil strife in Armenia, Georgia, and Chechnya. The Vietnam war in the 1960s as well as Cambodia conflict in Southeast Asia, prolonged armed conflicts in Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador in Central America, civil wars in Sri Lanka, fighting in Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, have caused large population movement to other parts of the globe in the last decade. There is consequently an extensive literature on conflict induced displacement (Valtonen, 2004; Whitaker, 2003; Gundel, 2002; Mamdani, 2002; Le Billion, 2001; Alger, 1999; Shearer, 1999; Akokpari, 1999; Axman, 1998; Goldson, 1996).

3.6 Complex Emergencies and Displacement

Complex emergencies differ from acute natural disasters because the extent of population displacement and the lack of basic services available to the displaced population may result in starvation, health degradation and mortality in a scale not often present in natural disasters (Whitaker, 2003; Keely et al., 2001; Godwin-Gill, 1999; Dohney, 1981).

The increase in the number of complex emergencies has been apparent in the previous decade, rising from 14 ongoing emergencies in 1998 to about 30 by the end of 1999. This disturbing state of world peace is mirrored by the fact that there have been more than 120 wars since the end of the Second World War (Blaikie et al., 1994). These armed conflicts have caused mass population displacement, severe health and environmental degradation and an overhaul of the international humanitarian regime. Generally, the root causes of a cross section of armed conflicts can be traced back in time to the historical and geopolitical realities of the conflict prone countries, as well as global international connections (O'Dempsey and Munslow, 2006; Hette and Soderbaum, 2005; Whitaker 2003).

Using the context and population at risk, it is possible to distinguish four categories of Complex Political Emergencies that impact on different types of displacement.

a) Rural Famine and Refugeedom Paradigm: Populations are generally rural, poor, and illiterate, with low vaccination coverage and high chronic malnutrition, and are generally housed in high-density camps. Examples of such armed conflicts include: Biafra-Nigeria, in 1968; the Sahel in 1973, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia in the early 1990s, and in recent years (Hoile, 2004; Haug, 2002; Uche, 2002; Khalil, 2000; Spalding, 2000; Ahmed, 1999; Keely et al., 1999).

b) Ethnic Cleansing or Genocide: This is characterized by armed forces and militia men attacking large number of civilians in an effort to kill or displace them. Rwanda in 1994; Bosnia in the 1990s, and Kosovo 1999 are all recent examples (Melverm and William, 2004; Rudolph, 2001; Wood, 2001; Mackintosh, 1997; Nygren, 1998; Burkholder et al., 1999; Keely, et al., 1999; Legros et al., 1999).

c) Urban Services Collapse or Urban Depopulation: This type of crises occurs when a generally healthy and well-nourished population who are dependent on urban services become refugees due to war. Congo Brazzaville, Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and The Democratic Republic of Congo have all experience such crises in the last decade (Rubin, 2006; Nadig, 2003; Brennan and Nandy, 2001; Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999).

d) Conflict and Combatants Displacement. This is the act of displacement through direct warfare. This type of emergency includes: Cambodia, Mozambique and Angola in the 1980s and 1990s, Chechnya, Congo-Brazzaville and Liberia the last decade (Edwards, 2004; Morgan and Pitcher, 2004; Rogel, 2003; Broadhurst, 2002; Ogden, 2000; Bazenguissa-Ganga, 1999; Keely, et al., 1999; Munslow, 1999).

3.7 Disasters as the Cause of Displacement

Disasters account for the displacement of millions the world over. Volcanoes, earthquakes, hurricanes, typhoons, flooding and droughts are among the most recurring types of disasters with a propensity of inflicting large scales displacement on the affected population. When a disaster strikes people are displaced temporally or permanently. The scale of destruction and displacement caused by a disaster often determine its impact on the affected population.

The curious paradox about disasters is that on the one hand, they are extraordinary events that require special organization and resources to tackle the damage, casualties and disruption they cause. But on the other hand, they are sufficiently frequent and similar to each other to be normal and not abnormal events. The preventive and emergency measures required when disasters strike are therefore, predictable enough to be planned for (Alexander, 2002). No single part the world is entirely free from environmental disasters. The abundant literature on both natural and human induced disasters is a testimony to the ever growing need to improve disasters warning systems, as well as response and relief (Priestley and Hemingway, 2007; Turvey, 2007; McEntire and Myers, 2004; Alexander, 2003; Supramaniam & Dekker, 2003).

Overall, there are many distinct features of disasters generated by natural forces, technology and terrorists. However, it is a fact that, the three types of disasters generate similar consequences for humans and structures. Thus, the same basic planning process has been used for both natural and human induced disasters, the years over. Social status and how people understand and appraise early warning systems has a direct impact on their degree of displacement, as well as the possibilities of resettlement (Minciardi et al., 2007; Nateghi-Alahi and Izadkhah, 2004; Perry and Lindell, 2003; Alexander, 2002; Alaba-Bertrand, 2000; Barker, 2000; Sadler and Grattan, 1999). Disaster preparedness is important in that it reduces the risk of injury and damage within the household and facilitates the capability of coping with the temporary disruption associated with hazards events which often lead to displacement. There is therefore a need for a more systematic understanding of the reasoning and judgement that underpin decisions regarding disaster preparedness. The link between providing the public with information on the nature of the hazard and the level of preparedness has been questioned in a number of studies with (Panton, 2003;

Perry & Lindell, 2003). It is argued that public hazard education programmes may in the long run reduce perceived risk and level of preparedness. This occurs when people tend to transfer responsibility for safety from themself to others. Furthermore, substantial discontinuity between people's beliefs and their level of preparedness suggests that adoption of decisions is influenced by some other motivational and interpretative processes.

The adoption process comprises three phases, each influenced by a specific set of variables. The first is 'precursor variables' which are factors that motivate people. The second is made up of variables that link this initial motivation with the formation of intentions. The third phase analyses the relationship between preparatory intentions and actual preparation. People of different socioeconomic statuses perceive, prepare for and respond to natural hazard risks differently. Disaster effects also vary by social class during emergency respond, recovery and reconstruction. The poor may therefore be more vulnerable to disaster because of factors such as habitat, location, social exclusion and livelihood opportunities (OECD, 2007; Forthergill and Peek, 2004; McEntire and Mayers, 2004; Drabe and McEntire, 2003; Panton, 2003; Dynes, 1994). It has therefore been argued that community based disaster preparedness needs to take in to account social and political aspect of vulnerability in view of addressing the over all vulnerability of inhabitants to disasters (Blaikie et al. 1994).

Risk involves the exposure to hazards of vulnerable populations, building stocks and human activities. It is therefore necessary to assess each of these concepts - hazard, vulnerability, risk and exposure - as they may sooner or later be impacted upon by disasters events, prompting displacement and livelihood insecurity.

Most forms of natural and technological hazards cannot be predicted exactly in terms of short-term impacts, but their general distributions are usually either well known or determinable. Hazard is the kind of danger irrespective of whether anyone is actually experiencing it, while risk is the correspondence between danger and the exposure to it. A hazard's map is therefore different from the portrait of risk distributions. It is thus essential to identify the hazards significant in the area the emergency plan put in place will cover. There is generally a stream of literature on the causes and impact of

both natural and human induced disasters (OECD, 2007; Drabek and McEntire, 2003; Newport, and Jawahar, 2003; Supramniam, & Dekker, 2003; Gunn, 2003; Alexander, 1993; Gillespie, and Colignon, 1993). If disaster is replaced here by the concept of displacement this work is highly relevant to the study of the means to resilient and sustainable livelihoods of the displaced.

3.8 Displacement and Livelihood Recreation

Getting displaced and having to seek refuge in new communities implies that the displaced has to embrace processes such as labelling, identity management, boundary creation and maintenance, management of reciprocity, manipulation of myth, and forms of social control which affect the migrants' livelihoods opportunities. When people are displaced, they are separated from their life-sustaining resources, and social support networks. These include, neighbours, friends, relatives, cultivable and grazing land, livestock, jobs, houses, access to common property resources such as forest produce, surface water, wild fruits, roots and wild life. They are therefore turned away from their social, physical, financial, cultural and natural capitals (Colson, 2003; Kirbread, 2003; Alger, 1999). While it has been acknowledged that remittance from migrants are a big boost to development in the migrants sending countries, the loss of manpower incurred by the same countries is of significance (Ahmed, 2000; Ogden, 2000, Dohney, 1981).

In their pursuit of livelihoods migrants can increase human security through the creation of economic interdependence within and between communities. They can equally improve social networks through the exchange of labour, skills, assets and food (Jacobson, 2005). The hardship the displaced endured may in the long run become a source of new vitality with a positive impact on resettlement (Kirbread, 2003; Baker, 2000; Anderson, 1999). However, right wing politicians and unethical media in some cases depict unskilled migrants and refugees as a burden on the welfare system, and a threat to employment security. Similarly, refugees and asylum seekers have been linked to depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation (De Haan, 1999; Black, 1998).

The prospect for grassroots demands for sustainable management of the environment, and for sustainable livelihoods, depends a great deal on the nature of civil society in the area concerned. The networks of trust, relations, shared norms and values in a society, facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit and hence provide a solid base for sustainability and development (Adams, 1990). Development is a vector of desirable social objectives which could include: increase in real income per capital; improvement in health and nutritional status; education achievement; access to resources; a fairer distribution of income; increase in basic freedom. Thus, displaced

people should be given the opportunity of using their capabilities to create a lasting livelihood rather than being treated as passive victims. When equipped with appropriate means to put their skills to use, displaced people could construct their livelihoods and contribute to the development of the host community in the long run (Jacobson, 2005; Guarnieri, 2004; Jacobson, 2002).

The refugee livelihoods project launched by UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) in May 2003 was indeed, a drive to encourage refugee participation on livelihood programmes (Conway, 2004). This move from the hitherto notion of depicting refugees as helpless victims who depended solely on food ratio, saw the term 'livelihood' gain a significant importance in the discourse of refugee assistance. This was at the same time echoing the long standing appeal for humanitarians to take refugees' skills and capabilities on board in the designing of any assistant programme.

Livelihood projects implemented in refugee resettlement setting are generally geared toward long term self-reliance. While the smooth execution of these projects is in most cases hampered by limited funding, inadequate technical support can equally be a set back. Self reliance, adult education, community based rehabilitation, economic skills development are all part of livelihoods related programmes (Jacobsen, 2005). Constraints in programmatic and organisational capacity, as well as the operational environment have proven to be serious set backs to the management of refugee microfinance projects (Philips, 2004). The fact that microfinance projects offered to refugees operate on a loan basis in some cases implies that the poorest of the poor targeted as beneficiaries, may be left out due to their inability to maintain sustainability. Where beneficiaries are confined to a refugee camp in respect of government policies, the lack of access to business centres may reduce the scope within which they operate their economic activities (Tarvis, 2004; Jacobsen, 2002).

Poor communication, lack of trust and credibility are some of the issues that would limit the success of refugee micro-projects and possibly reduce the number of beneficiaries. The essence of microfinance is the economic and social empowerment of refugees. The implementation of grants should where possible, deal away with surety and repayment hurdles which in some cases have placed the funds out of the

reach of targeted beneficiaries. Furthermore, the non-economic benefit of the microfinance projects to the beneficiaries such as self esteem, regain of pride and trust, is in itself a psychological boost (Macchiavello, 2004).

There is a stream of literature on refugee livelihoods with a greater focus on refugee camp and urban settings (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Jacobson, 2005; Hill, 2004; Golooba & Tollman, 2004; Guarnien, 2004; Moro, 2004; Saha, 2004; Uehling, 2004; Wiggans, 2004; Christensen, 1984, 1983, 1982). Some studies on refugee livelihoods in urban settings have highlighted the impact of economic globalization and trans-national connections on post-displacement livelihood often constructed at the grass root levels as secondary economic activities (Campbell, 2006; Grabska, 2006; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2000). Critics hold that the convenience of working in refugee camps, as well as urban settings has lured researchers away from remote refugee hosting areas, where refugees and destitute local hosts live in precarious conditions. Taking in to account such concerns contributed to the need to extend this study to Kintele village situated at 25 km in the out skirts of Brazzaville.

3.9 The Impact of Displacement on Sustainable Development

According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in the Brundtland's Commission Report of 1987, Sustainable Development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987).

The concept of Sustainable Development began to be widely adopted following the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm and under the label 'ecodevelopment'.The concept was then taken up by a number of authors, thus making environmental issues a theme of global concern and politics. Consequently, concern about the environment and development in the Third World has been an important part of development studies since the late 1970s (Zhouri, 2004; Adams, 1990).

The need to improve the living standards of people, with particular attention to the poor is a core concept of Sustainable Development. In order to eradicate poverty, the economic must grow and generate the needed funds (Asafu-Adjaye, 2004). However, increased trade could have adverse effects on the environment. Large scale crop production could cause deforestation, the loss of biodiversity, as well as contaminate the ground and surface water through the use of fertilisers and pesticides. In some developing countries, misguided government policies such as low prices for logs, as well as subsidies to enhance the use of fertilisers and pesticides, equally lead to adverse environmental impacts (Lufumpa, 2005). Sustainable Development is multifaceted concept which comprises the neoclassical economic perspective, the ecologists' perspective, the intergeneration equity perspective and the material balance perspective (Asafu-Adjaye, 2004). Furthermore, the sustainable development paradigm has led to a substantial amount of interdisciplinary research studies, commonly integrating aspects of economic, demographic, and environmental interpretation (Liddle, 2002) of importance to an analysis of displaced people's sustainable livelihoods.

Economic order has changed rapidly since the Second World War with the falling prices of agricultural and mineral exports as well as the high cost of imported energy and technology. Many Third World countries have consequently, experienced difficulties in maintaining their balance of payment (Blaikie, et, al. 1994). In order to

increase export production, new lands have been cleared for ranching and commercial cropping in many of these countries. These initiatives are causing deforestation which through the years, have contributed to the loss of biodiversity, added environmental degradation and increased displacement. In the past decade, extensive depletion of forest resources as a consequence of agricultural expansion and a rise in allocation of logging has increased significantly.

In Africa, the majority of the poor live in the rural areas and depend on subsistence agriculture, fishing and hunting as their main source of livelihoods. These ventures account for deforestation and environment degradation. Furthermore, with only 24 per cent of Africa's population of over 800 million having access to electricity, the vast majority has to rely on fuel wood for cooking, heating, and lighting, thus making the quest for solid fuel a major cause of deforestation (Lufumpa, 2005).

Poor agriculture practices are believed to be a contributing factor to the unsustainable forest exploitation in Africa. Policy experts, NGOs and many scientists have for long shared the view that shifting cultivation is a cause of deforestation in tropical Africa. However, Ickowitz (2006) suggests that in recent years, there has been a shift from the argument that shifting cultivation is a principal cause of soil exhaustion and erosion in Africa, to the view that traditional shifting cultivation in a non market setting was once sustainable. She goes on to argue that there is not enough evidence to show a breakdown in shifting cultivation as traditional wisdom seems to imply. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence to a dramatic and unilinear process of shrinking forest and expanding savannahs in tropical Africa which shifting cultivation is supposed to be engendering.

The second largest contiguous area of humid tropical forest after the Amazon which accounts for 20 per cent of the world's remaining tropical moist forest is situated in Central Africa. This forest spreads over Cameroon, the Republic of Congo, Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central Africa Republic. It's annual deforestation rate of 0.42 per cent is relatively lower than in West Africa and other tropical regions (Zhang et al., 2005).

Environmental experts in the field of forestry are generally guided by the belief that they can influence timber trade towards better and less predatory practices. The mainstreams non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – Greenpeace, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and Friends of the Earth (FOE) – in association with the timber trade have thus developed a forest certification scheme called: the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), which aims at improving forestry the world over.

However the stance of the above NGOs has been challenged by other campaigners, who prioritise ethical and political considerations, as well as advocacy for human rights and social justice in the protection of the Amazon rainforest (Zhouri, 2004). For the case of Congo-Brazzaville, there is little evidence at all that these conservationist drives have much effect in shifting attention more to the possibility of sustainability as a more internalised product of stability, rather than displacement and environmental degradation.

Climate change is one of the most debated topics in the field of sustainable development. The Earth's climate has changed from glacial periods where ice covered significant portions of the Earth to interglacial periods where ice retreated to the poles or melted entirely. Scientists have been able to build a picture of the Earth's climate dating back to millions of years ago, by analyzing a number of surrogate measures of climate such as ice core, boreholes, tree rings, glacial lengths, pollen remains, and ocean sediments, as well as studying changes in the Earth's orbit around the Sun (NRC, 2006). Factors such as the changes in greenhouse gas concentration, carbon dioxide emissions, volcanic eruptions, changes in the earth's orbit and changes in the sun's intensity all accounts for global warming (NRC, 2006, 2002; IPPC, 2001a). These causes of environmental change are not entirely remote from the struggle for livelihoods and local complexities of conflict in much of Africa.

Today it is widely agreed by the scientific community that climate change will have many negative effects including greater frequencies of heat waves; increase intensity of storms; floods and droughts; rising sea levels; a more rapid spread of diseases; and loss of biodiversity. Furthermore, the rate and duration of warming observed during the twentieth century are said to be unprecedented in the past thousand years (Dasgupta, et al., 2007; IPCC, 2001a, 2001b). Thus, consequences of macro scale

climate irregularity may impact negatively on the local development and resettlement process in much of Africa.

In recent years attempt to reduce the continued growth in greenhouse gas emission in both developed and developing countries have been hampered by the need to sustain economic growth, as well as an affordable standard living. The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) proposed by the Kyoto Protocol provided a framework for debates on the importance of mitigating the adverse effects of climate change through adaptation strategies (UNDP, 2006; Arbelaez, et al., 2000). But adaptation in the Congo-Brazzaville case is more to do with political stability and sustainable settlement opportunities.

The link between poverty and climate change has emerged as a prominent feature of the impact of climate change on development. The improvement of living conditions in developing countries has been prioritised in recent years, thus making poverty reduction a core challenge of the 21st century. It has been argued that climate change will compound existing poverty with it adverse impact most striking in developing countries, because people dependent on natural resources, their geographical and climate conditions, as well as their limited capacity to adapt to the changing climate (IPCC, 2001a). This is a form of displacement in situations where the context of livelihood security gets significantly shifted.

Climate change would lead to an increase in droughts, floods, water resources, food insecurity, human health issues, forest fires, and tropical cyclones in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This would creat a risk for potential mass displacement as a result of conflict over decreasing natural resources, as well as social unrest and political instability (Salinger, et al., 2005; PCC, 2003; IPCC, 2001b). Of key importance here is that it is likely that both increases in the quantities of displacement people and pressure to adapt livelihoods will change the nature of sustainable development challenges for future generations.

The transport sector has been identified as accounting for a considerable share of global greenhouse gas emissions. In developing countries, greenhouse gas emissions as a result of transport are low, but energy consumption within the transport system is

said to be growing faster that other sectors. Unfortunately, the focus of greenhouse gas emission mitigation efforts by the Global Environmental Facilities (GEF), the International Carbon Market (ICM) and other multilateral and bilateral actors have excluded the transport sectors due to inadequate exploration and analyses of greenhouse gas reduction options in relation to transportation (Karekezi et al., 2003).

It is therefore vital to take into account the future impact of climate change in the planning of investment in roads, railways, as well as enhancing to use of alternative means of transport such as cycling, and trekking (UNDP, 2006; Karekezi et al., 2003). But the amount and speed of future climate change will be influenced by whether greenhouse gases and aerosol concentrations will increase, stay the same, or decrease. The manner in which temperature, precipitation and sea levels respond to changes in greenhouse gas and aerosol concentrations will influence future climate change as well. Variation of climate as a result of volcanic activities, as well as changes in the sun intensity will equally affect the future trends of climate change (NRC, 2001). The influences are clearly complex and as such to a large extend unpredictable. It may therefore be more important to focus on the more immediate and predictable influences on displacement and livelihood security than these. Conflict in Africa in all instances displaces people and we have observed a lot of its influence with a strong degree of certainty.

Development induced displacement is however also a reality. Development projects such as dams and roads construction have triggered large scale population displacement in the developing countries. Faced with the urgent desire to see rapid economic growth, many developing countries in post independent Africa executed large-scale development projects in the decades following the 1960s (Thomas, 2002). Over 400,000 people have been resettled as a result of dam construction in Africa, leading to landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, loss of food security, increase morbidity and mortality, and community disarticulation (De Wet, 2005).

Many factors account for the failure of resettlement projects. The most fundamental is the failure to recognise and understand the characteristic of the population to be resettled, as well as their society and economics. Insufficient time allocated to the planning face of the resettlement project, and poor costing pose the risk of

inappropriate assessments of resources required to implement the project. The lack of adequate legal policy frameworks at national levels, as well as the necessary political will, commitment and functional co-ordination between the various departments or agencies responsible for different aspects of the resettlement project, could seriously affect the implementation phase (De Wet, 2005; Adam, 1990).

The World Bank's Operations Policy on Involuntary Resettlement (WBOPIR) has in recent years adopted measures in the planning of development induced resettlement projects geared toward addressing potential socio-cultural and economic issues, resulting from the displacement of the population concerned (Thomas, 2002). Development induced displacement is a form of human induced disaster in African and has through the years disrupted the way of life, as well as livelihoods of many indigenous communities.

3.10 European perspectives of Immigration

The focus of this study on factors which guide migrants in the way they identify themselves in the course of displacement and the influence these factors exert on livelihoods reconstruction has demanded analysis of the displacement process beyond Congo-Brazzaville. A significant number of displaced persons in developing countries target resettlement in Europe for protection and economic related reasons. An overview of European immigration and asylum policies is in this regard, provides a further context that is important to this study.

The end of World War II triggered a new flow of refugees in to Europe. The division of Europe forced hundred of thousands to flee from the Eastern bloc to the West. The scale of the problem was new, although there had been population movement since the beginning of the century (Shuster, 2003; Marrus, 1985; Keller, 1977). At the same period, Western European countries equally encouraged various forms of labour immigration in an attempt to counter labour shortages created by the impact of years of warfare. Britain adopted a 'post-colonial model', Germany the 'guest worker model', and France both models. Throughout the cold war era, political refugees from the Eastern bloc were welcome with open arms in the West (Black and Gent, 2006; Colson, 2003; Freeman, 2003; Iredale, 2001; Todaro, 1997).

Under the category of more or less unforced migration might be considered migrant workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, and family reunions (Todaro, 1976). But the number of asylum seeking/migrants entering Europe has increased significantly since the economic slowdown of 1973-1974 which was triggered by the fall in the prices of raw materials. The said economic recession led to new restrictions on labour migration in many European traditional immigration countries. European regional treaties have opened up cross-border labour and given OECD countries a single labour market. The end of the cold war equally enhanced massive movement of migrants from Eastern Europe to the West. The increase in the EU member states to 27 has but shut the doors to potentials migrants from other regions of the World (Crawly, 2005). Migrants tend to be disproportionately young, better educated, less risk-averse, more achievement oriented and have better contacts in destination areas than the general population in the region of out-migration (Castle, 2004). This has led to the formation of new ethnic communities in host countries. With official avenues

tightened up, seeking asylum seems to be the only available legal channel open to a certain category of immigrants (Freeman, 2003; Stark, 2003; Martin, 2002).

However, more than 30 years of closed doors on labour migration ended in the late 1990s. This period also marks a shift in employment and income maintenance policies to match a globalized economic environment. Nation states sought to replace economic stability with economic flexibility. Despite this change in immigration policies within the EU member states, the mobility of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants' is seen as a potential drain on welfare state resources and a foundation for shadow labour markets (Gedds, 2003; Duvell & Jordan, 2002).

In Britain for instance, there was no primary legislation dealing specifically with asylum issues before the July 26th 1993 Asylum/Immigration Appeals Act. Three years latter, restrictive measures incorporated in to the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act, excluded certain classes of asylum seekers from social security and legal aid (Schuster, 2003). The Labour party's return to power in 1997 marked a change in labour migration policies. A significant number of work permits have been issued along side the Highly Skilled Programme launched in 2002.Within the same period, the surge in the number of asylum applications was attributed to lenient immigration control and a generous benefit system. The 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act introduced the dispersal of asylum seekers, as well as a separate welfare system for asylum seekers, through the National Asylum Support Service (NASS). The urgent need to cut down number of asylum applications became a centre issue in the government asylum and immigration policies (Cwerner, 2004; Gedds, 2003). Critics continue to question why immigration procedure requires individuals seeking asylum to substantiate their claims rather than having the Immigration and Nationality Department to prove the contrary (Cambridge and Williams, 2004).

It has been argued that the benefit system for asylum seekers in the UK has tended to attract people fleeing from political repression, persecution and conflicts, as well as other groups travelling for potential economic reasons. This perception shared by most politicians and a broad proportion of the public has guided policy-makers in the fields of asylum and immigrations in the UK, in recent years (Cwerner, 2004).

At the regional level, EU member states' policies to prevent unwanted flows and the effective management of immigration and integration have had little success in the past. The five years 'transitional period' for the implementation of the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty provision on a common EU immigration and asylum policy ended on the 1st of May 2004 (Crawley, 2005; Morris, 2005). Now critics are challenging EU leaders to ensure the development of a common European asylum policy that focuses on tackling the root causes of forced migration and provides for protection and integration, rather than keeping asylum seekers out of Europe. It is broadly argued that only a tiny number of the world's 21 millions refugees and internally displaced persons get to Europe, even though politicians and the public generally share the conviction that the asylum system is being abused by bogus asylum seekers (Cambridge and Williams, 2004; Castle, 2004; Moraes, 2003).

Huge resettlement and livelihoods creation problems persist within the ranks of refugees in the UK, despite the wide range of government schemes designed to enhance their integration. Many scholars continue to question the wisdom behind the Home Office policies on the right and entitlement of asylum seekers in the UK (Adepoju, 2006; Bloch, 2002; Zetter & Pear, 2000).

From the above literature, Figure 3.1 provides theories approaches which inform this study. It depicts linkages demonstrating that disasters, livelihoods insecurity and unsustainable development account for the existence of contested ideas of displacement. These are outlined further in Figure 3.1
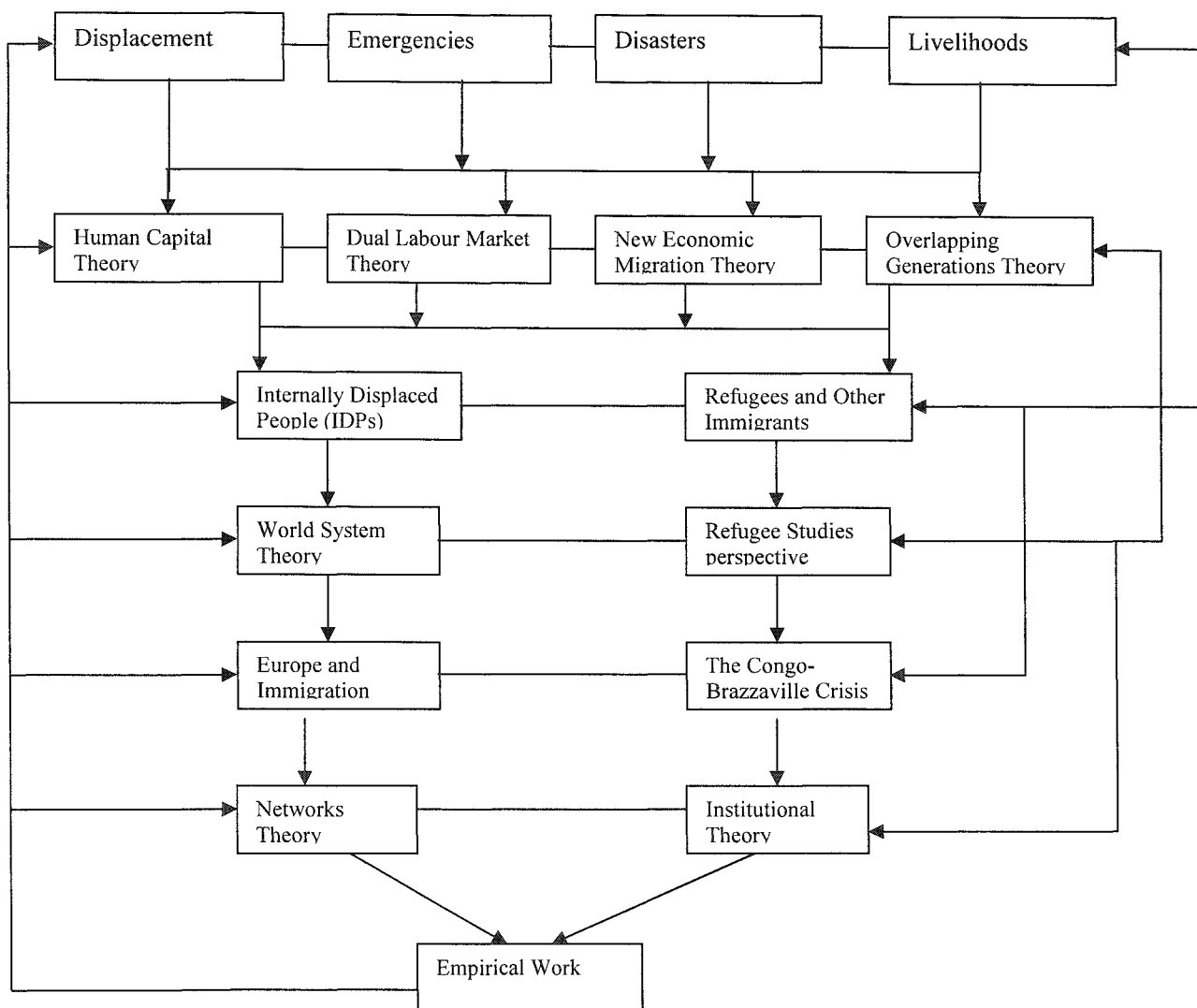
Figure 3.1
Theoretical Approaches informing the Study

3.11 Theoretical Approaches

3.11.1 The World System Theory

The world system theory considers international migration in a world-wide perspective. This approach emphasises that the interaction between societies is an important determinant of social change within societies. An example of the interaction between societies is international trade. According to this argument, unfair trade treaties between countries with a weaker economy and those with advanced economy causes economic stagnation resulting in lagging living conditions in developing countries. This growth in inequality between North and South may equally result in mass displacement, as well as being an incentive for migration. The world system theory equally gives an explanation for the linkages between countries in pointing out that globalisation involves the proliferation of cross-border capital and commodities, as well as people, ideas and cultural values (Castle,2003, 2002, 2001; Held et al., 1999; Amankwaa, 1995; Wallerstein, 1983). The world system theory is relevant to the study in that it highlights the elusive nature of the global causes of displacement.

3.11.2 Refugee Studies Perpectives

Of significant among the models that attempt to give the refugee experience a better understanding is Kunz 'kinetic models and forms of displacement'. Kunz (1973) in his models explores the motivations leading to the decision to flee, as well the out come of the actual flight. Key to Kunz's kinetic model is the 'push' rather than 'pull.' Thus, the refugee is forced to flee and not pulled, as is the case with voluntary migrants who are attracted by opportunities in their new land. If given the choice, the refugee would stay. These are not poor people. Most of them were successful, prominent, well integrated individual before flight. This line of thought in the distinction of forced from voluntary emigration features in other sources (Jacobson, 2005; Castle, 2004; Freeman, 2003; Schuster, 2003; Bloch, 2000).

Kunz analyses the flight and settlement pattern of most refugees as conforming to two kinetic types: anticipating movement and acute movements. The anticipatory refugee leaves before a crisis makes orderly departure impossible. Superficially, the anticipatory refugee resembles the voluntary migrant in that he has made preparation for a new life. However, the unhappy vindication given the refugee's anticipation and

the fact that he has no preferred destination makes him different from the voluntary migrant. The anticipatory refugee who is normally educated, well to do and alert will leave as soon as there is a country ready to take him. The pattern is thus push-permit. Acute refugee movement may result from complex emergency or severe natural disaster. In case of a mass flight many people escape because of the atmosphere of panic and hysteria than the actual fear of imminent danger. If escape is restricted only small groups of individual may be able to get out.

Describing refugee associative patterns, Kunz highlight the danger of treating refugees from a given country or region as a homogenous group. On the contrary most refugees are subdivided into many waves and vintages that may differ significantly, have different experiences and may even be hostile to one another. This point is equally iterated in many sources on displacement crises (Verwimp, 2003; Whitaker, 2003; Legros et al., 1999; Nygren, 1998; Mackintosh, 1997). People who leave their country of origin at different points in time are therefore fleeing from different pressures and could have different backgrounds. Kunz equally emphasizes the impact of the refugee experience after flight. Why one wave may travel to their country of asylum in a matter of days, a second wave may take years to make it to the same country. The impact of the possible harsh conditions endured along the displacement track by the second wave would have a negative impact on resettlement and should not be overlooked.

Kunz (1981) equally explores the flight of the 'majority-identified' and 'events-alienated' refugees. He describes 'majority-identifies' refugees as refugees who identify with their homeland, their nation and their people but have fled from the current government or from a foreign oppressor. On the contrary, 'alienated refugees' are those from a minority or marginal groups who have tried to identify with their country but have been alienated by its rejection or persecution. The perspectives of refugee studies provide a frame work for understanding policy and institutional response which are of significant relevance to this study.

3.11.3 Human Capital Theory of Migration

The human capital theory considers salary levels, migration costs and discount rates, and the probability of employment in the destination location, which are dependent of individual characteristics, to have influence in the differences between individuals in their propensity to migrate (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Todaro, 1976; Becker, 1962; Sjaastad, 1962). The human capital migration theory advances the following hypotheses as being relevant to displacement decisions:

a) Personal contacts at destination location and access to information about it decrease the cost of migration and increase the probability of finding new employment, consequently increasing the propensity to migrate. However, better access to information might decrease the propensity for displacement because knowing the precarious situation of the already displaced people, may dissuade some potential migrants from leaving their place of origin.

b) In urban centres, individuals with a higher level of education obtain higher salary levels. Therefore, the propensity to migrate to urban areas increases with level of education. This is also applicable to migration from developing to developed countries.

c) Specific human capital variables may yield higher returns at the place of reception than at the place of origin, thus increasing the migration propensity.

d) Individual's planning horizon increases the probability of migration. Thus, young people migrate at a higher rate as compared to older people.

e) Individuals with lower levels of risk aversion are more likely to migrate. Thus, risk bearing people are more likely to migrate and embrace the unknown. But they could also stay in their place of origin and incur the risks of embracing the potential threat. The human capital migration theory is relevant in the understanding of the diverse and interconnected dynamics which influence the decision to flee or stay in the face of adversity.Furthermore, it raises a range of issues such as: personal contact in destination locations, access to information; youth being more inclined to be on the move, and the level of education influencing the decision to migrate. These are applicable to a range of displaced people relevant to this study.

3.11.4 The Dual Labour Market Theory

The dual labour market theory argues that international migration is mainly caused by pull factors in developed destination countries (Piore, 1997; Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 1998). According to this theory, the primary segment of the labour markets in developed countries is characterised by capital-intensive methods of production and predominantly high-skilled employment. The secondary segment is characterised by labour-intensive method of production and predominantly low skilled employment. The dual labour market theory assumes that international labour migration stems from labour demands in the labour-intensive segment of modern industrial societies in developed countries.

This may be arguably acceptable but would labour demand without weak economics, political persecution and autocratic governance cause people to emigrate from the developing nations? The dual labour market theory is relevant to this thesis in that it highlights some underlying factors which influence emigrants' decisions to strive toward resettlement in developed countries.

3.10.5 The New Economics of Labour Migration Theory

The new economic of labour migration theory holds that the decision to become a labour migrant cannot be explained at the level of the individual worker without taking into account, other social entities (Stark and Taylor, 1991, 1989; Stark and Bloom, 1985). The social entities referred to here are the household and the sending community as a whole. A family member might migrate to reduce the risk of insufficient household income. A member of the sending community may constantly experience the desire of improving the way of life and living condition of his people. This craving in some cases is an underlying cause of the decision to migrate, as well as where resettlement is sought. Factors highlighted in the 'new economic of migration theory', as the underlying causes of migration reflect the range of predicaments which underpin livelihood insecurity.

3.11.6 Other International Migration Theories

As a result of large inflow of international migrants, migrant networks may be formed, involving interpersonal linkages between migrant population in destination areas and the prospective migrants in origin countries. The emergence of migrant networks may help potential migrants of the same ethnic origin, in terms financial support toward the journey, as well as help in the search of employment or appropriate accommodation in receiving countries. The networks can equally provide information on the availability of other social amenities (Castle, 2004; King et al 1997).

As international migration occurs, it can become institutionalised. The institutional theory argues that a large influx of international migration induces profit and non-profit organisations – which can be legal as well as illegal – to provide counterfeit documents, dwellings places, legal advice, clandestine transport, and labour contracts for immigrants (Massey et al., 1993). According to the overlapping generation approach, the life cycle of individual workers can be divided into two periods. In the first period people invest in human capital formation and in the second period they try to make use of their investments. The decision to migrate is made at the beginning of the second period. International migration in this sense creates the opportunity to increase the out put of investment in human capital. The prospect of international migration may be an incentive to human capital investment in the first period of life cycle, thus leading to an increase in the number of high skilled workers in country of origin (Vidal, 1998; Mountford, 1997). Prospective migrants in developing countries may thus aspire to become teachers, doctors, nurses and information technology specialists in the hope of selling such skills abroad in the feature.

The network, overlapping and institutionalised theories are relevant to this study in that they out line underlying factors which influence the decision to emigrate, as well as issues related to settlement in the receiving countries/areas.

Chapter three has provided a literature review on displacement livelihoods and sustainable development, as well as the framework for rights and entitlements of the displaced grounded in contested legal and institutional settings. It equally provides the theoretical approaches which highlight the range of issues the study is exploring. Building on this knowledge the thesis moves on to explain the methodology in further details.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Many factors account for displacement in developing countries. In Sub-Saharan Africa, conflicts, political repression and economic marginalisation have through the years forced millions to settle out of their country of birth. This study looks at factors which influence migrants' livelihood reconstruction strategies in the course of the displacement process. In other words, in which way is the task of reconstructing a livelihood in the course of displacement influenced by the pre-displacement experience, the displacement track, and the resettlement process? It also seeks to understand the ultimate effects of migration on the migrants' receiving and sending communities.

The data collection process is guided by the following research questions:

- What are the factors which guide migrants in the way they identify themselves as displaced people in the course of the displacement process?
- What is the impact of individual migrants' pre-displacement skills and capabilities on post-displacement livelihoods recreation?
- What is the impact of the receiving country immigration/asylum policies on immigrants' livelihood opportunities?
- What is the impact of the displacement process on migrants' communities of origin and the receiving communities?

4.2 Methodological Approach

Many social scientists are of the opinion that the need may arise for a researcher to employ qualitative and quantitative research methods, simply adjusting them to meet the methodological standards required (Gebre and Ohta, 2005; Payne and Payne, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005; Boulton and Hammerley, 1998). In the same line of thought, Lazar (2004) holds that both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used in pursuing adequate explanations of the cause and in addressing the meaning. This study is based on qualitative research methods. However, quantitative research techniques were also included where they were thought to be relevant in providing answers to the area of inquiry. It is emphasised that as the research programme involves working with people displaced by conflicts, political repression, disasters and economic marginalisation among others; it calls for the use of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection in maximising the possibilities of obtaining relevant information in a variety of settings. 'Methodologies produce different research designs, because they follow in their theoretical structures, different ontological and epistemological prescriptions (Satrantakos, 2005, p.29)'. In the same line of thought, Payne & Payne (2004) advise that methodological pluralism sees all methods as equals, weighing the merits of any given method in terms of how appropriately it tackles the research task at hand.

Satrantakos (2005) holds that the central principles of qualitative methodology are taken from a relativist orientation, constructivist ontology and an interpretivist epistemology. Constructionist perspectives take as their starting point the philosophical view that social reality does not exist objectively but is created in interaction and through interpretation. It assumes the relativism of multiple social realities considers reality to be subjective, diverse and constructed (Seale, 2004; Schwandt, 1994). Stated differently, the researcher may not have access to objective reality and this is argued as particularly the case with this thesis which has operated in the context of a complex emergency, political repression, with surviver of genocide and so forth. Realities synthetised by researcher rely on the accounts provided by victims of these upheavals. It is a construction of the constructed reality of the research participants. It is subject to a relative epistemology, in other words, where

our knowledge comes from is interpreted as well as how reliable that process is (Lazar, 2004).

Interpretivist epistemology relates to the construction of knowledge on grounds of respondents' accounts with openness to feeling and experience. It goes further than surface meaning or presuming meaning to seek respondents' meanings. The method of research must therefore allow us to perceive the fragile nature of the displacement conditions. It is necessary to appreciate the way in which difficult to appraise incidents are created in to what is taken for granted and the integrity of the people we are studying (Charmaz, 2003; Holdaway, 2000). My own story of displacement, which is not detailed in this thesis for very personal reasons, has provided an underlying insight into the challenge of definitive researched knowledge in this field.

However, constructivism facilitates researcher-informant dialogue and helps both parties to develop a common language and pattern of discourse that adequately reflect informants' individual and collective reality. Constructivist ontology enables the researcher to develop concepts on the subject areas to be investigated, which in turn provide some background knowledge on the research topic. Such background knowledge informs methodology as to what is supposed to be studied (Blaikie, 2000). Interpretivist epistemology can therefore guide qualitative methodology, prescribes flexible designs and advocates less structured means of gaining the required knowledge (Sarantakos, 2005).

Methods are techniques, which take on specific meaning according to the methodology in which they are used. In themselves, techniques are not true or false but more or less useful depending on their fit with the methodologies being used and hypothesis being tested or the selected research topic (Silverman, 2004, 2002). The study is based on qualitative and quantitative research methodology with the use of modified analytic induction of data analysis, with emphasis on hypotheses testing and modification. Induction Knowledge is believed by theorists to enable us to move from the particular to the general, stated differently, it helps us move from many cases to some kind of universal statement (Lazar, 2004).

The data collected for this study in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, consist of questionnaires, field notes, transcripts of in-depth interviews done as follow up to the

questionnaires, video footage and photographs. There are a further questionnaires interviews and in-depth recorded interviews conducted in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. This chapter describes the methods used in the data collection and the various standards for maintaining the integrity of the data, as well as difficulties encountered during the process, and the subsequent limitations. The data collected in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo as well as Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, the study design, and the description of the way those who participated in the study were managed are discussed in the following sections.

4.3 Selection of Sample Population in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo

The first part of the field work was carried out in Brazzaville between February and June, 2005. While in Brazzaville, the Author met the director of the 'Centre de Recherche sur les Etudes en Sciences Sociales et Humaines' (CRESSH), at Marien Nguabi University. The research plans were submitted and the questionnaires reviewed and approved by the centre authorities. This approval was vital for the research authorisation which was a prerequisite for the field data collection. It took ten days for the authorisation to be signed by the 'Délégué Général de la Recherche'. Within that period, a series of meetings on ethical issues and research participants were held for this work. UNHCR Brazzaville was contacted and the representative there consented to my working with refugees.

In line with the instructions of the director of 'CRESSH' and UNHCR Welfare officer, all members of research team had to endorse a confidentiality oath. The identity of the interviewees was not to be written down on the questionnaires. And as for the in-depth interviews, a confidentiality agreement in which the researcher undertook to refrain from the use of the real names of the participants in the interviews and/or in the thesis was concluded. Each interview was preceded by an explanation of the purpose of the study. Research participants refuted the idea of a consent form on grounds that it gave away the identities of the respondents. However, the purpose of the study and the ethical responsibility of the researcher written as an introduction on the questionnaires for further clarification was read and translated where necessary to all respondents.

A team of two female and three male from Marien Nguabi University volunteered to work as research assistants for a token compensation. It was thought that working with University students would portray the academic nature of the study. Two training sessions were held in which the use of questionnaires in interviews, the selection of sample population, as well as ethical issues were covered. All five were fluent in French and the three main dialects commonly spoken in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. Information gathered from the researche assistents suggested that immigrants living in Brazzaville felt more comfortable in the northern pro-government part of the city. The pro-opposition south of the city was well known for sporadic out breaks of fighting and general insecurity, and thus considered a high risk area for non-nationals.

In 2003, data obtained from the UNDP Brazzaville office suggested that there were approximately 120,406 displaced people from the Democratic Republic of Congo, 15,000 Angolans, 6, 5000 from Rwanda, and 2000 from the Central African Republic living in the Republic of Congo. According to UNHCR Brazzaville, in 2005, there were approximately 58,828 displaced people from the DRC, 5,868 from Rwanda, and 3,881 Angolans in the Republic of Congo. While these figures were an indicator of the made up of the potential respondents on the basis of country of origin, there was no precise information on their residential areas.

Officials at CRESSH and UNHCR Brazzaville were of the view that, successive years of conflict and constant displacement had caused the inhabitants of Brazzaville to resettle on grounds of safety considerations. It was therefore not easy to say for certain where people belonging to a particular grouping live in Brazzaville. The study was therefore based on the entire city to be doubly sure that no immigrant settlement was left out. The use of questionnaires as a guide in the interviewing process was in this case seen as offering better prospects of reaching a wide number of respondents in that it was easier and faster to conduct interviews while writing out the answers on the questionnaires (see appendixes).

The research participants were made up of immigrants and the local population living in immigrants hosting areas in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. Participation was on a voluntary basis, and respondents included diverse nationalities, social classes, gender, and age groups, in an attempt to assure representativeness as emphasised during the preparatory meetings. Questionnaire interviews were conducted in all migrant hosting areas in Brazzaville. Female researchers interviewed females while male researchers interviewed males in a bid to obtain an equal number of respondents from both sexs. People of all age groups were requested to take part in the interviews. The language spoken by potential respondents was of no significance in terms of participation in the study.

Information gathered from the director of CRESSH, UNHCR Brazzaville officials, and the director of the 'Commission D'Entraide pour les Emigrants et les Refugiés' (CEMIR) suggested that 'vulnerability in terms of livelihoods' was the obvious distinction between refugees, economic migrants and other non nationals living in

Brazzaville. In other words, among these groupings were immigrants most likely to be of interest to UNHCR. Forced out of their countries of origin by conflicts, political repression, and economic marginalisation most of these immigrants are obliged to embrace the unknown. Some of them possibly had no source of income and rely entirely on humanitarian organizations for survival.

During a field trip in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo in 2003, some immigrants admitted being displaced by armed conflict but refuted being refugees. This group selection ambiguity in itself left my work with unanswered questions and inspired me to embark on this study. In all, 128 migrants were interviewed with the same questionnaire and 95 members of the local population interviewed with the second questionnaire. Answers were recorded on the questionnaire by the interviewer.

4.4 Questionnaires

The questionnaires were a guiding tool and equally rendered the interviewing process simple, thus enabling the team to conduct comparable interviews in areas where immigrants were located in Brazzaville, being: central Brazzaville, Kintele and Igne villages in the outskirt of the city.

Questionnaire design was guided by information from multiple sources. This included observation and findings while on a field research trip in Brazzaville in 2003, previous research on displacement, livelihoods and sustainable development (Castle, 2004; Whitaker, 2003; Kirbread, 2003; Jacobson, 2002; De Haan, 1999; Black, 1998). Open ended questions allow freedom of expression, thought and feeling and do not constrain the respondent's belief or opinion to predetermine categories, thus given the possibly of offering information in areas that might not have been foreseen by the researcher (Sarantakos, 2005; Wilson, 1998). Most questions in the questionnaires used to administer interviews to the local population, as well as those used to interview immigrants were open ended in line with the qualitative nature of the inquiry, thus offering the opportunity for diversified responses to questions. Answers to questions were written on the questionnaires by the researcher. All interviewers had notebooks and where necessary, extra information was recorded in these. The following key points were taken into consideration in the designing of the questionnaires:

- The use of unambiguous language to enable the respondents to understand the question as initially phrased.
- The need not to have too lengthy questions which could require long interviewing time and possibly render respondents impatient.
- Potentially sensitive questions covering respondent's private life did not appear too early in the questionnaires.

Every questionnaire was numbered alongside the name of the location and the initials of the researcher who conducted the interview. In this way, it was easy to classify any extra information given by each researcher at the end of the exercise. Interviews were conducted on five working days of the week and in some cases we had to come back in the evening or weekend to catch up with people not available during working

hours. The strategy used was to find out from the local population whether there were any immigrants living in the area. After interviewing immigrants in a given residential area, the second phase consisted of interviewing members of the indigenous population in the same area. Participation was on a voluntary basis subject to availability and willingness to take part in the research project. However, as expected, in some cases the request to take part in the interview was turned down by some immigrants who held that they were international business men and neither economic migrants nor refugees. Similarly, some well off members of the local population showed no interest in taking part in the study on the grounds that the presence of immigrants in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo was of no relevance as far they were concerned.

4.5 Respondents' Countries of Origin

The interviewed were conducted with 95 local people who were citizens of the Republic of Congo and 128 of diverse nationalities using two set of questionnaires (see appendixes).

Table 4.1

Respondents' Countries of Origin in Brazzaville

Respondents' Country of Origin	Female	Male	Total Number of Respondents
Congo-Brazzaville	37	58	95
DR Congo	10	37	47
Rwanda	9	34	43
Mali	0	11	11
Central Africa Rep.	2	4	6
Angola	2	4	6
Senegal	0	5	5
Tchad	0	5	5
Niger	1	1	2
Cameroon	0	1	1
Equatorial Guinea	0	1	1
Guinea Conakry	0	1	1
Total	61	162	223

4.6 Locations where Interviews were conducted

The lack of any precise information on immigrants hosting areas meant it was necessary to explore the city in search of immigrants. Interviews were conducted in locations indicated in the table below and based on availability of respondents. No claim of random sampling is made in this work, though it could be argued that beyond considerations of availability, safety and logistical constraints accessing areas, that selection of individual households was not biased.

Table 4.2

Location of Interviews in Brazzaville

Location of Interview	Respondents' Country of Origin	Number of Respondents
Central Brazzaville	Congo Brazzaville	50
	DR Congo	25
	Rwanda	21
	Mali	11
	Angola	6
	Senegal	5
	Tchad	5
	Niger	2
	Cameroon	1
	Equatorial Guinea	1
	Guinea Conakry	1
Kintele Village	Congo-Brazzaville	30
	DR Congo	21
	Rwanda	19
	Central Africa Rep.	3
Igne 45 Village	Congo-Brazzaville	15
	Central Africa Rep.	3
	Rwanda	3
	DR Congo	1
Total		223

4.7 In-depth Recorded Interviews

In-depth interviews provide flexibility which enables the researcher to obtain information from key informants with minimal restriction on the interviewing process (Sarantakos, 2005). The face to face questionnaire interviews enabled the study to identify 5 groups of particular interest to the study:

- Literate refugees from DRC with a source of income.
- Refugees from DRC without any source of income.
- Refugees from Rwanda/Burundi without any source of income.
- Liberian refugees who had neither a source of income nor accommodation.
- Internally displaced people living in Brazzaville North with no assistance.

Respondents for the in-depth recorded interviews as follow up beyond the questionnaires were made up of forced migrants and members of the local civil society and consisting specifically of:

- Civil society: the director of 'le Centre National d'Assistance aux Refugies' (CENAR), the local chief of Kintele village, the representative of DRC migrants residing in Kintele village, the Representative of Rwanda migrants settlement in Kintele village, the Immigration Officer at the beach in Brazzaville, the Representative of the Kisindi IDPs camp situated in the northern part of Brazzaville, and a Congolese formerly employed by an NGO). Immigrants: five DRC male and one female, three Rwandan male and one female, one Angolan, one Chadian, one Equatorial Guinea national, one Liberian.
- On my second trip to Brazzaville I carried out further interviews with the following five people from the above group: the Represesntative of the Kinsindi IDPs camp, the Representative of Rwanda immigrants in Kintele, The Equatorial Guinean, the Rwandan orphan and a group focus interview with Liberian refugees who were living in the open air. The aim of these interviews was to obtain further information found to be lacking from the analysis of the previous interviews in a bid to fill existing gaps. All interviews were tape recorded and lasted between twenty minutes and one hour dependent on how elaborate the respondent(s) were.

4.8 Video Footage and Photographs

Ali (2004) holds that the range of visual materials that can be used for research purposes is very broad and it is wise to ascertain why a particular visual method is chosen over others. In a rather more precise way, Loizos, (2000) states that where a set of human actions are complex and difficult for a single observer to describe comprehensively while it unfolds, the data recording function of video becomes obvious.

Information obtained in central Brazzaville, as well as Kintele village in the course of the interviews suggested that some members of the indigenous population held that immigrants were causing widespread deforestation in the course of their firewood and charcoal activities carried out in the outskirts of Kintele village. A second issue also of concern to the local population was the indiscriminate fishing being carried in the river Congo by immigrants. These were complex activities in terms of the locations, nature and range of the exercises, thus the need to record them with a video camera. On my second trip to Brazzaville, I negotiated with immigrants and the local population and both parties accepted to take me to the sites in question. A delegation of three people from Kintele village took us to the river where we recorded what evidence there was to support the fishing allegations. Similarly, we walked for about 10 km with a delegation of four people from the immigrants' settlement in Kintele village to make footage of the charcoal making process.

I equally made footages of life in the Kintele migrants' settlement and the Kisindi IDPs camp with a focus on livelihoods creations and difficulties encountered. Through out the field study, I had a digital camera with which any images thought to be of significance to the study were captured. Of interest to the research was finding out if immigrants in their quest to reconstruct a livelihood were carrying out activities which could be detrimental to socio-economic and environmental sustainability of the receiving areas. Or whether such activities were self-sustaining and of use to members of the local communities? The impact of the presence of immigrants on other sustainable resources was equally of interest.

4.9 Observation

The aim of observation as a research method is to collect information which can produce empirical and theoretical knowledge about specific issues which can be use in a variety of ways (Foster, 1998). Robson (1993) further suggests that observation can take a variety of forms, is commonly used in an exploratory phase to find out what is going on, but can also be used as a supportive or supplementary technique to collect data that may complement or set in perspective data obtained by other means. Observation was carried out through out the data collection process and where necessary further information was obtained through a chat or an informal interview.

Immigrants' livelihoods strategies were observed at various levels. It was for instance, interesting to see how commodities such as firewood and charcoal produced by immigrants in Kintele served the local population at various stages. This could be from roasting along the road made by fast food shops owners to household use for cooking and ironing. Similarly, the fish caught in river Congo was sold to whole sales dealers who then supplied it to retailers in the various markets of Brazzaville, for purchasing at household levels. The coping mechanisms and small livelihoods set up of both immigrants and the local population in the markets, dwelling areas where research was conducted, IDPs camp in Brazzaville north and immigrants' settlement in Kintele were observed and noted. Observation thus provided precise details which complemented the data obtained through other research methods.

4.10 Newcastle upon Tyne Research Programme

Research was carried out in Newcastle-upon-Tyne to find out about the situation of displacement and livelihoods once people have departed from Africa and tried to resettle elsewhere. Also for the purpose of triangulation, data should be collected at a variety of times, in different locations and from a range of persons and collectivities (Macdonald, 2001).

The second part of the study conducted in Newcastle upon Tyne was conceived to be complementary to the main study carried out in Brazzaville, and thus of a smaller scale. Participation was on voluntary basis and subject to being an immigrant living in Newcastle upon Tyne or Gateshead. The fear that information provided could have an impact on their immigration status was expressed by many potential respondents despite the assurances of absolute anonymity given, and the confidentiality agreement entered in the case of in-depth interviews. Four research assistants took part in the study and were from the following countries: DRC one female and one male; Republic of Congo, one male; Cameroon, one male. As was the case in Brazzaville, a training session covering the use of questionnaire and ethical issues was held prior to the start of the study.

4.11 Selection of Sample in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

Living in Newcastle since 2001 enabled me to be quite conversant with the city as a whole. Furthermore, I have worked as a French and Creole interpreter for Newcastle Interpreting Service, basically assisting people of African decent with limited self expression in English, since 2002. Locating the main immigrants hosting areas was therefore not a major problem. However, for the sake of consistency, four research assistants were engaged to facilitate the field work conducted in Newcastle upon Tyne, for token compensation as was the case in Brazzaville. Respondents included diverse nationalities, social classes, gender, and age groups, in an attempt to ensure representativity as highlighted during the preparatory meetings. Questionnaire interviews were conducted in the main immigrants hosting areas in Newcastle upon Tyne. People of all age groups were requested to take part in the interviews. The language spoken by respondents was not to be considered as an influencing factor in the selection of interviewees.

4.12 Questionnaires

The same questionnaires with which interviews were conducted in Brazzaville were use in Newcastle in a bid to ensure consistency. A total of 41 interviews were conducted with the use of questionnaires. Every questionnaire was numbered alongside the name of the location and the initials of the researcher who conducted the interview. In this way, it was easy to classify any extra information given by each researcher at the end of the exercise.

Interviews were conducted on five working days of the week and in some cases we had to come back in the evening or weekend to catch up with people not available during working hours. The strategy was to use ethnic associations, and personal contact to get in touch with potential respondents. Participation was on voluntary basis subject to availability and willingness to take part in research project. However, as expected, in some cases the request to take part in the interview was turned down by some immigrants who claimed to be international students or skilled workers.

4.13 Respondents' Countries of Origin in Newcastle upon Tyne

The study interviewed 41 involuntary migrants in Newcastle with the use of questionnaires. Table 4.3 shows the countries of orgin of the respondents.

Table 4.3

Respondents' Countries of Origin in Newcastle

Respondents' country of origin	Female	Male	Total number of respondents
DR Congo	8	5	13
Republic of Congo	2	7	9
Rwanda	1	5	6
Cameroon	1	5	6
Cote D'Ivoire	2	3	5
Somalia		1	1
Togo		1	1
Total	14	27	41

4.14 Locations where Interviews were conducted

A total of 41 questionnaire Interviews were conducted in 6 main forced migrants hosting areas in Newcastle and Gateshead.

Table 4.4

Location of Interview in Newcastle

Location of Interview	Respondents' Country of Origin	Total Number of Respondents
Fehnam	DR Congo	5
	Republic of Congo	3
	Cameroon	1
Byker	D R Congo	8
Benwell	Republic of Congo	2
	Cameroon	2
	Rwanda	2
	Cote D'Ivoire	2
Gateshead	Republic of Congo	4
	Rwanda	3
Walker	Cote D'Ivoire	3
	Cameroon	2
Benton	Togo	1
	Rwanda	1
	Somalia	1
	Cameroon	1
Total		41

4.15 In-depth Interviews in Newcastle upon Tyne

Respondents of the in-depth interviews were made up immigrants and members of the longer term community. For the purpose of the study, five in-depth interviews were conducted with members of the civil society and a further five with involuntary migrants as a follow up to the questionnaires interviews .The following respondents took part in the in-depth interviews:

- The co-ordinator and project manager at the West End Refugee Service;
- A project worker of the West End Refugee Service;
- Two case workers of the North of England Refugee Service;
- The co-ordinator of African Community Advice North East;
- Two Respondents from Rwanda;
- One respondent from DR Congo;
- One respondent from the Republic of Cameroon;
- One respondent from the Republic of Congo;

All the interviews were tap recorded and lasted between twenty minutes and one hour depending on how elaborate a respondent was.

4.16 Observation

Foster (1998) holds that the aim of observation as a research method is to collect information which can produce empirical and theoretical knowledge about specific issues which can be use in a variety of ways. Observation was carried out in Newcastle upon Tyne through out the data collection process and where necessary further information was obtained through informal interviews. Immigrants' livelihoods strategies were observed at various levels. My conversance with Newcastle meant that some of livelihoods ventures observed were part of services used on a regular basis. This was the case with the African commodity shops, in house restaurants located in Fehnam and Byker as well as the cosmetics shop situated in Gringer market. The mobile services of motor mechanics, electronics technicians, and hair dressers were equally quite familiar to me.

4.17 Data Analysis Process

The purpose of the data analysis was to arrive at findings that would confirm, or refute the hypotheses, or add new knowledge on the understanding of the intervening dynamics which govern pre-displacement experiences, the displacement tract as well as livelihoods reconstruction when resettlement is sought. Coding the data from the open-ended questionnaires was a time consuming exercise. The existence of 'others' as a response option as well as the requirement of recording verbatim responses from open questions gave the data obtained from questionnaire interviews a qualitative nature. Coding categories were derived from the research questions, as well as the theoretical framework and the data made to fit in to them (Feilding, 2001).

By analyzing this initial data, concepts and conceptual categories, as well as hypotheses were reviewed around the ideas that originally sparked the research, followed by collection of additional data through in-depth interviews, observation, video recording and photographs, which were integrated with the data already collected (Boulton and Hammersley, 1996).

The next step was to compare and contrast all the items that have been assigned to the same categories in a bid to clarify the meaning of the categories that have emerged, as well as identifying sub-categories and the relationship among categories. At this point, potential models were conceived and theories formulated. Theory is defined here as the statement of relationships between the various concepts. In practice, this process entails reconnecting categories formerly fragmented by open coding and clarifying the linkages to various concepts. Finally the description of the key themes was carried out when consistent meanings of the phenomenon under study was achieved across data obtained from the questionnaires interviews, transcripts from in the in-depth interviews, field notes as well as video footage and photographs (Ali, 2004; Loizos, 2000; Creswell, 1997; Struass and Corbin, 1990; Boulton and Hammersley, 1996).

Data obtained from questionnaire interviews was analysed at the end of the interviews. The in-depth interviews were conducted in some cases in three stages, with the transcripts of interviews conducted at each stage written out as soon as possible and analysed prior to the next series of in-depth interviews. Field notes from observations were written out on a daily basis and analysed at the earliest opportunity.

The video footage and photographs were equally reviewed at the earliest opportunity and the key features of their interpretation written out. A few out of line themes that are remotely connected to the topic were taken on board principally paying attention to their relationship with the major themes, because much of the data could be placed in one or more thematic categories.

4.18 Human Subject Protection

Research into vulnerable populations raises many ethical problems. In the case of displaced people, one largely unacknowledged problem is the issue of security breaches arising from researchers' confidentiality lapses; other problems relate to the impact of the researchers' presence on the people and communities being studied (Northumbria University's Ethics Consideration in Research, 2007; Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). This calls for the need to explain the purpose of the research to the research subjects and also seek individual consent to have the findings included in the study. It would also be imperative to have the general wellbeing of the respondents, as well as the communities being studied at heart.

All members of research team in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo as well as Newcastle upon Tyne, UK endorsed a confidentiality oath. The identity of the interviewees was not to be recorded on the questionnaires while conducting the questionnaire interviews. For the in-depth interviews, a confidentiality agreement in which the researcher undertook to refrain from the use of the real names of the participants in the interviews and/or in the thesis was concluded prior to the conduct of the interviews. Each in-depth interviews participant was therefore allocated a pseudonym to protect his or her identity.

Each interview was also preceded by an explanation of the purpose of the study. The use of consent forms was not needed as respondents were not willing to get their personal details recorded for the purpose of the research programme. Similarly, the wishes of respondents who did not consented to having their photographs taken as part of the study were respected. However, the purpose of the study and the ethical responsibility of the researcher, written as an introduction on the questionnaires for further clarification, was read and translated where necessary. Participation was on voluntary basis.

4. 19 Limitations of the Study

There was limited information on immigrants' dwelling areas in Brazzaville, in the Republic of Congo. Furthermore, the post-conflict nature of Brazzaville made the use of research methods involving groups unrealistic as it would be too insecure to meet people in this way.

It was not possible to conduct additional pilot studies due to the limited funds and time available for the research project. However, a similar study I conducted in 2003 on 'refugees and post conflict livelihoods' in Brazzaville in the Republic of Congo in part serve this purpose and provided an early insight into the subject matter and of what to expect from potential respondents. Furthermore, the questionnaires were tested among groups thought to be of interest to the study located close the premises of CRESSH prior to their application.

The use of consent forms was not needed in that most respondents were not willing to get their personal details recorded for the purpose of the research programme. I had no mechanism by which to address this potential short coming. The academic purpose of the study was however stated in an introduction on the questionnaires and explained to all respondents. A confidentiality agreement in which the identity of the respondent was not to be disclosed was equally concluded in the case of in-depth interviews. The host population was not part of the study carried out in Newcastle upon Tyne because the need to investigate the impact of the presence of immigrants on the host communities in a 'complex emergency setting' made that more applicable to the Congo-Brazzaville aspects of the study. Furthermore, the negative impact of the presence of immigrants on the nation state, cultural values, the welfare system and employment in the UK, is covered by a stream of literature.

4.20 Personal Reflections on the Research Methods

Each researcher brings his or her individual and collective experiences to the research enterprise, a lens that influences our choice of topic, methods, and presentation of our findings. Research is not an objective enterprise and as readers we need to look at the extent to which the researcher seems to have been aware of potential sources of error, and what he or she did to counter this (Patton, 2002; Alexander, 2001; Boulton and Hammersley, 1996) In a bid to limit my bias, my interpretations and feelings about my role as a researcher were recorded in my field notebook as has been suggested by (Boulton, and Hammersley, 1996). One outcome of this that is worth exploring is the challenge of overcomeing 'cultural blinkers' while researching one's cultural group that give rise to the potential problem of familiarity with the research subjects and topic. This could mislead the researcher to falsely assume inside knowledge that is peculiar to individuals and groupings (Sapsford and Abbott, 1996). Furthermore, being a victim of displacement and also researching in the subject area, brought about the task of limiting the influence of my intuition on ideas offered by the informants less the result becomes an endorsement of my perceptions.

Most of the data collection process was done through the use of French language and despite the efforts made to maintain the literal content of the information obtained, it is not possible to be a hundred per cent sure that such a goal was attained. My work as an interpreter for many years makes me conscious of how slippery literal translation can be, irrespective of the efforts invested in putting things right. This shortcoming is therefore part and parcel of this research programme.

4.21 Positionality

I have been living in the UK since November, 2001. The past six years have centred on the struggle to resettle while at the same time using my personal experience to contribute in the field of displacement studies. My activities within this period have kept me closely in contact with displaced people from all walks of life. From April to July 2003, I worked as a volunteer at the Big Market Office of the North of England Refugee Service (NERS). Part of this voluntary work served as my MSc work placement. Working as an assistant case worker and translator, offered me the possibility of gathering a wealth of experience from the complex cases we had to deal with, regarding a wide range of post-displacement' livelihoods and resettlement issues.

As an Interpreter working for the Newcastle Interpreting Service since 2002, assisting displaced people in their interaction with professionals of health, social, and housing services featured prominently among my duties. Working with these people in such diverse contexts has kept me in touch with their day to day realities of life and given me a rich and rewarding experience. Working with displaced people, as well as my personal experience constitutes a source of inspiration and is an impetus in my efforts towards contributing to the understanding of displacement related issues.

In the course of this study, the data collection process started with the use of face to face questionnaire interviews which were complemented by in-depth interviews, observation, photographs and video footage. The use of these complementary research methods was driven by the necessity of gathering and cross checking information relevant to addressing the research questions. Theses efforts are part of my personal commitment to the research programme for which this thesis is regarded as a trustworthy piece of work.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND ANALYSES

Introduction

This chapter contains results and analyses from field research on 'displacement, livelihoods, and sustainable development' in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. The analysis of data from questionnaire interviews is organised around the four hypotheses with which the study began (see appendixes).

5.1 Data obtained from face to face questionnaire interviews with immigrants in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo

Table 5.1

Respondents' Age Groups

Age Group	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
18 – 22	15	12	4	3	19	15
23 – 30	26	20	6	5	32	25
31 – 45	28	22	8	6	36	28
46 – 55	19	15	3	2	22	17
56 – 69	12	9	2	2	14	11
≥ - 60	4	3	1	1	5	4
Total respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

Table 5.1 indecates that immigrants who took part in the face to face questionnaire interviews were of all ages. The fact that participation was on a voluntary basis, accounts for the inequality in the number of female and male respondents. However, the unequal numbers of female and male immigrant participants is to an extent a true reflection of the composition of the sample population in Brazzaville where there were more active immigrant male than female. The post conflict state of Brazzaville, offerred more in term of livelihoods recreation options to men than women. The firewood and charcoal ventures, as well as the fishing in river Congo in Kintele village Brazzaville, were carried out mostly by men (Section, 5.3). Immigrants who were engaged in business ventures in Brazzaville were equally mostly male who could brave the insecurity concerns characterised by looting, extortion, armed robbery and sexual harassment. However, it is worth mentioning that some displaced women

owned business set ups such as for the sale of food items, roadside fast food centres, and the retail of food items.

Table 5.2

Respondents' Marital Status

Marital Status	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Married	35	27	14	11	49	39
Unmarried	45	35	5	4	50	39
Widowed	13	10	3	2	16	12
Divorced	11	9	2	2	13	10
Total respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

The relatively high percentage of respondents who were married supports the fact that post-displacement resettlement is grounded in the desire to live a normal family life where possible. While some respondents were lucky to move to safety in family units, others had to face separation and the prospect of family reunion becoming difficult. Despite the difficult and precarious living conditions most immigrant respondents were facing in Brazzaville, many still had to shoulder their family responsibilities. This was the case in Kintele camp where parents had to run a school with no external assistance in order to provide education to their offspring (Section, 5.1.4). Some immigrant participants in Brazzaville who advocated resettlement in developed countries cited the desire of bringing up their children in environments which were conducive as amongst the main reasons. The high number of unmarried study participants depicts the fact that post displacement resettlement is engulfed in uncertainties. It was common to hear respondents deploring the fact that they could not get married despite being in their forties due to the inability to look after themselves, let a alone a family.

Table 5.3

Respondents' Family Situations

Family Situation	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had Children	34	27	14	11	48	37
Living with relative(s)	6	5	10	7	16	12
Had relative(s) in Congo	21	16	22	17	43	33
Number of Responses	**61**		**46**		**107**	

The high percentage of respondents who had children, as well as those who were living with their relatives illustrates the diverse nature of factors which can influence resettlement in receiving countries. Having to look after a family as a displaced person is a double reverse coin. This is because the desire to provide for ones family can be an impetus where the socio-economic infrastructure necessary for post-displacement livelihood reconstruction are available. In the event where there are less supportive livelihoods recreation structures to build upon, surviving becomes more challenging, particularly having to fend for one's family. The categories shown in table 5.3 are not discrete.

Table 5.4

Respondents' Status in Host Country

Status in Host Country	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Refugees	23	18	6	5	29	23
Asylum Seekers	20	16	8	6	28	22
Economic Migrants	61	48	10	8	71	55
Total respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

The diverse way in which displaced people see themselves is manifest in the high number in Table 5.4 including those who identified themselves as being economic migrants. Further investigations revealed that a cross section of respondents who claimed to be economic migrants were displaced by political persecution and/or armed conflict (Section, 5.3). Yet for a variety of reasons, at the time the study was conducted they saw themselves as being economic migrants. Some had in the past identified themselves as asylum seekers but subsequently held that they were economic migrants while others did not lodge asylum claims at all. In both cases the point of not identifying with being asylum seekers had to do with their restricted access to rights and entitlements of UNHCR Brazzaville, as well as a questionable asylum claims determination process (Section, 5.1.4). This suggests that the way 'displaced people' see themselves is subject to change in individual exile experiences. This is consistent with their quest to construct post-displacement livelihoods as a major factor in prompting changes in self-view. In contrast to the high numbers who identified with being 'economic migrants' are the limited numbers with 'refugee' status conferred. The reduced number in the category of 'asylum seeker' raises

questions on the practical implementation of legislation enshrined in the Congolese asylum claims determination system.

Table 5.5

Causes of Displacement

Causes of Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Political Repression	19	15	8	6	28	21
Poor Business	12	9	0	0	12	9
War	26	20	12	9	38	30
Better Opportunities	22	17	13	10	35	27
Poverty	3	2	0	0	3	2
Unemployment	10	8	5	4	15	12
Other	3	2	6	5	9	7
Number of Responses	**95**		**44**		**140**	

Table 5.5 depicts categories which are not discrete, as well as the fact that a combination of factors may have caused respondents to leave their home countries. This reiterates the interconnected nature of the causes of displacement highlighted by the 'world systems theory'. A high percentage (30 per cent) of respondents in Table 5.5 claimed to have been displaced by war. Similarly, 35 per cent of respondents hold that the search for better opportunities cause them to emigrate, while 28 per cent of respondents assert that political repression cause them to leave their home countries. This reflects the fact that a given crisis can engender/or worsen other existing societal predicaments. The outbreak of armed conflict might worsen living conditions while livelihood insecurity might create/enforce social inequalities and provide plausible arguments for an uprising. In a similar way, resettlement is far from being a single venture. While some victims may stay within their home country, others would opt to move further because of security concerns or/and the sheer hope of maximizing the chances of post-displacement livelihood recreation. These facts depict the importance of livelihood insecurity as a cause and/or a contributing factor to displacement, as well as the importance of post-displacement livelihood security. It further sheds light on the interconnected nature of the causes of displacement.

Other reasons advanced by some respondents for leaving their home countries included the need to spread the word of God, as well as attempts to get to developed countries. In the light of existing refugee legal frameworks it would be possible to

classify respondents represented in Table 5.5 as both forced and voluntary migrants. This would be on the basis of the reasons for which they left their home countries. However, respondents' individual accounts suggested that most of them felt obliged to leave their home countries. The main point therefore is how these individuals perceived and evaluated the risk of staying on or fleeing. Whilst headlines highlight crises with heavy death tolls, and prompt sympathy and attention the world over, other risk factors embedded in slow onset societal ills often go unnoticed or unacknowledged for lengthy periods. Poor business, poverty and the search for better opportunities asserted by a cross section of respondents in Table 5.5 as the causes of displacement are consistent with 'push and pull factors' advocated in the 'dual labour market theory' as incentives to emigration.

Table 5.6

Respondents' Displacement Circumstances

Displacement Circumstances	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Loss of Belongings	20	30	19	15	39	30
Loss of Family Member	21	16	18	14	39	30
Separation from Family	23	18	13	10	36	28
Was Imprisoned	4	3	1	1	5	4
Was Tortured	10	8	12	9	22	17
Was Abused	4	3	10	8	14	11
Number of Responses	**82**		**73**		**155**	

The above table depicts the variety of circumstances people often endure prior to displacement in categories which are not discrete. These sad experiences people are often subjected to prior to displacement could have a mixed impact on them. While some victims are incapacitated by traumatic experiences they might have endured, others are simply capable of transforming them into new waves of resilience to counter the predicament they face along the displacement track. This was the case with respondents in Kintele camp who were able to modify the hardship they encountered on their way to Brazzaville into positive adaptation mechanisms (section 5.5).

Further information obtained from participants was that in the state of lawlessness which governs armed conflicts torture was used in most cases as a means of intimidation alongside looting, extortion and other criminal activities. On the contrary, the collapse of socio-political institutions in such times implied that difficultly

managed jails were reserved for high profile members of the opposing factions. These accounts shed some light on the disparity between the percentage of respondents who were subjected to torture and those imprisoned in Table 5.6. Victims of torture and/or abuse were generally reluctant to provide details of what occurred to them, which to some extent was understandable because of the sensitive nature of the subject.

Table 5.6 therefore depicts the difficult circumstances which often aggravate the state of displacement, some of which leave victims with long lasting effects which could exert a considerable degree of influence on the way they see themselves. A case in point is that of some respondents in Brazzaville who claimed to be the real 'refugees' because they were from distant and war torn countries (Section 5.4).

Table 5.7

Respondents' Displacement Tracks

Displacement Tracks	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Lived in Refugee Camp	30	23	16	13	46	36
Acceptable Living condition	6	5	6	5	12	9
Acceptable Nutrition	6	5	10	8	16	13
Acceptable Security	18	14	5	4	23	18
Number of Responses	**60**		**37**		**97**	

Seeking to understand whether some respondents transited through a refugee camp was to know more about the displacement track through which the study participants got to the Republic of Congo. The high number of respondents who lived in a refugee camp at some point after displacement depicts the uncertainty and desperation which often comes with the state of displacement. The low number of respondents who expressed a positive opinion on issues pertaining to life in the refugee camp further illustrates the fact that people may be subjected to precarious conditions as a result of displacement. It may be worth mentioning here that in the course of informal discussions with respondents it transpired that in most camp settings, refugees were in charge of security arrangements, as well as being engaged in other livelihoods recreation activities with members of the indigenous communities. Such activities supported the argument that the need of humanitarian assistance as a result of displacement is not tantamount to a lack of skills and capabilities. The categories shown on table 5.7 are not discrete.

Table 5.8

Respondents' Itinerary

Displacement Itinerary	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Travelled direct from Home to Congo	46	36	14	11	60	47
Through Another Country	40	31	10	8	50	40
Through Many Countries	18	14	0	5	18	13
Total Respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**18**	**128**	**100**

Table 5.8 shows that 47 per cent of respondents got to the Republic of Congo directly from their country of origin. Forty per cent of respondents had to transit through another country on their way to the Republic of Congo, while 13 per cent went through many countries. These findings are consistent with the profile of the study participants most of whom came from crises prone neighbouring countries in the region. The impressive percentage of people who went through another country on their way to the Republic of Congo depicts the fact that re-displacement does occur after an initial period of resettlement. Re-displacement from the first country of resettlement is often prompted by physical security concerns, as well as post-displacement livelihood insecurity. This is in the sense that restricted livelihoods recreation venues could exacerbate post-displacement circumstances thus prompting re-displacement in the worst case scenario.

Table 5.9

Circumstances Endured in the Course of Displacement

Circumstances of Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Separated from Family Members	60	47	12	9	72	56
Not Disturbed by the Separation	18	14	2	1	20	15
Angry about Separation	14	11	4	3	18	14
Bitter about Separation	25	19	5	4	30	23
Other	1	1	3	2	4	3
Number of Responses	**117**		**26**		**144**	

Seeking to gain an insight on the way respondents reacted to separation was geared toward extrapolating on the hash realities uprooted people may be subjected in the course of displacement. Table 5.9 depicts categories which are not discrete as well as the fact that 56 per cent of respondents got separated from their family members. This

is consistent with individual accounts related in the in-depth interviews (Sections 5.4; 6.2). It equally highlights the importance of coping/adaptation mechanisms to the forcibly displaced. These mechanisms enable them to deal with unforeseeable predicaments inherent in the state of displacement. This line of thought is consistent with the fact that most displaced people have to live with the mental scars pick up along the way, with no appropriate medical attention in areas where resettlement is sought (See table 5.20). It further depicts the fact that many factors account for the way displaced people view themselves and their subsequently chosen livelihoods reconstruction strategies.

Table 5.10

Means of Journey to Congo

Means of Journey to Congo	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Through Personal Efforts	71	55	9	7	80	62
Assisted by Relatives	15	12	12	9	27	21
Other	17	13	3	2	21	16
Total Respondents	**103**	**80**	**24**	**18**	**128**	**100**

The fact that 62 per cent of respondents in Table 5.10 made the journey to Congo through personal efforts is consistent with individual accounts of respondents who were uprooted by complex emergencies. The fact that 21 per cent of respondents were assisted by relatives shows that support from relatives in times of crises is an important coping devise. While the well off may be able to travel to safer areas/countries at the out break of a crisis, it could take months or years for members of other grouping to get out of the risk infested areas. This shows the importance of resources and agencies to the displaced, as well as the potentially diverse circumstances liable to influence life in displacement. Table 5.10 depicts the significance of family units and communities members as whole in terms of displacement, upon which the 'new economic migration theory' is grounded.

Table 5.11

Means used to travel to Congo

Means used to travel to Congo	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Flight	23	18	4	3	27	21
Truck	10	8	1	1	11	9
Car	6	5	0	0	6	5
Foot/Boat	65	51	19	16	84	65
Total Respondents	**104**	**82**	**24**	**20**	**128**	**100**

Sixty five per cent of respondents travel to Congo through trekking and/or in a boat, which reflects the fact that most of them fled from war turn neighbouring countries. Further accounts revealed that some respondents had to trek in the first instance before using a boat in the final stage of their journey. The diversity in the means of getting to the Republic of Congo is consistent with the fact that displaced people are made up of a heterogeneous groups with different cultural background, coming from diverse communities through different means. It further questions the melting pot approach of delivering humanitarian assistance to the displaced.

Table 5.12

Duration of Journey to Congo

Duration of Journey to Congo	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Journey took Days	51	40	13	10	64	50
Journey took Months	13	10	2	2	15	12
Journey took Years	40	31	9	7	49	38
Total Respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

The long periods some respondents put on their way to Congo supports the fact that most victims of displacement have to endure difficult conditions on their way to prospective receiving areas/countries. These conditions endured impact on each displaced person's personality differently. Self view in displacement is in this sense influenced by the nature of the crisis which accounts for displacement, the stage of the crisis at which the displaced flees, the means used to get away, the receiving area/country where resettlement is sought, as well as experiences encountered in displacement.

Table 5.13

Respondents' Links with Country of Origin

Links with Country of Origin	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
In Contact with Country of Origin	52	41	16	12	68	53
Identification of Improvement in Cause(s) of Displacement	12	9	1	1	13	10
Would Return Home if Situation is Normal	53	41	19	15	72	56
Number of Responses	**117**		**36**		**153**	

Table 5.13 shows that 53 per cent of respondents were in contact with their home countries despite the fact that only 10 per cent were of the view that the situation which caused them to be uprooted had improved. This fact illustrates the importance of social networks to displaced people. The fact tha 56 per cent of respondents were of the view that they would go back home if the situation which cause them to flee improves shows that displacement does not necessarily lead to unpatriotic feelings and/or life in exile for ever. Categories depicted in table 5.13 are not discrete.

Table 5.14

Circumstances of Integration in Host Country

Circumstances of Integration	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Could speak the Official Language	72	56	21	16	93	73
Had been a Victim of Discrimination	31	24	6	5	37	29
Had Cordial Relations with Neighbours	78	61	23	18	101	79
Things were Generally working Well	41	32	18	14	59	46
Number of Responses	**222**		**68**		**290**	

Two main factors account for the fact that 76 per cent of respondents could speak the official language. The first factor is the shared linguistic and ethnic affinities between the locals and a cross section of respondents. The second reason is the link between linguistic proficiency and the length of stay in the community where the language is spoken. Table 5.14 shows categories which are not discrete, as well as the fact that 46 per cent of respondents held that things were working well for them as compare to 23 per cent who had refugee status which granted them right to humanitarian assistance

(See table 5.5). This is consistent with the fact that some respondents ascribed to being economic migrants despite being uprooted by armed conflict and/or political persecution. Many respondents equally held the view that they were generally welcome and accepted by the members of the indigenous population despite the existence of cases of ill feelings toward them.

Table 5.15

Access to Education and Employment

Access to Education and Employment	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had the Right to Study	71	55	20	16	91	71
Were Actually Studying	12	9	4	3	16	12
Had the Right to take Employment	77	60	16	12	93	73
Were Actually in Paid Employment	6	5	0	0	6	5
Number of Responses	**166**		**40**		**206**	

Brazzaville has a good number of government and private education institutions in which people with a temporal/perminent right to remain in the Country have the right to study. However, UNHCR Brazzaville had a policy of funding only those with refugee status according to criteria enshrined in 1951 Geneva Convention commonly called 'political refugees' in Brazzaville. This is possibly why so many respondents had the right to study but very few were actually studying. Similarly, in principle refugees and economic migrants had the right to take employment or set up a business ventures in Brazzaville, unlike Newcastle where such rights are attached to immigration status. This meant that a cross section of respondents were of the view that they had the right to take employment. The real issue was the lack of employment opportunities which was countered by a variety of individual coping/adaptation mechanisms such as small business ventures and/or retreating to the villages to work in farms owed by the natives. However, the down side of running a business venture as a displaced person in Brazzaville was constant harassment from the forces of law and order claiming to be on routine tax and duty checks, as well as looting and robbery. The categories in the above table are not discrete.

Table 5.16

Individual Circumstances Prior to Displacement

Individual Circumstances Prior to Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had an Occupation Prior to Displacement	81	63	18	14	99	77
Finds Home Country Food Stuff in Congo	48	37	18	14	66	51
Can Afford Enough Food	58	45	17	13	75	58
Number of Responses	**187**		**53**		**240**	

The categories in the above table are not discrete. The high number of respondents who had an occupation prior to displacement supports the fact that they had a normal life prior to displacement. This is consistent with the push element inherent in their cause of displacement, in the sense that they left their occupations behind to embrace the unknown. The fact that 77 per cent of respondents had an occupation prior to being displaced shows that displaced people who are often regarded on arrival in receiving areas/countries as helpless and deserving not more than food parcels were at some point responsible and living a normal life.

The availability of acceptable food stuff to a cross section of respondents could be credited to individual efforts rather than the availability of humanitarian assistance to a cross section of respondents. It thus supports the EU policy stance of helping displaced people to settle in their countries and regions of origin where survival may be less precarious (Crawley, 2005).

Table 5.17

Respondents' Level of Education Prior to Displacement

Level of Education Prior to Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Acquired Higher Education	54	42	6	5	60	47
Acquired High School Education	11	8	4	3	15	12
Acquired Secondary School Education	30	23	9	7	39	30
Acquired Primary School Education	9	8	5	4	14	11
Total Respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

A high number of respondents who acquired higher education prior to displacement as shown on Table 5.17 illustrate the fact that highly qualified professionals are often

among displaced people. Unfortunately their skills and capabilities are often underutilised due to restricted rights and entitlements to certain categories of displaced people. In Brazzaville for instance, UNHCR encouraged displaced people to move to the rural north of the country where they would receive tools, plots and seedlings for farming. It was but obvious that displaced people who do not have a farming background would find this proposal to be unattractive. Similarly, respondents' accounts held that constant interference from UNHCR Brazzaville officials, as well as the limited funds released to the beneficiaries made the micro credit scheme offered to immigrants recognised as refugees unsustainable.

Refugees who advocated reinstallation abroad despite being granted leave to remain in the Republic of Congo equally advanced the difficulty of securing an appropriate source of income as one of the main cause of their re-displacement. Livelihood insecurity in this case caused these respondents to become potentially re-displaced. Furthermore, the fact that 47 per cent of respondents in Table 5.17 acquired higher education prior to displacement reflects the point asserted in the 'human capital migration theory' on educated people having the tendency to migrate (See theoritial approaches of study).

Table 5.18

Respondents' Access to Services

Access to Services	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Access to Social Services	10	8	14	11	24	19
Access to Health Services	52	41	16	12	68	53
Access to Legal Services	7	5	1	1	8	6
Number of Responses	69		31		100	

Congo-Brazzaville is a war torn country and many past battles over the control of the country were fought in Brazzaville. Furthermore, as stated in chapter two of this thesis, the gap between the well off and the worse off in Congo is enormous, with seventy per cent of the Congolese families living on less than 500francs CFA (approximately 50 pence in pound sterling) a day. Thus, the limited number of respondents who had access to social services is a true reflection of the humanitarian policy of UNHCR Brazzaville. In principle only displaced people recognised as refugees according to the Geneva Convention and vulnerable asylum seekers had access to limited humanitarian assistance.

Health services were available to any one who could afford the cost of treatment. Forced migrants recognised as refugees had limited access health services through a scheme supported by UNHCR against payment of a fee of 200 francs CFA (approximately 20 pence in sterling). The burden of serious health crises within the refugee communities was often alleviated by donations from kinsmen and well wishers (Section 5.4). The existence of such group intervention possibly account for the fact that 53 per cent of respondents had access to health services. The lack of awareness in terms of rights and entitlements and a general sense of scepticism on the part of displaced people in Brazzaville, account for the limited number of respondents in table 5.18 in which categories are not discrete, who had access to legal assistance. Though UNHCR Brazzaville claimed to have a scheme in partnership with a law firm that provided legal services to the displaced, the existence of such a scheme was unknown to many respondents. Furthermore, the general belief held by a cross section of forced migrants was that people from certain countries could not be granted refugee status in the Republic of Congo.

Table 5.19

Respondents' Contacts in Host Country

Respondents' Contacts	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Contact with Home People in Congo	104	81	24	19	128	100
Contact made through Friends	54	42	16	13	70	55
Contact made through an Association	36	28	4	3	40	31
Contact made through the Church	14	11	4	3	18	14
Total Respondents	**104**	**81**	**24**	**19**	**128**	**100**

Table 5.19 shows that all the respondents in Brazzaville were in contact with people from their home countries. It further depicts the fact that these contacts were made through a variety of social networks. Such contacts were vital in helping new arrivals with sign posting, as well as the available livelihoods options. It does support the need for humanitarian agencies to encourage the existence of immigrants' networks. The importance of allowing displaced people to stick together should at best be regarded as strength, and not as a threat from a divide and rule perspective.

Table 5.20

Respondents' Personal Circumstances

Personal Circumstances	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Can solve Daily Problems	26	20	4	3	30	23
Suffering from Stress	18	14	8	6	26	20
Suffering from Depression	5	4	4	3	9	7
Generally Worried	34	27	16	12	50	39
Take Alcoholic Drinks	32	25	9	7	41	32
Smokes Cigarettes	33	26	3	2	36	28
Receiving Treatment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Responses/	**148**		**44**		**192**	

Seeking to establish the percentage of respondents who had mental health worries was geared toward understanding how mental health issues may impact on post displacement livelihoods reconstruction in the developing world context. Table 5.20 depicts the fact that cross sections of respondents were suffering from a variety of mental health problems. The fact that none of those suffering from mental ailments was receiving any treatment points to the lack of psycho-social institutional support to displaced people in Brazzaville. The categories in table 5.20 are not discrete.

A look at the results from data obtained from information provided by respondents from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Rwanda in central Brazzaville throws some light on certain variations. Out of 78 immigrants interviewed in the centre of Brazzaville, 25 (32 per cent) were from the DRC while 21 (26 per cent) were from Rwanda. Four (16 per cent) respondents from DRC said they left their country of origin because of political system while seven (33 per cent) of interviewees from Rwanda thought so. Three (12 per cent) respondents from DRC said they left their home country because of poor business ventures while no respondents from Rwanda thought so. Two (8 per cent) of respondents from DRC claimed that they fled from the on going conflict in their country, while 18 (71 per cent) informants from Rwanda said they left their country of origin because of war. Seventeen (68 per cent) of respondents from DRC said they left their country because of the need to look for a better future while no informants from Rwanda thought so. Six (24 per cent) of interviewees from DRC said they left their country of origin due to unemployment while no respondents from Rwanda held the same view.

The above findings vary according to the nature of the crises which uprooted the respondents and thus tend to reflect the county of origin. In the on going civil war that

has displaced thousands in DRC, fighting may not have engulfed the entire country but a state in war is likely to prioritise military requirements over the social welfare needs of it citizens. Furthermore, the state of warfare may directly or indirectly affect other fabrics of the society due to the malfunctioning or collapse of states institutions. People may therefore be indirectly uprooted by a complex emergency and the issue at stake on their arrival in potential receiving area/countries would be whether the cause of migration is force or voluntary. They same may apply to individuals who leave their home country because of autocratic governance, socially exclusion, low employment prospect, human rights abuse, droughts, famine which are slow onset disasters with the potentials of erupting in to major crises if unchecked. These individuals fall under the category of forcibly displaced referred to in 'the refugee studies perspective' by Kunz as the 'anticipatory refugee' who seeks to leave before the peak of the crisis (See theoretical approaches of this thesis).

No respondents from DRC claimed that they lost their property prior to their emigration while 16 (76 per cent) of interviewees from Rwanda said they did. Similarly only two (eight per cent) informants from DRC were separated from family members while 16 (76 per cent) respondents from Rwanda held that they parted with love ones. Three (12 per cent) informants from DRC said they lost a family member prior to leaving their country while 15 (71 per cent) respondents from Rwanda said they did. Here we see how circumstances leading to displacement may be propelled or constraint by different factors. While the Rwandans who fled their country in 1994 left at the peak of a complex emergency, DRC citizens were displaced by a civil war fought mostly in the eastern part of the country. At the same time years of fighting in DRC might have created socio-economic instability and a break down of other services thus creating a potential setting for the out break of diseases, malnutrition, famine, unemployment and high levels of criminality.

The above analysis is buttressed by discrepancy in the number of respondents who conceded to being tortured prior to displacement. Two (8 per cent) respondents from DRC said they were victims of torture while six (29 per cent) informants from Rwanda claimed that they were tortured. The low percentage of victims of tortured in both cases can be attributed to many factors. In the case of DRC respondents, most of them might have departed in anticipation of the spread of conflict, or from relatively peaceful, though destabilised part of their country. The moderate percentage of

respondents in the case of Rwandans may equally attests to the nature of a complex emergency in which victims were killed and not captured – genocide. In general only the displaced persons can truly appraise the circumstances that led to their fleeing and the sort of livelihood reconstruction ambition they might have formulated as dictated by their experiences in displacement and the subsequent group of displaced people they identify with.

All 21 respondents (100 per cent) from Rwanda said they had lived in a refugee camp at some point since leaving their country. Only two (8 per cent) of interviewees from DRC said they did. The low percentage in the case of DRC respondents can possibly be due to the close proximity of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo, as well as the trans-border affinities shared by their citizens.

General conditions in the refugee camp, nutrition and security were not of good standard according to the two respondents (100 per cent) from DRC. Fourteen (67 per cent) of respondents from Rwanda said the general standards of the refugee camp were poor, 12 (57 per cent) claimed that nutrition was poor while seven (33 per cent) said the security standard was not good.

In-depth interviews as follow up to the questionnaire interviews revealed that when the 1997 armed conflict broke out in Brazzaville, Rwandan refugees and local refugees who fled from Brazzaville were living along side the locals in Kintele village situated in the out skirt of the city. The Rwandans who had previously lived in refugee camp in DRC displayed adequate skills in the construction of huts and the running of the camps which earned them friendship and respect from the locals refugees. At the end of the conflict some Rwandan refugees went back to Brazzaville with their indigenous friends who offered them jobs as security guards, house mates or management staff in their new business ventures. The previous hardship endured in the refugee camps in DRC in this case, ended up as an asset in a new refugee setting. These facts illustrate the positive impact of new skills and capabilities acquired through difficulties encountered along the displacement track for resettlement in receiving countries/areas.

All twenty five respondents (100 per cent) from DRC said they came to Brazzaville directly from the home country, while no informants from Rwanda claimed to have

arrived in Brazzaville directly from their country of origin. The fact that DRC respondents came directly from their country is consistent with the close proximities of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo, as well as the ease of crossing river Congo from one country to another. The fact that no Rwandan came directly from their country of origin to the Republic of Congo confirms their claims of months of trekking through the forest in DRC in 1997, after being re-displaced from refugee camps by Laurent Kabila's forces on their way to Kinshasa.

The link between the displacement track and integration is a feature of a study carried by Kunz (1981) in which his findings held that people who migrate easily to the receiving countries are likely to integrate quicker than those whose migration tracts are precarious. But as seen in the above cases, the context within which efforts to resettle are made in the receiving countries may dictate the use of skills and capabilities acquired in the course of displacement. In this case, circumstances embraced in the course of displacement had a positive impact on post-displacement livelihoods recreation in this post-conflict context.

Examining the integration of forced migrants in Brazzaville was to establish the possible link between individual pre-displacement status, the displacement track, host country asylum/immigration policies and post-displacement livelihood reconstruction. The findings illustrate the fact that the causes of displacement in Sub-Sahara Africa are diverse, as are the pre-displacement circumstances of the displaced, as well as the displacement tracts. The results further depict the fact that even in cases where there are limited socio-economic infrastructures suitable for post-displacement livelihoods recreation, individual efforts towards resettlement could lead to constructive income generating activities. These facts provide the setting within which the study will examine the perceptions of the locals whose living conditions were affected by repeated complex humanitarian crises, and having to share constricted urban boundaries and space with immigrants in Brazzaville.

5.2 Indigenous Population in Brazzaville

This sub-section presents the results and analyses of data obtained from face to face questionnaire interviews with the local population in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo.

Table 5.21

Respondents' Age Groups

Age Group	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
18 – 22	14	15	10	11	24	25
23 – 30	18	19	9	9	27	28
31 – 45	16	17	8	8	24	25
46 – 55	6	6	5	5	11	12
56 – 59	2	2	3	3	5	5
≥ - 60	2	2	2	2	4	4
Tota Respondents	**58**	**61**	**37**	**39**	**95**	**100**

Table 5.21 indicates that members of the host population who took part in the face to face questionnaire interviews were from all age groups. It equally illustrates the fact that respondents within the local population were aged between eighteen and above sixty. Participation was on voluntary basis and that in a way accounts for the inequality in the number of female and male respondents. However, within most household units, only the family head – being male in most cases – took part in the face to face interview on the grounds that his view accounted for the entire members of his family.

Table 5.22

Respondents' Marital Status

Marital Status	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Married	22	23	18	19	40	42
Unmarried	30	32	16	17	46	48
Widowed	0	0	2	2	2	2
Divorced	6	6	1	1	7	7
Total Respondents	**58**	**61**	**37**	**39**	**95**	**100**

Table 5.22 shows that the study respondents among the local population in Brazzaville were from all social groupings. Thirty (32 per cent) male respondents and 28 (29 per cent) female respondents had children. Nine (nine per cent) male respondents and 10 (11 per cent) female respondents were living with relatives. These findings indicate that most respondents within the local population in Brazzaville

respected family values despite the repeated outbreak of armed conflict and its consequences for their livelihoods. It further depicts the difficult circumstances endured by some members of the indigenous population who had to look after family units in a post-conflict environment.

Table 5.23

Locals' Hospitality to Immigrants

Hospitality to Immigrants	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Normal to have Refugees	35	37	27	28	62	65
Normal to have Economic Migrants	29	31	20	21	49	52
Refugees live in Quarter	49	51	30	32	79	83
Economic Migrants live in Quarter	55	58	32	34	87	92
Good Rapport with Refugees	12	13	10	11	22	23
Good Rapport with Economic Migrants	9	9	8	8	17	18
Averagely Good Rapport with Refugees	30	32	25	26	55	58
Averagely Goods Rapport with Economic Migrants	29	31	28	29	57	92
Poor Rapports with Refugees	10	11	1	1	11	12
Poor Rapport with Economic Migrants	5	5	0	0	5	5
Number of Responses	263		181		444	

Table 5.23 indicates how refugees and economic migrants are considered by the host population. It shows that a high percentage of the locals held that it was normal to have both groups of immigrants in the Republic of Congo. Table 5.23 in which categories are not discrete further depicts the fact that being subjected to hardship as a result of repeated armed conflict did not necessarily cause the local population to have greater sympathy for refugees than economic migrants. Asked why the locals held that it was normal to have refugees in the Republic of Congo, the most regular answers were: because we have been refugees ourselves; because it is no fault of theirs; because it can occur to any one. And asked why they held that it was right to have economic migrants in Congo, they responses were: because they are forced to leave their home countries; because they are struggling to survive; because our brothers and sisters are in other countries, too.

The point here is that the local population in the case of Brazzaville regarded both refugees and economic migrants as victims of circumstances. The post-conflict socio-economic endeavours of the indigenous people were directly affected by the presence

of immigrants who were however welcome by a cross section of the locals. This comprehensive approach questions the current trends in which policies strive to categorize displaced people in a selection process which is consistent with the growing heavy regulation of human movement in recent times.

Table 5.23 further depicts the fact that a minority of respondents among the local population were not comfortable with the presence of refugees and economic migrants in the Republic of Congo. However, even in this case the same reasons were advanced for not having refugees or economic migrants: we do not have jobs for ourselves; we have our own problems; they should go back to their countries; they are taking over. These concerns were somehow founded in that Congo was a country in a post conflict reconstruction stage characterised by mass unemployment, and a general reduction in purchasing powers.

Table 5.24

Locals' View on Immigrants Rights and Entitlement

Immigrants Access and Entitlement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Refugees should take Employment	34	36	25	26	59	62
Economic Migrants should take Employment	23	24	18	19	41	43
Refugees should have the Right to Study	56	59	35	37	91	96
Economic migrants should have the Right to Study	55	58	34	36	89	94
Refugees should have Access to Health Services	57	60	36	38	93	98
Economic Migrants should have Access to Health Services	55	58	36	38	91	96
Refugees should have Access to Social Services	42	44	30	32	72	76
Economic Migrants should have Access to Social Services	32	34	27	28	59	62
Number of Responses	**354**		**241**		**595**	

The above table which depicts categories which are not discrete illustrates the fact that the locals were generally tolerant toward both refugees and those they perceived as economic migrants. There was however a slight disparity on the percentage of respondents who thought that refugees could take employment and those who held that economic migrants could do so. As to why refugees should be allowed to work

the reasons advanced were close to those asserted in table 5.23: they were forced to leave their home countries; their countries are in crises; they have the right to survive; it could happen to us, too. Similarly, as to why economic migrants should be allowed to take employment, the responses were: they have come to look for better opportunities; there are Congolese too else where; we could go abroad, too.

Respondents who opposed allowing refugees and economic migrants to take employment advocated the lack of employment for the indigenous population, as well as the monopoly of the economic sector by foreigners. They however did not show any clear distinction in the way they regarded members of the two groupings.

Table 5.24 equally depict the fact that the percentage of respondents who were of the view that refugees and economic migrants should have access to services was higher than those who thought they should take employment. The responses advanced for this humanitarian tolerance were: they are human being; they are here and need assistance; they are God's creation; because they have to stay alive; because we need to be hospitable to strangers; we are the same people. Once again in this case as it was in table 5.23, the local population in Brazzaville seem to appraise the presence of members of both groupings from the same perspective. As in the previous cases, some respondents asserted that both refugees and economic migrants should not have access to any services as shown in table 5.25. The argument advanced in this case being that they were not supposed to be in the Republic of Congo the first place.

Table 5.25

Locals' Perception on the Impact of the Presence of Immigrants on Resources

Impact of the Presence of Immigrants on Resources	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Security Services	45	47	27	28	72	76
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Health Services	44	46	27	28	71	75
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Housing Services	42	44	29	31	71	75
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Social Services	30	32	21	22	51	54
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Education System	37	39	25	26	62	65
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Transport System	43	44	28	29	71	75
Presence of Immigrants stretches the Labour Market	50	53	20	21	70	74
Number of Responses	**291**		**177**		**468**	

Table 5.25 indicates that a high percentage of respondents among the indigenous population held that both refugees and economic migrants were exerting extra pressure on social services. This implies that the fact that some members of the local population held a positive opinion on the presence of refugees/economic migrants in the Republic of Congo as shown in Table 5.23 and Table 5.25 did not cancel the fact that their negative impact on services was a matter of concern. Categories in table 5.25 are not discrete.

Table 5.26

Locals' Perception of Immigrants' Resourcefulness

Immigrants Resourcefulness	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Presence of Immigrants has created Employment Venues	18	19	20	21	38	40
Presence of Immigrants has created Business Ventures	23	24	24	25	47	49
Immigrants have New Skills and Capabilities	18	19	19	20	37	39
Presence of Immigrants has created a Multilingual Society	24	25	23	24	47	49
Presence of Immigrants has augmented Food Supplies	17	18	18	19	35	37
Presence of Immigrants has created New Markets	20	21	20	21	40	42
Presence of Immigrants has created New Residential Areas	26	27	22	23	48	51
Presence of Immigrants has created a Multicultural Society	20	21	15	16	35	37
Immigrants can contribute in the Development of the Country	29	31	20	21	49	52
Number of Responses	**195**		**181**		**376**	

Table 5.26 shows results obtained through a modification of the way the questions were presented to the respondents in that no distinction in this case was made between refugees and economic migrants. The findings depict the fact that close to 40 per cent of respondents among the locals held that the presence of immigrants was beneficiary to the Republic of Congo, while more than 50 per cent asserted that immigrants could contribute to the development of the host country. These percentages reflect the over all percentage of local respondents with a positive opinion on the presence of immigrants in Congo shown in Table 5.23 and Table 5.24. This is consistent with the contention that the indigenous population in Brazzaville show little distinction between refugees and economic migrants. The categories in table 5.26 are not discrete.

Table 5.27

Locals' Perceptions on the Impact of the Presence of Immigrants on the Environment

Impact of the presence of immigrants on the Environment	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Immigrants destroy Farm Land	29	31	25	26	54	57
Immigrants create Deforestation	23	24	18	19	41	43
Immigrants pollute Streams and Rivers	18	19	15	16	33	35
Immigrants stretch the Capacities of Streams and Rivers	29	31	20	21	49	52
Immigrants diminish the Flow of Water Supplies	18	19	16	17	34	36
Immigrants carry out Uncontrolled Fishing	23	24	19	20	42	44
Immigrant contribute to the Spread of Diseases	26	27	20	21	46	48
Immigrants destroy Grazing Land	29	31	24	25	53	56
Number of Responses	**195**		**157**		**352**	

The categories in table 5.27 are not discrete. Table 5.27 depicts the fact that the perception of a cross section of the local population on the impact of the presence of immigrants on the environment was negative. This finding questions the fact that a good percentage of local respondents had a rather a positive view on the presence of immigrants as shown in Tables 5.23, 5.24 and 5.26. However, as shown by further results obtained through in-depth interviews, members of the indigenous population were equally engaged in activities which posed a threat to the environment (Section 5.5). This state of affairs narrows the negative opinion of the locals on the impact of the immigrants on the environment depicted on Table 5.27 to a struggle over the control of scarce resources. Furthermore, the success of immigrants in generating income from activities of interest to the locals, as well as their brilliance in setting up business ventures with limited funds generally did not go down well with some members of the local population in Brazzaville.

This line of thought is reinforced by finding obtained through in-depth interviews in Kintele village where there was a struggle between locals and immigrants over scarce resources. The high rate at which shops owned by immigrants were looted in Brazzaville, as well as incidents of extortion and armed robbery in which non-

nationals were targeted in crisis periods all lend grounds to this line of thought. Accounts from shop owners held that it was commonplace for looters to openly assert that looting was a redistribution of their national resources in that, immigrants who owned business premises were crippling economic growth through the transfer of funds to their home countries.

Table 5.28

Interaction Between Immigrants and Host Population

Interaction Between Immigrants and Host	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Locals who have Contact with Immigrants	51	54	25	26	76	80
Have Contact with Immigrants in their Quarter	51	54	25	26	76	80
Have Contact with Immigrants at Work	17	18	8	8	25	26
Have Contact during Community Meetings	24	25	14	15	38	40
Have Contact in Education Institutions	11	12	10	11	21	22
Have Contact with Immigrants in the Markets	36	38	25	26	61	64
Have Contact during Sports Activities	28	29	12	13	40	42
Have Contact in Pubs and Night Clubs	21	22	10	11	31	34
Have Contact in Restaurants and Cafes	25	26	11	12	36	38
Number of Responses	**264**		**140**		**404**	

Table 5.28 depicts the fact that a high percentage of respondents among the local population were in contact with immigrants in Brazzaville. The most common location where such contact took place was within the communities, followed by the markets. These indicators are consistent with the fact that in Brazzaville most immigrants live among the indigenous population and even those who settled in camp settings had no restrictions on their movement. The high percentage of local respondents who asserted that contact with immigrants was in social settings depicts the good level of interaction between members of the two groupings, which was facilitated by ethnic, cultural and regional affinities. Categories in table 5.28 are not discrete.

Table 5.29

Locals' Displacement Related Issues

Displacement Connected Issues	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Has been separated from Family Member	43	45	25	26	68	72
Family Member in Another Part of Congo	19	20	12	13	31	32
Family Member in Another African Country	5	5	7	7	12	13
Has a Family Member in Europe	17	18	10	11	27	28
Has a Family Member in the USA	2	2	0	0	2	2
Family Member not Alive	36	38	20	21	56	59
Misses the Relative who is not Alive	20	21	20	21	40	42
Has been Displaced at some point in Life	33	35	19	20	52	55
Number of Responses	**175**		**113**		**288**	

As stated before, the repeated outbreak of fighting in the Republic of Congo caused mass displacement in Brazzaville and other areas of the pool region in the last decades. Investigating how displacement related issues affected the local population was in order to understand the different itineraries members of the local population who had been displaced took, as well as the manner in which the affected members of the indigenous people dealt with the ordeals.

The categories the above table are not duscrete.Table 5.29 shows that 72 per cent of respondents had been separated from a family member at some point. The highest percentage of respondents asserted that their relatives were in other parts of the Republic of Congo, followed by Europe before other African countries, and finally the United States of America. These facts illustrate that when people are displaced in situations of complex emergencies, the first place where refuge is sought is the relatively peaceful areas of their home country, if there is any. Further information obtained from indigenous population in Brazzaville suggested that in most cases displaced people who headed for distant land did so after re-displacement and/or when there was no part of the country in which they felt safe. Table 5.29 equally shows that a high percentage of respondents among the local population had been displaced at some point, as well as the fact that a good percentage of them had lost a

126

relative, which are both consistent with occurrences in the event of complex violent conflicts.

Information provided by the indigenous population in Brazzaville as shown in the above sub section, depicts the fact that a cross section of the local study participants tolerated the presence of immigrants irrespective of their immigration status. The findings in the above sub section equally illustrate the fact that despite being tolerant to the presence of immigrants, a good percentage of local respondents in Brazzaville were of the view that immigrants were creating environmental degradation, as well as exerting undue pressure on services. The sub section equally shows that a high number of locals had been displaced. It further depicts the fact that displaced Congolese sought to resettle mostly within their home country, followed by distant European countries before other African countries.

Plate 5.1
The environmental impact of post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction in Kintele village, Brazzaville.

Video footage and photographs were used to cover complex activities in the Kintele immigrants' camp. The transformation of firewood into charcoal in the forest, as well as fishing activities in river Congo were videoed and relevant photographs taken. The recording of activities carried out by the inhabitant of Kintele camp was of great significance to the study. This was due to the fact that the camp residents had managed to survive without any assistance for close to six years. Covering the firewood and charcoal transformation was important in trying to establish the context within which these activities were carried out. While the perpetrators viewed the

activities as a unique livelihood source, members of the host community raised concerns on their environmental impact. Similarly, some members of the local population raised grievances on the way fishing was carried out by immigrants in river Congo. These complaints prompted the need to carry out further investigations on these activities. Covering the above stated activities was in a bid to complement data obtained through other research methods.

We visited Kintele camp where we obtained permission to make video footage on the 17/04/05. A variety of livelihoods activities were recorded in the camp. Equally of relevance to the study was the general structure of the camp which clearly depicted the difficulties the camp inhabitants claimed to have experienced since humanitarian assistance was suspended in 1999. The camp was established in the middle of an artificial trees field but there was not evidence to support any indiscriminate cutting of trees for use as solid fuel. This fact in itself gave credibility to claims by the camp inhabitants that their search for firewood and charcoal was done strictly in the forest.

At the entrance of the camp bags of charcoal and bundles of firewood were displayed in a way that made them visible from the tarred road through which potential customers came from Brazzaville. We learnt that the bags of charcoals and bundles of firewood were packed behind the huts were to be transported to Brazzaville, or sold when supply was low and demand high in the camp. Also displayed on small wooden shelves and on the grounds were cocoa-yams, sweet potatoes, cassava flour, fresh pork and meat, meat pile, and garden eggs. Other income generating activities in the camp were provisional stores (four), one beer parlour and two locally brew drinks parlours. A few chickens and pigeon birds seen as we moved round the camp were considered a source of livelihoods in that they could be sold to city dwellers or slaughter to celebrate special events.

Every small free space in the surrounding of the camp was exploited in to small scale farming activities in which cassava, pawpaw, vegetables and bananas plants could be seen. Both cassava leaves and the tubers constitute staple diets in the region and the fact that they were cultivated in gardens all round the camp was an indicator of the resourcefulness of the camp inhabitants. Recorded structures of the huts, the school buildings, the abandoned health post, and the various church activities in the camp did

cast some light on the resilience of camp dwellers. These structures and other activities carried out in the camp depicted the strength of character which certainly kept the camp inhabitants going without humanitarian assistance for close to six years. These findings were equally consistent with information obtained from previous interviews. Photographs of some of the activities were also taken to be utilised in cases where logistical issues made it difficult to watch the video footage.

Trekking to the nearest forest where firewood and charcoal activities described by the locals as deforestation were taking place took us close to two hours on the 23/04/05. The footpath was quite smooth, thus testifying to the frequent usage of the road. As we walked on our way to the forest, the camp representative explained that when they started fetching firewood in 1997 the forest then was quite close to the camp. After years of surviving only from the sale of the solid fuel obtained from this forest, the nearest forest with big trees was approximately eight miles away from the camp. As we went on, the valleys we cross on the hilly road were green with fresh vegetation. Though the hill looked quite empty, it was apparent that the firewood and charcoal activities could have been rendered sustainable if trees were planted in area where deforestation had occurred.

When we arrived in the valley where the firewood search was going on, it was impressive to see small farms in which maize, tomatoes, sugarcane, cocoyams, cassava and bananas were planted. We learnt from the camp representative that after cutting the trees for firewood, the area was set on fire, after what the planting was done. The burning of the forest was indeed another environment hazard which was apparently overshadowed by the large scale deforestation. We learnt that the process through which firewood and charcoal were obtained was quite exhausting and some migrants could stay on site for up to a week in order to maximise their output. A few days before this trip to the forest I asked the programme director in UNHCR Brazzaville Office what he thought about the grievances of the locals on deforestation carried out by Kintele camp dwellers. He asserted that UNHCR was planning to hire the services of an environmental consultant to look in to the issue. It was evident from the small scale farming activities dotted around this forest that some schemes in which farming tools, seedlings and technical assistance were offered to the immigrants would have possibly provided them with an alternative source of livelihoods.

While in the area where firewood was being transformed we recorded the first scenario in which a high pile of firewood was being covered with earth to form an oven. The second scene involved a completed oven with holes at the bottom for setting the fire and others on the top to ease the exit of smoke. The third activity was the fire being set to kick off the transformation of firewood in to charcoal. It could take two hardworking men up to two months to gather enough firewood for a heap of firewood to be transformed in to charcoal. The success level of the actual transformation was about 60 per cent, I was told. A heap of firewood that was succesfully transformed could give between 45 and 50 bags of charcoal, with each bag sold for 2000 francs CFA (approximately £2 pound sterling). The earnings from the sales of these bags of charcoal could provide enough money to start a joint small scale business venture with the possibility of coming back to resource through the firewood and charcoal, if things went wrong. We equally learnt that there were five sites in which firewood activities were carried out by the camp residents, with the farthest called 'Kosovo' situated at about five hours of trekking from the camp.

The journey back to the camp took us less time because we were descending rather ascending as was the case on our way to the forest. The green nature of the artificial tree orchard within the surrounding of Kintele camp was evidence to the fact that the firewood charcoal activities carried out by the camp inhabitants could have been rendered sustainable.

The last section of video footage was recorded in Kintele beach where the village representative alleged that DRC citizens were carrying out indiscriminate fishing in river Congo on the 26/04/05. As in the previous trips, I was accompanied by a research assistant who provided translation services where necessary. In the course of a previous trip in which we conducted in-depth interviews, we made arrangements with the village authorities to descend to the beach and record the contentious fishing activities.

When we got to the beach, accompanied by a four men delegation representing the village chief we found a couple of canoes allegedly owned by fishermen living in the village. We did not witness the fishermen selling their catch as we had anticipated because it took longer than we thought for the men sent by the village chief to be

ready for the trip to the riverside. We however met the sales of palm oil, saop, bread, fast food, cassava, and drinks still going on. The market was held on a daily bases and lasted from 8 to about 10 am. Most fishermen live in small islands such as the 'Phalande Island' which was visible from the beach, and carried out fishing mostly in the night. On this occasion we saw a cross section of the river banks bare with no vegetation. This was consistent with claims made by the locals that the river banks were being deprived of vegetation in a strategic move to gain access to the fish.

On our way back we stop at 'La Terresse', a sea shore Hotel owned by a Congolese and managed by a DRC citizen who held that he had been living in the Republic of Congo for 19 years. His case did support the existence of good relation between DRC citizens living in the Brazzaville and some locals, despite the grievances aired by the indigenous people. It further illustrated the fact that the grievances voiced by the local population in the Kintele village could be rightly interpreted as a struggle over resources in that some locals preferred using the services of immigrants. Back to the tarred road we stopped at the roadside market where fish bought at the riverbank market was roasted and sold to travellers passing to and from the north of Congo.
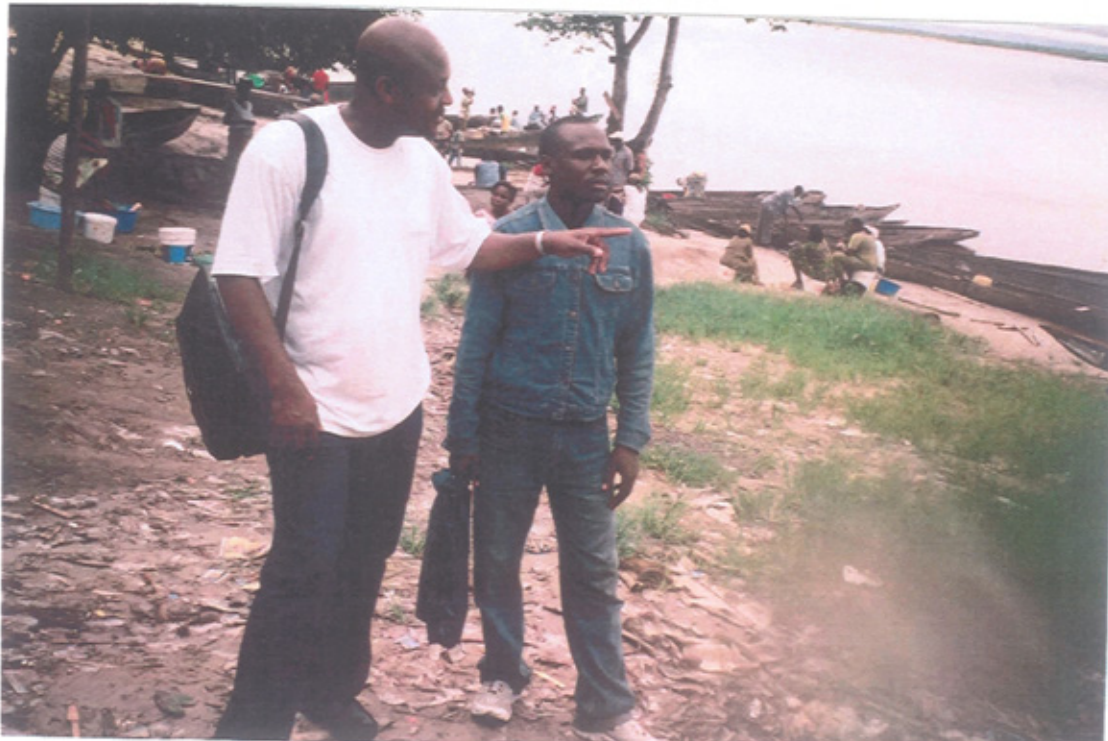
Plate 5.2

Author and his research assistant in a fish market on the bank of river Congo in Kintele village, Brazzaville.

On my next field trip to Brazzaville we visited the Kintele beach once again on the 03/05/06 and got there early enough the cover the sales of the fishermen catch.

The impressive quantity of fish, the huge number of fishermen and that of whole sale buyers present in the market depicted the fact that serious transactions were being carried out. It was equally interesting to note that buyers from Brazzaville brought food items such rice, cassava flour, cooking oil, salt, soap and bread which were bartered against fish. The fact that most of the fish caught were quite small raised some serious questions as to the sustainability of fishing in river Congo as a livelihood recreation activity. It equally corroborated the concerns of the village representative. There was no evidence of river banks being recently cleared by the fishermen as in the previous trip, though member of the village delegation held that such activities might have been carried out further down the river. Photographs of the above stated activities were taken.

Plate 5.3

Fish bought in Kintele village is retailed along side other commodities in Brazzaville.

Other photographs depicted fish bought on whole sales basis at the Kintele beach market being retailed in a central Brazzaville market. In general photographs thought to be worthy as supportive visual material to the study were taken. Investigations carried out through the use of video footage and photographs depicted a high level of industrious and enterprising survival activities carried out by immigrants living in Kintele village and camp. Grievances advanced by the local population were founded but not out of the ordinary in that, some members of the indigenous population were engaged in the same income generating activities as the immigrants.

5.4 Analyses of information obtained from In-Depth Interviews with Displaced People in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo

Madam Alice fled from civil war in her home country the DRC and got to Brazzaville where she claimed asylum and had a positive decision. She had four children and was not living with her husband. She was thus quite vulnerable in Brazzaville, given the crisis setting of the city. She further explained that her daughters were exposed because they were matured girls. However, despite the fact that she was homeless, UNHCR Brazzaville turned down the request of assisting her with the sum of 50,000 francs CFA (approximately 52 pounds sterling) to enable her pay for the deposit required by the landlord of the accommodation she had located.

When I confrented UNHCR Brazzaville Officials with Madam Alice's problems it transpired in the ensuing communication that she was a seamstress by profession, her husband was resident in Europe and her children attended a private schools. The argument was that she was far better off than most members of the indigenous population, which arguably did make some sense but did not make the family less exposed in Brazzaville. Asked what she thought would enable her earn a living in Brazzaville she held that:

"I think refugees should be assessed and the skills and intellectual levels of individuals determined so as to guide us toward employment. Since I got here in Congo I have looked for work every where to no avail. Every where you are told you must know the local languages being 'lahrey or muguletuba' and on top of that you must have Congolese nationality."

It was unlikely that her wishes of being guided toward employment will come true in Congo, a country experiencing post-conflict reconstruction predicaments. This raise the issue of countries emerging from complex emergencies having to host crisis afflicted groups from other countries, which is common place in Sub-Sahara Africa. Madam Alice's experiences and her opinion on post-displacement livelihood depicts how she identified herself – that is as some one who needed to earn a living through personal efforts. Her approach to post-displacement livelihood reconstruction differed from that of some displaced people in Brazzaville who advocated resettlement in developed countries on the grounds that living conditions in Congo-Brazzaville were beset by security and human rights concerns.

Plate 5.4

A refugee family habitat in front of the CEMIR premises in Brazzaville.

While thousands of asylum seekers were aspiring to being granted the refugee status, those who were recognised as refugees confronted different issues in Brazzaville. It was the case with Mr. Timothy who was critical of the assistance he was receiving as a refugee in Brazzaville. He went further to denigrate his follow asylum seekers in suggesting that they were economic migrants because of the close proximity of their countries of origin to the Republic of Congo. He claimed to be a political refugee, who ought to be transfered to Europe as a political patient for treatment. He further made allusion to his son and brother who live in Europe, as well as his intention of carrying out political activities against the regime in power in his country of origin from Europe. He thus saw himself as a special refugee, given his professional past as 'a vice minister' which in turn had an impact on how he conceived life in exile as he remarked:

"We have assistance which is not worthy for a political refugee of my calibre. How would you imagine that they can take people who come from Kinshasa to visit and end up registering as refugees and compare with me. There are economic refugees and political refugees. There are at least four types of refugees and we are given not even a hundred dollars. We pay for our rents and we are left with 20,000 francs CFA (approximately £22 pounds sterling). How can we live on this? And at time UNHCR refuses to take care of our children. Now I am not well. I have prostrate cancer since September 2004. As assistance they started at 30,000 francs CFA (approximatelt £33

pounds sterling) and then moved to 40,000 francs CFA (approximately £44 pounds sterling). Then I said how can a Minister receive assistance as a vulgar Zairian who comes across the river of which there is no war in his country? These are economic refugees who come here of which there is no war in Kinshasa. And we are treated the same, me a politician, father of 18 children..."

The fact that he turned down medical assistance in Brazzaville and requested to be evacuated by UNHCR to Europe for treatment was equally a function of how he sees himself. Once again he observed:

"But unfortunately I picked up the prostrate. I thought I will die because four people die in front of me. They were operated but they died, that is why I requested to be sent to Spain where my children are. I have a child in Paris and a child and a brother in Madrid. They could transfer me there and I would receive adequate treatment. They don't look after me. Right now I have a prescription and do not know who will pay for it. In Spain UNHCR will take care of me. I will be transferred as a political patient. A lot of people have been transferred from here. They have transferred some people from here to Europe and some to the USA. UNHCR has transferred a lot of patients to countries where doctors have valid diplomas. Here we don't have competent doctors. They will operate you but you will die after. I saw two people die in September 2004 and I was frightened. They are fake doctors.....I can't go back to my country when Embizo is still there. Now that Mugabe betrayed us, we shall never have peace in my country. Our leader was given 64 years of jail that is why I have to go to Madrid and organize something."

Mr. Edward from Rwanda was equally quite critical of UNHCR Brazzaville in his account of his state of displacement. He claimed that he had an appointment with the Doctor at the CEMIR premises at midday on the day he was interviewed. However, my previous notes had a communiqué from UNHCR informing refugees that from the 15th February, 2005 medical assistant will be provided by 'Medecins D'Afrique'. It was therefore questionable that he had and appointment with the doctor in CEMIR premises in March, 2005.

Plate 5.5

Children standing in front of a commodity shop while their mother attends to other chores in Kintele camp.

Mr Edward further asserted that they were issued no documents when he claimed asylum at UNHCR.

"I have been in this country for 10 years. My country of origin is Rwanda. It took a long time for us to get here because we had to walk. It took about three months. We went to UNHCR and made asylum claims but have not been given anything. Not even ID cards that one can show on the road if stopped by the security forces. In order to survive we have to go to the Congolese and do some work like washing of their clothes and then they can give us some food. I live in the Kintele camp but came to stay with my Congolese friend who is keeping me just like that because of my

appointment. I am married and have two children.......... We are not assisted and even when you are ill and go to UNHCR you get nothing. Some of us go to the village to do odd jobs for Congolese for just about 1000francs CFA (approximately £1 pound sterling) a day to buy something and eat. There are refugees in the village who cultivate in order to support their family but I have been ill for the last five years. I have been trying to get treatment at UNHCR. I have gastritis and a kidney problem caused by the problems I have had since I fled from my country."

Edward's story depicts how he identifies himself, as well as the means through which he has had to survive through the years. His account on the non-processing of his asylum claim was consistent to that of Jean who equally hails from Rwanda, who asserted that their individual asylum claims were never dealt with as they were simply granted a group status – *prima facie*. Edward's assertion that his poor health was a result of the hardship he endured through the displacement track and on arrival in the Republic of Congo was equally consistent with Kunz (1981) model in which he held that harsh conditions endured during displacement could be a set back on resettlement in the receiving area.

However, his claims of having to see a doctor at CEMIR premises long after the change in the location where medical services were offered was questionable and revealed the lack of consistency in the way some displaced people in Brazzaville appraised available humanitarian assistance. Misconstrued appraisal of humanitarian assistance offered by UNHCR was largely due to lack of awareness on the part of the displaced in Brazzaville. UNHCR Brazzaville provided one stop services but in very difficult conditions in that only few people were received per day on a first come first serve basis. There was no reception service where quick first hand information could be obtained. Access to the UNHCR Brazzaville office was through a gate manned by security officers who could not provide basic information to the clients, simply insisting on seeing formal appointment letters only. On the other hand refugee community organizations personnel claimed that the lack of resources, as well as poor cooperation from UNHCR Brazzaville hampered the scale of assistance and awareness they could provide to members of their communities.

The lack of awareness on the part of refugees in Brazzaville is perhaps best illustrated in the findings from the questionnaires interviews. Out of 128 migrants interviewed, 29 had refugee status, 28 were asylum seekers and 71 asserted that they were

economic migrants. Among respondents who identified themselves as economic migrants were those who had claimed asylum in the past and given up at some point because they thought the process was too cumbersome and yielded no fruit. Interestingly enough, upon all the respondents only eight said they had any legal assistance.

I confronted the UNHCR Brazzaville protection officer with the findings and was given detailed schemes of legal assistance available to asylum claimers, during the appeal procedures for failed asylum seekers, as well as to displaced people involved in civil and criminal matters. The issue seem to be that the potential services beneficiaries were not aware of their entitlement to the services, possibly because information on the availability of the services was not disseminated to them in the first place.

Mr Guy believed that his being a citizen of the Republic of Chad was the sole reason for which he had not been granted refugee status which according to him would enable him to plan for his future in Brazzaville. This allegation of country of origin influencing the determination of an asylum claim was repeatedly formulated by respondents in Brazzaville. Guy admitted that he could not speak good French but held that he was persecuted by members of the presidential family in his home country because of rivalry over operating in a lucrative business sector. However, using the skills he acquired prior to being displaced, he worked as a motor mechanic and hawked in motor spare parts when there was no work available as he noted:

"I am a mechanic and only sell motor spare parts to those who are in need. So when I find work I do it or make profit on some business. I put in an asylum claim in 1999. I have been interviewed three times but no official status. Each time I go there, I am told that my file is progressing. When they were carrying out the general census of refugees, I presented myself but was told that I am not a refugee. I went to the eligibility commission but was told that they were not working on that day...I can't go back to my country. I prefer to stay here. Mr Idres Debris (head of state of his country) and the President of this country are good friends. So here at the level of UNHCR it is difficult for us Chadians to be granted refugee status. I have been here for five years and why else have I not been granted any status...?"

Guy is thus one of the many forced migrants who survive on their own in the absence of any formal humanitarian assistance, through their pre-displacement skills and

capabilities. His case is a clear illustration of the diversified nature of the causes of displacement, as well as the variety of factors which can influence migrants' self view and livelihoods recreation strategies.

Plate 5.6

A refugee is interviewed by a member of the Author's research team in his kiosk on the road side in Brazzaville.

Pierre from DR Congo equally made some serious allegations against the Congolese government and UNHCR Brazzaville. He held that he was an activist who defended the rights of his colleagues with whom he worked for the father of the vice president of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Following his speaking out against his employer, he was kidnapped in Kinshasa and had all along been tailed by special agents in the Republic of Congo in the last four years. Pierre asserted that the government of his home country was conniving with the Congolese government in making sure that he is not granted refugee status. He equally claimed that UNHCR Brazzaville officials were accomplices in the conspiracy and asserted that his name featured on the list of people who can not be granted refugee status in the Republic of

Congo. In the mist of the numerous threats Pierre said he had been subjected to, he held that he deserves assistance by virtue of his asylum claim and did not talk of any livelihoods reconstruction options:

"I know that torture is anything that disturbs the head of any person with consequences on the physical body as I am not being assisted. I spent months, almost a month outside and it was raining, the wind was blowing until I found myself at the CEMIR. Mr. Abraham Rococo Essou who is a Congolese, coordinator of the CEMIR did not consider us as refugees at all. But an asylum seeker is a refugee because if the application is successful he will become a refugee......I think I am a beggar and it is humiliating. Since UNHCR has humiliated me, I don't want to humiliate her. I want us to be given the possibility of explaining before an international court......I have documents, the report of Amnesty International 2003 (The Congo a future haunted by the pass) in which Amnesty nails the state of Congo and UNHCR for not assisting refugees coming from countries where human rights are not respected.....The director of the CNAR has my name on the list of people who can not be granted refugee status."

Pierre's opinion was a contrast to that of some displaced people in Brazzaville who admitted being displaced by armed conflict but were bent on recreating livelihoods. We therefore see that the way immigrants identify themselves, which is influenced by a combination of factors, does in turn influence their livelihoods options. In an interview with the director of the 'Commité National pour L'Assistance au Refugiés' (CNAR) he stated clearly that he will not tolerate any refugees who carry out any activities aimed at destabilising the governments of their home countries from the Republic of Congo. However, for ethical reasons it was not possible to confront the Congolese government officials with accusations formulated by respondents against the government on issues thought to be sensitive in nature.

Plate 5.7

Jean and his assistant at work in his photocopy cabin.

Jean from Rwanda is an example of a displaced person who adjusts his livelihoods
strategies. He stated that the 1997 war started shortly after they arrived in Brazzaville
and through out the fighting they took refuge in Kintele village. At the end of the
conflict issues of the violation of the civil nature of the camp by refugees who
allegedly took part in the conflict arose. Realising that there were limited prospects of
having a normal life in the camp due to the melting pot schemes they were subjected
to, Jean moved to Brazzaville. In Brazzaville he went from selling cold water for a
West African lady to owning a photocopy machine, getting married and having a son.
He gave us details of how he had to negotiate and buy a refugee ID card from the
CNAR to avoid harassment and extortion from security officers, even though
officially his asylum claim was never processed. When years later UNHCR was
issuing new ID cards against the old ones, he got a new one along side refugees who
had positive asylum claims. Jean held that he did not refute his being a refugee despite
the absence of rights and entitlement due to security concerns. We therefore see him
changing his livelihood strategies but not his identity for a particular reason as he
asserted:

"….For me I started by pushing a wheel barrow and after some time I felt that it was
not the appropriate job for me. Then there was a West African mother who employed

me and I started selling cold water. After that I bought the body of an old fridge, bought the engine and got a technician to build up the fridge and I started selling water for myself. After some time, I made some money but the water business was no longer lucrative. Then my fridge was broken and I did not have enough money to repair it, so a friend called me to come and work with his photocopy machine. I worked with the photocopy for three years and then some good man gave me a photocopy machine on hire purchase. I managed to pay him back and today I have my own photocopy machine."

Contrary to Jean we came across some respondents who held that they were not refugees despite being forced by war to flee from their countries of origin. This diversity in opinion simply shows that displaced people identify themselves in different ways and adhere to different livelihoods options. Jean who lost his entire family during the 1994 Rwanda genocide said he did not think of going back to his country of origin.

In the course of the study I came across many displaced people in Brazzaville who started from small business activities in the informal business sector – such as provisional store, cigarette kiosk, shoe mending shop, telephone boot, hair dresser shop, mobile shoe shining, hawking of dresses and household items, fast food ventures, and stationary stores, news papers kiosk – to owning registered business ventures. The possibility of chosen a livelihood reconstruction activity on the basis of the available resources and pre/post displacement skills and capabilities accounted for the success stories of displaced people such as Jean in Brazzaville. This is a contrast to the UK refugee integration schemes which offered well formulated but restricted options to certain categories of forced migrants. Indeed, participation in livelihoods reconstruction ventures is highly conditioned by the displaced person's immigration status in the UK.

After three years under the Red Cross services as a child soldier whose parents could not be traced in DRC, UNHCR Brazzaville was given the mandate to look after Nicholas since he had turned eighteen years of age. Nicholas was twenty years old when we interviewed him and had been granted refugee status two years ago. He was out spoken and had a clear idea on the sort of vocational training he was looking forward to. He stated that he was no longer an asylum seeker and had the right to assistance toward a future career. While waiting for his asylum claim to be processed

he worked as a night watch man but once he was granted a refugee status, he requested being sent to an institution where he could receive vocational training as he stated:

"I was supposed to be taken to a centre for re-education; that is what I requested from UNHCR. But when I got here everything changed and it was not what I requested from UNHCR, even though UNHCR recommended that I should be sent to the centre. This is a transit centre. I do not study and have no assistance. I have no scholarship……… UNHCR asked their partner CEMIR to send me to school but that has not been done because before you are sent to school you have to bribe the workers in order to be granted scholarship. Where would I have money to bribe them?"….

Here we see Nicholas' livelihood strategy changing with the acquisition of his new identity and the right and entitlements it confers. An appraisal of his circumstances – in the light of his new acquired identity – in this case influences his future plans toward earning a living – that is his livelihood reconstruction strategy.

Plate 5.8

A Liberian Refugee standing in the zinc hut where he shared with over thirty of his kinsmen in Brazzaville.

146

Charles is a Liberian in Congo a French speaking country so one of his major problems is the language barrier. But furthermore, he did not think of any livelihoods recreation options. His asylum claim had not been processed and he had no source of assistance. He held that by virtue of coming from Liberia, a war torn country, he deserved to be granted refugee status. He pointed out that:

"UNHCR asked us to get in touch with the CNAR and we have been in contact, changing documents and today we have no identity to prove that we are refugees. We have no assistance, no means of living and we have to go to the streets and beg to eat. I really want to know what the UN is doing for us.....If UNHCR can not help us let them take us to the nearest country; we are not here to do anything. We are here to be taken care of.".......

This is an issue of identity management. While displaced peole such as Jean are prepared to adjust their livelihood strategies according to changing circumstances, Charles stick to his claim of being a refugee. He said if he is given documents he will look for employment. But the reality was that in Brazzaville it was possible to work as a handy man or shop assistance without any document. Jean for instance sold water for an employer without any documents. According to Charles his circumstances were compounded by the language barrier that hampered his options. However, it may be worth noting that UNHCR Brazzaville social affairs officer claimed that vulnerable asylum seekers were giving assistance pending the result of their asylum claims. Yet Charles was one of the many Liberians sleeping in the open air. These Liberians held that they had been in touch with UNHCR but were told that they are not refugees.

Michel's circumstances are compelling in that he has the conviction that he can not be granted the refugee status so long as he is in the Republic of Congo where his life was in danger. He reiterated the claim made by Guy and Pierre on UNHCR Brazzaville conniving with the host government to ascertain that the processing of asylum claims of individuals from certain countries was delayed for as long as possible. Michel further held that retarding the processing of certain asylum claims gave the host government the possibility of exchanging asylum seekers with political activists from the Republic of Congo living in these countries which were signatories of protective regional accords.

According to Michel, but for the intervention of the United Nations Secretary General to whom he wrote a petition in 2004, they would have been extradited to Kinshasa as he stated:

"I have been in Congo since November 2000. I'm an asylum seeker because of the tri-parties accords between the DRC, the Republic of Congo and Angola which stipulates that political refugees from any of these countries should not be given refugee status but delayed until they are extradited or eliminated. I am a political refugee because I worked for the state security at one time and I was sent to the military tribunal where I stumbled over a case in which the present head of state of DRC and the military persecutor Charles Alamba were involved, and they started chasing us in an attempt to eliminate us. It was the Commissioner for Human Rights who helped us to cross to Brazzaville....... I have requested to get in contact with UNHCR protection officer so that I can present the proofs that I have got. There is even the complaint we filed to the UN Secretary General and but for his reaction we would have been extradited to Kinshasa in 2004. We have documents and there was the reaction of Koffi Anon. The Kinshasa government is after us because they believe we have documents which are classified as state secrets concerning high authorities who have been named in the International Court of Justice in connection with the killing of the ex-FAZ and the ex-FAC soldiers. At the level of the CNAR we have problems with Mr Akonjo who extorted money from us. He gave us cards and travel documents in exchange of money and up till now we have not been able to travel. I went to him and he started intimidating me using the state security and I complained to the International Institutions and he became frightened. Now the matter is at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs..."

Michel equally held that people had bought United Nation travel documents from the CNAR but were not allowed to board the plane on the day they were supposed to travel. He talked of corruption at the CNAR with the sales of refugee identity cards to anyone who could afford the cost, allegations which were made by other interviewees. Add these facts to the supportive documents Michael presented and it becomes clear that he had a case in anyway. However, as detailed previously (see Chapter Two) the Republic of Congo has been subjected to a series of civil strife in the last decade and cases of misuse and/or abuse of power were obviously rampant. Getting the political institutions to function in full equally required some time. Michel did not consider Congo as a country of asylum. He asserted that he was on transit to a safer country where he could look after his family peacefully. Here we see a displaced person who aspires to a particular identity but for a particular objective in respect to his experiences in exiles.

Beatrice was a victim of circumstances in that they got to the Republic of Congo in a group and were granted the *prime facie* status. All attempts to present her personal

circumstances had so for been fruitless as her asylum claim was still pending. She had distinguished herself by working with refugees as an assistant at the 'centre nutritionel thérapeutic' and latter on as a teacher in northern Congo. When refugees were integrated in the villages, she moved on to small scale business transactions, selling dried fish and other commodities. In this way she did adjust her livelihood strategy to her changing circumstances. But due to the fact that her young baby was constantly ill, she moved to Brazzaville where she thought better medical attention was available. In Brazzaville, she ran a small provisional store and looked after her two children despite having no humanitarian assistance as she observed:

"I worked at the 'centre nutritional thérapeutic' for three months. After it was closed, I started selling plantains and fish and struggling like any one else. Because things were not working there we left and came to Lekoulela where we were working in the farms of the local population to have something to eat. Before that I did work as a teacher in the refugee camp at Lekoulela for seven months. After that refugees were integrated among the local population and the camp was closed. There we had our son and life became very difficult with the baby because we were close to the river and there were a lot of mosquitoes. That is how we agreed that I should come to Brazzaville with our children and my husband would continue to work in the farm..."

Beatrice's account depicts the fact that post-displacement resettlement and livelihood reconstruction in most cases is a function of self view and the mind set, rather than the means available. Her case equally illustrates circumstances where pre-displacement skills can be vital in the construction of post-displacement livelihood.

Plate 5.9

Beatrice's commodity shop which enabled her to support her family in Brazzaville.

We learnt that any financial assistance from her husband was invested on bread and other first hand commodities which were sold in due course to sustain her family.

Gerald is a legal practitioner who was displaced by persecution resulting from the armed conflict going on in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Republic of Congo is his second country of asylum. He held that he was granted refugee status in his first country of asylum and was employed by a law firm. As he got resettled he stood up for refugees and denounced the corruption and abuse of refugees' rights by the government of his host country and UNHCR officials. He was eventually removed against his will and thrown in to the Republic of Congo. In Congo he could not secure a job, and had no assistance because he was considered as an asylum seeker. At the time we interviewed Gerald he was ill and needed to be treated abroad. A Dutch family he got in contact with while they were on vacation in Congo promised to assist him with the visa requirement once they get back to Holland. Full of hopes, he presented his case to the UNHCR Resident Representative in Brazzaville, applied for

a travel document and put the Representative in touch with his Dutch friends. The Representative then wrote to Gerald's friends and expressed his scepticism as to the feasibility of Gerald being granted a visa to travel to Holland for treatment. The Dutch family simply forwarded the Representative's email to Gerald who was furious and scandalised. He noted:

"I was granted refugee status in Bangui in Central Africa Republic. Refugees were not granted their rights and entitlements and I wrote a series of petitions to Geneva. UNHCR connived with the host government and they were able to take me across the border to northern Congo before the arrival of the UN representative who came in reaction to my petitions. From northern Congo I managed to get to Brazzaville but have since been treated as an asylum seeker with no assistance. I am very ill with cancer of the prostrate. A Dutch family I met while they were here on holidays invited me in order to get me treated but when I presented the invitation to the UNHCR Representative in Brazzaville for him to issue me a travel document, he wrote to my friends and discourage them from helping me..... I have a copy of the email he wrote which my friends in Holland forwarded to me."....

Gerald's case depicts the difficulties which come with the state of displacement. In some instances people and institutions entrusted with the task of assisting the displaced end up acting as a liability to their well being. Where refuge is sought in a country where authorities have little or no regards for human rights, the risk of the displaced being victimized become counter productive and a potential threat to any efforts toward resettlement. The search for a relatively safe country of relocation which may offer acceptable living conditions is in itself a cause of re-displacement.

Francois was an electrician in his home country DRC. When he got to the Republic of Congo he sold oil while trying to create some contacts. Despite being displaced by the armed conflict going on in his country, he did not claim asylum at all. He eventually found a West African man who offered him a job five years ago. He was paid 45000 franc CFA (approximately £47 pounds sterling) a month which is an average salary in the Republic of Congo. He lived with his family in Bacongo, the pro-opposition part of Brazzaville where residents were renounced for their inhospitality toward foreigners. He held that his relations with members of the local population were cordial except for their non-appreciation of West Africans offering employment to people from his country. Francois refuted being an asylum seeker and thus identifies himself as an economic migrant as he stated:

"I am here with my friends and my wife and we live in Bacongo.....I left my country because fighting erupted in the north where we were living. When I got here from Kinshasa I was selling oil in the market where I met a West Africa man who offered me a job. In my country I was an electrician but here I work in a production company... Relations with the local population are alright except for the fact that they hold that West Africans prefer employing people from my country (DRC)."...

We see here that while anti-immigrant campaigners are crying foul on economic migrants abusing the asylum system, genuine refugee are pushed by their unpredictable circumstances to identity with being economic migrants. Some displaced people like Francois are certainly striving to survive in many developed counties the world over. His experiences are consistent with the fact that self view in exile influences the aspired/ chosen livelihood recreation strategy.

Alphonse arrived in the Republic of Congo in 1997 after being re-displaced from a refugee camp in the DRC by Kabila forces heading to Kinshasa. He settled in Kintele camp up to 1999 when UNHCR suspended assistance. The need to earn a living led him to a village in northern Congo where he worked in an indigenous man's farm for one year. Not entirely satisfied with his working conditions, he left from the village back to Brazzaville. He worked as a kitchen assistant for three months and managed to buy a wheel barrow which he did push for eight months. Forced by low earnings, he gave up pushing the wheel barrow and secured another employment as a kitchen assistant. After saving for a year and a half, he opened a kiosk which was looted during a shoot out. He struggled and found another job as a gardener and was able to start with the kiosk after working for a year. But due to competition in his former business line, he decided to move to running a butchery shop. The problems he confronted in the running of his business were constant black outs which caused the decay of his goods and police harassment on tax duty related issues as he explained:

"...When I got to this country ...I was paid 15000 FRS CFA (approximately £17 pound sterling) per month. I managed to buy a wheel barrow and pushed it for eight months. Things were still not working so I went to work in the kitchen of a French man for one and a half year and with the money I made I opened a small kiosk but after eight months it was looted. After that I went to work in a clinic as a gardener for one year, had some money ...... The kiosk was not working because of high competition so I decided to try selling meat and fish. The three deep freezers do not belong to me. I am renting them. I collect goods from the whole sellers, and only pay them after the goods have been sold. I do not have problems with them because I try to respect my words..."

Plate 5.10

Alphonse attending to a customer in his butchery in Brazzaville.

Alphonse's circumstances depict the fact that some displaced people may use a variety of coping and adaptation mechanisms to deal with various predicaments they confront in their struggle to recreate post-displacement livelihoods in a bid to get resettled. He was flexible in his approach to having a source of income, moving on when he had to, while adjusting his livelihoods reconstruction strategies.

Among the more than thirty Liberians who lived in the open air at no 155 rue Makoko were pathetic cases such as the malaria patient who was lying on a pile of hard papers shivering. He had been ill for two weeks without any treatment. All he had taken was native treatment obtained from boiling the roots of a pawpaw tree. He thought mosquitoes and humidity were responsible for the malaria attack. There was equally another patient with a wound on his neck. He held that his tooth was aching, he went to UNHCR and no one believed him until it was too late before he was taking to the university teaching hospital where a hole was made on his throat in order to feed him with fluid, for three week. When he was discharged from the hospital the assistant he was receiving during the treatment period was suspended, and no medications provided to assist him with the healing process of his wound.

None of the 35 Liberians living together had any humanitarian assistance. They all live on charitable help from good will people and churches. In their word people were tired of helping them. One of them had been living in Brazzaville for twelve years, two for seven years, one for six years, five for four years, four for three years and sixteen for less than three years. Six were not willing to disclose their length of stay in Brazzaville. Those who were around during the civil strife participated in the fighting and the one person who witness the 1997 civil war said he lost eight of his brothers who fought for the current president of the Republic of Congo. None of them came to Congo to settle. They were either on their way to Europe or South Africa but thought they deserved UNHCR assistance while in Congo as they noted below:

"He has been ill for two days. No medicine, no food. We try and buy 200 FRS CFA (approximately 20 pence in pound sterling) rice but rice is not good for a sick man. He got malaria from the cold and mosquitoes. Look at the dishes we eat in, all these things are provoking sickness. If something happens to this guy we will be in trouble. We do not have money to take him to the hospital….This other guy had a tooth ache and we took him to the hospital and the doctor cut his neck we have photos to that effects. (The man with a wound on the neck) He cut my neck so that I can drink. When we go to the UN they take us enemy and when we speak they do not believe us….. I reported this problem when it was small but the UN did nothing until it was big before they took me to hospital for the doctor to cut me this way. After cutting me they did not even wait for the wound to heal. They took me out of the hospital and I started suffering. They stopped all the assistance they gave me for two or three weeks and I started struggling by myself and going here and there for antibiotics…
(Another speaker) Most of us came off the ship in Pointe-Noir on our way to the Europe, South Africa or the US. We are about 175 or 180 Liberians here in Brazzaville. This is where we sleep, this is the toilet, the bathroom, look at are dishes. People who came after us are given money every month.
(A third speaker) Some Malians bribe to be given our status because they have money. They claim they are Liberians and are given refugee status while we the real sons of the soil are not….
(Another man) I have been here since the time of Lisouba. I fought for Sasou. I know about eight of my brothers who died while fighting for Sasou. We are being neglected; they are only looking after the Rwandan or Ivorian refugees. Although for the Rwandans, I can not include them because they were here before us, but for the Ivorians, Guineans, and Malians who come here and claim that they are Liberians, Sierra-Leonais, using our documents, buying our documents…."

It was difficult for them to get any employment because they had no official documents and they wanted UNHCR to take them to a neighbouring country or back home. They felt UNHCR treated them poorly in asserting that they, who were born and breed in Liberia are not refugee, while Malians and Guineans were buying 'their' refugee statuses. The manner in which these Liberians identified themselves illustrates

the diverse approaches in light of which displaced people can appraise their circumstances - view themselves. A good number of them had been in Brazzaville for quite some time but still held the view that they were on transit to more developed countries. At the same time they expected UNHCR Brazzaville to provide them not only with assistance which could be temporal, but get their asylum claims processed and let them obtain the refugee status they deserve. This idealistic approach is contrary to the realistic and pragmatic one in which the need to recreate a livelihood is paramount. Both approaches see being a refugee, as a means to an end with the difference surfacing in the ends that are targeted.

Plate 5.11

A group of Liberian refugees in the hut where they live. Second from the left is the refugee with a wound on the neck.

One group considers humanitarian assistance accruing from a conferred identity as an end while the other looks forward to a sort of self sufficiency while adjusting both identity and livelihood strategy as the need arises. This is idealism backed up with pragmatic realism.

Plate 5.12

The malaria patient lying on the floor while his brothers scramble something to eat on the charcoal stove.

Alain from the Republic of Angola fled from Cabinda to the Republic of Congo twenty five years ago with his uncle. He was a member of a movement that fights for the independence of Cabinda in exile. He thus did not consider himself as an Angolan

and asserted that his refugee document has not been renewed because of existing regional accords between the Republic of Congo and the Republic of Angola as he stated:

"I am not an Angolan, I am from Cabinda and it is certain that I can never be granted refugee status in Congo because of the tri-parties regional accord between Angola and other countries. I got to this country when I was a small boy but my uncle told me that I am from Cabinda and not Angola. Here I had a business and was doing fine until my goods were looted in 2003, during the civil war. When I submitted my refugee card for renewal after the conflict it was not renewed and I do not know why.... Now my wife is nine months pregnant and I have no means of assisting her or our new forth coming baby."

While it may be difficult to say to what external regional accords impact on the determination of asylum claims in the Republic of Congo, the fact that such allegations were made by refugees from three different countries – Angola, DRC and Tchad – seems questionable. After the interview with Alain I confronted UNHCR Brazzaville about his wife who was close to having a baby with no assistance. On the next field trip to Brazzaville I learnt from Alain that his wife received medical and material assistance from UNHCR prior to having their baby. The renewal of his refugee card had also advanced considerable and furthermore, UNHCR Brazzaville had given the family a grant to set up a business venture. Alain's case is just one of the many situations in which helpless displaced peoples' state of destitution was either not known or ignored by UNHCR Brazzaville officials.

Circumstances surrounding Alain's deprivation were different in that when I brought up his case, UNHCR community liaison officer knew exactly who I was talking about and did remind the social affairs officer of a recent meeting they had with Alain. Having said this, it would be fair to acknowledge that running any humanitarian assistance scheme in a war affected city as Brazzaville presents extra challenges and certainly requires extra skills, experience and resources.

An examination of individual cases of informants who took part in the in-depth interviews in light of the criteria enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees raises some unanswered questions. Refugees are asylum seekers whose causes of displacement meet criteria enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugee status (See pp 6&7 chapter one).

Individual accounts of Pierre and Michel both from DRC indicate that they were possibly hunted by the current government of their country due to the change of

regime and the subsequent task of consolidating a grip on power. The fact that both respondents asserted that I could confront UNHCR Brazzaville with the accounts of events they related gives the allegations they made a certain degree of credibility. They both feared for their lives and were outside their country of origin. Yet their asylum claims had been pending for more than three years. The fact that Madam Alice, Nicholas and other respondents from DRC were granted refugee status further shows that victims of the DRC armed conflict who sought refuge in Brazzaville could be granted individual refugee status and not just the group *prima facie* status.

Similarly, as advocated by a Rwandan refugee in Brazzaville, it was unfair to treat Rwanda refugees who arrived in Brazzaville in 1997 as a group. UNHCR suspended humanitarian assistance in the Kintele camp in 1999 because it was alleged that the civil nature of the camp had been violated. But Jean argued that many innocent Rwanda refugees were caught up in the melting pot decision and emphasised that refugees concerned ought to have been screened in order to hold the culprits responsible. He further held that, international opinion which at the time seem to hold that every one who fled from Rwanda in 1994 participated in the genocide may have worked against them.

These facts question to what extend UNHCR Brazzaville acted as an advocate of refugees' rights in the asylum claim determination process. Governments' need to respect some hidden agendas could be quite compelling and would where possible override the need to respect criteria enshrined in international conventions to which the countries are signatories. Hidden agendas in the case of the Republic of Congo could range from the respect of regional treaties, to protective policies aimed at inhibiting the risk of any potential out break of armed conflict. The question which arises is whether it is appropriate for a country confronting post-conflict reconstruction predicaments as the Republic of Congo to host displaced people from neighbouring/regional countries experiencing social unrest.

With the industrialised countries gearing toward more restrictive asylum and immigration regimes, it may be time for the developing countries to think of South-South reinstallation options. As eloquently advocated by Chenoa Achebe, 'if the hunter shoots without missing, then the little bird has to fly without perching'!

5.5 Data obtained from In-Depth Interviews with Members of Civil Society in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo

While conducting field research in April, 2005 in Brazzaville, I came across a group of IDPs living in the premises of an ex-factory in the south of Brazzaville. In an interview with the camp leader I learnt that the inhabitants of the camp were rendered homeless after their houses were destroyed during the civil war. Some people came to the premises as early as 1994, while the last group got there only in 2004. They had no official assistance and some families were living in between rusted iron bars in the premises designed for the manufacturing of textile products. Parents and children shared the same sleeping area with no privacy between family members, or between families. Cooking was done in the dark polluted halls with no ventilation facilities. There were more than 300 families in this camp living in inhumane conditions with no form of assistance as illustrated by the following words from the camp representative:

"We are here since precisely 1994. At the beginning there were 300 families but we are more now because more people came from the village after constant hostilities. In 1998 we received some rice, gari and soap since then nothing else. The government says there are no more displaced people's sites in Brazzaville but we are here. We asked for assistance from the government to reconstruct our houses which were destroyed during the war but have so far received nothing....Some people are in the firewood business, some have small gardens, others do small scale business like the sale of oranges, mangoes, tobacco, charcoal, and other commodities. If any one is ill, it is the responsibility of the family head to look after them. Our plots are still there but the houses were destroyed in the following quarters: Moutabala, Mfilou, Mokazou, Massina and Kinsindi in the south of Brazzaville.... We have 9 blocs here but some blocs have ABC such as 3A, 3B, 3C and 8A, 8B and 8C. People live here in difficult conditions with very little space."....

I also learnt that some of the camp inhabitants had to walk for as far as twenty three kilometres to fetch firewood and charcoal, while others had small vegetable gardens in the outskirt of the city. Pipe borne water supplies were disconnected by the 'Soceité National de Distribution d'Eau' (SNDE) in 2001. In 2004 the Ministry of Humanitarian Assistance conducted a census of families living in the camp but there was no follow up of any sort.

Plate 5.13

One of the three blocs of an ex-factory in Brazzaville in which IDPs live.

Plate 5.14

A hall with rusted machinery transformed into sleeping room by IDPs in the ex-Sedeco camp.

Plate 5.15

Assorted livelihoods ventures in front of the ex-sedeco IDPs camp.

Plate 5.16

The disposition of rooms in which parents and children live with no privacy in the ex-factory.

In a follow up interview a few days later, the coordinator of CARITAS Brazzaville held that the IDP camp was officially closed and consequently its inhabitants were not eligible to receive food rations supplied by the World Food Programme, and distributed by CARITAS. This was possibly a case of social exclusion as alleged by the camp leader, on grounds that the camp was in the pro-opposition part of the city and inhabited by displaced people loyal to the then in exile former mayor of Brazzaville, Bernard Kholelas, who has since return to Brazzaville. There were two WFP trucks being off loaded in the premises of CARITAS. During the one and a half hours it took for the co-ordinator to receive me, I learnt from the staff handling the food items – flour, rice and cooking oil – that the recipients of the day were vulnerable people from Ouenze in the north of Brazzaville.

These were individuals living within family units in their own houses being assisted on the grounds of their vulnerability. Yet as stated above, members of more than 300 families were living in the ex-factory IDP camp in the south of the city with no form of humanitarian assistance. The position of CARITAS Brazzaville in this incident raised some serious questions on the impartiality of certain humanitarian agencies in Brazzaville. The need for humanitarians to be on the side of the vulnerable, the socially excluded emphasized by some social scientists (Jacobson, 2002; Anderson, 1999) was in this case overlooked by CARITAS officials for some ambiguous reasons.

In an interview with the chief of Kintele village we learnt that the increased number of immigrants in the village was an issue of concern. He held that the Rwandans living in a camp situated on the edge of the village were causing severe deforestation in the region. He further asserted that the Rwandans were polluting river 'Ngamoulouomo' which serves as the principal source of drinking water to the inhabitants of the village and is unfortunately situated on a lower altitude than the Kintele camp. Yes, the local population equally clear the forest for the purpose of agriculture he admitted, but in a rotating scheme which has a two years recovering period after a year of farming on a piece of land – shifting cultivation.

As for the Rwandans, they would cut down the trees, create ovens to transform the wood into charcoal, making regeneration practically impossible on those seriously

burnt areas. In some cases they would set the forest on fire in a strategy aimed at transforming fresh trees into ready for use wood, which they then take away without carrying out any farming activities. His feelings are expressed as follow:

"We are disgusted by the presence of refugees here in the village and in the refugee camp up there. The Rwandans in the camp have caused severe deforestation and pollution since they arrived in 1997. It is true that we the local population clear the forest in order to plant cassava and other food items. But after one year we give a period of two years for the forest to recover. The Rwandans cut down the trees, create ovens to transform the wood to charcoal, making regeneration practically impossible on those seriously burnt out spots. More to that, they some time set the forest on fire in order to kill the fresh trees and transform them to ready for use firewood. In all this they take away only wood and carry out no farming activities at all. In fact they come back for the trees waves after waves, thus giving the forest no time to recover.... We equally have refugees from DRC living in the village here and in the small islands in the river Congo. These refugees carry out indiscriminate fishing activities. They do not only do the fishing but constantly clear the vegetation along the river bank to have access to the fish. This vegetation constitutes the habitat for the fish population, where reproduction and other activities vital for their survival are carried out. In future, the fish population may not only diminish, but disappear completely. The ministry of fishing and UNHCR must take measures to protect this threatened fish species…"

Pate 5.17

Visible impact of refugees' firewood/charcoal activities on the flora in Kintele village.

Some of the allegations formulated by the village chief were confirmed by the Kintele camp representative who asserted that dispute over wood occurred when one party cut down a tree and while waiting for it to dry up; another party trims it and carries it away. The village chief also held that insecurity was another issue of dire concern, given the fact that some migrants living in the village and camp were ex-soldiers.

He equally held that indiscriminate fishing by DR C forced migrants living in the village or in small islands in the river Congo was another cause for concern. Fish of all categories were caught and the flora along the river banks cleared, leaving the fish population with no habitat. Further inquiries substantiated the fact that sizable as well as very small fish were caught by immigrants for marketing purposes.

Plate 5.18

Sign of indiscriminate fishing depicted by the size of the catch sold in Kintele beach, Brazzaville.

Plate 5.19

Fish transaction in Kintele beach, Brazzaville.

Plate 5.20

A group of fishermen paddle their way in to the beach on the bank of river Congo, in Kintele village, Brazzaville.

The village chief equally held that approximately 800 DRC citizens were living in the village, thus out numbering the indigenous population made up of 700 people, which constituted a security risk. He asserted that DRC immigrants had relatively easy entry to Kintele village through the 'Moutu-Ngombe' beach situated at about three kilometres from Kintele which was not manned by the Republic of Congo immigration officers. Other worrying issues were that some DRC citizens had the Republic of Congo passport which they could use for ill-conceived purposes, as well as the fact that jobs in the construction industry, fish ponds, pig farms and poultry farms were given to strangers who offered cheap labour.

In displacement studies it is generally believed that where displaced people share ethnic affinities with the locals, integration is less problematic (IRC, 2003; Alger, 1999). But the above example depicts the fact that in situations where socio-economic contentious issues exist between the local population and the immigrants, emotions can be very high with a possible risk of confrontations irrespective of ethnic affinities.

At the start of the study I went to UNHCR Brazzaville where I was granted permission to work with refugees. In an informal interview with the social affairs officer I learnt that only people recognised as refugee and vulnerable asylum seekers were entitled to assistance. In the course of the questionnaire interviews we came across a good number of destitute asylum seekers with no assistance. Some of these displaced peoplle asserted that UNHCR Brazzaville was more concern with dispersing and repatriating to war zones. For ethical reasons it was not possible to confront UNHCR officers with all the grievances, most of which were sensitive in nature. However, out of the six cases we brought to the knowledge of UNHCR Brazzaville officials, four were resolved by the time I went back to Brazzaville after six weeks. The cases of the children, the terminally ill, and women in Kintele camp, as well as the Liberian immigrants remained unresolved. UNHCR officials held that the Geneva office had to approve the reinstatement of assistance in Kintele camp, and the repatriating the Liberians who wanted to go home. The point here is that the tensions between immigrants and locals which were constantly brought to my knowledge in the course of the study were exacerbated by the fact that many destitute forced migrants were left to fend for themselves.

As stated before, some immigrants alleged that the Congolese government and UNHCR Brazzaville officials had deliberately delayed the processing of their asylum claims for the purpose of deporting them in exchange with the Republic of Congo political activists living in their home countries (Section 5.1.4). In response to the allegation the director of the CNAR held that the Congolese government could not stand by and allow forced migrants living within its territory to organise subversive activities against their countries of origin as he stated:

"Well, on the behaviour of people, you know when someone is not in his country, sometimes they are too demanding because of their circumstances. There are those who carry out certain activities we do not want here. For instance we do not want someone to do politics while in exile, and if you do it; it is against the host country, that is against us... We do not want people living here to go to international microphones and make pronouncements against their country of origin, a situation that would put us in difficulties."....

Non-refoulement is a fundamental principle of Refugee Legal Framework as stated in article 33 of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugee Status, reiterated in article 2(3) of the OAU Refugee Convention, and equally reiterated in paragraph 5 of the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees. However article 2 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees calls on refugees to conform to the laws of the host country, while article 32 stipulates that contracting states shall not expel a refugee lawfully in their country, save on grounds of national security or public order. Article 3(1) of the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention equally calls on refugees to abstain from carrying out subversive activities against any member State of the OAU (The 1984, Cartagena Declaration on refugees; The 1969 OAU Refugee Convention; The 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugee Status).

In the context of Brazzaville, the proliferation of armed conflicts in the region certainly put the Congolese government in a difficult position in dealing precisely with ex-combatants from war-torn neighbouring countries. What remains unclear is whether the alleged government double standards in dealing with asylum claims, if founded, was reinforcing national security and/or the respect of public order, or in respect of existing regional accords with hidden agendas, as claimed by many asylum seekers. As for UNHCR Brazzaville officials, it is difficult to say whether they were party to such a scheme if it did exist, or were helpless in the face of a government

ready to use all available means in dealing with factors that pose a risk of the reoccurrence of civil war.

The director of the CNAR further held that although in the Ministerial Decree that instituted the CNAR it is stated that an asylum application will be dealt with within three months, it could take up to one year for an asylum claim to be processed. He further stated that 99 asylum seekers were granted refugee status in the Republic of Congo between 2003 and 2005. Information obtained from interviews with immigrants revealed that some asylum claims could take up to five years to get through the determination process. In some cases, the preliminary screening process could take up to five interviews with the asylum seeker before the final determination session is held. Furthermore, repeated civil unrest meant that some asylum files went missing or were looted at the premises of the CNAR. As stated before, other allegations levelled against the CNAR were related to refugee identification documents being sold to any immigrant who could afford the cost, irrespective of whether they were a refugees or not (section 5.4). The repeated civil unrest and looting of government offices could cause important documents to fall into the wrong hands and get merchandised as was generally the case with looted property. It is common knowledge in Brazzaville that some business ventures were set up with earnings from goods looted during the series of fighting the city was subjected to. It may therefore be that the ramifications of the complex emergencies Brazzaville was subjected to, led to incidents in which the credibility of institutions entrusted with decision making powers was question.

The generally unsettled state of affairs in Brazzaville was reflected in an interview with an immigration officer at the Brazzaville central beach. He held that there were three ships (Acatmil, Foulakali and Nfoua) covering transport to Kinshasa on a to and from basis, as well as speed boats for passengers who prefer faster journeys. The ships could do at most two round trips a day while the speed boats could do three. He asserted that real difficulties occurred when the ship came in from Kinshasa, because there could be up to 1000 passengers on board with only about 40 possessing any form of identification documents. Many people crossing were handicaped on trailers attached to pushchairs, which enabled them to transport up to 500 Kilogrammes of goods stocked in sacks, with as many as eight youths pushing the trailers attached to

chairs. He asserted that there were many DRC citizens on the beach and given the fact that passengers got off in the open air, they would easily create confusion, outnumbering the immigration officers who were about a dozen per shift, thus easing the way for their kinsmen to evade the immigration scrutiny as stated below:

"Each ship can load up to 1000 passengers from DRC out of which only 40 will have any identification papers. As for the speed boats they can load up to 12 passengers. Officially a DRC citizen with a national Identity card can stay in the Republic of Congo for up to one week....There are many DRC citizens hanging around at the beach and would create confusion if we try to arrest the illegal passengers. So we let them go... How did they get on board in the first place? Certainly through the complicity of the ship crew, trying to make some extra money for themselves on a daily basis."

The immigration officer equally alleged that the beach was not meant for immigration control and the lack of appropriate infrastructures was apparent. Speed boards transported in most cases middle class passengers such as civil servants and business men with no identification problem. Officially DRC citizens could stay in the Republic of Congo for up to one week but with the thousands coming in every day it was difficult to say what they became at the end of the day. He further asserted that the on going conflict in the DRC was used by many passengers as an excuse for not having a national identity card. The immigration officer held that in his opinion it was up to the DRC immigration officials to ensure that passengers travelling to Republic of Congo have the required documents. When illegal immigrants are sent back to the DRC, a whole group of people there lodge complaints, the issue also becoming one of moral standards he said. He further explained that there was equally undue pressure from the executives at the head office of the shipping company who expected tips from the ship crew on duty, on a daily basis.

Information provided by the immigration officer was in line with the abuse of the system perpetrated by some DRC refugee status holders who allegedly went to their country of origin in violation of article 1(c) of the UN Refugee convention. The source of the allegation argued that it was unfair for UNHCR Brazzaville to grant refugees from distant African countries the same assistance as DRC refugees who constantly went back to Kinshasa to purchase goods for their business set ups in Brazzaville. These allegations depict the fact that sefl-view in the course of displacement can be readjusted in a bid to recreate a livelihood, while exploiting existing social-economic dynamics in the process.

Another group identified as being of interest to the study in Brazzaville was the Rwandan citizens. Information gathered during the study revealed that most of them arrived in the Republic of Congo in 1997 after being re-displaced from refugee camps situated in DRC by civil war. Shortly after their arrival, war broke out in Brazzaville leaving the 4,413 who on arrival in northern Congo and were transported to Brazzaville in a ship, destitute and stranded. Throughout the months of fighting they were based in Kintele village in the north of Brazzaville alongside Congolese refugees. At the end of the war all the camp residents were informed that they had been granted the *prima facie* status as a group displaced by civil war which gave them the right to remain in the Kintele camp, created during the civil war. In 1998 fighting broke out in Brazzaville once more and as in the past foreign fighters were recruited by the belligerents. At the end of the fighting which went on for months it was alleged that the civil nature of Kintele camp had been violated by refugee who took part in the fighting. UNHCR Brazzaville consequently suspended all humanitarian assistance to the refugees living in the camp.

Plate 5.21

Children, firewood and the overall setting of Kintele refugee camp.

Whether the Kintele camp refugees were in this instant victims or perpetrators may be difficult to say. Their dilemma illustrates the circumstances which might lead to re-displacement, as well as the exploitation of refugees for various ends in receiving countries. However, documentation obtained in the course of the research revealed that in efforts geared toward closing down the Kintele camp, UNHCR in conjunction with the Congolese government offered the camp inhabitants an integration package. The package consisted of material assistance for those who accepted to settle among the local population in villages situated in the north of the country.

In an interview with the Representative of Kintele camp we learnt that they were 800 inhabitants in the camp made up of mostly women, children and elderly people. They were quite organised and were able to run a school in the camp, made up of six class rooms, an office block and a total of 282 pupils without any official assistance. The school was run by professional teachers who thought in their countries of origin prior to being displaced. All the teachers taught for no salary and any tokens offered by other camp dwellers were welcome.

The camp Representative held that there were about 20 unaccompanied children, the chronically ill, the traumatised, the mentally ill and the handicapped living in the camp, who were in need of urgent assistance. The only source of income the camp inhabitants had was the sale of firewood and charcoal. He equally held that he did not know for sure why UNHCR walked out of the camp in 1999. As for the integration deal offered to the camp inhabitants, he held that the offer was turned down because of security concerns. He further explained that it was going to be difficult for most of the camp dwellers who could speak neither French nor Lingala to be integrated among the local population as indicated in the following quote:

"Here the only means of survival is firewood and charcoal which refugees fetch from the forest. They have been doing this since 1997. Here we try to help each other but there is often loss of life when we are unable to provide needed assistance. Here in Congo medical assistance is very costly and with the only source of livelihood I have mentioned, we can not cover the cost of medical treatment in cases of severe illness. So there are those we can save like those who have malaria but those who suffer from chronic diseases are leaving us one by one."....

In the course of further interviews I learnt that many ex-Kintele camp residents sometimes went to the villages where they worked in farms owned by the locals. The only difference in this case was that these decisions were taken at individual levels. Furthermore, it transpired in the course of informal discussions with respondents that the Congolese government's integration package was seen by influential Rwada leaders in Brazzaville as a move to disperse members of the Hutu ethnic group and thus dash their hopes of ever going back to liberate their country. However, as stated before, UNHCR Brazzaville social affairs officer held that the approval of UNHCR head office in Geneva was a prerequisite to reinstating assistance in the Kintele camp. More than a year after, in December, 2007 information obtained from my research assistant in Brazzaville pointed to the fact that the Kintele camp inhabitants were still without any assistance.

In a further interview with the representative of Kintele camp, we learnt that the camp representative was elected and his tenure of office lasted for a period of six months, he was the legal adviser and spokesperson of the entire camp residents. The committee of directors was made of: the representative; the vice representative; the secretary/treasurer; the disciplinary adviser; the social affairs adviser; and the public relation adviser. The camp was divided into 10 blocs in the past, but the number of blocs had been reduced to four, because a lot of people moved out of the camp to Brazzaville or the villages. Each bloc had a chief and the blocs were made up of at least one group. Each group had 30 houses and there were six groups in all, with each group equally having a chief. The camp inhabitants also had a committee of wise people made up of 20 camp residents. Their gender was irrelevant as they could be made up of women and men in any proportion according to election results. All the various committees formed the overall administration of the camp.

The consultation advice board was made up of the administrative committee, religious leaders of the following denominations: Catholic, Protestants, Moslem, Anglican, Methodist, and Baptist. The representative of the women association, the director of the primary school and the chief of health services were also members of the board. The board members took final decisions on issues that can not be dealt with at other levels. For issues regarding the entire camp residents, a general meeting in which all residents aged 18 and above were eligible to attend was held. In case of a patient or a

funeral, the social affairs representative will take care. In most cases small donations were made and they could raise small amounts of 20,000 francs CFA (approximately £23 pounds sterling). But when a problem requiring huge sums of about 300,000 francs (approximately £350 pound sterling) came up, they were helpless. They had lost many residents through the years due to serious illness and had limited funds available for medical assistance.

In principle, elections were held every six months. But in most cases the mandate of the incumbents were unanimously prolonged without any elections. The representative must be a holder of a high school certificate, of good morality and above 32 years of age. A director must have a diploma, and be of good morality as well. An adviser or chief of bloc should have four years of secondary school or three years and a further 10 years of cultural experience. A chief of group must be literate. The representative members of boards and committees earn no salary for the work they did. They had about five sites from which they could fetch wood and charcoal, with the most recently discovered with big trees, situated at about 10kms from the camp. Men could spend up to one week out in the forest, leaving their wives and children behind.

The decentralised organisation of the camp was indeed impressive. The resilience and will power inherent in the life styles of the Kintele inhabitants was key to their survival. Being able to cooperate in crisis times and raise funds, as well as the running of a primary school with no outside assistance depicted a high ability to take initiatives and put in place the required coping mechanisms. The Kintele camp refugees were able to readapt from receiving free humanitarian aid to relying on their own firewood and charcoal production as their only source of a livelihood. Their ability to readapt is consistent with the assumption that immigrants' livelihoods strategies can be successfully alter as dictated by circumstances. Through the years the number of refugees living in the camp had dwindled progressively as people moveed on for various reasons including new livelihoods ventures. These re-displacements were equally coping mechanisms devised in response to adversities.

Plate 5.22

The research team pose with the Kintele camp representative.

Many former Kintele camp dwellers were thus quite settled in Brazzaville despite their *prima facie* status which gave them no Identity Card and no entitlements, as confirmed by the camp representative. In an in-depth interview with a former Kintele camp refugee living in Brazzaville, he noted that all he deplored as he looked back at life in the camp was the fact that they were treated as a group and their individual asylum claims not processed. He claimed that the melting pot approach shattered his dream of acquiring higher education in that it robbed him of the refugee status that would have made him eligible to a scholarship. He lost his entire family in the 1994 Rwanda crisis and held strongly that the trauma and torture he was subjected to during the crisis was nothing short of persecution on the basis of his ethnic origin. Qualities such as resilience, strength of character, co-operation, reliability, trustworthiness, networking capacity, perseverance and discipline which emerged from information provided by the Kintele camp representative as well as former camp residents living

174

in Brazzaville, constituted adaptation and/or cooping mechanisms devised to counter re-displacement.

Plate 5.23

Firewood and charcoal which are an integral part of refugee livelihood in Kintele are retailed in Brazzaville.

Information obtained in interview with a Congolese who worked for IRC in Lekoulela and Lingaga in the North of the Republic of Congo cast some light on one other factor that might have influenced the Kintele camp residents to refute the government integration programme. He asserted that he worked in the children and community services programme which assisting immigrants from DRC and Rwanda. In a particular camp which hosted DRC citizens and Rwandans, persistent suspicion between members of the two groups caused aid workers to move one group to a different site. He further held that migrants living in the North of the Republic of

Congo faced hostilities from the locals because they were carrying out deforestation, uncontrolled fishing, as well as exerting extra pressure on the local labour market, resources and services. In a controversial pronouncement, he held that he did not think the presence of refugees could create new jobs, even though he was working for the International Rescue Committee due to the presence of refugees as asserted below:

"My job was to receive refugees and help them settle in our country. At Lekolela there was one refugee camp but because of the political tension which existed in the camp between the Rwandans and DRC immigrants we could not keep them together. We had to put the Rwandans at one end and the DRC citizens at the other end of the village....The indigenous population was hostile because refugees were engaged in deforestation, uncontrolled fishing and created unemployment and pressure on resources and services in Lekoulela and Lingaga. Generally I do not think refugees can create new jobs or contribute to the development of our country in any way because they are expected to go back to their home country."....

This view was held by a cross section of the local population as shown in the questionnaires interview result section (table 5.28). However, the fact that the IRC employee in his capacity as a humanitarian held such a negative view on the presence of the people he serves may be seen as incompatible with the charitable nature of humanitarian services. Many refugees I spoke to were of the opinion that a good number of humanitarian workers in Brazzaville had no professional calling and were simply out for the money they earned. These fingdings need to be examined in the light of the assertion that 'some refugees were better off than the indigenous population', a point advanced by the UNHCR Brazzaville community liaison officer who was a local. In this way the suitability of local humanitarian staff working with displaced non-national in a post conflict reconstruction context was considered to become questionable.

Plate 5.24

Children coming back from the water in Kintele camp.

Also of interest to the study was a group of DRC forced migrants living in small islands as well as on the bank of the river Congo. These immigrants carry out fishing in the night and sell their catch in the morning. In an interview with their President I learnt that there were about 150 people doing fishing who live in islands in the river while other live in the village and carry out fishing as well. Most of them were displaced by the on going conflict in DRC but had not lodged any asylum claims. They were other DRC immigrants in the village working in poultry farms, fish ponds and piggeries. Some DRC people in Kintele village were displaced by other socio-economic circumstances prior to the out break of civil war in their country.

Their president had been living in Kintele village for 19 years and was in charge of a river side resort owned by a Congolese. He noted that times were hard for DRC people living in Kintele village and to make provisions towards embracing the unknown, each member of 'the association of DRC citizens living in Kintele village'

had to make a 'crisis funds' contribution of 500 francs CFA (approximately 55 pence in sterling) per month to enable them deal with cases of illness and other social crises. He acknowledged that there were tentions between the indigenous population and immigrants as indicated below:

"The absence of any assistance from the international community, and UNHCR in particular is a problem because in the absence of such assistance we have to share the scarce resources with the local population. No one of my people is bothered about official documents. I am an Agronomist by profession and have been with my boss here for 19 years...."......

As it emerged from information obtained from DRC citizens in course of the study, some migrants fleeing from the civil war in DRC did not claim asylum on arrival in the Republic of Congo. This was due to many factors such as lack of awareness, transnational connections, and individual perceptions on the processing of asylum claims in the Republic of Congo. However, of significance to the study is the fact that these were people displaced by armed conflict with diverse ramifications on their livelihoods, who had identified themselves differently and opted for different survival strategies. Their individual experiences in exile had thus influenced the way they identified themselves and their subsequent livelihoods strategies.

The 'Comission d'Entraide pour les Migrants et les Refugies' (CEMIR) is UNHCR's main implementing partner in Congo-Brazzaville. In an interview with a CEMIR representative in April, 2004 I learnt that the CEMIR had 17 employees in Brazzaville, 28 in Lekoulela and 34 in Mfoundo plus forced migrants working as volunteers in Lekoulela and Mfoundo. Only holders of refugee status and vulnerable asylum seekers were granted assistance. The vulnerable state of the host population compounded the difficulties of providing assistance to the displaced as it was UNHCR official policy to assist vulnerable host population alongside forced migrants. He held that forced migrants were generally demanding and difficult to deal with and the post-conflict state of affairs in the Republic of Congo only further complicated assistance related issues.

Though the CEMIR had a social affairs department in charge of home visits in Brazzaville, I came across a group of Liberian refugees living in the open air whose

presence was not known to the CEMIR. Similarly, the CEMIR officials were not conversant with the difficulties confronted by DRC forced migrants in Kintele village. As for the helpless residents of Kintele camp, the CEMIR representative simply described them as victims of an unsuccessful integration programme. These shortcomings in the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Brazzaville raised some serious questions about the top down approach of delivering humanitarian aid.

CHAPTER SIX
RESULTS AND ANALYSES OF INFORMATION OBTAINED IN NEWCASTLE uPON TYNE, UK

6.1 Introduction

This chapter contains results and analyses from field research on 'displacement, livelihoods, and sustainable development' in Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom. The analysis of data from questionnaire interviews is organised around the four hypotheses with which the study began (see appendixes).

6.1.1 Information obtained through questionnaire interviews in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

Table 6.1

Respondents Age Groups

Age Group	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
18 – 22	4	10	2	5	6	15
23 – 30	10	24	7	17	17	41
31 – 45	11	27	5	12	16	39
46 – 55	2	5	0	0	2	5
56 - 60	0	0	0	0	0	
≥ - 61	0	0	0	0	0	
Total Respondents	27	66	14	34	41	100

Table 6.1 shows that immigrants who took part in the face to face questionnaire interviews in Newcastle were not of all age groups in contrast to the study participants in Brazzaville who were of all age groups. Those arriving in the UK are generally of a younger age range. The fact that participation was on voluntary basis also accounts for the inequality between the number of female and male respondents. Furthermore, most potential female study participants in Newcastle were generally hesitant and in some cases questioned the academic purpose of the study. This was due to the fear of providing information which may have any negative impact on their struggle toward resettlement in the UK.

Table 6.2

Respondents' Marital Status in Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Marital Status	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Married	14	34	9	22	23	56
Unmarried	13	32	4	10	17	41
Widowed	0	0	1	2	1	2
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Respondents	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

The high percentage of respondent who were married (Table 6.2) supports the fact that after displacement resettlement involves making efforts toward living a normal and/or family life where possible. This in most cases is irrespective of whether resettlement is sought close to or far away from home. Further information obtained from respondents held that most marriages were contracted in the UK. Cases in which the entire family made the journey together were generally rare. The fact that most study participants were young may account for the high number of unmarried respondents. Furthermore, respondent's accounts held that the uncertainty over leave to remain in the country kept some of them away from any prospects of getting married.

Table 6.3

Respondents Family Situation

Family Situation	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had Children	9	22	13	32	22	54
Living with Relatives	0	0	3	7	3	7
Had Relatives in the UK	2	5	3	7	5	12
Number of Responses	**11**		**19**		**30**	

The high percentage of respondents who had children illustrates the fact that after displacement a return to normal life would entail parental responsibilities. Further accounts suggested that those who did not have the right to take employment considered looking after children as an occupation. Indeed, children were considered as an asset in terms of considerations granted to family units. The low number of respondents living with their relatives, as well as those who have relatives in the UK as shown on table 6.3, depict the fact that resettlement was sought far away from home. However, not having a relative in the UK could imply the absence of support

from anyone in the receiving country/area. The lack of access to information on resettlement options, accommodation and employment prospects from relatives which facilitate life in receiving countries/areas as advocated in the 'human capital theory of migration and the networks theory' possibly left a cross section of respondents in Newcastle with the only option to seek asylum. Categories in the above table are not discrete.

Table 6.4

Respondents Status in Host Country

Status in Host Country	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Refugees	5	12	4	10	9	22
Asylum Seekers	21	51	10	24	31	76
Economic Migrants	1	3	0		1	2
Total Respondents	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

Contrary to Brazzaville where 71 (55 per cent) out of 128 respondents claimed to be economic migrants the above table shows that only one (3 per cent) out of 41 respondents in Newcastle claimed to be an economic migrant. Table 6.4 equally depicts the fact that 51 per cent of respondents in Newcastle were asylum seekers compared to 22 per cent of respondents in Brazzaville. We therefore see people displaced by identical or similar crises who seek resettlement in different continents identifying themselves differently. The groups these displaced ascribe to in two distinct locations reflects the available livelihoods and resettlement options. In the UK immigrants rights to any livelihoods ventures is strictly linked to their immigration statuses, while in Brazzaville there is no strong link between leave to remain and the right to reconstruct a livelihood. This analysis supports the fact that the way migrants identify themselves in displacement is influenced by individual experiences in displacement. It further depicts the contrast in livelihoods and resettlement options for African people displaced by identical or similar circumstances but who variously seek to resettle in countries located in the Southern or Northern Hemispheres.

Table 6.5

Causes of Displacement

Causes of Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Political Persecution	16	39	10	24	26	63
Poor Business	1	2	0	0	1	2
War	9	22	6	15	15	37
Better Opportunities	2	5	1	2	3	7
Poverty	5	12	2	5	7	17
Unemployment	3	7	1	2	4	10
Other	0	0	1	2	1	2
Number of Responses	**36**		**21**		**57**	

Political persecution is the most ascribed to cause of displacement among respondents in Newcastle as indicated in Table 6.5. This is contrary to Brazzaville where war was the commonest cause of displacement. However, war, political persecution and poverty are the three reasons for which most respondents in Brazzaville, as well as Newcastle left their home countries. This fact in itself depicts the ethical difficulty in separating the causes of displacement, and thus illustrates the interconnected nature of the causes of displacement, as well as the banality of bureaucratic labelling of the displaced. A person may flee from their home country because war has created unemployment and/or because poor governance/nepotism has created a bleak prospect of a successful future, which makes the categories in table 6.5 not to be discrete. Fleeing could equally be as a result of political persecution and/or social exclusion for a variety of reasons. Individuals fleeing from any of these circumstances would have been forced to leave their home countries in entirely different contexts, and in each instance labelled relatively to the most convenient category.

Table 6.6

Respondents' Displacement Circumstances

Displacement Circumstances	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Loss of Belongings	12	29	6	15	18	44
Loss of Family Member	6	15	4	10	10	24
Separated from Family	9	22	3	7	12	29
Was Imprisoned	19	46	10	24	29	71
Was Tortured	15	36	10	24	25	61
Was Abused	3	7	7	17	10	24
Number of Responses	**64**		**40**		**104**	

Table 6.6 depicts the circumstances people often face as a result of displacement as shown in the above categories which are not discrete. The data equally shows that cross sections of respondents were subjected to traumatic experiences. These circumstances endured prior to and/or in the course of displacement could have indelible psychological scars on the victims. However, whilst such sad experiences could bear negative impacts on the victim, in the best of scenarios they could also be transformed into a driving force for coping. Contrary to Brazzaville were four per cent of respondents asserted that they were imprisoned, up to 71 per cent of respondents in Newcastle claimed that they were imprisoned. Similarly, 17 per cent of respondents in Brazzaville held that they were tortured, while 61 per cent in Newcastle asserted that they were victims of torture. These percentages are consistent with the way the study participants in the two locations identified themselves – asylum seekers/refugees for Newcastle and more frequently economic migrants in Brazzaville – as driven by the need to reconstruct post-displacement livelihoods and sustainably resettle.

Table 6.7

Respondents' Displacement Tracts

Displacement Tracks	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Lived in Refugee Camp	11	27	5	12	16	39
Acceptable Living Conditions	2	5	4	10	6	15
Acceptable Nutrition	2	5	5	12	7	17
Acceptable Security	2	5	3	7	5	12
Number of Responses	**17**		**17**		**34**	

It may be worth mentioning that respondents' accounts hold that whilst some transited through refugee camps on the way to the UK, others were taken to detention centres on arrival, where their asylum claims were fast tracked. Both cases simply point to the precarious conditions displaced people may be subjected to at various stages of their displacement. Categories in the above tables are not discrete.

Table 6.8

Respondents' Displacement Itinerary

Displacement Itinerary	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Travelled direct from Home to the UK	8	20	11	27	19	46
Through Another Country	10	24	1	2	11	27
Through Many countries	9	22	2	5	11	27
Number of Responses	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

Table 6.8 shows that the journey to United Kingdom was straight forward to some respondents while others had to transit through one or more countries before arriving. Displacement entails a state of uncertainty and whilst as stated above, circumstances endured along the displacement track may lead to new skills and capabilities, they may just be precarious or deadly in extreme cases (Table 6.8). The only person who can appraise circumstances endured prior to and/or in the course of displacement is the displaced person, who in most instances has little or no influence over decisions taken on their rights and entitlements.

Table 6.9

Respondents' Circumstances of Displacement

Circumstances of Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Separated from Family Members	15	36	9	22	24	59
Disturbed by the Separation	3	7	7	17	10	24
Angry about the Separation	6	15	7	17	13	32
Bitter about the Separation	11	27	9	22	20	49
Other	0	0	2	5	2	5
Number of Responses	**35**		**34**		**69**	

Categories depicted in the above table are not discrete.The various ways in which respondents reacted as a result of the odds they faced in the course of displacement depict the fact that traumatic circumstances endured in the course of displacement could have long lasting impacts on those surviving. However, the difficulty of proving the existence of these emotionally related disturbances leaves some survivors with the only option of seeking to resettle as normal citizens in the receiving areas/countries.

Table 6.10

Respondent's Means of Journeying to the UK

Means of Journey	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Through Personal Efforts	8	20	2	5	10	25
Assisted by Relative	19	46	9	22	28	68
Other	0	0	3	7	3	7
Total Respondents	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

Contrary to the study carried out in Brazzaville in which 62 per cent of respondents claimed to have made it to the Republic of Congo through their personal efforts, only 25 per cent of respondents in Newcastle travelled through their own personal efforts alone. The high percentage of respondents in Newcastle who claimed to have been assisted by a relative (68 per cent), as against the low percentage (21 per cent) in Brazzaville points to the cost of travelling from Africa to the UK. While moving to a regional country may be relatively easy, getting to a distant land in some cases may entail efforts from the entire family unit. This fact is consistent with accounts from respondents who held that the urgent need for them to resettle on arrival in the receiving area/country was driven by a combination of individual and family related burdens. These accounts reflect facts advanced in the 'new economic of labour migration theory' (See the theoretical approaches presented earlier in the thesis).

Table 6.11

Means of travel to the UK

Means used to Travel to the UK	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Flight	24	59	13	32	37	90
Truck	1	2	1	2	2	5
Car	1	2	0	0	1	2
Other	1	2	0	0	1	2
Total Respondents	**27**	**65**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

Table 6.11 shows that most respondents in Newcastle travel to the United Kingdom by air. Respondents who made it to the UK through trucks, cars and other means represent people who had to travel through a very hard way from their home countries to the UK. This is equally consistent with the fact that people are displaced by a variety of crises which in turn land them in different circumstances as they strive to resettle, influencing their self identification during subsequent experiences in exile.

Table 6.12

Duration of the Journey to the UK

Duration of Journey to the UK	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Journey took Days	18	44	13	32	31	76
Journey took Months	4	10	1	2	5	12
Journey took Years	5	12	0	0	5	12
Total Respondents	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

Given that most of the study participants in Newcastle made it to the UK by air, they made the journey in days. The fact that some respondents took months or years to make the trip shows that re-displacement from first country/area where resettlement is sought occurs due to a variety of factors, the most common being physical and/or livelihood insecurity concerns. Respondents' accounts in the in-depth interviews support the fact that cross sections of the study participants were re-displaced many times in other countries prior to getting to the UK (See section 6.2).

Table 6.13

Respondents' Links with Country of Origin

Links with Country of Origin	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
In Contact with Country of Origin	21	51	11	27	32	78
Identification of Improvement in Cause(s) of Displacement	2	5	1	2	3	7
Would Return Home if Situation is Normal	7	17	10	24	17	41
Number of Responses	**30**		**22**		**52**	

The above table shows that a good percentage of respondents were in contact with their home countries, even though very few were of the opinion that the situation which caused them to emigrate had improved. These findings show that resettling abroad does not forcefully imply that links with home country have been severed. This line of thought is supported by the fact that 41 per cent of respondents in Table 6.13 are of the view that they would go back home if the situation which caused their displacement improves. Categories in Table 6.13 are not discrete.

Table 6.14

Circumstances of Integration in Host Country

Circumstances of Integration	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Could speak the Official Language	22	54	11	27	33	80
Had been a Victim of Discrimination	16	39	10	24	26	63
Had Cordial Relations with Neighbours	3	7	4	10	7	17
Things were Generally working Well	6	15	5	12	11	27
Number of Responses	**47**		**30**		**77**	

The fact that free language courses are available to speakers of other languages through the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programme in Newcastle possibly accounts for the high number of respondents who held that they could speak the official language despite their French background. The high percentage of respondents in table 6.14 who asserted that they have been victims of discrimination reflects the growing public resentment toward certain categories of immigrants in the UK. The low percentage of respondents who held that things were working well for them equally reflects the difficulty of resettling in the UK. These difficulties which are in general linked to issues pertaining to leave to remain, as well as post-livelihoods reconstruction, influenced the way self view is appraised in a drive to counter predicaments. The categories shown in Table 6.14 are not discrete.

Table 6.15

Access to Education and Employment

Access to Education and Employment	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had the Right to Study	23	56	14	34	37	90
Were Actually Studying	21	51	12	29	33	80
Had the Right to take Employment	6	15	5	12	11	27
Were Actually in Paid Employment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Responses	**50**		**31**		**81**	

Categories in the above table are not discrete. As indicated in Table 6.14, the high number of respondents who were actually studying, as confirmed in Table 6.15, reflects the UK government policy of facilitating refugees' acquisition of language

skills through the ESOL classes. However, while asylum seekers have the right to take language/basic skills classes in colleges or community centres, only those with leave to remain can enrol in the Universities. None of the respondents in Newcastle were in paid employment despite the fact 11 had the right to take employment. In-depth and informal interviews with respondents revealed that language barriers, as well as unfamiliarity with the UK working patterns were among the main obstacles to securing employment. A cross section of these respondents equally held that they were not aware of any institutional support geared toward enabling them to set up individual livelihoods recreation initiatives which were not linked to leave to remain.

Table 6.16

Individual Circumstances Prior to Displacement

Individual Circumstances	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Had an Occupation Prior to Displacement	23	56	13	32	36	88
Can Locate Home Country Food in the UK	24	58	11	23	35	85
Can Afford Enough Food	18	44	10	24	28	68
Number of Responses	**65**		**34**		**99**	

The high number of respondents who had an occupation prior to displacement supports the claim that they were likely to have been forced to leave their home country. The availability of home food stuff to people of African decent in Newcastle is due to the transatlantic supplies of consumer goods in the ever growing global economic drives. Having enough to eat could be because most respondents were refugees or asylum seekers who generally receive official financial support for subsistence. This was not the case in Brazzaville, where most respondents had to fend for themselves. Table 6.16 depicts categories which are not discrete.

Table 6.17

Respondents Level of Education Prior to Displacement

Level of Education Prior to Displacement	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Acquired Higher Education	16	39	7	17	23	56
Acquired High School Education	7	17	5	12	12	29
Acquired Secondary School Education	2	5	2	5	4	10
Acquired Primary School Education	2	5	0	0	2	5
Total Respondents	**27**	**66**	**14**	**34**	**41**	**100**

The above table shows that most respondents acquired a good level of education prior to being displaced. This is consistent with the fact that in the event of a displacement crisis, the most dynamic members of family units are encouraged and ushered to move to relatively safer countries where they might stand a change of using their skills and capabilities for better ends. Having to represent the hope of an entire family can in itself influence self view in displacement. This fact depicts the need of helping displaced people to use their pre-displacement skills rather than having to train for new qualifications and so allow them to deal with more urgent responsibilities that await them.

Table 6.18

Respondents' Access to Services

Access to Services	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Access to Social Services	13	32	12	29	25	61
Access to Health Services	20	49	14	34	34	83
Access to Legal Services	12	29	13	32	25	61
Number of Responses	**45**		**39**		**84**	

A high percentage of respondents in Table 6.18 which shows categories which are not discrete had access to social, health and legal services. As highlighted in Table 6.16, most respondents in Newcastle were either asylum seeker/refugees, to whom the UK asylum and immigration policies granted access to those services free of charge. This was not the case in Brazzaville and the difference in the nature of post-displacement institutional support available in the two locations where the study was carried out, is in itself a contributing factor to re-displacement. As stated in section 5.1.4, some

respondents in Brazzaville advocated moving to developed countries despite being granted leave to remain and the entitlements it conferred.

Table 6.19

Respondents Contacts in Host Country

Respondents Contacts	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Contact with Home People in the UK	27	66	14	34	41	100
Contact made through Friends	19	46	13	32	32	78
Contact made through an Association	11	27	7	17	18	44
Contact made through the Church	1	2	2	5	3	7
Number of Responses	**58**		**36**		**94**	

Table 6.19 illustrates the importance of social networks to displaced people. It is vital for the displaced to be aware of the options available to give the circumstances embraced in area/country where resettlement is sought the right assessment. In other words, self view in displacement and the subsequently conceived livelihood reconstruction strategy entails making informed decisions. Social networks are an important source of information in this regard. Information provided in Table 6.19 calls for the need of getting immigrants ethnic associations involved in the running of programmes designed to assist displaced people. Categories in table 6.19 are not discrete.

Table 6.20

Respondents Personal Circumstances

Personal Circumstances	Male	%	Female	%	All	%
Can solve Daily Problems	2	5	1	2	3	7
Suffering from Stress	16	39	9	22	25	61
Suffering from Depression	11	27	6	15	17	41
Generally Worried	15	37	13	32	28	68
Take Alcoholic Drinks	10	24	4	10	14	34
Smoke Cigarettes	7	17	6	15	13	32
Receiving Treatment	12	29	10	24	22	51
Total Number of Responses	**73**		**49**		**122**	

The above table shows that very few respondents in Newcastle held that they could solve their daily problems despite the subsistence assistance available to them through official support schemes. The high number who held that they were suffering from mental health problems, as well as those who were receiving treatment depicts a poor overall picture of their experiences in exile. Such mental health problems could be linked to disillusion resulting from false expectations conceived on resettlement prior to their arrival in the UK and the reality embraced on the spot. Table 6.20 depicts categories which are not discrete.

6.2 Data obtained from In-Depth Interview with Displaced People in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

Alice was displaced by the 1994 Rwanda crisis. She had taken her son the hospital on the day fighting irrupted in Kigali where she was employed as an accountant. She was pregnant at the time and had a young child on her back. Her state of helplessness caused a family fleeing toward Zaire (now DRC) to give her a lift. After a year in a refugee camp, she learnt from the missing person inquiry conducted by the Red Cross that her husband and other members of her family were killed in the fighting. She later on had a baby girl while still in the refugee camp. After about six months, she learnt from the Red Cross that her sister who was a member of parliament fled to Belgium.

Living conditions in the camp were not conducive with over crowdedness, famine and mortality from cholera, malaria and dysentery. After three years in the camp civil war broke out in DRC and she fled to Zambia where she was based in some other refugee camp. She kept in touch with her sister who assisted her with the cost of obtaining a Zambia passport, as well as a flight ticket for the journey to the UK as a Zambian citizen. She arrived in the UK in 2001 and lodged an asylum claim which had a positive decision after four months. After taking language lessons for two years she enrolled in the University. She asserted that:

"It was terrible on the day we fled from Kigali. People were being killed everywhere and I thought we shall die at any moment. I was carrying my son who was unwell on my back from the hospital and was helpless. Some good couple took pity and took me in to their car and we went to Goma in Zaire (DRC).....After three years we fled from the refugee camp because soldiers were advancing on their way to Kinshasa. It was a difficult journey to Lubumbashi in train, from were we crossed to Zambia..."

In the course of the study others victims of the 1994 Rwanda crisis who fled to DRC were identified and those who made it to the Republic of Congo in groups were granted the *prima facie* refugee status as defined in the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention. Alice who went first to Zambia and then to the UK was granted 'refugee status' as defined in the 1951 UN Refugees Convention. Though displaced by the same crisis the region and country in which protection was sought in this case influenced the identities conferred to the displaced people. Furthermore, other social intervening dynamics such as the displacement track, available support networks and

individual appraisal of personal circumstances were important in determining whether resettlement was on a temporal or permanent basis. From DRC Alice went to Zambia where she spent three years in a refugee camp and finally headed for the UK. She might have built up her outstanding resilience due to the support provided by her sister and/or her personal desire to seek for asylum in a country with better resettlement prospects.

Similarly among the victims of the Rwanda crisis who made it to the Republic of Congo, we could identify people with great fighting spirits, such as Jean who left the Kintele refugee camp at the end of the fighting to embrace the unknown in Brazzaville. As stated in section 5.1.4, Jean went from selling water to owning a photocopy shop and getting married, while lots of his peers were still living in Kintele camp without any steady source of income. Jean further held that skills they acquired in the refugee camp in DRC earned them friendship among the local population during fighting in Congo.

While Alice was able to benefit from the right and entitlements a 'refugee status' confers in the UK in bringing up her kids and studying, we see Jean who turns his back to the *prima facie* refugee status as it offered him nothing in terms of entitlements and rights. He nonetheless moved on to resettle rather well (section 5.1.4). These victims of the same crisis wanted to be identified as having refugee status. However, Jean's group was pushed to reject the *prima facie* refugee status offered to them as a group fleeing from armed conflict on arrival in Brazzaville, while Alice was entirely happy with the status she obtained in the UK. Alice and Jean ended up belonging to different groups of displaced people due to institutional dictates in the two locations where each of the two sought resettlement. Jean who was not granted the aspired to refugee status was able to recreate a livelihood through personal efforts and not through facilitation by a newly acquired status as Alice did. Disillusionment resulting from failure to acquire the aspired status is in itself a cause of re-displacement. However, there is no empirical evidence to suggest that Alice was more of a refugee than Jean and it goes to show how arbitrary the entire asylum regime can be in the determination of asylum claims.

Edward from Cameroon asserted that having a mother who is English speaking and a French speaking father in Cameroon embroiled him in an identity crisis right from birth. As a university student, he disapproved of the way English speaking Cameroonian were treated and joined a liberation movement call the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC). He went on to lobby on behalf of the movement to representatives of the international community in Yaoundé. He was eventually arrested and detained for two months before being released through the intervention of his father. As advised by the state prosecutor who got him out of jail, he left the country through the assistant of an agent who took him to the UK in 2002. He holds that he sought refuge in the UK because he wanted be further away from Cameroon government agents active in France. It took one year for his asylum claim which had a negative outcome to be processed. The first two appeals were turned down and on the third appeal he was granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK in 2005. Within this period he had a lot of financial pressure coming from home. At one point he was about to look for illegal employment when he became ill and was placed on 'tricyclic antidepressants' which weakened him physically and caused him to be overweight as he noted:

"When I got to this country I was happy and my expectations were high. I am still grateful on safety issues but apart from that it is all sad memories. Not being able to help my family back home for years was a very unfortunate thing.....My asylum claim was rejected after one year and I had the first appeal refused as well. It was only on the third appeal that I was granted indefinite leave to remain......Looking back today, time wasted and my health are the most regrettable issues but I am sure time will help me to overcome all that..."

While waiting for his asylum claim to be processed Edward took English lessons and a course in 'information technology'. Today he says his only regret is to have lodged an asylum claim because he could have stayed low underground and would have been of more help to his family. He is actually employed, but is still of the opinion that so much of his valuable time was wasted in vain.

Edward's tale reveals how receiving countries asylum and immigration policies can impact negatively on post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction and the overall resettlement of displaced people. After going through three appeals in three years and having to rely on antidepressants he was finally granted indefinite leave to remain.

His bold move in admitting that he was about to take illegal employment when the antidepressants weakened him physically is a testimony to his level of disappointment. The fact that by the time we did the interview he had been granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK lends credence to this line of thought.

Edward's tale illustrates the importance of early post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction to the forced migrant. The fact that most displaced people may have shouldered huge responsibilities within their family units prior to displacement is often undermined by receiving countries policy makers. A displaced person upon whom the family unit relied prior to displacement would on arrival in the area where resettlement is sought, prioritise getting engaged in income generating activities over other concerns because of the need of sustaining the wellbeing of family members. This would in no way lend the dominance of an economic motif to the cause of their displacement. The broad sense of the 'family' in other cultural contexts has to be taken on board here, in contrast to the traditional nuclear family of the Western society. While Edward found himself in the UK, a developed country considered to be a land of better opportunities policy related dynamics put him worse off in his efforts to resettle than the likes of Jean in Brazzaville, whose resilience was boosted by the right to recreate a livelihood. These cases point to the fact that there is no ideal country of resettlement and consequently migrants' appraisals of individual circumstances in displacement determine how best to deal with experiences embraced in each location where resettlement is sought.

Alain hails from Pointe Noire in the south of the Republic of Congo. Their family house was occupied by an unknown man said to be of the presidential entourage after the 1997 conflict. When he returned to Brazzaville where he worked for 11 years prior to the out break armed conflict, it took him six months to get their right to the property reinstated. However, after he reclaimed the property he was arrested and taken to the waiting trail. In the course of the ensuing interrogations he was subjected to, it emerged that he had been accused of being a member of the ex-president's militia. As things unfolded, he learnt from a close relation in the armed forces that his arrest was an act of retaliation connected to the dispute over his right to their family house. He was eventually released through the intervention of his kinsman and he fled to DRC, from where he went to Zambian, Namibia before fleeing to Paris.

The presence of what he termed as 'agents' working for the government of his home country caused him to flee further to the UK where he claimed asylum in 2001 as he stated:

"My country has been politically unstable for more than 10 years. It is certain that if I am sent back home I will be imprisoned together with my family. I am not sure of what to do now that I am being refused here. If I were alone it would have been easier but the prospect of being stranded with a wife and three kids frightens me…I ought to have look for means of earning some money because I will leave with empty pockets when I am eventually removed from this country…"

Alain's story shows once again that the concept of persecution is qualitative and the motives often elusive. How credible and asylum seeker's story is depends mostly on whether the determination officer is conversant with the chain of events disclosed in the claim. Where the claim is appraised in light of western principles and values the likelihood of an unfair determination becomes very high. This is a possible explanation to why the like of Edward from Cameroon had to go through many appeals hearings while living on NASS support for years before being granted indefinite leave to remain. At the end of the day we see Alain regretting his not looking for means of making some money when it becomes unlikely that he will be conferred the identity he aspired to – being granted the refugee status. His reaction depicts the fact that self-view in displacement influences the chosen livelihood recreation strategies which in some cases are enhanced by an acquired status.

Another victim of the UK complex asylum system is Chantal who hails from DRC. She is a Journalist who was forced to flee from her home country because she wrote a newspaper article on the power struggle behind the DRC civil war. A mother of two, Chantal was forced to leave her children behind and go into hiding in a neighbouring country from where she escaped further to UK. Her asylum claim was turned down and she has been to court twice to no avail as she noted:

"During the appeal hearing the Adjudicator asked me to describe the process a newspaper is subjected to before being published. I gave detailed explanations from news gathering to the selection of the lead stories and other editorial principles. To my greatest surprise in his determination he suggested that I might have gathered such knowledge from the internet…I do not know how my family is surviving in my country where living conditions have been worsened by the ongoing fighting….."

Furthermore, Chantal deplored the fact that her NASS support was discontinued at one point for over a month rendering her homeless and with no financial assistance. Her claims of being a Journalist was put to question and information provided in the asylum claim said to be from the internet which she finds to be insulting. She asserted that she very much regrets the fact that she will not be able to take part in the democratic process going on in DRC presently. Equally of concern to her was her not being able to support her children and the rest of the family members who relied upon her assistance prior to her displacement. The entire uncertainty surrounding her future led to poor concentration levels which affects her performances in the ESOL classes. The predicament she embraced caused her to wonder whether claiming asylum was the right thing to do.

In 2005 there were 68,577 people of interest to UNHCR living in Congo Brazzaville out of which 58,828 were from the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNHCR, 2006). In the study carried out in Brazzaville I interviewed 47 DRC citizens out of which only 6 had refugee status. As stated before, further in-depth interviews revealed that the majority of those fleeing from armed conflict in DRC did not claim asylum because of personal reasons (Section 5.1.4). However, the vast majority of these potential asylum seekers were able to embark on diverse livelihoods activities. A cross section of them was able to earn a living through fishing, small scale business set ups and diverse forms of employment, most often as handy men or in the construction industry.

Out of 47 DRC citizens interviewed in Brazzaville 26 said they had a source of income. Those who had no steady source of income said they survived through struggling on a daily bases. In cases of extreme difficulties, there was the option of retreating to the villages and taking employment as a manual labourer in farms own by the locals to raise some funds, in order to re-energise and come back to Brazzaville later on and start up some business activities. Joint ownership of shops, butcheries, bakeries and hawking outlets were a result of such ventures.

Chanter's case illustrates circumstances endured by forced migrants whose displacement circumstances take them to distant countries where some get trapped in a state of total disillusionment. Other sad accounts given by DRC forced migrants

who spoke to me but refused being formally interviewed, relate the traumatic events they were subjected to when after claiming asylum, they were taken to the fast track detention centres in Oxfordshire/Bedfordshire. They related how the joy of arriving in Europe where it is believed that Human Rights were highly respected suddenly turned in to despair as they waited for their fate in paralysing fear, while in detention. They asserted that they were not given time to recover from their sad experiences in a fast track asylum claims processing system which imposed the writing of a witness statement and a subsequent asylum claimer's interview within 48 hours. One informant held that when he later on recovered from his traumatised state and rectified gaps which appeared in his initial witness statement, the changes were appraised as inconsistency in his asylum claim refusal latter.

The ethical appropriateness of getting individuals fleeing from persecution to lodge asylum claims and go on to be interviewed under conditions short of duress, in detention centres settings is a serious cause for concern. These informants held that they were subsequently released and offered accommodation and support under the NASS scheme. However, those who could not secure a second appeal after their asylum claims were unsuccessful held that the collapse of the claims was precipitated by the conditions under which they were forced to seek asylum.

Ironically, most DRC forced migrants in Brazzaville who advocated resettlement in developed countries held that they wanted to settle in countries with greater livelihoods recreation opportunities, as well as the respect of Human Rights.

Ben was a married man and a father of two when the 1994 Rwanda crisis occurred. He was working as an agriculture engineer and was out of the country to attend a conference when the genocide occurred. At the end of the conference he went to DRC where he got reunited with his wife and children after nine months. In 1996 they were re-displaced when civil war broke out in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He fled to Kenya where he settled with his family in a village, working with farmers for years. A cousin of his who was living in Europe eventually organised for him to travel to the UK. He lodged an asylum claim which was processed within eight months and he had a positive decision. His acquired status enabled him to get in to voluntary employment to improve his curriculum vitae. He asserted that he looks forward to getting his family over to the UK, but is yet to get over the difficulties he went through while

waiting for his claim to be processed, with no means of supporting his family in Kenya as he started:

"All I can say is that I was fortunate to be out of the country when the genocide occurred if not I would have been killed. From Switzerland where I was on mission I went back to DRC in a bid to find out what happened to my family. It took me nine months to be reunited with my wife and children thanks to the Red Cross..... This is the only country where I seem to be lucky since fleeing from my country more than 10 years ago. I hope I will be able to see my family soon…"

Ben is a forced migrant who was re-displaced from the first country resettlement by armed conflict and further re-displaced in his second country of asylum by the absence of what he called 'the right job' – livelihood insecurity. Ben's experiences depict the fact that the absence conducives post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction venues constitute a warning sign of the potential re-displacement of the forced migrant. It further shows that the pre-displacement status of a forced migrant is likely to influence what is perceived as acceptable livelihoods reconstruction conditions. In both instances, an examination of circumstances embraced in the course of displacement, constitute the main factors which influenced the displaced person's decisions in terms of livelihood reconstruction, as well as resettlement options.

This line of thought is equally reflected in the difference in opinions expressed by some forced migrants in Brazzaville on ideal options of resettlement. While some DRC migrants advocated reinstallation in developed countries others held that they did not find it necessary to lodge asylum claims and could survive in Brazzaville without any humanitarian assistance. Similarly, some Liberian refugees asserted that they deserved humanitarian assistance by virtue of being 'real refugees' while most Rwandans simply worked toward resettling in Brazzaville through personal efforts. The difference in opinions expressed was on what these migrants individually conceived as appropriate conditions for post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction.

In an interview with the representative of the CEMIR in Brazzaville, he expressed a similar view in asserting that micro finance projects were successful in the rural areas but a complete failure in the urban areas because urban refugees were extravagant and too demanding. This rather generalised point of view was in this case consistent with the 'melting pot' approach of delivering services to displaced people in which the

displaced are often grouped in to a single unit with little or no considerations given to individual skills and capabilities.

Further investigation in to the running of the micro credit scheme by UNHCR Brazzaville revealed that only people granted refugee status according to criteria enshrined in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to Refugee Status had the right to a loan of 250,000 francs CFA (approximately £270 pounds sterling). *Prima facie* refugees and asylum seekers were not eligible to the credit scheme. In the course of informal group discussions with refugees who had benefited from the credit scheme, most participants held that the loan amount was too small to set up any viable business in Brazzaville. Furthermore, the intervention of CEMIR officers in the management of the loan was said to have been counter productive. One respondent asserted that he had wanted to set up a charcoal retailing business and the CEMIR officials forced him to purchase the charcoal bags in Brazzaville, of which he had intended to purchase them in Kintele village, were the bags were sold at a cheaper price.

According to the CNAR director in Brazzaville, between 2003 and 2005 only 99 asylum seekers were granted refugee status. If 99 people were eligible for the micro credit scheme loans within this period out of 120,406 people who were of interest to UNHCR in Brazzaville in 2003, then the low percentage of the scheme beneficiaries speaks for itself.

6.3 Data obtained from In-Depth Interviews with the Members of the Civil Society in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

The West End Refugee Service (WERS) provides a range of supportive services to refugees and asylum seekers. The project coordinator commented that the government's more and more restrictive asylum policies were an issue of concern:

"I think the main problem is the government and government policies because over the last six or seven years that I have been working with asylum seekers I have seen the asylum process just getting worse and worse, just harder and harder for people to claim asylum because the legal aid has been slashed. With all these new legislations that have been brought in, I sometimes think that the quality of the decision making in the Home Office is poor. You don't think you have got confidence in the decision making process so I guess at the heart of the biggest problem is the legislation."....

This view which is consistent with information obtained through interviews with forced migrants in Newcastle depicts the impact of the UK asylum policy on post-displacement livelihoods recreation ventures. Indeed, any such venture is conditioned by being granted leave to remain in the UK, which gives the right to take employment and/or set up a business venture.

The West End Refugee Service project co-ordinator equally deplored the restriction of legal aid to immigration solicitors which in effect reduces the chances of an asylum seeker being legally represented at appeals hearings. The complex nature of the asylum claim determination process requires professional advice and guidance. This is even more imperative when dealing with asylum seekers whose first language is not English. Appeals against asylum claims refusal decisions at the initial level have to be lodged within a given period which ranges between five to 10 days. In the more and more restricted legal aid system, solicitors are paid for any work done at the appeal level only when the appeal is upheld by the court. The direct implication is that an immigration solicitor would simply not continue to represent a client whose appeal against the refusal decision has a weak chance of being upheld in court.

For asylum seekers whose first language is not English, not having a legal representative implies that they may not be able to fill in the appeal paper work and would thus face the risk of not being able to lodge the appeal within the stipulated time limit. Not being able to have a legal representative is thus a potential risk which in extreme cases could lead to a premature termination of some asylum claims.

The second employee of the West End Refugee Service I interviewed was in charge of the Befriender project in which volunteer workers visited newly arrived asylum seekers to help them familiarise with their new environments as she stated:

"A befriender would visit an individual or a family in a home in particular if you are new to an area or have just arrived and do not know anything about the area. A befriender would help them have access to services and get to know the North East. A befriender could equally help them to overcome language barriers by taking them to social events, as well as answering any question they may have. A Befriender can not help them with advice on immigration issues but could contact a solicitor. No interpreters are needed because of funding but it is amazing to see how they can overcome language difficulty an in some cases volunteers can speak other languages... We may use basic word or pictures and it help the family members or person with their language skills as well."....

She further explained that the 'befreinder project' in some cases helps in reducing xenophobia and prejudice in that the presence of befrienders might get members of the local communities to become closer to immigrants. At the same time the immigrant who is new in the country/area is reassured by the mere fact of having someone who is trying to be of help.

The first case worker for the North of England Refugee Service (NERS) deplored the inefficiency of NASS staff in dealing with support (accommodation and subsistence) to asylum seekers. The case worker further voiced a strong position on the government's policy of not allowing asylum seekers to take employment as he put it:

"If it were possible to screen asylum seekers and allow those with established identities and credible claims to work and move towards self-reliance it would be a positive move in many perspectives. We have many qualified asylum seekers such as Doctors, Nurses, Teachers, Accountants, Engineers and you name it. It is certainly possible to put in place some scheme that would enable them to adapt through some crash programmes.... Look at the NHS with the shortage of staff or the education department in need of Teachers. Even the industrial sector is in need of workers and asylum seekers can take on those jobs if given the right to work. If asylum seekers are allowed to work that would not only reduce the cost of running the asylum system but enable them to be self-sufficient why contributing to tax revenue"...

His critical view sort of buttressed Chantal assertion of being rendered homeless for over a month when her NASS support was terminated despite the fact that her solicitor had lodged an appeal against the refusal decision of her asylum claim (section 5.2).

The second NERS case worker made two main observations in connection with post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction as indicated below:

"The first problem people encounter when they arrive in this country is the language barrier if they cannot speak English... The second issue is that the UK is an island and the English have a custom of rejecting anything that is foreign to them. There is the need for people to understand the English culture in the first instance. As for integration, it is encouraged that people take the English culture on board while keeping their own culture... The Geneva Convention is a Humanitarian convention which came to light after the Second World War at the peak of the cold war and seems to be out of touch with our present times.... Every country tries to adapt existing conventions according to changing realities. The one factor that does not change is the respect of Human Rights. Countries have different ideologies and objectives in terms of immigration and they only can adopt the Geneva Convention according to those goals."

Language problems as highlighted above can be a barrier to refugee livelihoods reconstruction. But in the case of the UK, the first obstacle forced migrants confront as stated before, is not having the right to take employment or set up a business.

The second NERS case worker appraisal of the relevance of the 1951 Geneva Convention as outdated in dealing with contemporary crisis reflects the stance of many scholars (Martini, 2006; Crawley, 2005; Morris, 2005; Hyndman, 1999; Harrel-Bond, 1999). It is thus argued that, the UN 1951 Geneva Convention initially drafted to provide protection and assistance to victims of persecution in the immediate post World War era is often use as a pretext to refuse forced migrants the right to asylum.

The co-ordinator of Africa Community Advice North East (ACANE) elaborated on what the experience of becoming an asylum seeker can be when you suddenly find yourself in a strange land in the mist of strangers:

"The initiative to create African Community Advice Northeast resulted from personal experience in that when we arrived in Newcastle as asylum seekers in 2000, we encountered serious problems because of language barriers and no available assistance. Many immigrants were leaving Newcastle because of these difficulties and we thought we could do something about the problem by offering them a one stop service. In a foreign land it takes time to build confidence and the obvious person you turn to when you are in need of help is someone who can speak your language. For instance the North of England Refugee Service was mistaken for a government office and there was a need to bridge such information gaps.... I advised the two Africans who are shops owners in Fehnam. I advised them that I thought African shops would be complementary ventures..."

The ACANE co-ordinator equally raised many important issues of relevant to the

study. He elaborated on the important role Refugee Community Based Organisations (RCBOs) play in serving as platforms for asylum seekers and refugee ethnic groupings. He equally highlighted the role ACANE plays in assisting displaced people with sign posting, interpreting and advocacy where necessary. He however deplored the funding difficulties many RCBOs seem to embrace. Indeed, he asserted that the government only gets closer to organisations it can control. This allegation questioned the extent to which RCBOs are encourage by policy to get involved in projects conceived to assist the displaced towards resettlement.

He equally held that formal integration processes in which a displaced person is expected to retrain in order to meet labour market requirements in the location where resettlement is sought, in some instances undermine the fact that a cross section of uprooted people had a profession prior to being displaced.

Further investigation confirmed that the two African shops he mentioned above equally serve as information dissemination centres providing contact telephone numbers for people who can provide a range of services to members of the African community. Livelihoods ventures such as rendering mobile mechanical, electrical as well as hair dressing services may hardly be feasible to a refugee integration project co-ordinator who is of a different ethnic background.

CHAPTER SEVEN
DISCUSSION

Introduction

The study was geared toward understanding factors which influence the livelihoods strategies of displaced people of African decent in the course of displacement The study was carried out in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo and Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom. The purpose of the study was not to generalise the findings but to refine existing knowledge on displacement related issues and bring forth new theoretical developments based on this research programme.

7.1 Displacement

The reference to 'migrants/immigrants' and subsequently 'displaced people'; 'forced migrants'; 'uprooted people', 'forcibly displaced' in this study may appear ambiguous. However, it may be argued that every migrant is a displaced person with some being more displaced than others. Furthermore, the difficulty of drawing a clear demarcation on the various categories of migrants is well documented (Jacobsen, 2005; Gebre and Ohta, 2005; Scuster, 2003; Martin, 2000). From the above premises, it is worth noting that displacement does not always entail a state of departure from one place to another. The absence of a sense of belonging may lead to displacement while the victim is still static. It is therefore possible to be socially, economically, or psychologically displaced prior to moving away physically from ones usual place of habitat. This is in reality the circumstances embraced by thousands of people in many developing countries with autocratic political regimes generally notorious for economic mismanagement, social inequality, nepotism and marginalisation. Indeed, an important point highlighted in this study is the extent to which livelihood insecurity is a major cause or contributing factor to displacement.

When people are marginalised and discriminated against on the grounds of a variety of factors ranging from their ethnic origin to political leaning, the most likely options are either to flee or fight back. As illustrated in the complex emergency setting of the Congo-Brazzaville crisis, (Section 2.6) the easiest way of recruiting young people into militia groups was through exploiting their sense of frustration accruing from factors

such as low employment prospects, a generally bleak future and institutionalised nepotism. In other relatively peaceful African countries with a lesser degree of militia culture, such frustrated youths would be driven toward fleeing from their constraints. A case in point is that of the thousands of young people from Africa who risk their lives attempting to get to the Canary Islands in Spain. The perilous nature of the journey which so often ends with a high death toll each time an accident occurs at sea, has done little in dissuading people experiencing a sense of hopelessness (Bilton, 2007; Samura, 2006). Ironically enough, these immigrants fleeing from various crises and livelihoods insecurity in Africa are generally labelled by the media as economic migrants.

There are complex links, networks and anthropological settings which bind most immigrants' sending countries in Africa and the advanced receiving countries. These links are parallel to the irrefutable relations between, poverty, weak economics, political repression, armed conflicts, neo-colonialism and international trade. Such past, present and future realities of human actions interconnectedly impact on the fate of more and more people forced away from their communities of origin. They demand to be analysed in the right perspectives and taken on board by institutions and policies in the major immigrant receiving countries.

Equally important in this study is the fact that re-displacement may occur in a receiving country when the displaced person fails to resettle because of a variety of factors. The strongest reason is the inability to experience a sense of belonging and recreate a livelihood. As stated in section 5.4, this was the case with some respondents in Brazzaville who openly advocated for reinstallation in Europe. They wished to go to Europe despite already being recognised as refugees and granted leave to remain in the Republic of Congo where they received some degree of humanitarian assistance. Some individuals who identified with being refugees on arrival in the Republic of Congo subsequently thought of themselves as being more of the economic migrant category. This illustrates how re-displacement threats in receiving countries may impact differently on immigrants who in turn attempt to mitigate the effects through a variety of strategies. Meanwhile in some instances, as was the case in Brazzaville, the local population or institutions tend to exploit the vulnerable state of displaced people

experiencing social disarticulation for the purpose of cheap labour, warfare and other illicit activities.

Out of 128 (100 per cent) immigrants interviewed in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, only 12 (nine per cent) asserted that they left their countries of origin because of poor business ventures. Similarly, in Newcastle upon Tyne, only one (two per cent) out of 41 respondents (100 per cent) claimed that poor business ventures caused him to leave his home country. In the case of poverty as the cause of displacement, only three (two per cent) out of 128 respondents (100 per cent) in the case of Brazzaville, admitted that poverty caused them to emigrate from their home countries. In Newcastle seven (17 per cent) out of 41 interviewees (100 per cent) admitted that they departed from their home countries because of poverty.

However, in some cases a combination of factors in which poverty was a contributing and not the main cause of displacement might have triggered displacement. An individual who is marginalised because of his political leaning may experience livelihood insecurity as a result of not being able to secure employment or any alternative source of income. Similarly, armed conflict may create institutional and economic malfunctioning with a knock that causes displacement in relatively peaceful parts of the country.

A cross section of respondents who asserted that they emigrated in search of better opportunities fled from countries that had experienced armed conflict and/or political instability in recent years. It could therefore be argued that but for these crises imposed circumstances these people would have been settled in their communities of origin with no need or desire to better their lives. It would therefore be simplistic to classify people displaced by a combination of the above circumstances as economic migrants in receiving countries, even in situations where the crises which prompted their displacement have subsided. The fact that hostilities have subsided or the propagation of cheap democratic rhetoric by politicians does not always imply that life has returned to normal after a period of economic and/or political instability. This raises questions concerning the 'safe nation' criterion which prejudices the assessment of asylum claims of individuals deemed to have left relatively safe countries to the UK (Cwerner, 2004).

In Brazzaville 35 respondents (27 per cent) out of 128 (100 per cent) asserted that they left their countries of origin in search of better opportunities, while in Newcastle upon Tyne, only three (seven per cent) out of 41 respondents (100 per cent), admitted to leaving their home countries in the search of better opportunities. Furthermore, contrary to Brazzaville where 71 (55 per cent) out of 128 (100 per cent) claimed to be economic migrants, only one (two per cent) out 41 (100 per cent) respondents admitted that he was an economic immigrant in Newcastle. This is despite study participants in the two cities indicating similar or identical circumstances as having accounted for their displacement as a whole.

The difference in the way respondents identified themselves as asylum seekers, refugees, or economics migrants resulted from their circumstances during displacement. These circumstances included the causes of displacement, the displacement track, policy environments, as well as socio-economic factors related to post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction in the receiving country.

7.2 Disasters as the cause of Displacement

The need to revue the literature on 'disasters,' was not a prime focus of this study but could not be avoided on account of recognition of human induced displacement as a key aspect of local, regional and global disasters. The human causes of the displacement disasters analysed in this study were combinations of weak economics, autocratic governance and kleptocratic elites. This caused displacement and in turn impacts on livelihood security and environmental hazards, such as forest and fish resources. Acute human induced displacements of people together with resultant environmental disasters in some cases develop into situations of complex emergencies requiring humanitarian assistance. This is similar to the outcome of varied slow onset disasters such as famine, drought, desertification, social exclusion, economic marginalisation, irrational redistribution of natural resources, and political dominance. However, the world over, social processes generate unequal exposure to risk, thus making some people more vulnerable to disasters than others. Such inequalities are a function of power relations in society (Helmer and Hilhorst, 2006), which in the case of the displacement region described in this thesis was often of a brutal nature.

People of different socio-economic statuses and exposures to marginalisation or brutality therefore perceive, prepare for and respond to the various disaster risks differently. This implies that fleeing from a given crisis may occur in waves, with some people leaving in anticipation and others at the pick of the crisis according to the means of displacement, level of awareness, geographical location and the share interpretation of the risk factor (Kunz, 1973). This perception of risk in the link between disasters reduction and livelihoods is reasonably well implied by existing studies (Allen, 2006; Forthergill and Peek, 2004; McEntire and Mayers, 2004; Panton, 2003; Dyne, 1994) and is applicable in contexts of more natural or more human induced disasters.

The redisplacment theme is also reflected in a disasters view of displacement in that the occurrence of one form of disaster may equally aggravate the fate of victims of a previous disaster. This was the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo, when the eruption of mount Nyiragongo in January 2002 worsened the existing humanitarian crisis in the town of Goma already suffering the impact of the then on going civil war in that country. The point here is that involuntary migration often perceived as a

product of a particular crisis may be prompted by a combination of factors, often interrelated or not. It is therefore unfortunate that immigration and asylum policies in countries of refuge tend to emphasize the more obvious purposes people seem to have for emigration to the detriment of allowing a context for diversified and complex causes of displacement.

7.3 Displacement, Livelihoods and Sustainable Development

There are multiple strands to post displacement livelihood reconstruction that can include those influenced by humanitarian policies and the application of humanitarian aid in crisis afflicted zones, other structural and institutional constructs, and individual endeavours.

Displacement entails the loss of physical assets such as a place of habitation, forest, grazing land, livestock products, and other goods and services. Social networks involving national and trans-national connections may equally be affected. The break down in law and order may reduce access to goods, services, and affect income generating activities. The displaced person's ability to recreate a livelihood in most cases is impeded by the loss of natural, social, physical, and cultural capitals. Post displacement livelihood reconstruction in receiving countries may take place in a camp setting (Stone, 2005; Hill, 2004; Christensen, 1984, 1983, 1982) or in a situation where displaced people live alongside the locals (Jacobson, 2005; Golloba and Tollman, 2004; Guarnien, 2004; Macchiavello, 2004; Wiggans, 2004). Each setting is influenced by different dynamics, though as suggested by this study, these are often not mutually exclusive.

In Kintele village in the outskirt of Brazzaville for instance, the locals were resentful toward immigrants living among them, as well as those living in the camp. As stated in section 5.5, the hostility of the locals toward immigrants was prompted by contentious issues resulting from the management of scarce resources. Human empowering qualities such as cooperation, discipline, resilience, flexible coping mechanisms, and adaptation mechanisms were the vital survival strategies employed by immigrants living in both settings in Brazzaville. Although from the perspectives of the locals, some livelihoods activities carried out by immigrants were seen as negative coping mechanisms, there was no distinction between the two immigrant groupings.

Kintele camp was furthermore, used as a 'livelihoods spring board' where immigrants could retreat to and get life reorganised when confronted by upheavals they could not surmount elsewhere. Immigrants whose business ventures collapsed or whose goods were looted in Brazzaville would move from the city back to the camp. While in the camp, they would once again get engaged in firewood orcharcoal business, fishing,

farm work, set up of cigarette kiosks, drinks parlours and other commodity shops to keep life going. In some cases joined up business ventures were set up as a strategy of dealing with a high level of competition in the particular business line.

The author spoke to former Kintele camp residents who had moved through the years from the sales of firewood and charcoal to owning joined grocery shops and vehicles in the transport sector. Urban to rural migration during particular busy agricultural seasons was another adaptation strategy employed by immigrants living in both settings.

Out of128 (100 per cent) immigrants interviewed in Brazzaville, 93 (73 per cent) said they had the right to employment but only six (five per cent) were in paid employment, even though 60 (47 per cent) of them had acquired higher education prior to displacement. In fact 99 respondents (77 per cent) held that they had an occupation prior to being physically displaced. Ironically, 59 interviewees (46 per cent) said things were generally working well for them in Brazzaville. The importance of the availability of diverse livelihood options to refugees is further revealed in the in-depth interviews carried in Brazzaville with immigrants (section 5.4).

The Congolese government policy toward immigrants provided a favourable context of livelihoods recreation in diverse settings. The post-conflict reconstruction state of Brazzaville led to a huge increase in business activities, and thus provided an informal sector suitable for displaced people to seek daily or weekly employment. They could thus be employed as handy men, store assistants, cleaners, kitchen staff, security guards, hair dressers, or set up small business ventures. Individual immigration status was no barrier to any of these initiatives. These findings depict the fact that the socio-economic factors, as well as the policy environment in Brazzaville offered venues for diversified post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction activities.

The dynamics governing post-displacement livelihoods recreation in Newcastle were totally different in that they were strictly influenced by individual immigration status, an observation made by some authors (Bloch, 2000; Morris, 2000; Zetter & Pear, 2000). Furthermore, the livelihood recreation context provided by the informal sector in Brazzaville does not exist in Newcastle. Only 11 (12 per cent) respondents out of 41 (100 per cent) in Newcastle had the right to take employment or set up a business. However, none of those who had the right to take employment was in any paid

employment. Immigrants who were engaged in vocational professions – mechanic, electronic, hair dressing, business ventures, construction industries – as well as those who discharged white collar duties prior to being displaced could not officially take on any income generating activities before being granted the right to stay. Other barriers such as linguistic obstacles and the unfamiliarity with the way of life in the receiving area equally needed to be overcome.

However, commodities shops owned by immigrants of African decent in Newcastle provided a cross section of food items from Sub Sahara Africa. Some of these shops equally provided information on how to hire cheap services from mobile technicians and hairdressers of African origin. This information was circulated through immigrants' networks which in this case constituted a medium of communication which enhanced the existence of these trans-national livelihoods ventures. Despite the impressive increase in the numbers of people of African decent in Newcastle, respondents' accounts held that individual initiatives towards setting up business ventures were largely inhibited by leave to remain, financial support and non-availability of official support networks.

Nine (75 per cent) of respondents out of the 11 (100 per cent) who had the right to take employment or set up a business had leave to remain in the UK, while two (18 per cent) asylum seekers had work permits issued by the Home Office. None of the eleven was in any paid employment. Further research revealed that some asylum seekers could be granted a work permit if their asylum claims were not processed within a reasonable period, which was possibly the case with our two respondents who had work permits without being granted leave to remain.
However, out of the 41 (100 per cent) people interviewed in Newcastle, 23 (56 per cent) had acquired higher education prior to their being displaced, while 36 (88 per cent) had an occupation in their home countries. A cross section of the above mentioned factors accounted for their inability to recreate post-displacement livelihoods, with individual immigration status seen as being largely responsible.

Respondents in both locations where the study was carried out shared some common characteristics in terms of level of education attainment as well as individual pre-displacement employment status. This is consistent with the fact that the study

participants in the two locations, were displaced by similar or identical crises in Africa but had simply sought for resettlement in different continents. Crucially, the difference in whether things were working in exile or not depended upon being able to experience a sense of belonging, and being subsequently able to recreate a livelihood.

The featuring of 'sustainable development' in the study has to do with environmental and socio-economic concerns with regard to refugee livelihoods activities in the receiving communities, as well as the socio-economic impact of emigration on the immigrant's communities of origin. It is equally in relation to the impact of unconstructive multilateral geopolitical relations, as well as poor redistribution of national assets for sustainable development, as depicted in the Congo-Brazzaville crises section of this study (Chapter Two).

As indicated in Section 5.5 the investigation on refugee livelihoods strategies in Kintele village, Brazzaville led the author to some serious contentious issues between locals and migrants over the management of scarce resources. The indigenous population's concerns were to an extent justified in that, in their efforts to earn a living, immigrants were indulging in activities seen as being detrimental to the well being of the ecosystem. The entire firewood and charcoal creation process had much to do with deforestation, while fishing activities carried in the river Congo were of an uncontrolled nature.

However, the firewood and charcoal activities, as well as the fishing were feasibly sustainable and therefore simply a part of a generally dysfunctional humanitarian regime in a country caught up in a deplorable post conflict reconstruction situation. Similarly, the presence of immigrants in Brazzaville had an impact on welfare services to the discontentment of a cross section of the local population. But at the same time some members of the indigenous population admitted that immigrants' contribution toward livelihoods ventures was worthy in terms of development (Table 5.27).

The importance of livelihood recreation to displaced people can not be over emphasised, however, the difficulty seems to centre around providing the right support within the available means whilst capitalising on the potentials, skills and capabilities of the intended beneficiaries. In Brazzaville for instance, some

respondents were critical of the *prima facie* status because it was granted to a group and thus did not offer the individual indefinite leave to remain nor access to humanitarian assistance schemes. It equally failed to offer it intended beneficiaries other entitlements such as the right to educational bursaries among other things, thus making any long term plans unfeasible. This state of affairs simply limited the extent to which these refugees could make use of their individual skills and capabilities.

In Newcastle upon Tyne respondents whose asylum claims got caught up in the back-log equally deplored the fact that they could not embark on any long term livelihood plans, and insisted that they would be better off if they were granted the right to work and all forms of assistance terminated. This put to question the view echoed by most politicians, the media and the public at large, that the UK's generous asylum system attracts potential refugees as well as economic migrants to the country. As indicated above, the possibility of resettling to a normal life after displacement in the UK is linked to the right to take employment or set up a business which is attached to individual immigration status. The sooner the final stance on this right is known, the better in that it gives the uprooted individual the possibility of examining other options available to avoid or further cope with the potential risk of re-displacement. While it is important to take on board the causes of emigration in the management of migration, the 'purpose' can not be entirely overlooked because it is common human instinct displaced people included to try to live a purposeful life. Becoming a displaced person of one sort or the other creates the hope of resettling back to normal life above all.

7.4 Reflection on the Theoretical Approaches of this Study

The theoretical approaches informing the study covered migration in general in a bid to demonstrate awareness of relevant issues in the interrelated areas of displacement studies. Furthermore, the theoretical knowledge which underpins migration theories is applicable to a range of constructed categories of displaced people in terms of post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction, as well as institutional and policies environments. Poverty, poor business and the search for better opportunities as advocated in Table 5.6 as causes of displacement reflect the push and pull factors advocated in the 'dual labour market theory' as incentives to migration. As indicated in section 7.2, the occurrence of a given crisis impacts on the livelihoods of various members of the social strata in different ways and in the worse of scenarios can have long lasting consequences preventing recovery.

The 'pull' factor which constitutes the main emphasis of the 'dual labour market migration theory' as opposed to the 'push' factor in 'refugee studies perspectives' are applicable to uprooted people in that, the prospective refugee may flee toward a particular country or region on grounds of physical safety, livelihoods security and other considerations. A particular country or region of prospective refuge may be chosen for personal reasons where possible, and such a choice would have been made on the basis of pull factors. In most cases, once the prioritised security concerns are dealt with, rights and entitlements as well as the possibility of livelihood recreation proceed as guiding factors in the choice of a potential country or region of asylum. Information exchange as well as means of travel to the potential receiving countries advocated in the 'networks theory of migration' may play a vital role in the search of a potential country of asylum (see Theoretical Approaches of this study).

Another distinctive feature of some migration approach such as that based on human capital theory and migration and the new economics of labour migration is that they are applicable to international as well as internal migration. This is consistent with the point highlighted in some displacement studies that internal and international migrations are part of the same process (Castle, 2000; Skeldom, 1997). The main difference between people who simply migrate within their home country and those qualified as IDPs is that the former are displaced by slow on set livelihood issues – socio-economic deprivation, absence of basic amenities, diverse forms of

marginalisation, personal insecurity – which go unnoticed or are simply ignored over a shorter time frame. The IDP is more typically uprooted by various factors within the scope of complex emergency. A clear example are the good number of DRC refugees in the Republic of Congo who came over from Kinshasa as they fled from untold hardship worsened by the outbreak of civil war in their country. Those who got to Kinshasa from other war turn parts of their countries could not devise any adaptation mechanisms and therefore simply extended their flight, thus ending up in the Republic of Congo.

Furthermore, this study has produced findings that are consistent with the contention that there is no clear distinction between people who emigrate for the purpose of economic gains and forced migrants, because there is always a 'push' element behind any decision to leave ones home community. The example of some respondents in Brazzaville who admitted being displaced by armed conflict but asserted that they were economic migrants illustrates how illusive the division between the two groupings can be (Section 5.4).

The fact that some of the above stated respondents had lodged asylum claims at some point in Brazzaville further illustrates the point in question that displaced people decide their own categorisation of what they wish to be regarded as. A further example is represented by the desperation of displaced people often labelled as 'economic migrants' in big African cities such as Lagos, Douala, Nairobi, Cairo, Johannesburg and so forth who are in effect in such extreme conditions as to be better considered in need of humanitarian relief. Most of these city dwellers are individuals who left their communities of origin to the cities in the hope of earning a living and therefore as economic migrants. In some cases, they actually represent the very hope of their entire family, and when livelihoods hopes fail them, their families are held in further desperate circumstances. The argument here is therefore that no given type of migration can be termed as entirely voluntary. Even where the 'pull' factors appear to be dominant, underlined 'push' factors may to some degree contribute to the circumstances which get displaced people to move away from their home communities. The traditional distinction between push and pull factors in migration studies is therefore in question in the context of extreme cases of survival and categorisation of refugees.

Some IDPs and victims of other forms of slow onset disasters also end up in the cities' illegal settlements, where they attempt to rebuild their lives. A case in point is that of members of approximately 300 families who were living in an ex-factory in the pro-opposition south of Brazzaville in the Republic of Congo. As stated in section 5.5 these displaced people were excluded from all forms of humanitarian assistance in Brazzaville on the grounds that they were not IDPs. The complex emergency setting of the Congo-Brazzaville crises, depicts the fact that the political elite got disillusioned or disgruntled youths to believe that joining the militia groups in the Republic of Congo was a means of fighting against social injustice and other forms deprivations. It is difficult to conclude to what extent the nature of the struggle leading to social upheavals and displacement from African countries to more prosperous parts of the world determines relocation as more voluntary or forced. Generally speaking therefore, people who move away from home to embrace the unknown are in a sense all forced migrants because the causes of displacement are often complexly interrelated.

The second part of the study carried out in Newcastle upon Tyne provided the possibility of examining the experiences of individuals displaced by the same crisis who sought resettlement in different continents. As stated in section 5.4, victims of the 1994 Rwanda crisis who arrived in Brazzaville in 1997 after being re-displaced in the Democratic Republic of Congo were granted a *prima facie* status. All attempts to have their individual asylum applications processed were fruitless. In a miscalculated strategy to close a refugee camp which hosted approximately 4000 Rwandans, UNHCR Brazzaville suspended all forms of assistance in the camp in 1999. In 2005 there were approximately 800 people made up of children, women and elderly people, still living in the camp with no form of humanitarian assistance. In the course of the research carried out in Newcastle upon Tyne, I interviewed six Rwandans who were displaced by the same crisis in 1994. Five out of the six had been granted refugee status and in further in-depth interviews with two of the six the author learned that they were re-displaced from DRC by the civil war in 1996, just as their kinsmen had been who fled to Brazzaville. However, there is certainly a huge disparity in the number of Rwandans who took part in the study in Brazzaville (43) and the Rwandan respondents in Newcastle (six). While it may not be plausible to make a concrete

conclusion on the comparison of the two groups, it remains clear that these victims of the 1994 Rwanda crisis who sought refuge in different parts of the world ended up with different fates.

On the contrary, out of 13 DRC citizens interviewed in Newcastle, 11 were asylum seekers and two had leave to remain in the UK. The 13 DRC respondents interviewed in Newcastle are certainly far less than the 47 interviewed in Brazzaville. But while only five out of the 47 DRC citizens had refugee status in Brazzaville, only six were asylum seekers. Thirty one did not claim asylum at all or had claimed asylum at some point and then moved on to identify themselves as economic migrants for a variety of reasons on how they needed to represent themselves. In summary, most DRC respondents in Brazzaville were generally able to recreate a livelihood irrespective of their immigration status, while most DRC respondents in Newcastle could not because of their immigration status.

However, some DRC refugees in Brazzaville who were living in buildings earmarked for demolition held that strings were attached to humanitarian aid offered to them in that, they were asked to move to refugee camps situated in northern Congo where they would receive some form of humanitarian assistance. They blame their fate on the *prima facie* refugee status which provided UNCHR Brazzaville with an escape route from providing them deserved assistance. UNHCR Brazzaville issued a communiqué in which displaced people were advised to move to the North of the country where they would receive assistance in refugee camps. Thus the legal framework conceived by the Organisation of Africa Unity in 1959 to protect and assist people fleeing under conditions not stipulated in the 1951Geneva Convention was being utilised to the detriment of those it ought to protect and assist.

In contrast to Newcastle upon Tyne where respondents asylum claims were generally inconclusive and future plans disrupted by possible deportation, immigration checks in Brazzaville focused on people's business activities. Any immigrant who owned a business venture was expected to pay tax duty, whilst those working as casual labour relied on their employers to provide them with cover during immigration checks.

Security forces were generally soft on foreigners seen to be without any source of income.

People who had been granted refugee status were the most vocal in criticising the humanitarian regime in Brazzaville. Some of these immigrants who had been granted leave to remain constantly advocated the use of peaceful demonstrations to highlight the fact that their rights and entitlement were not respected in Brazzaville. Generally each grouping of displaced people in Brazzaville had a different type of grievance. Those who identified themselves as economic migrants argued that the asylum regime was cumbersome. *Prima facie* refugees asserted that they had been robbed of their rights and entitlements, while those recognised as refugees according to the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugee status, advocated reinstallation in extreme cases. Meanwhile, the answer to the resettlement of displaced people in Brazzaville seemed to lie more practically in enhancing their livelihoods recreation capabilities. Unfortunately this did not appear to be an option within the appraisal of many humanitarian actors.

The above analysis highlights the relevance of the various theories and approaches examined in the theoretical background to this thesis. It further depicts the fact that existing socio-economic settings as well as the institutional and policy environments in the country/area where resettlement is sought guide migrants' in the way they identify themselves.

7.5 Methodology

The data collection process was conceived through qualitative research methods. The difficulty in identifying a neat sample population called for the use of a more purposive approach to obtaining participants for questionnaires interviews but with an emphasis on reaching a wide range of potential respondents. Furthermore, given the time and financial constraints under which the study was conducted, the use of open end questionnaires and smaller sample was more appropriate in facilitating informative interview responses. Borrowing from grounded theory, face to face questionnaire interviews were conducted prior to in-depth recorded interviews (Lazar, 2004; Charmaz, 2000; Gilgun, 2001).

The field research in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo was conducted in French, Lingala, and Mugotuba while in Newcastle upon Tyne UK, field-work was carried out in English and French. Whilst the members of the research teams speak all of these languages, translating information obtained in other languages into English is acknowledged as influencing interpretation of the original content of respondents' accounts. The study has had to accept a degree of loss of content in the linguistic process as a short coming. The need to balance the number of respondents in terms of gender was taken on board in the design of the study, however given the sensitive nature of the research area and a voluntary participation approach, that goal was not achieved. The same reasons accounted for the disparity in availability of study participants in Brazzaville and Newcastle. The difficulty in interviewees providing information related to their personal circumstances in the course of recorded in depth interviews was persistent in both Brazzaville and Newcastle.

The first field trip to Brazzaville, Republic of Congo during which questionnaire interviews were conducted was the most challenging. Obtaining permission to carry out the research project from the Congolese government and UNHCR Brazzaville was a fairly straight forward process. However, the process of getting a team of researchers of appropriate capacity, as well as dealing with ethical and practical issues proved to be far more challenging than anticipated. The entire research process was carried out as an independent study of the researcher who set it up on his own. A simpler approach, had it been available, would have been to attach it to an existing more institutionalise project. However, doing it entirely independently may have

provided enhanced opportunity for non biased and genuine responses. The questionnaire interviews conducted during the first trip providing the basis for the two subsequent trips resulting in less strenuous in-depth interviewing, video recording and photography as an understanding was established.

Despite the variety of research methods utilised, the task of grasping the experiences of the uprooted people from cause, through displacement tract to resettlement in the hosting areas was far from easy. Data obtained through the use of questionnaire interviews addressed the main themes of the research questions to a good extent. It however, provided only a limited understanding of circumstances endured by the displaced, prior to and in the course of the journey into exile. While in-depth recorded interviews were meant to complement this shortcoming, the task of having respondents relive the sad, bitter and best forgotten circumstances they had been subjected to was not easy.

Observation as well as video footage and photographs were useful and flexible research methods. However, the selection of what was 'relevant' data to be collected through these research methods, as well the analysis of such data was influenced by the researcher's own perceptions and experiences of displacement between Africa and the UK.

7.6 Review of the Hypotheses in the light of the completed Research

7.6. 1 Hypothesis (1)

This hypothesis asserted that: *Institutional and policy environments where resettlement is sought influence the way migrants identify themselves as displaced people and their livelihood strategies.*

The way migrants identify themselves influences more than post-displacement livelihood strategies. In reality, it influences a whole range of displacement dynamics. In their quest to resettle in what may be perceived as ideal locations and circumstances, displaced people embark on measures such as a change of identity, voluntary re-displacement, coping/adaptation mechanisms, and sometimes illegal strategies. Most Rwandan respondents in Brazzaville for instance, asserted that they were economic migrants and not refugees because years of refugeedom (*prima facie* status) had brought them neither rights nor the entitlements they deserved (Section.5.4). However, the decision to identify themselves as economic migrants was as a result of disappointment resulting from the fact the status they were granted – *prima facie* – differed from that which they identified with – refugee status in accordance with criterion enshrined in the Geneva Convention. Similarly, some DRC displaced people in Brazzaville simply settled amongst the locals, overlooking humanitarian assistance because of personal beliefs, and attempted to survive on their own. In both cases, different dynamics led to the choice of identities, for the same purpose of assuming or re-assuming an identity thought to be best in terms post-displacement livelihood recreation and resettlement.

As stated in section 5.4, most Liberians respondents in Brazzaville deplored the fact that they were not granted leave to remain while some DRC respondents decided to strive to survive on their own without soliciting any humanitarian assistance. At the same time, people who had been recognised as refugees and granted some degree of assistance were opting for voluntary re-displacement because they thought the Republic of Congo did not offer them ideal resettlement prospects. The stances of members of these three groupings illustrate the fact that self-view in displacement is influenced by a variety of dynamics centred upon individual experiences in displacement.

In Newcastle upon Tyne, some respondents asserted that they regretted claiming asylum at all. Others regretted not looking for shadow employment in the past (Section 6.2). The above examples depict the fact that the way these respondents identified themselves was influenced by their experiences in displacement. When the aspired identity thought to be ideal in terms of livelihood reconstruction and resettlement was not forthcoming, alternative strategies not adhered to in the past were considered.

Table 5.5 equally shows that 55 five per cent of respondents in Brazzaville asserted that they were economic migrants while Table 6.5 depicts only two per cent of respondents in Newcastle doing the same. Similarly, while 98 per cent of respondents in Newcastle were either refugees or asylum seekers, only 45 per cent of respondents in Brazzaville were. These were individuals displaced by similar or identical circumstances who identify themselves differently as guided by their experiences in displacement – the way they appraise their individual circumstances.

In retrospect, it would appear that if hypothesis (1) were to be reformulated it would be more towards: Institutional and policy environments where resettlement is sought influence the way migrants identify themselves as displaced people and their livelihood *dynamics*, instead of: Institutional and policy environments where resettlement is sought influence the way migrants identify themselves as displaced people and their livelihood *strategies*.

.

7.6.2 Hypothesis (2)

The second hypothesis held that *the socio-economic status and capabilities of individual migrants as perceived by the host country immigration/asylum policies has an impact on livelihoods and resettlement.*

The above hypothesis was centred on whether individual immigrants' pre-displacement status and capabilities as appraised by the host country asylum or immigration policies exerted any influence on post-displacement livelihoods and resettlement. The findings from the data obtained in Brazzaville clearly show that respondents' ability to reconstruct a livelihood depended more on individual appraisal of the resettlement options available. In fact only six (five per cent) out of the 128 respondents interviewed in Brazzaville were in paid employment (Section 5.1).

However, 59 (46 per cent) of immigrants interviewed thought that things were generally working well for them in the Republic of Congo. A further examination of respondents' accounts revealed that those who thought things were working well for them were not always immigrants who had been granted refugee status, but rather individuals who had devised personal survival initiatives. All the four respondents (14 per cent) recognised as refugees who took part in the in-depth interviews expressed disappointment and disillusion driven by the nature and duration of assistance UNHCR Brazzaville offered them. It was not possible to determine the exact factors which influence the outcome of the individual asylum claims of 29 (23 per cent) respondents who had been granted refugee status in Brazzaville. Instead we may note here that as indicated in section 5.4, some respondents asserted that their asylum claims were turned down or suspended in respect of existing regional treaties the Congolese government was signatory to.

However, we may assume that the pre-displacement status and capabilities of four (14 per cent) out of 29 who had white collar employment prior to being displaced exerted some influence on the result of their asylum claims. But even if that were the case, it would not imply that their skills and capabilities had enhanced post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction and resettlement, because the said four individuals were among immigrants generally referred to in the humanitarian circles in Brazzaville, as urban refugees. These urban refugees were blamed for not breaking away from their past because most of them advocated the right to skilled employment and disregarded any other livelihood recreation endeavours suggested as alternatives. It would appear therefore that, even if the individual pre-displacement status and capabilities of the urban refugees did facilitate acquiring the aspired to refugee status, these virtues failed to enhance post-displacement livelihoods reconstruction and integration.

However, people who were granted refugee status in Brazzaville had other integration options. Those who opted to study could take advantage of the bursary offered by UNHCR to further their education in main stream educational institutions up to university level, or in vocational institutions depending on their ages and pre-displacement qualifications. There was the possibility of borrowing money under the micro-project programme managed by UNHCR Brazzaville to set up a business venture at the end of six months within which subsistence assistance was available. Two

refugee status holders studying at the university were among the 59 (46 per cent) respondents who thought things were working well for them in the Republic of Congo. The ex-child soldier who granted me an in-depth interview ended up taking the vocational training he advocated for under a scheme put in place by UNHCR Brazzaville to improve the resettlement prospects of those granted refugee status. Despite the high level of criticism from beneficiaries of some of these schemes, their existence did offer immigrants recognised as refugees options. In the light of life in the Republic of Congo, a country embracing post conflict reconstruction, these were on average considered acceptable, though restricted to individual recognised as refugees according to criteria enshrined in the 1951 Geneva convention on refugee status.

Some migrants such as Jean and the Kintele camp representative who were granted the *prima facie* status on arrival in Brazzaville resented the fact that they were not entitled to the above integration options, even though they had managed on their own to settle down fairly well through other survival strategies. Neither the immigrants' status nor their skills and capabilities could be said to be a guarantee of livelihood reconstruction and integration. Instead, the decision to recreate a livelihood and move toward resettlement depended upon the appraisal of individual circumstances in displacement as well as the options the Republic of Congo offered to the displaced as a country of asylum. It may be therefore plausible to assert that the data obtained in Brazzaville does not support the fact that there is an established link between the socio-economic status and capabilities of individual migrants as appraised by the host country asylum or immigration policies, and livelihoods reconstruction and integration.

In Newcastle upon Tyne, none (zero per cent) of the 41 (100 per cent) respondents interviewed was in paid employment despite the fact that 11 (27 per cent) of them had the right to take up employment (Section.6.1). The lack of any UK work experience and linguistic barriers were commonly advanced by interviewees who had the right to take on employment, as the main obstacle to securing any paid employment. The 11 (27 per cent) respondents who held that things were working well for them in Newcastle were made up of nine individuals who had refugee status and two asylum

seekers who had the right to take employment. Further investigations revealed that most immigrants in Newcastle considered the right to stay in the UK as a prerequisite to any constructive livelihoods recreation venture. The right to take on employment was thus generally considered as a step in the right direction.

Twenty three (51 per cent) respondents in Newcastle acquired higher education prior to being displaced, but only four (17 per cent) of the 23 (100 per cent) had been granted refugee status. In fact 11 (23 per cent) out of the 23 respondents (100 per cent) who acquired higher education in their home country held that they were at the last appeal level of their asylum claims, after which they could become liable to deportation. Their pre-displacement skills and capabilities in this case did not enhance the acquisition of the status they ascribe to, nor post-displacement livelihood reconstruction. Information obtained from in-depth interviews with Chantal from DRC, Edward from Cameroon and Alain from the Republic of Congo revealed the predicaments asylum seekers faced as a result of delays in the asylum claims determination process and/or the refusal of their asylum claims. However, people whose asylum claims ended up with a positive result had a wide range of rights and entitlements which were not available to asylum seekers, highlighted in many studies (Crawley, 2006; Bloch, 2000; Morris, 2000; Zetter and Pearl, 2000). Further in-depth interviews with Alice and Ben both from Rwanda who had positive asylum claims depict the integration options made available to migrants who are granted leave to remain in the UK (Section 6.2).

In view of the above analysis it seem clear that in the case of Newcastle upon Tyne, immigrants' individual socio-economic status and capabilities exerted limited influence on the outcome of asylum claims upon which depended the 'right to remain' and subsequent livelihoods recreation options. Hypothesis (2) is therefore refuted because the findings of the study do not show that the socio-economic status and capabilities of individual migrants as perceived by the host country asylum/immigration policies has an impact on livelihoods and resettlement.

7.6.3 Hypothesis (3)

Hypothesis (3) asserted that *Migrants ability to acquire a pre-knowledge of areas/countries of destination has an impact on their livelihoods strategies.*

As asserted by 'world system theory' globalisation has transformed the world into a communal village with the proliferation of cross boarder capital and commodities, as well as people, ideas and cultural values (Castle, 2003, 2002, 2001; Held et al., 1999; Amankwaa, 1995; Chase-Dunn and Hall, 1994; Wallerstein, 1983). The 'human capital theory of migration' equally advances the exchange of information between people in destination countries and prospective migrants as a key factor in the decision to emigrate (Kritzard and Zlotnik, 1992; Todaro, 1976; Becker, 1962). The computer and the satellite are considered to be the major electronic creations which brought the world to our door steps (Agee, et al. 1985). Displaced people can potentially make use of these modern information and communication technology, especially the internet and mobile phone sets.

In the event of a major crisis the first impulse is certainly to flee to safety. But once safety and security concerns have been overcome, where and how to resettle in the best possible manner becomes the next priority. In the event of long lasting crises with destabilising consequences, seeking to resettle in distant regions thought to be most suitable in terms of post-displacement may feature among the options considered. Similarly, individuals seeking to flee before the apex of a given crisis have the time of weighing their options and may regard resettlement abroad as a possible option. In both cases the potential emigrant would be on the look out for the opportunity to leave his home country/region as well as attempting to have a pre-knowledge on potential destination countries where 'leave to remain' and other venues to normal life are feasibly obtainable.

However, in the event where it is possible for migrants to acquire a pre-knowledge on potential host countries, does such knowledge have any impact on their livelihoods strategies? In the course of the study we saw respondents fleeing from the DRC conflict identifying themselves as economic migrants or refugees in Brazzaville depending on their livelihoods strategies. Some Rwandan respondents in Brazzaville equally asserted that they were economic migrants because the *prima facie* status offered them no rights or entitlements (Section 5.4).

The findings of the first part of study carried out in Brazzaville further revealed that 43 (33 per cent) of immigrants who took part in the study held that they had a relative living in another part of the Republic of Congo, while 27 (21 per cent) asserted that they travel to the Republic of Congo through the help of a relative (section 5.1).

The exchange of information between displaced people in Brazzaville was also quite obvious with the existence of ethnic associations – the Kintele camp grouping, the DRC Kintele village grouping, the all DRC association in Brazzaville, the Rwandan association in Brazzaville, and the Liberian grouping in Brazzaville – which were quite organised, and had a variety of supportive structures in place to counter unforeseen circumstances (Section 5.1).

All 128 immigrants (100 per cent) who took part in the study in Brazzaville, admitted being in contact with people from their home country. Furthermore, some immigrants saw the Republic of Congo as a land of transit, despite being granted leave to remain. These refugees who advocated reinstallation in developed countries made informed decisions on grounds of the knowledge they had with regard to living as a refugee in the potential countries of destination they had in mind. In Newcastle upon Tyne, 28 (68 per cent) respondents held that they received assistance from a relative prior to travelling to the UK. Although only seven (17 per cent) admitted having a relative in the UK, all 41 (100 per cent) study participant asserted that they were in contact with their co-nationals in the UK. The link between people with the same ethnic background was further outlined by the president of the African Community Association North East who listed advice, advocacy, interpreting and sign posting among the range of services the centre offered to people of African decent.

In fact, respondents in Brazzaville as well as Newcastle did turned to alternative livelihoods options only in cases where things failed to work as expected. The various adaptations and cooping mechanisms devised by displaced people in the case of Brazzaville were for the purpose of countering obstacles. Similarly in Newcastle, respondents only talked of other livelihoods options such as illegal employment, when the aspired immigration status was not forth coming. In both instances, these respondents turn to or looked at other livelihoods options on the grounds of the

knowledge they had acquired on the available alternatives in the countries of resettlement.

On grounds of the above analysis, we could assert that the findings of the study show that participants had access to information networks which could offer them knowledge on potential destination countries. We could equally assert that migrants' knowledge of livelihoods options in the host country had an impact on their chosen livelihoods strategy in the course of resettlement. What seems clearer, however, is that such knowledge was most often acquired in detail only on arrival in receiving country. Consequently if hypothesis (3) were to be reformulated it would become: *'migrants' ability to acquire knowledge on resettlement options in receiving areas/countries has an impact on their livelihoods strategies'*. Instead of: 'Migrants' ability to acquire a *pre-knowledge* on areas/country of destination has an impact on their livelihoods strategies', as stated at the beginning of the study.

7.6.4 Hypothesis (4)

Hypothesis (4) held that *displacement as a process is a setback to sustainable development in migrants' sending and destination communities.*

In other words when people depart from their communities of origin, the vacuum left behind is a set back to durable development, just as their presence in the destination communities is a hindrance to sustainable development. But sustainable development here has a broader view and incorporates environmental, socio-economic, and demographic equity as well as poverty reduction (Asafu-Adjaye, 2004; Mearns, 2004; Liddle, 2002; Vliet, 19996; Zhouri, 2004; Adam, 1990).

The findings of the study revealed that 87 (68 per cent) out of 128 (100 per cent) respondents in Brazzaville were aged between 18 and 45 years, while in Newcastle, 39 (95 per cent) out of 41 (100 per cent) respondents were aged between 18 and 45 years. The fact that a cross section of respondents arrived in the Republic of Congo in 1997 after spending up to three years on the way implies that some were relatively young at the time they left their home communities (Section 5.1.). Similarly, in Newcastle upon Tyne, many respondents had been in the UK for close to five years (Section 6.2.). When young dynamic people move from their home countries to

231

distant countries, there is no doubt that they leave behind a vacuum in term of human resources vital for sustainable community development. The departure of young people could equally entail the erosion of local skills and institutions vital for coping in the event of a disaster.

However, 72 (56 per cent) respondents out 128 (100 per cent) in Brazzaville said they would go back home if the situation which caused them to leave their home country improves, while 17 (41 per cent) respondents out of 41 (100 per cent) in Newcastle equally held that they would return if things were to improve in their home countries. Furthermore, 68 (53 per cent) out of a 128 (100 per cent) respondents in Brazzaville asserted that they were in touch with their home countries, while 32 (78 per cent) out of 41 (100 per cent) interviewees in Newcastle were in contact with their countries of origin as well. Displaced people may equally be able to send back financial and/or other forms of support home after resettlement, or acquire new skills and return home to make a positive input on the development process. The importance of remittance in development studies has been highlighted by many scholars (Castle, 2004; Castle, 2000; De Haan, 1999). One common reason advanced by the study participants in Newcastle for the urgent need to reconstruct a livelihood was the burden of family responsibilities which vary from looking after their nuclear family to a whole range of support to members of the extended family. Furthermore, 'the new economic labour migration theory' asserts that an individual may migrate in a bid to improve the way of life and living conditions of his immediate family as well as the community at large (Section 3.11.5).

Through out the study, respondents in Brazzaville as well as Newcastle often deplored the state of affairs which caused their departure from home – political repression, economic marginalisation, armed conflicts – and in most cases there was always an underlying notion of nostalgia dominant in such discussions. Even those who asserted that they had no home to go back to due to the fact that they had no living relative, often stated that they still had hopes that some day, even their offspring would return to the home they may never set foot in. Displaced people may equally return home to invest funds as well as new skills and capabilities in the post-crisis reconstruction of their communities of origin. The reasons behind the need to return home even in times

of difficulties may vary from the need to support family members, to a purely patriotic calling, as extrapolated by Ogden (2000).

When people emigrate and settle in their new communities their presence certainly can have a socio-economic impact on the local population. In the study conducted in Brazzaville, the author carried out an investigation on the perceptions of the locals on the presence of the immigrants. Out of 95 (100 per cent) locals interviewed in Brazzaville, 62 (65 per cent) held that it was alright to have refugees in the Republic of Congo, while 49 (52 per cent) thought it was alright to have economic migrants in the country. Similarly, 59 (62 per cent) out of 95 local respondents asserted that it was right for refugees to take employment, while 41 (43 per cent) members of the indigenous population said it was correct for economic migrants to take employment. Furthermore, 49 (52 per cent) members of the local population asserted that immigrants could contribute to the development of Congo. These findings show that a cross section of the indigenous population thought well of the presence of immigrants in their communities (Section 5.2).

However, asked whether the presence of immigrants was detrimental to farmland, 54 (57 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) interviewed said they thought so. Similarly, 41 (43 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) thought that migrants were accountable for deforestation, while 42 (43 per cent) locals held that immigrants were carrying out indiscriminate fishing. On the impact of the presence of immigrants on resources, 72 (76 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) held that the presence of immigrants stretches the security services, while 71 (75 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) local respondents asserted that the presence of immigrants impacts negatively on health services. Similarly, 71 (75 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) local interviewees held that the presence of immigrants stretches the housing services. This trend among a cross section of locals having negative opinions on the socio-economic impact of the presence of immigrants went on. Fifty one (45 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) local respondents claimed that the presence of immigrants stretches the social services, while 62 (65 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) thought that the presence of immigrant stretches the education system. Seventy one (75 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) local respondents held that immigrants impacted negatively on transport system, while

70 (74 per cent) out of 95 (100 per cent) asserted that immigrants were outstretching the labour market (Section 5.2).

Here we see a different picture in terms of the perceptions of the locals on the impact of the presence of migrants on services. It is therefore obvious that though some members of the indigenous population thought well of the presence of immigrants in terms of their socio-economic contribution, it did not cancel the fact that some contentious issues existed. A cross section of the local population in Brazzaville therefore held that the presence of immigrants had a negative impact on sustainable development. The contentious issues between the indigenous population and the immigrants in Kintele village in section 5.4, further illustrate the fact that the presence of immigrants in Brazzaville was seen as detrimental to sustainable development.

The negative impact of the presence of immigrants on the nation state, cultural values, the welfare system and employment in the UK, is covered by a stream of literature (Flyn, 2005; Cwerner, 2004; Gedds, 2003; Kleinman, 2003; Scuster, 2003; Zetter, & Pearl, 2000). Despite such concerns, other scholars have argued that managed immigration can accommodate immigrants with skills necessary to make up for the labour market human resources deficiencies (Duvell and Jordan, 2003; Duvell and Jordan, 2002; Castle, 2000). Furthermore, some asylum seekers and undocumented migrants who are officially excluded from labour market participation in the UK context may be pushed to utilise negative coping or adaptation mechanism in a bid to come by resources required to meet social and family commitments. Similarly, conflict over resources between the local population and the forcibly displaced in Kintele village, Brazzaville was accentuated by the fact that no humanitarian assistance was available to the immigrants. Immigrants' livelihood reconstruction activities – uncontrolled fishing, firewood or charcoal ventures – largely seen to be of an unsustainable nature by the locals were in some instances adopted as a last resort (Section 5.5). The point here is that the policy environment in area/country where resettlement is sought may influence to what degree displaced people are able to be engaged in constructive post-displacement livelihood reconstruction activities.

If we therefore look at the impact of displacement on both sending and receiving communities, it gives a mixed picture which depends on receiving countries asylum or

immigration policies as well as the individual immigrants' links with their country of origin, in the course resettlement. As asserted by Kleinman (2003), when migrants moves from a less productive community to where they may become more productive, there can be an increase in production which benefits the standards of living of the receiving community as a whole, as well as that of the migrating individuals.

On grounds of the above analysis it is plausible to suggest that predicting the impact of migration on sending or receiving communities is not a straight forward issue, as it evolves around a variety of dynamics governed by the immigrants' attitudes toward resettlement as well as the policy and/or socio-economic environment in the receiving areas. Hypothesis (4) which asserted that: 'Displacement as a process is a setback to sustainable development in migrants' sending and host communities' is therefore refuted on the grounds of the above analysis.

In Newcastle upon Tyne, the few outspoken respondents who were open to me stated that moving entirely out of the UK, or staying within as undocumented immigrants were feasible options they would embrace in the event of a negative result at the end of their asylum process. Similarly, in Brazzaville the so call 'urban refugees' who confided in me, admitted that they were looking for other means of leaving Congo because the UNHCR Brazzaville re-installation programme was marred by inefficiencies and corruption. In fact, some had made aborted attempt to travel to Europe while others cited the possibility of getting to developed countries via another African country. Other respondents who equally expressed dissatisfaction with their *prima facie* status opted to work toward resettlement. Their peers who stay put as undocumented immigrants or who had to switch from being asylum seekers to becoming economic migrants equally worked toward resettling within Brazzaville. The point highlighted with the above analysis is that the way people appraise their individual experiences in displacement, is the greatest influence on the measures they would adapt in a bid to maximise possible livelihoods reconstruction possibilities.

Immigrants' skills and capabilities have a mixed impact on livelihoods reconstruction which is in most cases determined by individual experiences and commitment toward resettlement, as well as the socio-economic infrastructures existing in the receiving country or area. Acquired skills and capabilities would only enhance immigrants' livelihood recreation and resettlement, when the socio-economic infrastructures of the hosting country or area, as well as the institution and policies environment offer the possibilities of putting the skills to use.

People who are uprooted by a particular crisis have much in common in terms of the causes of displacement. If we take the intermittent Congo-Brazzaville crisis which has persisted in an 'on' and 'off' basis for more than a decade now, it becomes obvious that people have fled the country in waves. Those who fled in anticipation might have left the country as early as 1993, prior to the first out break of civil war in Brazzaville. And each time the crisis accentuates more people leave the country in subsequent waves, all fleeing from civil war and its socio-economic ramifications. Similarly while some Congolese fled to relatively safe part of their countries others moved to other African countries or to other part of the Western World. If we look at the experiences of three respondents to the study – Alice, Ben and Jean – all from Rwanda, we see that they all fled from their countries during the 1994 Rwanda crisis. When all three were re-displaced from refugee camps in the DRC they took different directions. Alice move to Zambia, Ben to Kenya and Jean to the Republic of Congo. Alice and Ben are now living in the UK where they have been granted indefinite leave to remain, while Jean lives in Brazzaville, where they were granted *prima-facie* status in 1997 as a group. All three gave quite positive accounts of their effort toward post-displacement livelihoods and resettlement. It may be therefore wrong to assume that displaced people who flee to the developed countries are always better off than those who seek resettlement at national and regional levels.

7.7 Implications for Refugee Policies Environment

UNHCR Brazzaville encouraged refugees to move from Brazzaville to refugee camps situated in the north of country. This might have been in line with UNHCR policy of assisting refugees based in camps and considering those who choose to live in urban areas as people who can support themselves. Such an approach however, contradicts article 26 of the 1951 Geneva Convention, which grants refugees the right to choose their place of residence. Furthermore, the approach failed to take in to consideration the heterogeneous socio-economic back ground of displaced people to whom assistance was destined.

Information obtained from the UNHCR Brazzaville implementing partner the CEMIR, asserted that urban refugees were unable to manage micro-credit financial credits as did their peers living in the rural areas was questionable. This was because the same amount of money was lent to displaced people living in both rural and urban areas, despite the difference in the standard of living in the locations, as well as the diverse nature of the potential micro-projects the loan was to be invested in. Furthermore, some urban beneficiaries were forced to introduce proposals on small scale business set ups which had little in common with their pre-displacement skills and capabilities. This attempt by UNHCR officials to provide what was deemed to be support in the setting up of the micro-credit projects, as well as monitoring their implementation was resented by some urban beneficiaries and described as interference in the management of the loans.

In a change in the way Primary Health Care was delivered to refugees, the 'Centre Medical de Resources Professionnelles (CMRP) du Medecins d'Afrique in Brazzaville, started offering treatment to displaced people for a moderate contribution of 200 francs CFA (approximately 20 pence in pound sterling) on the 15th February 2005. However, there were three strings attached to medical treatment offered to refugees by the CMRP. Only generic medication available to CMRP could be prescript to displaced people; secondly, lab tests carried out as part of treatment to refugees had to be approved by UNHCR and finally displaced people who had been in Congo-Brazzaville for seven years were not eligible to the scheme. I came across a refugee whose child almost passed away because antibiotics needed to clear his ailment were not part of the generic medication available at CMRP. In a solidarity

move, his kinsmen men had to raise money for him to get his son treated in a main stream hospital. Using the duration of stay in Brazzaville to assess the level of refugees' integration was questionable in that, incidents of looting and extortion during the intermittent out break of conflicts were common place. These incidents could have undermined any sustained livelihoods reconstruction effort made by refugees, who were often the prime target of looters. Furthermore, as stated previously, the resettlement of displaced people depended on individual experiences in displaced as well as the attitude toward resettlement rather than the time scale factor. Finally offering refugees medical attention in a specific medical centre at a reduced cost, gave them advantage over other poor inhabitants of Brazzaville who did not have access to such parallel health services. This privilege was resented by excluded groups of displaced people, the urban local poor as well as humanitarian agencies' local staff.

Article 1(2) of the 1969 OAU Convention governing specific aspect of refugee problem in Africa expanded the definition of refugee to include every person who, owing external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either.... is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or of nationality (1969 AOU Convention). In accordance with the above stated convention a group of Rwandan refugee who arrived in Brazzaville in 1997, were granted the *prima facie* refugee status as a group. Further to the group status, their individual asylum application which would have granted those who met the criteria stipulated in the 1951 Geneva Convention to which the OAU Convention is only complementary, full refugee status were never processed. Consequently these *prima facie* refugees were only entitled to assistance which according to UNHCR Brazzaville could only be delivered within a refugee camp setting. The right to scholarship in higher education is one of the entitlements these *prima facie refugees* were exempted from in Brazzaville. As stated in section 5.5, there were 800 displaced people living in Kintele camp and striving to run a school with 282 pupils with no assistance from UNHCR in what the camp representative depicted as 'intellectual genocide'. The 1969 OAU Convention is an extension of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, conceived to alleviate the misery and suffering of the increasing number of refugees in Africa. However, in the above case, the OAU Convention served as a

pretext to UNHCR Brazzaville and the Congolese government, to the detriment of displaced people it was conceive to protect.

There were a good number of refugees community based organisations in Brazzaville (RCBOs), and the executive of some RCBOs who granted me interviews were quite prolific. They however held that their ability to offer 'one stop services' to their fellow country men was hampered by the lack of resources. One would have expected UNHCR officials to lease with the RCBOs in a bid to enable them provide preliminary services such as sign posting, advocacy and interpreting to their kinsmen. That was not the case and respondents' accounts held that UNHCR Brazzaville attempted to divide RCBOs executives in bid to weaken their advocacy out put. Failure on the part of UNHCR Brazzaville to utilise such immigrants' networks to disseminate information on the nature of the available humanitarian assistance possibly contributed in dissuading displaced people from seeking for protection and assistance. Such top to bottom bureaucracy certainly did a disservice to people of interest to UNHCR in Brazzaville.

The state of affairs where by some displaced people who claimed asylum in the UK were taken to detentions centre where their asylum claims were fast track is ethically questionable. This because, detaining individuals seeking for protection before they have the opportunity of stated their case is tantamount to passing a verdict before judgement. Respondents' accounts held that such heavy handed stances were reminiscent of circumstances some endured prior to or in the course of displacement, and seriously affected them psychologically.

The findings of this study depict the fact that most immigrants from Africa South of the Sahara who end up in the developed countries of the West do so as a last resort. Typical examples are those of the like Alice, Alain, Chantal and Ben in section 5.2 of this thesis. After fleeing from their respective home countries, they sought for resettlement in other countries to no avail, before finally arriving in the United Kingdom where they claimed asylum. Furthermore, forty per cent of respondents interviewed in Brazzaville transited through another country on their way to the Republic of Congo, and a further five per cent transited through more than one country (Section 5.1.). Similarly, twenty seven per cent of the study participants in

Newcastle passed through another country before arriving in the United Kingdom, while a further seventeen percent transited through many countries (Section 6.1). UNHCR policies on resettlement assert that a refugee should not move from the first country of asylum to another country without legitimate reasons. The EU 'safe country' policy has a similar stance with the potential implication of sending asylum seekers back to any 'safe country' they might have transited through on the way to a receiving country. However, the reasons for re-displacement may be legitimate in the opinion of the displaced person but illusive to immigration authorities in the second country of destination. In principle only the displaced person can adequately assess his or her experiences prior to displacement or in exile. It is the same for internally displaced and other displaced people who end up moving out of their home countries after an initial period of in-country displacement.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

8.1 Contribution to Knowledge

Studies on displacement in Sub-Sahara Africa have generally examined the causes of displacement, displaced people's characteristics or the policy environment as sub-divisions of displacement studies. In an integrated approach and with a focus on overall human security, this research has examined the link between the causes of displacement, the displacement track and the policy environment in terms of displaced person's selection of a category of displacement and drive for livelihood reconstruction in the areas where resettlement is sought. The study has been carried out in a South-South context – from other Sub-Sahara African countries to Congo-Brazzaville, and in a South to North context – from Sub-Sahara Africa to Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. It has contributed to the understanding of the interconnected nature of the causes of displacement in Sub-Sahara Africa and how individual refugees negotiate the categorisation and policy environment. It has equally highlighted the fact that policies should be devised in ways that facilitate the resettlement of displaced people, rather than placing emphasis on constructed categories that hold people back. This thesis has proven through empirical evidence that people displaced by identical or similar circumstances simply adhere to constructed categories of uprooted people as they get settled or re-displaced.

8.2 Conclusion on Objectives

The way migrants identify themselves as displacement people and subsequent livelihood reconstruction strategies in the location where resettlement is sought are determined by individual experiences in displacement as well as the impact of the institutional and policies environment. Self identification in this case is in relation to how displaced people ascribe to the contested group classification of migrants and not the psycho-social aspect of identity which is entirely a different study area. Migrants' ability to acquire knowledge on resettlement options in areas or countries of resettlement has an impact on their livelihoods strategies. Displacement has a mixed impact on sending and receiving communities. This impact depends on the resettlement policies in the area or country where resettlement is sought, the outcome of the interaction between members of the receiving community and the migrant, as well as the displaced person's interaction with members of the community of origin.

The findings of this study further cast more light on the complexity of the causes of displacement in Africa South of the Sahara. It depicts the fact that most migrants of African decent are in reality flushed out of their home countries by political persecution, armed conflict, economic marginalisation, livelihoods insecurity and not absolute poverty as commonly misconstrued. Vulnerability to these processes is different to the condition of poverty. Livelihoods insecurity is a major factor that forces people to move away from their communities of origin in a variety of settings. As the underlying causes of instability may often be the same, individuals displaced by livelihoods insecurity deserve the protection and assistance enshrined in guiding principles of conventions pertaining to other groups of forced migrants.

The creativity of displaced people in Brazzaville who were able to earn a living with no assistance from humanitarian agencies calls for a rethink of policies. Particularly for developed countries where critics hold that the running of the asylum regimes constitutes a drain on public resources. It may also not be necessary for displaced people to go through re-education programmes before embarking on livelihoods recreation activities. Granting displaced people the right to embark on income generating activities should be regarded as the first step toward resettlement in that it enables them to meet up with their pre-displacement family commitments. This process will enable them to realise their potentials and put their capabilities to use. In

their participation in livelihoods reconstruction activities, the displaced would equally make contributions to the state through payment of tax and revenue. This is applicable to the UK where refugees are not allowed to take on employment, or set up business ventures before they are granted leave to remain.

Considering every immigrant as a displaced person, though some being more displaced than others, calls for a shift in policies at international, regional and national levels. In contention is the categorizing of displaced people into much contested group classifications. A more effective and constructive approach would be to facilitate the context within which physical and livelihoods security priorities are dealt with. This would in effect be a means of combating livelihoods insecurity and associated poverty issues in that it would be much more likely to enable the displaced to attain self-sustainability in communities of residence, as well as assist relatives in the communities of origin.

8.3 Implication for Theory and Further Research

There have been models of displacement and resettlement such as the 'Impoverishment, Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRRM) for resettling displaced people' by Michael Cernea which identifies food insecurity, joblessness, homelessness and marginalisation among others, as key forced displacement related issues (Cernea, 1997). The 'Disaster Pressure Model' (DPM) advocated by Blaikie, et al., (1994) also holds that exposure to disasters is a combination of the inherent hazards and the vulnerability of the inhabitants of the disaster-prone location. The IRRM model addresses issues related to resettling displaced people, while the DPM model has a greater focus on how and why disasters impact on people.

However, in an attempt to provide answers to why some forcibly displaced experience a sense of displacement and are often obliged to move on after an initial attempt to resettle in their home country and/or country of asylum, a 'Re-Displacement Model'(RDM) which probes into the causes of re-displacement would seem more representative. This model asserts that re-displacement is a function of experiences in displacement, and is influenced by the following factors:

- Physical security and/or livelihood security concerns (IDPs and Refugees).
- Break down of national or trans-national social support networks (IDPs and Refugees).
- Pressure exerted by nuclear and/or extended family dynamics (IDPs and Refugees).
- Inability to utilise pre-displacement skills and capabilities (IDPs and Refugees).
- Failure to acquire aspired immigration status (Refugees).
- Inability to foster a sense of belonging (IDPs and Refugees).
- Absence of socio-economic infrastructures suitable for post-displacement livelihood reconstruction (IDPs and Refugees).
- Difficulties in devising coping and/or adaptation mechanisms through available socio-economic settings (IDPs and Refugees).

The 'Re-Displacement Risk Reduction Model' (RDRRM) suggests that the following measures should be taken by governments or humanitarian agencies to counter re-displacement:

- Ensure that relatively safe zones are earmarked for temporal or permanent resettlement of displaced people. This could be through provision of the means of transport to safer areas, awareness programmes on existing security threats and the inculcation of safety notions at individual, as well as collective levels within the displaced population.

- Educate security personnel in host areas or country on the rights of displaced people to protection and safety.

- Encourage interaction within existing displaced groups and provide support toward fostering existing networks at the various levels, such as in camp settings and in a context where resettlement takes place alongside the indigenous population.

- Assist displaced people in their livelihoods reconstruction ventures at the earliest opportunity, to enable them to shoulder the responsibilities they had prior to displacement.

- Resettlement programmes should be flexible and conceived in the light of the heterogeneous backgrounds, as well as the diverse skills and capabilities of displaced people.

- Asylum and immigration policies at national and regional levels should take into consideration the fact that livelihoods insecurity is a cause of displacement and extend protection and assistance to its victims. Policy making requires recognising that livelihood insecurity is not poverty *per se*, but an aspect of it that can be avoided and which can prevent poverty.

- Displaced people experiencing difficulties and distress in coping with their circumstances, should be provided with necessary professional support at the earliest opportunity before their despair degenerates into psychological ailments and livelihood incapacity.

The above model equally indicates areas worth pursuing with further research in displacement studies.

REFRENCES

Adams, M. (1990) *Green Development. Environment and sustainability in the Third World.* London. New York: Rutledge.

Adepoju, A. (2006) Placing international Migration in the context of the 3D's: Demography, Development and Democracy. *International Migration,* Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 3-33.

Albala-Bertrand, J.M. (2000) Response to complex humanitarian emergencies and natural disasters: an analytical comparison. *The World Quarterly,* Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 215-227.

Agee, W. K., Ault, P. H. and Emery, E. (1985) *Introduction to Mass Communications.* New York: Harper and Raw.

Ahmed, I. I. (1999) The heritage of war and state collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: Local effects, external interventions and reconstruction. *Third World Quarterly-Journal of Emerging Areas.* Vol. 1, pp. 113-127.

Ahmed, I. I. (2000) Remittance and Their Economic Impact in Post-war Somalia, *Disaster.* 2000, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 380-389.

Akokpari, J.K. (1999) The State, Refugees and Migration in Sub-Sahara Africa, *International Migration.* Vol.36, No.2, pp. 2-234.

Alexander, D. (1993) *Natural Disasters,* London. New York: Rutledge.

Alexander, D. (2002) *Principles of Emergency Planning and Management.* Harpenden: Terra.

Alexander, D. (2003) Towards the development of standards in emergency management training and education. *Disaster Prevention Management,* Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 113-123.

Alexander, D. V. (2001) Analysing Visual Material. In: Gilbert, N., (ed.), *Researching Social Life.* London. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi: Sage.

Ali, S. (2004) Using visual materials. In: C. Seale, (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture.* Thousand Oakes: S age.

Alger A. (1999) (ed.). Refugees: *Perspective on the Experience of Forced Migration.*London: Pinter.

Amankwaa, A. A. (1995) The world economic system and international migration in less developed countries: An ecological approach. *International Migration,* Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 95-13.

Amnesty International (2006) *Amnesty International Report: Congo Republic*. Obtained on the 26/02/2007 at http:www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rsd/rsddocview.html

Andreas P. (2004) The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No.1, pp. 29-52.

Arbelaez, T. B., Nondek, L., Mintzer, I. and Kalas, P. J. (2000) *Contribution from the National Strategy Studies Programme to COP6 Negotiations Regarding Clean Development Mechanism and Joint Implementation*. World Bank.

Arksy, H. and Knight, P. (1999) *Intervieing for Social Scientists*. London. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi : Sage.

Arrêté no. 8040 du 28 Décembre 2001 *Portant création, attributions et fonctionnement de la commission du recours des refugiés*. Archives Nationales: Congo-Brazzaville.

Arrêté no. 8041 du 28 Décembre 2001 *Portant création, organisation, attribution et fonctionnement de la commission d'éligibilité au statut de refugié*. Archives Nationales: Congo-Brazzaville.

Asafu-Adjaye, J. (2004) International trade and sustainable development in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Social Economic*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 417-429.

Axmann, A. (1999) Eastern Europe and community of Independent States, *International Migration*. Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 587-607.

Azam, J. and Hoeffler, A. (2002) Violence Against Civilians in Civil Wars: Looting and Terror, *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 39, No. 42002, pp. 461-485.

Bambi, J. G. (1981) *Chronologie des Faites et Evénéments au Congo 1482 – 1997*. Kinshasa: Imprimerie du Centre de Commerce International.

Barker, J. (2000) Hurricane and socio-economic development on Niue Island, *Asian Pacific Viewpoint*. Vol. 41, No 2, pp. 191-205.

Bazenguissa-Ganga (1999) The Spread of Political Violence in Congo-Brazzaville, *Africa Affairs*. Vol. 98, pp. 37-54.

Becker, G.S. (1962), Investment in human capital: A theoretical analysis, *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 70, pp. 9-49.

Bilton, R. (2007) *The Journey from Senegal to the Canaries Island in Spain*. BBC News 24 of Sunday, January 7th 2007.

Black, R. and Gent, S. (2006) The Return of Refugees: The Preferred Durable Solution, *International Migration.* Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 15-38.

Black, R. (1998) *Refugees, Environment and Development,* Hawlow, Longman.

Bliakie, N. (2000) *Designing Social Research,* Polity: Cambridge.

Blaikie, P., Canon, T., Davis, I., and Wisner, B. (1994) *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters.* London. New York: Rutledge.

Bloch, A. (2000) Refugees Settlement in Britain: the Impact of Policy on Participation, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.* Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 75-88.

Boulton, D. and Hammersley, M. (1998) Analyses of Unstructured Data, In: R. Sapfort, and V. Jupp, (eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis.* Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Brennan, R. and Nandy, R. (2001) Complex humanitarian emergencies: A major global health challenge, *Emergency Medicine,* Vol. 13, pp. 147-156.

Brinkmann, G. (2004) The Immigration and Asylum Agenda, *European Law Journal.* Vol.10, No. 2, pp. 61-76.

Broadhurst, R. (2002) Lethal Violence, Crime and State Formation in Cambodia. *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 35, pp. 1-26.

Brun, C. (2003) Local Citezens or Internally Displaced Persons? Dilemmas of Long Term Displacement in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 376-397.

Burkholder, B., Spiegel, P. and Salama, P. (1999) Methods of Determining Mortality in Mass Displacement and Return of Emergency-Affected Population in Kosovo, 1998-1999. In: H. E. Reed, and C. B. Keely, (eds.). *Forced Migration and Mortality.* Washington D.C: National Academic Press.

Cambridge, P. & Williams, L. (2004) Approaches to Advocacy for Refugees and Asylum Seekers: A Development Case study for a Local Support and Advice Service. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 17, No.1, pp. 98-113.

Campbell, E. (2006) Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Problem of Protection, Mechanism of Survival and Possibilities for Integration, *Journal of Refugee Studies.* Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 396-413.

Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, Colloquium on the International Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama (1984). Obtained on the 20/05/2005 at: http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin.

Castle, S. (2001) *Environmental Change and Forced Migration: Preparing for Peace.* Obtained on the 13/02/2004 from: http://www.preparingforpeace.org/castle.

Castle, S. (2002) International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century: Global Trends and Issues, *International Social Science Journal*. Vol. 52, No. 165, pp. 269-281.

Castle, S. (2003) The International Politics of Forced Migration. *Society for International Development*, Vol. 46, No.3, pp. 11-20.

Castle, S. (2004) Why Migration Policies Fail. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 27, No.2, pp. 205-227.

Catholic Relief Services (2001) *Post-Emergency Health, Nutrition and Agriculture Rehabilitation in the Republic of Congo.* CRS: 697-U-008.

Ceanea, M. (1997) The Risk and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations. *World Development*, Vol. 25, No. 10, pp. 1569-1587.

Charmaz, K. (2000) Grounded Theory Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. In: N. K. Dezin, and Y. S. Lincoln, (eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Chimi, B.S. (2003) Post-conflict peace building and the return of refugees: Concepts, Practices, and Institutions. In: E. Newman, and J. Van Selm, (eds.). *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability, and State.* Tokyo. New York. Paris: United Nations University Press.

Christensen, H. (1982) *Survival strategies for and by camp refugees, report on six-week exploratory sociological field study into the food situation of refugees in camps in Somalia.* Report No. 82.3, Geneva.

Christensen, H. (1983) *Sustaining Afghans refugees in Pakistan, report on the food situation and related social aspects.* Report No. 83.3, Geneva.

Christensen, H. (19984) *Afghan Refugees in Pakistan: From emergency towards self-reliance, A report on the food relief situation and related socio-economic aspects.* Report No. 84.2, Geneva, UNRISD Refugee Settlement Series.

Clark, J. F. (2002) The Neo-Colonial Context of the Democratic Experiment of Congo-Brazzaville, *African Affairs*. Vol. 101, pp. 171-192.

Clark, J. F. (1998) Democracy Dismantled in the Congo Republic, *Current History*. No. 97, Vol. 619, pp. 234-237.

Clark, J. F. (1993) Socio-Political Change in the Republic of Congo: Political Dilemma of Economic Reform, *Journal of Third World Studies*. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 56-63.

Clark, L. (1989) *Early warning of refugee flows.* Washington DC: Refugee policy Group.

Colson, E. (2003) Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 1-17.

Conway, C. (2004) Mainstream livelihoods support: the refugee livelihoods projects. *Forced Migration Review,* Vol. 20, pp. 4-5.

Crawley, H. (2006) Forced Migration and the Politics of Asylum: The Missing Pieces of the International Migration Puzzle? *International Migration* Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 21-26.

Crawley, H. (2005) Introducing: Europe fortress or refuge? *Forced Migration Review.*Vol. 23, pp. 14-16.

Creswell, J. W. (1997) *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions.*Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Cwerner, S. (2004) Faster, Faster and Faster. The time politics of asylum in the UK. *Time & Society,* Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 71- 88.

Dasgupta, S., Laplante, B., Meisner, C., Wheeler, D., and Yan, J. (2007) *The impact of Sea Level Rise in Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis.* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4136.

Décret no. 179-2666 du 13 Avril 1978 *Portant création d'un Comité National D'Assistance aux Refugiés.* Archives Nationales: Congo-Brazzaville.

Décret no. 99-310 du 31 Décembre 1999 *Portant création, attributions, organisation et fonctionnement du Comité National D'Assistance aux Refugiés.* Archives Nationales: Congo-Brazzaville.

De Haan, A. (1999) Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration A Critical Review of Migration Literature, *Journal of Development Studies.* Vol. 36, No. 2 pp. 1- 47.

De Wet, C. (2005) Some Social-Economic Risk and Opportunities Relating to Dam Induced Resettlement in Africa. In: I. Ohta, and Y. D. Gebre (eds.), *Displacement Risk in Africa: Refugees, Resettlers and their Host Population.* Kyodai Kaikan: Kyoto University Press.

Dohney, K. (1981). The plight of the refugee: A case in point. *Africa. Migration News,* Vol. 1, pp. 3-12.

Drabe, T. and McEntire, D. (2003) Emergent phenomena and the sociology of disaster: lessons, trends and opportunities from the research literature. *Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol.12, No.2, pp. 97-112.

Dryden-Petterson, S. (2006) 'I Find Myself as Someone who is in the Forest' Urban Refugees as Agents of Social Change in Kampala, *Uganda. Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 381-395.

Duvell, F. and Jordan, B. (2002) Immigration, asylum and welfare European context. *Critical Social Policy,* Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 498-517.

Duvell, F. and Jordan, B. (2003) Immigration control and management of economic migration in the United Kingdom: organisational, culture, implementation, enforcement and identity process in public services. *Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 299-336.

Dynes, R. (1994) Community Emergency Planning: False Assumptions and Inappropriate Analogies. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters,* Vol. 12, No.2, pp. 141-258.

Edwards, M. (2004) The rise of the Khmer rouge in Cambodia: internal or external origins? *Asian Affairs,* Vol. 35, No.1, pp. 56-67.

Elbadawi, I. and Sambanis, N. (2002) Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict: *Journal of Africa Economic,* Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 244-269.

EU Report (2002) *Coopération au Dévelopment entre L'Union Européenne et La République du Congo:* Union Européenne.

Evans, M. (2006) The Suffering is Too Great : Urban Internally Displaced People in the Casamance Conflict, Senegal. *Journal of Refugees Studies.* Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 60-85

Fielding, J. (2001) Coding and managing data. In: N. Gilbert, (ed.)., *Researching Social Life.* London. Thousand Oaths. New Delhi: Sage.

Flynn, D. (2005) New borders, new management: The dilemmas of modern immigration policies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 463-490.

Forhergill, A. and Peek, L. (2004) Poverty and disaster in the United States: A Review of Recent Sociological Findings. *Natural Hazards,* Vol. 32, pp. 89-110.

Foster, P. (1998) Observational Research. In: R. Sapsford, and V. Jupp, (eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Freeman, J. (2003) A Gender Analysis of Migration in Europe. In: J. Freeman, (ed.), *Gender and Insecurity. Migrant Women in Europe.* Hans-Ashgate.

Gebre, D. and Ohta, I. (2005) Displacement in Africa – Conceptual and Practical Concerns. In: I. Ohta and Y.D. Gebre (eds.) *Displacement Risk in Africa. Refugees, Settlers and their Host Population.* Kyodai Kaikan: Kyoto University Press.

Gedds, A. (2003) Migration and Welfare State in Europe. *The Political Quarterly,* pp. 150-162.

Geissler, N. (1999) The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons. *International Journal of Refugee Law,* Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 451-479.

Gilgun, J. F. (2001) Grounded Theory, other inductive methods and social work methods. In: B. Thyer (ed.). *Handbook of social work research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Gillespie, D. & Colignon, R. (1993) Structural change in disaster preparedness. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters,* Vol. 11, No.2, pp. 143-162.

Golooba-Mutebi, F. and Tollman, S. (2004) Survival to livelihoods strategies for Mozambican refugees in South Africa. *Forced Migration Review,* No. 20, pp. 28-29.

Goodwin-Gill, G. S. (1999) Refugees and Security. *International Journal of Refugee Law,* Vol. 11, pp. 1-5.

Guarnieri, V. (2004) Food aid and livelihoods: Challenges and opportunities in complex emergencies. *Forced Migration Review,* No. 20, pp. 15-18.

Gundel, J. (2002) The Migration-Development Nexus: Somalia Case Study. *International Migration,* Vol. 40, No.5, pp. 255-281.

Gunn, W. (2003) The rights to health of disaster victims. *Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 48-51.

Grabska, K. (2006) Marginalization in Urban Sapce of the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 287-307.

Grundy-Warr and Siew Yin. (2002) Geographies of Displacement: The Karrenni and Shan Across the Myanmar Thailand Border. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography,* Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 93-122.

Hao, Y. (2000) Tibetan Population in China: Myths and Facts Re-examined. *Asian Ethnicity,* Vol. 1, No. 1.

Harrell-Bond, B. (1999) The experience of refugees as recipient of aid. In: A. Alger, (ed.), *Refugees Perspectives of the Experience of Forced Migration.* London and New York: Continuum.

Haug, R. (2002) Forced Migration, Processes of Return and Livelihood Construction among Pastoralists in Northern Sudan. *Disasters*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 70-84.

Helmer, M. and Hilhorst, D. (2006) Natural Disasters and Climate Change. *Disasters*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 1-4.

Herbst, J. (2000) Economic Incentives, Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa. *Journal of Africa Economics*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 270-294.

Hettne, B. and Saderbaum, F. (2005) Intervening in Compex Humanitarian Emergencies: The Role of Regional Cooperation. *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 449-461.

Hill, A. (2004) Protection versus promotion of IDP livelihoods in Columbia. *Forced Migration Review*, Vol. 20, pp. 21-23.

Hoile, D. (2004) *The Darfur Crisis: Looking Beyond the Propaganda.* Obtained on 15/05/2005 at: http://www.mediareviewnet.com.

Holdaway, S. (2000) Theory and Methods in Qualitative Research. In: D. Burton, (ed.), *Research Training for Social Scientists.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ickowitz, A. (2006) Shifting Cultivation and Deforestation in Tropical Africa: A Critical Reflection. *Development and Change*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 599-626.

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2007) *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2006* (April, 2006). Obtained on the 20/05/2007 at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, (2001a) *Climate change 2001: The Scientific Basis Contribution of Working Group I to the IPPC Third Assessment Report of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.* J. T. Houghton, Y. Ding, D. J. Griggs, M. Nogure, P. J. Van der Linden, X. Dai, K. Mashal, and C. A. Johnson, (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 881.

Intergovernmental Panel Climate Change, (2001b) *Synthesis Report 2001: Contribution of Working Groups I, II, and III. Third Assessment Report of intergovernmental Panel on Climate change.* R. Watson, (ed.), and member of the Writing Team. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 379.

IRC (2003) *Statistic on the Republic of Congo.* International Rescue Committee.

Iredale, R. (2001) *The Migration of Professionals:* Theories and Typologies. *International Migration, Vol. 39, No.5, pp.3-6.*

Itaru, O. and Gebre, Y. D. (2005) Displacement in Africa – Conceptual and Practical Concerns. In: O. Itraru, and Y. D. Gebre, (eds.), *Displacement Risk in Africa, Refugees Resettlement and Their Host Population.* Kyodai Kaikan: Kyoto University Press.

Jacobson, K. (2002) Livelihoods in Conflict. The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees, and the Impact on Human Security of the Host Community. *International Migration,* Vol. 5, No. 4 pp.95-121.

Jacobsen, K. (2005) *The Economic Life of Refugees.* Bloomfield, Kumarian Press, Inc.

Jacobsen, K. (2006) Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas: A livelihoods perpective. *Journal of Refugees Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 273-286.

Jenkins and Schmeidl (1995) Flight from violence: The origins and implications of World refugee crisis. *Sociological Focus,* Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 63-82.

Jeune Afrique, (1993) La Guerre du Petrol. *Jeune Afrique* No. 1690 of the 27 May to the 2nd June p.14.

Karekezi, S., Majoro, L. and Johnson, T. (2003) *Climate Change Mitigation in the Urban Transport Sector. Priorities for the World Bank:* World Bank.

Keely, C. B., Reed, H. E., and Waldman, R. J. (1999) Understanding Mortality Pattern in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies. In: H. E. Reed and C. B. Keely (eds.), *Forced Migration and Mortality.* Washington DC: National Academic Press.

Keller, S. L. (1977) *Uprooting and Social Change. The Role of Refugees in Development.* Dehli: Monohar Book Service.

Khan, S.G. (1981) *Study on Human Rights and massive Exodus: Question of violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms in any part of the World, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories.* Special Report to the Commission on Human Rights, 38th Session, United Nations Economic and Social Council, GE82-10252.

Khalil, M.I (2000) Conflict Resolution in Africa. *Journal of African Economics,* Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 295-322.

Kibble, S. (2000) Angola: Hearing the people's voice. *Development,* Vol. 43, No.3, pp. 94-98.

Kirbread, G. (2003) *Displacement, host governments' policies, and constraints on the construction of sustainable livelihoods.* UNESCO.

King, R., Feilding, A. & Black, R. (1997) Southern Europe and New Immigration. In: R. King., A. Feilding, and R. Black, (eds.), *Southern Europe and New Immigration.* Sussex: Sussex Academic Press.

Klienman, M. (2003) The Economic Impact of Labour Migration. *Political Quarterly* 2003 pp. 59-74.

Kritz, m. & Zlotnik, H (1992), Global interactions: Migration systems, processes, and policies. In: M. Kritz, L. Lim, and H. Zlotnik, (eds.), *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kunz, E.F. (1981). Exile and resettlement: Refugee Theory. *International Migration Review,* Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 42-61.

Kunz, E.F. (1973). The refugee in flight. Kinetic models and forms of displacement. *International Migration,* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 125-146.

Kvernrod, M. (2004) Microcredit: an 'oxygen infusion for a better live'. *Forced Migration Review,* Vol. 20, pp. 8 – 9.

Landou, L. (2006) Protection and Dignity in Johannesburg: Shortcimgs of the South Africa's Urban Refugee Policy. *Journal of Refugees Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 308-327.

Lazar, D. (2004) Selected issues in the philosophy of social science. In: C. Seale, (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Le Billion, P. (2001) Angola's political economy of war: The role of oil and diamonds. *African Affairs,* Vol. 100, No. 398, pp 55-80.

Lee, T (2001), The London declaration of International Law on Internally Displaced Persons: Its Significance and Implications. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 70-78.

Lee, T. (2002), The Refugee Convention and Internally Displaced Persons. *International Journal of Refugee Law,* Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 363-479.

Legros, D., Paquet, C. and Nabeth, P. (1999) The evolution of mortality among Rwandan refugees in Zaire between 1994-1997. In: H. E. Reed, and C. B. Keely, *Forced Migration and Mortality.* Washington DC: Academic Press.

Liddle, B. (2002) Sustainable Development and Globalization in a World with Unequal Starting Points. *RURDS* Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 256-281.

Loizos, P. (2000) Video, Film and Photographs as Research Documents. In: M. W. Bauer, and G. Gaskell, (eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound.* Thousand oaks: Sage.

Lufumpa, C. L. (2005) *The Poverty-Environmental Nexus In Africa.* Africa Development Bank, Oxford: Blackwell.

Luopajarvi, K. (2003) Is there an Obligation on States to Accept Humanitarian Assistance to Internally displaced Persons under International Law? *International Journal of Refugee Law,* Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 678-714.

Macchiavello, M. (2004) Livelihood strategies for urban refugees in Kampala. *Forced Migration Review,* Vol. 20, pp. 26-27.

MacGaffrey, J. and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000) *Congo-Paris: Transnational Traders on the Margin of the Law.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Mackintosh, A. (1997) Rwanda: beyond 'ethnic conflict'. *Development in Practice,* Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 464-474.

Macdonal, K. (2001) Using Documents. In: N. Gilbert, (ed.), *Researching Social Life.* Thousand Oaks. New Delhi: Sage.

Mamdani M. (2002) African states, citizenship and war: a case-study. *Interanational Affairs,* Vol. 78, No.3, pp. 493-506.

Martin, S. (200) Forced migration and the evolving humanitarian Regime. *New Issues in Refugee* Research, Woking paper No. 20

Martin, S. (2002) Averting Forced Migration in Countries in Transition. *International Migration,* Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 25-40.

Martini, (2006) Is EU abandoning non – refoulement? *Forced Migration* Review, No. 25, pp. 62.

Marrus, M. (1985) *The unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, A. & Taylor, J.E (1993) Theories of International Migration: A review and appraisal. *Population Review,* No. 19, pp. 431-466.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E (1998) *World in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

McEntire & Myers (2004) Preparing communities for disasters: issues and processes for government readiness. *Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 140-152.

Mearns, R. (2004) Sustaining Livelihoods on Mongolia's Pastoral Commons: Insight from a Participatory Poverty Assessment. *Development and Change,* Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 107-139.

Melvern, L. & Williams, P. (2004) Brittannia waived the rules: The Major government and the 1994 Rwanda genocide. *Africa Affairs,* Vol. 103, no. 410, pp. 1-22.

Mengo, G. (1993) *Congo la Transition Escamotée.* Paris : L'Harmattan.

Mokoko, J.M.M (1995) *Congo, le Temps du Devoir,* Paris : L'Harmattan.

Middleton, N. and O'Keefe, P. (2007) Politics, History and Problems of Humanitarian Assistance in Sudan. *Review of African Political Economic*, No. 109, pp.543-559

Mincer, J. (1974) *Schooling, experience, and earnings*. New York: National Bureau.

Minciardi, R., Sacile, R. and Trasforini, E. (2007) A decision support system for resource intervention in real-time emergency management. *International Journal of Emergency Management*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 9 pp. 59-71.

Mooney, D. (2000) Principle of Protection for Internally Displaced Persons. *International Migration* Vol. 38, No 6, pp. 81-101.

Moraes, C. (2003) The Politics of European Union Migration Policy. *The Political Quarterly*, pp. 116-131.

Morgan, M. H. and Pitcher, M. A. (2004) The 'basket case' and the 'poster child' explaining the end of civil conflict in Liberia and Mozambique. *Third world Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 501-519.

Morris, L. (2000) Britain's Asylum and Immigration Regime: the shifting contour of human right. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 409 – 425.

Morris, T. (2005) Chequered progress towards a common EU Asylum policy. *Migration review*, Vol. 23, pp. 116-131.

Mountford, A. (1997) Can a brain drain be good for growth in the source economy? *Journal of Development Economy*, Vol. 53, pp. 287-303.

Munslow B. (1999) Angola: the politics of unsustainable development. *Third World Quarterly- Journal of Emerging Areas*, Vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 551-568.

Muggah, R. (2003) A Tale of Two Solitudes: Comparing Conflict and Development induced Internal Displacement and Involuntary Resettlement, *International Migration*, Vol. 14, No. 5, pp. 5-31.

Myer, N. (1997) Environmental Refugees. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 167-182.

Nadig, A. (2003) Forced Migration and Global Processes. Report of the Eighth Conference of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, Chiang, Thailand. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 16, No.4 pp. 361-375.

Nateghi-Alahi, F and Izadkhah, Y. (2004) Earthquake disaster management planning in health care facilities. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, Vol. 13, pp. 130-135.

National Research Council (2006) *Surface Temperature Reconstruction for the last 2000 Years*. Washington, DC: National Academic Press.

National Research Council (2002) *Abrupt Climate Change, Inevitable Surprise*. Washington, DC: National Academic Press.

National Research Council, (2001) *Climate Change Science: Analysis of some key Questions*. Washington, DC: National Academic Press.

Newport & Jawahar (2003) Community participation and public Awareness in Disaster Mitigation. *Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 33-36.

Northumbria University (2006) *Ethics Consideration in Research.* http://www.northumbria.ac.uk/static/5007/section6.pdf.

Nsafou, G. (1996) Congo: *De la Démocratie a la Démocrature:* Paris : L'Harmattant.

Nyerberg-Sorensen, N., Van Hear, N. and Enberg-Pedersen, P. (2002) The Migration-Development Nexus State-of-the-Art Overview. *International Migration,* Vol. 4, No. 5, pp.769-791.

Nygren, H. (1998) Genocide in Rwanda: Lessons Learned and Future Challenges to the UN Human Rights System. *Nordic Journal of International Law,* Vol. 67, No. 2, pp. 165-213.

OECD (2007) Applying the guiding Principles in Countries with Special Needs. Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation. *Social Issues Migration/Health* Vol. 2007, No. 4, pp. 631-670.

OECD Development (2006) Congo Republic: *Africa Economic Outlook Part* 7 pp. 196-213.

O'Dempsey, T. J. D. and Munslow, B. (2006) Globalisation, Complex Humanitarian Emergencies and Health. *Annals of Tropical Medicine and Parasitology,* Vol. 100, No. 5 and 6, pp. 501-515.

Ogden, K. (2000) Coping Strategies Developed as a Result of Social Structure and Conflict in Kosovo in 19990s. *Disasters,* Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 117-132.

Organisation of Africa Unity (1969) *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.* Obtained on the 14/11/2005 at: http://www.africa-union.org/Official_Documents/Treaties.

Paton, D. (2003) Disaster Preparedness: a social-cognitive perspective. *Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 210-216.

Patton, M.Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods,* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Payne, G. and Payne, J. (2004) *Key Concepts in Social Research.* London. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi: Sage.

Perry, R. & Lindell, M. (2003) Preparedness for Emergency Response: Guideline for the Emergency Planning Process. *Disasters*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 336-350.

Phuong, C. (2002) Improving the United Nations response to Crises of Internal Displacement. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 491-517.

Piore, M. J. (1997) *Birds of passage: Migration labour in industrial societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Poverty and Climate Change (2003) *Reducing the Vulnerability of the Poor through Adaptation.* F. Sperling, (ed.), Inter-Agencies Report.

Priestley, M. and Hemingway, L. (2007) *Disability and Disaster Recovery: A tale of Two Cities?* Journal of Social Work in Disability and Rehabilitation, Vol. 5, No. 2-4, pp. 23-42.

Quantin, P. (1997) Congo: Transition démocratique et conjuncture critique. In: J. P. Daloz and P. Quintin (eds.), *Transitions Démocratiques Africaines.* Paris: Karthala.

Riddle, A. & Buckley, C. (1998) Forced Migration and Destination Choice: Armenian Forced Settlers and Refugees in the Russian Federation. *International Migration*, Vol. 36, No.2, pp. 235-253.

Rogel, C. (2003) Kosovo: Where It All Began. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society.* Vo. 17, No.1 pp.167-182.

Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research. A resource for social scientists and practitioners researchers.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Rubin, B. R. (2006) Central Asia and Central Africa Transnational Wars and Ethnic Conflicts. *Journal of Humanitarian Development*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 5-22.

Rudolph, C. (2001) Constructing an Atrocities Regime: The Politics of War Crime Tribunals. *International Organisation*, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 655-691.

Sadler, J. and Grattan, J. (1999) Volcano as agent of past environmental change. *Global and Planetary Change*, Vol. 21 pp. 181-196.

Salinger, M., Sivakumar, M., and Motha, R. (2005) Reducing Vulnerability of Agriculture and Forestry to Climate Variability and Change: Workshop Summary and Recommendations. *Climate change*,Vol. 70, No. 1-2, pp. 341-362.

Samura, S. (2006) *Living with Migrants.* CNN International, Saturday. August 5th 2006, 1900 GMT.

Sapsford, R. and Abbott, P. (1996) Ethics, Politics and Research. In: R. Sapsford, and V. Jupp, (eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis.* London. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi: Sage.

Sarantakos, S. (2005) *Social Research.* Palgrave, Macmillan: New York.

Schuster, L. (2003) *The Use and Abuse of political Asylum in Britain and Germany.* London. Portland: Frank Cass.

Schwadt, T. A. (1994) Constructivist interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In: N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Hand Book of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Seale, C. (2004) History of qualitative methods. In: C. Seale, (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture.* Thousand Oakes: S age.

Skeldon, R. (1997) *Migration and Development: A Global Perspective.* Horlow, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman.

Selm, J. V. (2003). Refugee protection policies and security. In: E. Newman, and J. V. Selm, (eds.). *Refugees and Forced Displacement. International Security, Human Vulnerability and State.* Tokyo. New York. Paris: United Nations University Press.

Shaluf, I and Said, A. (2003) A review of disasters and crisis. *Journal of Disaster Prevention and Management,* Vol. 12, No.1, pp. 24-32.

Shearer, D. (1999) Africa's Great War. *Survival,* Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 89-106.

Silverman, D. (2001) *Interpreting Qualitative Data in Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction.* London: Sage.

Silverman, D. (2004) Research and Social Theory. In: C. Seale, (ed.), *Research Society and Culture.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Sjaastad, L. A. (1962), The costs and returns of human migration. *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 70, No. 5, pp. 80-93.

Smeidl, S. (2003) The early warning of forced migration: State or human security? In: E. Newman, and J. V. Selm, (eds.), *Refugee and Forced Displacement. International Security, Human Vulnerability and State.* Tokyo. New York. Paris: United Nations Press.

Spalding, N. (2000) A Cultural Explanation of Collapse in to Civil War: Escalation of Tension in Nigeria. *Cultural Psychology,* Vol. 6, No.1, pp.51-87.

Stark, O. (2003) Rethinking the brain drain. *World Development,* Vol. 32, No 1, pp. 15- 22.

Stark, O. and Bloom, D. (1985) The new economics of labour migration. *America Economic Review,* Vol. 75, No. 2, pp.173-178.

Stark, O. and Taylor, J. (1989) Relative deprivation and international migration. *Demography*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.1-14.

Stark, O. and Taylor, J. (1991) Migration incentives, migration types; The role of relative deprivation. *The Economic Journal*, VoL.101, No. 408. pp.1163-1178.

Stone, D. (2005) *Refugee Livelihoods, Enhancing Livelihoods Security among Mauritanian Refugees. Northern Senegal: a case study*. EPAU/2005/ June 2005.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basic of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Soudan, F. (1997) L'amerture de Lissouba. *Jeune Afrique* No. 1905 of the 9th to the 15th July 1997 p.7.

Suparamaniam, N. and Dekker, S. (2003) Paradoxes of power: the separation of knowledge and authority in international disaster relief work. *Disaster Prevention and Management*. Vol.12, No. 4, pp. 312-318.

Swift, B. (1996) Preparing Numerical Data. In: R. Sapsford, and V. Jupp, (eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis*. London. Thousand Oaks. New Delhi. Sage Publication.

Talassa (2003) *Les engagement de la honte de Ntoumi et Sassou*. Talassa No. 0031.

Todaro, M. P. (1976) *Internal migration in developing countries: a review of theory, evidence*. Geneva: International labour office.

Thomas, K. (2002) *Development Projects and Involuntary Population Displacement: The World Bank's Attempt to correct Past Failures. Population Research Policy Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp.339-349.

Tiepolo, M. (1996) City Profile Brazzaville. *Cities*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp.117-124.

Travis, J. (2004) Credit-based livelihood interventions in Zambia refugee camp. *Forced Migration Review*, Vol. 20, pp. 10-12.

Turvey, R. (2007) Vulnerability Assessment of Developing Countries: The Case of Small-Island Developing States, *Development Issues Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 243-264.

Uche, C. (2002) Money Matters in a War Economy: The Biafra Experience. *National and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 29-54.

Uehling, G. (2004) Livelihoods of former deportees in Ukraine, *Forced Migration Review*, No 20, pp. 19-20.

United Nations (1951) Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. *United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 189*. Obtained on the 16/05/2005 from: http://www.unhcr.ch/html.

UN Report (2005) *UN plan 2004-2005 Country Team Republic of Congo.* Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs.

UNDP (2003) *Rapport National sur le Développement Humaine, République du Congo.* Obtained on the 10/05.2005 from : http://www.undp.org.

UNDP (2006) *Helping Africa Adapt to Climate Change.* Obtained on the 23/11/2006 from: http://www.undp.org/go.

UNHCR (2004) *Resettlement Handbook.* Geneva: UNHCR.

UNHCR (2006) *Plan D'Operation Par Pays: République du Congo. Annee de Planification 2006.* Brazzaville: UNHCR.

US Report (2006) *State Department, Congo-Brazzavill,* Bureau of Africa Affairs.

US Report (2006) *Congo Republic of: Country Report on Human Rights Practices in 2005.* Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour, Obtained from: http://www.state.gov/g/dls/hrrpt/2005/61564.htm obtained on the 26/02/2007.

Van Hear, N. (2000) Locating internally displaced people in the field of forced migration. *Norwegian Journal of Geography,* Vol. 54, pp. 90-95.

Valtonen, K. (2004) From the Margin to the Mainstream: Conceptualizing Refugee Settlement Processes. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* Vol. 17, No. 1, Oxford University Press.

Verkroren, G. W. (2005) The Challenges of Post-conflict Development. In: G. Junne, and W. Verkoren, (eds.), *Post-conflict Development: Meting New Challenges.* London: Lynne Rienner.

Verwimp, P. (2003) Testing the Double-Genocide Thesis for Central and Southern Rwanda. *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Vol. 47, No. 4.

Vidal, J. P. (1998), The effect of emigrating on human capital formation. *Journal of Population Economics,* Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 589-600.

Vliet, V. W. (1996) Sustainable Development, Global Restructuring and Immigrant Housing. *Habitat International,* Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 349-358.

Walter, J. (2003) *World Disaster Report,* International Federation of the Red Cross and Crescent Societies.

Wallerstein, I. (1983) *Historical Capitalism.* London: Verso.

Weiss, T. and Korn, D. (2006) *Internal Displacement: Conceptualisation and it Consequences.* London: Routledge.

Wiggans, R. (2004) Marketing refugees skills: an Oxford story. *Forced Migration Review*, No.20, pp. 24-25.

Wilde, R. (2001) The Refugee Convention at 50: Forced Migration Policy at the Turn of the Century. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 135-150.

Wilson, M. (1998) Asking Questions. In: R. Sapsford, and V. Jupp, (eds), *Data Collection and Analysis*. Thousand Oaks. New Dehli: Sage.

Whitaker, B. E. (2003) Refugees and the Spread of Conflict: Contrasting Cases in Central Africa. *Journal of Asian and Africa Studies*, Vol. 38, No 2-3, pp. 211-231.

Wood, B. W. (2001) Geographic aspect of genocide: a comparison of Bosnia and Rwanda. *Royal Geography Society*, Vol. 26, pp. 57-75.

World Commission on the Environment and Development (WCED) (1987), *Our Common Feature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Worldwide Refugee Information (2005) *Country Information Congo-Brazzaville*: USCR.

Zartman, I. W. and Vogeli, K. R. (2000) Preventing Gain and Preventing Lost: Collapse, Competition, and Coup in Congo. In: B. W. Jentleson, (ed.), *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World* Lanham. Boulder. New York. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Zetter, R., and Pearl, M. (2000) *The minority within the minority: Refugee community-based organisations in the UK and the impact of restriction on asylum seekers.* Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 675-697.

Zhang, Q., Devers, D., Desch, A., Justice, C. O. and Townshend, J. (2005) Mapping Tropical Deforestation in Central Africa. *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* Vol. 101, pp. 69-83.

Zhouri, A. (2004) Global-Local Amazon Politics Conflicting Paradigms in the Rainforest Campaign, *Theory, Culture & Society* Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 69-89.

Zlotnik, H. (1999) Trends of International Migration since 1965: What Existing Data Reveal. *International Migration*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 22-61.

APPENDIXES
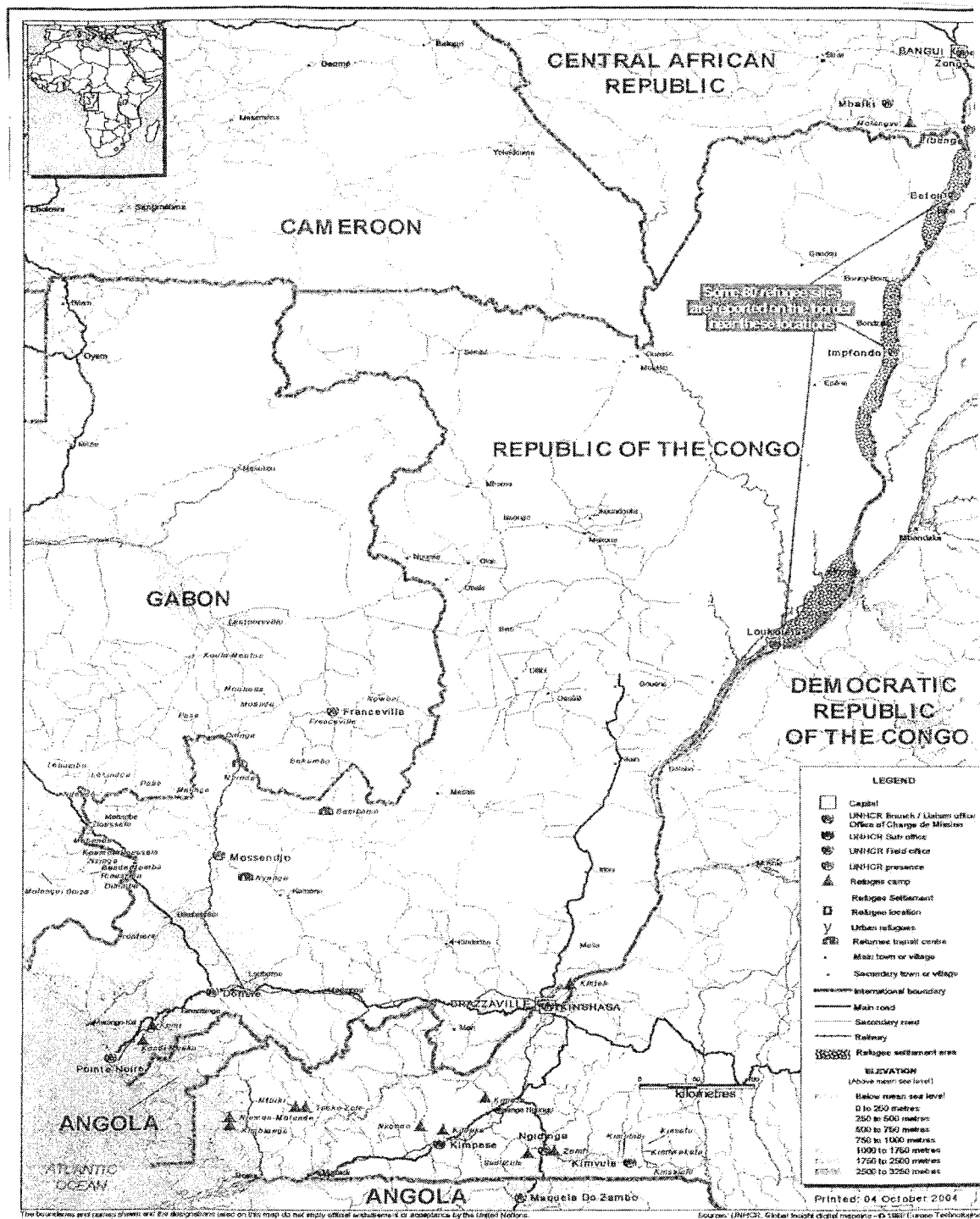
Figure 3
Map of the Republic of Congo and neighbouring countries

Source: UNHCR

NORTHUMBRIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF APPLIED SCIENCES
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
UNITED KINGDOM

PhD RESEARCH DEGREE

TITLE: DISPLACEMENT LIVELIHOOD AND SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE POUR LES REFUGIES/EMIGRES ECONOMIQUES.

L'objectif de ce questionnaire est d'obtenir l'information pour un usage académique.
Selon l'éthique de la recherche, le chercheur est dans l'obligation de s'assurer que
l'information que vous allez fournir ne pourra pas porter préjudice à votre personne,
maintenant ou dans les jours à venir.

1. Lequel des situations suivantes vous a fait quitté votre pays ?

   (a) Le système politique ?..

   (b) Le manque des affaires ?...

   (c) La guerre ?..

   (d) Le désir d'améliorer votre vie ?...

   (e) La pauvreté ?..

   (f) Le manque de travail ?...

   (g) Autre ?..

2. Est ce que l'une des situations suivantes vous est arrivée avant de quitter votre pays ?

   (a) La perte des biens ?..

   (b) La séparation de l'unité familière ?...

   (c) La perte d'un membre de votre famille ?...

   (d) L'emprisonnement ?..

3. Est ce que vous étiez victime de la torture ?.......................si oui, pouvez vous

   Nous en parler ?...

   ....

4. Aviez vous été abusé.......................si oui pouvez vous nous en parler ?......

....

5. Avez vous vécu dans un camp de réfugiés depuis que vous avez quitté votre pays ?

...........................si oui pour combien de temps................................

........................pouvez vous décrire les conditions suivantes :

   (a) Les conditions de vie ? ....

   (b) La nutrition ? ....

   (c) Votre protection ?..

6. Comment êtes-vous arrivé dans ce pays ?

     (a) Venant directement de votre pays d'origine ? ....

     (b) En passant par un autre pays ? ....

     (c) En passant par plusieurs pays ?...

     (d) Autres ?...

7. Est ce que vous vous êtes séparé d'un membre de votre famille ?.......................

si oui, qui................................et pourquoi..?

comment cela vous rend ?

   (a) Normal ?..

   (b) Fâché ?..

   (c) Amer ?...

   (d) Autres ?...

8. Par quel moyens êtes vous arrivé dans ce pays ?

   (a) Par vos propres efforts ?..

   (b) Grâce à l'assistance d'un prochain ?...

   (c) Autres ?...

9. Etes vous en contact avec votre pays d'origine ?............................si oui par quel

moyen ?...

10. Est ce que la situation qui a causé votre déplacement s'amélioré ? ....

Si oui de quelle façon ?...

....

11. Si la situation devenait normale dans votre pays, aimeriez vous y

retourner ?..si non pourquoi ?.............................

....

12. Vous êtes dans ce pays depuis combien de temps ? ....

13. Pouvez vous parler la langue officielle?..

14. Avez vous le droit d'étudier ?..

15. Etudiez vous actuellement ?...

....

16. Avez vous le droit de travailler ?..........................si oui avez vous un travail..

....

....

17. Est ce que vous aviez été victime des actes discriminatoires ?............................

..................si oui que s'est-il passé et où ?...

....

18. Comment sont vos rapports avec les membres de votre quartier ?.........................

....

....

19. Est ce que les choses vont bien pour vous dans ce pays ?.........si non quel

est le/les problème(s)..

....

20. Quel été votre niveau d'études avant le départ de votre pays ?

    (a) Ecole primaire?...

    (b) Ecole secondaire ?..

    (c) Le Lycée ?..

    (d) L'enseignement supérieur ?...

    (e) Autres ?..

21. Quelle était votre occupation avant le déplacement ?...........................

22. Est ce que vous trouvez votre nourriture traditionnelle ici ?.........................

23. Avez vous assez à manger ?...si non ......

    Pourquoi ?...

24. Avez-vous accès aux services suivants ?

    (a) Service social ?...

    (b) Soins médicaux ?..

    (c) Assistance légale ?...

25. Avez-vous une source de revenus ?...................si non comment survivez-vous ?...

....

26. Quel est votre age ?

    (a) Entre 18 et 22ans.................... (b) Entre 23 et 30 ans.......................

    (b) Entre 31 et 45ans..................... (d) Entre 46 et 55 ans.......................

    (e)Entre 56 et 60 ans...................... (f) 61 ans et au dé la.........................

27. Etes-vous en contact avez les autres ressortissants de votre pays ?.....................

  si oui comment ?

    (a) Grâce à des amis ?...

    (b) grâce à une association ?...

(c) Avec l'aide de l'église ?..

28. Pouvez-vous résoudre vos problèmes ? ....

....

....

29. Souffrez-vous d'un des cas suivants ?

    (a) Le stress ?..

    (b) La dépression ?...

    (b) L'inquiétude ?...

30. Etes-vous sous traitement ?..

....

31. Est ce que vous fumez ?..

32. Est ce que vous prenez les boissons alcoolisés ?....................................

33. Statut familier :

    (a) Marié ?..

    (b) Séparé ?...

    (c) Veuve ?..

    (d) Autres ?...

34. Avez-vous des dépendants ?

    (a) Les enfants ?....................................si oui combien ?............................

    (b) D'autres membres de votre famille ?...

35. Avez vous d'autres membres de votre famille dans ce pays ?.............. si oui pourquoi

n'êtes vous pas ensemble ?..

....

36. Comment etes -vous venu au Congo ?

     (a) En avion ?..

     (b) Par camion ?..

     (c) En voiture ?...

     (d) A pied ?..

37. Le voyage vous a pris combien du temps ?

     (a) Des jours ?..

     (b) Des mois ?...

     (c) Des années ?...

38. Sexe ?

     (a) Masculin ?..

     (b) Féminin ?..

39. Statut

     (a) Réfugié ?...;

     (b) Demandeur d'asile ?...

     (c) Emigré économique ?...

40. Pays D'origine ?...

NORTHUMBRIA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF APPLIED SCIENCES
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
UNITED KINGDOM

PhD RESEARCH DEGREE

TITLE: DISPLACEMENT LIVELIHOOD AND SUSTAINABLE
DEVELOPMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE POUR LA POPULATION LOCALE.

L'objectif de ce questionnaire est d'obtenir l'information pour un usage
académique. Selon l'éthique de la recherche, le chercheur est dans l'obligation
de s'assurer que l'information que vous aller fournir ne pourra pas porter
préjudice à votre personne, maintenant ou dans les jours a venir.

1. Pensez-vous que nous devons avoir les réfugiés dans ce pays' ....

(a) Expliquez-vous ?...

    ....

2. Avez-vous les réfugiés qui vivent dans votre quartier? ....

3. Comment sont les rapports entre vous et ces réfugiés?

(a) Bon ?.... ....

(b) Assez bon ?...

(c) Mauvais ? ....

4 Est-ce que d'après vous, les réfugiés doivent avoir accès:

(a) au travail ? ....

(b) à L'education ?...

(c) aux Services de santé ?...

(d) aux Services sociaux ?..

(e) Expliquez-vous ? ....

(h) Sa maîtrise de votre langue?

(i) Son statut familier?

10. D'après vous, est-ce que la présence des réfugiés et des émigrés économiques a créé une charge supplémentaire aux services suivants:

(a) Service de sécurité?

(b) Service de santé?

(c) Service de transport?

(d) Le logement?

(e) L'emploi?

(f) Service de l'éducation?

(g) Service social?

11. D'après vous, est-ce que la présence des réfugiés et émigrés économiques a créé:

(a) Les nouveaux emplois?

(b) Les nouvelles affaires?

(c) Les nouveaux talents/capacités?

(d) Une nouvelle culture?

(e) Plus de vivre à manger?

(f) Les nouveaux marchés?

(g) Les nouveaux quartiers?

(h) Les nouvelles langues?

    si oui, est-ce que c'est une bonne chose?

12. Généralement, croyez-vous que les réfugiés et émigrés économiques peuvent

contribuer au développement de votre pays?

Expliquez-vous? ....

....

13. D'après vous, lequel de ces problèmes est crée par la présence de réfugiés et émigrés économiques?

(a) Destruction des champs et des vergers ?...................... ....

(b) Déforestation et la destruction des plantes? ....

(c) La pollution des eaux? ....

(d) La perte des cours d'eaux? ....

(e) La surcharge des cours d'eaux? ....

(f) La pêche des poissons non contrôle? ....

(g) Destruction des pâturages? ....

(h) La hausse de la criminalité? ....

(i) Plus de maladies? ....

14. Avez-vous le contact avez les réfugiés et les émigrés économiques?
....

Si oui, dans lequel de ces milieux?

(a) Dans votre quartier? ....

(b) A votre lieu de travail? ....

(c) Dans les réunions de quartier? ....

(d) A L'ecole? ....

(e) Au marche? ....

(f) Pendant les activités sportives? ....

(h) Dans les bars/boites de nuit? ....

(i) Dans les cafès/restaurants? ....

15. Avez-vous un membre de famille qui ne vit pas avec vous? ....

   si oui ou est-elle/il?

(a) Dans une autre partie de votre pays? ....

(b) Dans un autre pays Africain? ....

(c) En Europe? ....

(d) Aux Etats-Unis? ....

(e) Ne vit plus? ....

(d) Autres? ....

16. Est-ce que elle/il vous manque? ....

   si oui pourquoi? ....

   ....

17. Est-ce que vous avez eu à vous déplacer? ....

   si oui en quelle année....................... ....Et pourquoi?

   ....

18. Quel est votre âge?

(a) Moins de 18 ans .... (b) Entre 18 et 22 ans......................

(c) Entre 23 et 30 ans .... (d) Entre 31 et 45 ans......................

(e) Entre 45 et 55 ans .... (f) Entre 56 et 60 ans ....

(g) Plus de 60 ans ....

19. Sexe

(a) Masculin? .... (b) Feminin? ....

(c) Autre? ....

20. Statut familial

(a) Marie? .... (b) celibataire? ....

(c) Separe? (d) Veuve?

21. Avez-vous les dépendants?

(a) Les enfants? .... Combien? ....

(b) Membre de votre famille? .... combien? ....

22. Votre pays d'origine? ....

Organisation of Data obtained through Questionnaires Interviews.

Hypotheses	Tables
The way migrants identify themselves as displaced people influence their livelihoods strategies	5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, 5.29, 6.1, 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.9, 6.10.
The socio-economic status and capabilities of individual migrants as perceived by the host country immigration/asylum policies has an impact on post-displacement livelihoods and resettlement	5.4, 5.16, 5.17, 6.3.
Migrants' ability to acquire a pre-knowledge on host country has an impact on their livelihoods strategies	5.15, 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19,6.20
Displacement as a process is a set back to sustainable development in migrants' sending and receiving communities	5.13, 5.14, 5.21, 5.22, 5.23, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26, 5.27, 5.28, 5. 29, 6.8, 6.11, 6. 12.

Data Reduction Matrix (Forced Migrants Brazzaville)

Respondent & Country of Origin	Positive Impact of pre-displacement status on settlement	Positive Impact of pre-displacement capabilities on settlement	Positive Impact of displacement track on settlement	Positive Impact of migration track on livelihoods reconstruction
Madame Alice From DRC	Yes (Is literate and has leave to remain)	No (Has not been able to find any employment)	No (Journey from DRC was easy across the river)	No (Is depending on assistance so far)
Mr Obiando from Equatorial Guinea	Yes (Was a member of government in his country, has leave to remain)	No (Has been in Congo for ten years but no job at all)	No (Did not talk of any incidents while fleeing)	Unknown (Is after evacuation for health raisons)
Mr Edward from Rwanda	No (Is semi-literate has claim asylum but no proof)	No (Inability to get organised on his own so depends on goodwill)	No (Walked from the DRC on foot and is ill with a bad kidney poblem)	No (Can not do farm work like other because of kidney problem)
Guy from Tchad	No (Claimed asylum in 1999 but has been told he is	Yes (Was a mechanic and is exercising in his field, works	No (No incidents within displacement	No (No skills or capabilities gained in the course of

276

	no a refugee)	and deals on motor spare parts)	tract were recorded)	displacement mentioned)
Pierre from DRC	No (Is treated as a subversive element despite his asylum claim)	No (His being seen as subversive for his links to the military profession)	No (From DRC and needed just to cross river Congo)	No(Came from DRC and journey was easy)
Jean from Rwanda	No (Was a student when genocide occurred but is a prima facie refugee)	Yes (Has been industrious thanks to his hard work and discipline)	Yes (They arrived in a group and were given prima facie status but is resettling well)	Yes (Difficulties in the walk across DRC are a plus to his resilience)
Nicholas from DRC	Yes (Was granted refugee status on grounds of being a child soldier)	yes (Is in need of training for a career but has worked in the protection sector in Brazzaville)	Yes (The fact that he escaped from the war front makes his case even more pathetic)	Yes (Advocates for his rights and argues that he has had trouble all his life)
Charles from Liberia	No (Has been told is not a refugee because Liberia is too far away)	No (Is living as a bigger because of no humanitarian assistant)	No (It is suggested that he is not a refugee because he is too far away from home)	No (Got to Congo in a ship which is no set back to his being in a helpless situation)
Michel from DRC	No (His past as a security officer is a hindrance to his asylum claim)	No (While asylum claim is pending has no source of income and depends on goodwill)	No (Crossed to the Republic of Congo through the help of human rights officer but is facing further persecution)	No (Looks forward to leaving the host country for personal reasons)
Beatrice from Rwanda	No (Was a teacher prior to being displaced but has been an asylum seeker for eight years)	Yes (Has been employed by humanitarian bodies to work with refugees. Can adopt to changes)	No (Came in a group and individual asylum claim have no out come)	Yes (The long struggle on the way let to resilence and is a source of will power)
Gerald from DRC	No (Yes was a lawyer and has been in trouble for	No(Is a strong advocate of the proper implementation	No (Is ill and thinks his illness could be a direct	No (Has no assistance despite his refugee status

277

	defending refugees rights)	of UNHCR policies, which landed him in trouble)	result of his struggle in Northern Congo)	because he was expelled from former country of asylum)
Francois from DRC	Yes (Sees himself as an economic migrant)	Yes (Yes has a job close to the line of his pre-displacement profession)	No (Came from DRC on his own and easily)	No (Came from DRC easily and got a job through personal effort)
Alphonse from Rwanda	No (Has been in Congo for nine year yet no outcome on asylum claim)	Yes (Was a student prior to displacement but has been consistent in resourcefulness)	No (Arriving in group gave him prima facie status with no assistance)	Yes (Walking through the DRC forest could be seen as fortifying factor)
Focus group interview with Liberia	No (Were Displaced from home country but not seen as such in Congo)	No (No status and no means of survival have to rely on goodwill must of the time).	No (None of them targeted Congo. Were all going to Europe or South Africa)	No (Believe they deserve assistance by virtue of being Liberians)
Alain from Angola	No (Came in with uncle while a child)	Yes (Even though asylum claim has been pending for years in Brazzaville, has set up business)	No (Came in from Cabinda in Angola to the Republic of Congo with ease)	No (Has no assistance even though wife is in a family way)

Respondent & Country of Origin	Positive Impact of Knowledge of Host Country on Identity	Positive Impact of Host Country's Asylum/ Immigration Policies on Identity	Link Between Livelihoods Strategies and Aspired Identity
Madame Alice From DRC	Yes (From neighbouring country and opted for asylum)	Yes (Is one of the few to be granted refugee status)	Yes (Is being assisted and has micro-project grant in the pipeline)
Mr. Obiando from Equatorial Guinea	Yes (Had been in Congo in the past and had previous knowledge)	Yes (Asylum claim lasted for nine years but persisted right through)	Yes (Is very aware of his survival options as a refugee)
Mr. Edward from Rwanda	No (Had been an asylum seeker previously in DRC)	No(Has claimed asylum but has no official proof)	Yes (Is more concern with health but deplores poor handling of his asylum claim)
Guy from Tchad	Yes (Thinks that as	No (Has claimed	Yes (Says he need

	a Tchadien he can never be granted refugee status in Congo but has opted to setting up a business venture)	asylum since five year and had three interviews to no avail)	the refugee status in order to work toward a better future)
Pierre from DRC	No (From DRC, claimed asylum and considers himself vulnerable)	No (Says UNHCR is conniving with Congolese government against him)	Yes (Is aware of his rights as a refugee and hopes to take UNHCR to court some day)
Jean from Rwanda	Yes (Says he claimed asylum in order get protection)	Yes (Claimed asylum but did not wait for humanitarian aid)	Yes (Questioned his being a refugee because of no assistance)
Nicholas from DRC	Yes (Was a soldier but escaped from the war front)	Yes (Was granted refugee status as child soldier)	Yes (After being granted refugee status, he needs to get some training for a future career)
Charles from Liberia	No (Got to Congo in a ship in an attempt to get to Europe)	No (Has claimed asylum but no outcome on his claim for two years)	Yes (Charles says he has to beg to survive because his asylum claim is static)
Michel from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	No (Host country was only the last option)	No (He thinks his asylum claim is pending because the host government is acting in respect of existing regional accords)	Yes (His aspiration is to get to a country with adequate structures to offer protection and assistance to refugees)
Beatrice from Rwanda	No (Fled through the DRC where was living in a refugee camp)	No (Has been in the country for eight year and asylum claim has no out come)	Yes (Looking forward to assistance because believes she is a refugee)
Gerald from DRC	No (Was removed from his first country of asylum and taken to Congo)	No (Despite his being granted the refugee status in his first country of asylum, is not consider a refugee in Congo)	Yes (Thinks his rights as a refugee are not respected in Congo, wanted to go abroad for treatment as a refugee)
Francois from DRC	Yes (He new much about Congo and got there as an economic migrant)	Yes (He decided to stay as an economic migrant despite the war in his country)	Yes (Got to Congo, opted to be an economic migrant and has reconstructed a

			livelihood)
Alphonse from Rwanda	No (Came from refugee camp in DRC)	No (Has not got any individual asylum claim processed)	Yes (Has kept his refugee identity despite not being assisted)
Focus group interview with Liberians	No (Were displaced prior to arrival in the Republic of Congo)	No (Are from a war turn country but have not been granted refugee status)	Yes (Believe they are refugees and should be assisted by the UN)
Alain from Angola	Yes (Claimed asylum on arrival in the Republic of Congo)	No (He believe that the alliance between his country and the Republic of Congo puts him at risk)	Yes (Because his goods were looted by soldiers he had to turn to UNHCR and seek for assistance)

Data Reduction Matrix (Civil Society Brazzaville)

Name of Civil Society Organization &Staff	Perception on Displacement Related Issues	Services Provided to The Displaced	Obstacles Encountered	Conceived Good Practice
IDP Camp representative at Ex-Sotexco, Brazzavlle	Represents about three handred families left with no assistance. Does his best to run the camp.	None officially because camp is considered to be officially closed for being on the wrong side of the city.	No assistance and pipe borne water disconnected. Congestion and life in precarious conditions.	Reinstate assistance and resettlement packages distributed to enable war victims to resettle.
Village Chief at Kintele Village, Brazzaville	Village invaded by immigrants and unsustainable use of scarce resources.	Hospitality of the entire locals and ensuring a peaceful coexistence.	Absence of any schemes to regulate use of depleteable resources. No official assistance.	Screen immigrants and deal with the unsustainable use of scarces resources.
UNHCR Brazzaville social affaire officer	Has to deal with vulnerability of host population and refugees.	In principle assistance to holders of refugee status and vulnerable asylum seekers.	Post conflict state of affair in country, no respect of the rights of the displaced by forces of law.	Reach out to all displaced people in need of assistance, mostly the vulnerable ones.

			and order.	
Director of the CNAR, Brazzaville	All forced migrants are welcome but they must not strive to destabilise their countries of origin.	Limited material assistance available but work with UNHCR to provide assistance.	Poor mentality of some forced migrants, lack of material assistance and limited infrastructures.	Provide adequate assistance and hospitality to all forced migrants in Congo.
Immigration officer at the beach where ships are boarded to DRC for Brazzaville	Difficulties in dealing with people coming from war turn countries such as th DRC.	Give the benefit of the doubt to forced migrants with no identification coming from war zones.	Poor infrastructures, corruption of transport personnel and DR Congo immigration officers.	Construct a modern beach with control facilities and stamp out corruption from top to bottom.
Representative of migrants in Kintele camp, Brazzaville	No official assistance is offered to the camp inhabitants since 1999. But helps run the camp.	Assist the camp residents to live in peace and exploit their potentials and capabilities.	No means of assisting the vulnerable, children, the old, the handicaps and women.	Reinstate assistance to all camp residents and process their individual asylum claims.
Former IRC employee in northern Congo.	Forced migrants are people fleeing from upheavals	Receive forced migrants and assist them in their bid to resettle.	Intolerance of certain forced migrants.	Assist forced migrants but also take in to account the problems they create.
President DRC immigrants Kintele Beach Brazzaville	Though displaced by armed conflict they are reluctant to claim asylum.	Help DRC citizens to stick together and assist each other mostly in time of trouble.	No form of assistance means that they have to share rare resource with locals.	Provide assistance and livelihoods options to all the displaced people.
Representative of the CEMIR, Brazzaville	Generally demanding and intolerant	Only refugees and very vulnerable asylum seekers are eligible to any assistance.	Vulnerable situation of the host population and inability to assist all forced migrants.	More assistance to the displaced but also tackle the problems posed by the local population.
Co-ordinator of CARITAS Brazzaville	Assist IDPs who are generally very vulnerable.	Coordinate WFP food items and hygiene and	Limited assistance to the huge numbers of	More assistance to the IDPs but lasting peace

		sanitation supplies and provide farming tools where necessary.	IDPs and insecurity faced by aid workers in conflict zones.	as durable solution.

Data Reduction Matrix Forced Migrants Newcastle

Respondent & Country of Origin	Positive Impact of Pre-displacement Status on Settlement	Positive Impact of Pre-displacement Capabilities on Settlement	Positive Impact of Migration Track on Settlement	Positive Impact of Migration Track on Livelihoods Reconstruction
Alice from Rwanda	Yes (Was employed as an accountant prior to displacement and has been granted leave to remain in the UK)	Yes (Has been in the country for close to 5 years but still studying. Such capabilities have played a role in her being able to study)	Yes (Went through two countries before coming to the UK. Hardship she faced on the way plays part in the sky being the limit of her ambitions)	No (Has a source of livelihoods which is linked to her being a university student in the UK)
Edward from Cameroon	No (Was a student prior to displacement but asylum claim took three years to be processed)	Yes (Could not use them until recently because not allow to work when he was an asylum seeker but was able to acquired knew skills)	No (Had a relatively fast journey by air to the UK taking just a day and a half)	No (Livelihoods reconstruction was held back by identity conferred to him)
Alain from Republic of Congo	No (Was a banker prior to displacement but asylum claim not processed for	No (Can not use them to recreate a livelihood, as long as is an asylum seeker)	No (Did not help his asylum claim and no evidence of any skills gain	Yes (Did not attempt to recreate any livelihoods through black jobs less claim

282

	three years)		on the way)	is affected due to difficulties endured on migration track)
Chantal from DR Congo	No (Claims of persecution linked to profession refuted so far)	No (Is not allowed to work while an asylum seeker)	No (Had no impact on claim so far and no evidence of new skills acquired on the way)	No (Not given the change to recreate a livelihood so far)
Ben from Rwanda	Yes (Was an agriculture engineer prior to displacement)	Yes (Had a quick positive decision on asylum claim and is employed)	Yes (Might have strengthen asylum claim)	No (No evidence in transcript)

Respondent & Country of Origin	Positive Impact of Knowledge of Host Country on Identity	Positive Impact of Host Country's Asylum/Immigration Policies on Identity	Link Between Livelihoods Strategies and Aspired Identity
Alice from Rwanda	Yes (She new a Zambia passport would enable her to travel to the UK)	Yes (Had a quick decision and has sice been resettling as best she could)	Yes (As a refugee is studying as a home student and receiving child benefit plus student loan)
Edward from Cameroon	Yes (Thought he would be more safe in the UK)	Yes (Refugee status held back for three years with many appearances)	Yes (He is in full time employment now that he has refugee status)
Alain from the Republic of Congo	Yes (Relatives thought he would be better in the UK than France)	No (Long time in dealing with his asylum claim and misinterpretation of the cause of his displacement)	Yes (Refused to take on illegal employment to maintain chances of acquiring aspired identity).
Chantal from DRC	Yes (Thought would be safer in the UK)	Yes (Believes asylum claim has been wrongly turned down so far)	Yes (Thinks her future in host country is uncertain without aspired status)
Ben from Rwanda	No (Yes, got re-displaced many time before getting to the UK)	Yes (Asylum claim processed in a reasonably fast time with positive out come)	Yes (Had been a refugee in DRC and Kenya and then UK)

Data Reduction Matrix (Civil Society Newcastle upon Tyne)

Name of Civil Society Organization & Staff	Perception on Displacement Related Issues	Services Provided to Involuntary Migrants	Obstacles Encountered	Conceived Good Practice
Project Co-ordinator West End Refugee Service	Government asylum policies have become more and more restrictive of late and a lot of negativism on asylum seekers is flared by the media.	One stop advice service; preventive counselling service; hardship fund; second hand clothes; home visits; education programme in school, churches, and clubs.	Limited funding available; emotional difficulties in handling day to day issues brought up by clients; countering misinformation on asylum by sensational journalists.	Restore legal aid to asylum solicitors; improve government asylum legislation; maintain consistency in the asylum determination process.
Head of Befriender Service West End Refugee Service	Discrimination by locals could be due to misconceptions; right message could change view of locals on asylum seekers.	Home visits to clients who are asylum seekers/refugees; provide sign posting service; and take clients to social events.	Lack of volunteers to take part in the scheme; limited funding means that scheme can not provide for interpreters.	No discrimination by host population; more funding to improve services provided to refugees/asylum seekers.
Case Worker North of England Refugee Service	Whole NASS system ineffective; government policy on the asylum seekers' right to employment which causes skilled people to be a state burden	One stop support services to asylum seekers and refugees which in most cases are hampered by NASS staff inefficiency.	Having to deal with a variety of problems caused by mixed up caused by wrong decisions made by NASS.	Allow asylum seekers to become self-sufficient and contribute toward tax revenues through employment.
2nd Case worker North	UN 1951 Refugee	Housing services to refugees and	Striking the right balance	Awareness programmes to

of England Refugee Service	Convention out of touch with today socio-political crises; Countries try to adopt the Geneva Convention according to ideologies and set out goals	asylum seekers; integration projects; and move on services.	in proving assistance to asylum seekers and refugees while respecting the Home Office asylum and immigration policies	enable good dissemination of information on host as well as refugees and asylum seekers cultures in a bid to foster peaceful co-existence.
President African community Advice Northeast	There is a need for more projects geared toward a bottom-top advocacy to asylum seekers and refugees livelihoods options. There is a lacuna in the motivation of Refugees Communities Organisations.	One-stop advice service to asylum seekers and refugees of African decent; provide information on available services and help clients built up confidence; provide assistance to client on education, cultural and integration related issues.	Misjudgement and wrong perceptions on who a refugee/asylum seeker is; government is closer to organisations it can control; funding problems limits range of services ACANE can offered to clients.	Central system may have it limits so asylum seekers and refugees should take initiatives; more projects fostering relations between locals and asylum seekers/refugee; right of all displaced people to post displacement livelihoods.