Refugee and Development in Tanzania: An Exploration of benefits of Refugee Presence on Local Communities A case of North Western Tanzania

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ABSTRACT:

Since its independence, Tanzania has been the location of choice for many refugees in the Great Lakes region of Eastern Africa. As one of the most impoverished countries in the world, mass refugee migrations such as those experienced in the 1990s alter Tanzania's own plight for social and economic development. This study explores the effects that refugees have had upon host communities' economy in North Western Tanzania. The study has shown that there is a variety of evidence to prove both positive and negative effects. Although in contrary to many attestations of most scholarly literatures the study has shown that the benefits that the refugees provide are greater than the liability that they pose. According to the findings of this study the presence of refugees in Tanzania has been shown to increase the economic capacity through infrastructure and employment opportunities. In addition, the influx has also increased the volume of trade and amount of income to host communities. A balance sheet is created in order to appraise the relative economic effects that the refugees have caused throughout the years. Such a balance sheet should be considered in the development and implementation of future refugee policies to ensure appropriate treatment of the refugees and the host population in addition to supporting national economic growth.

Key words: Refugee, Development, Local communities, livelihood strategy, North Western Tanzania

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 Research problem:

Over the years, many studies have been undertaken with regard to refugee issues on their causes, experiences, constrains, solutions, effects etc. The impact of a mass influx of refugees and internally displaced people on the communities that receive and host them is understudied and not well understood, notwithstanding the large and growing number of humanitarian aid that come with it. It is more than obvious that the interaction between refugees and the host community may have some influence on the socio-economical situation of host community. That is also to say Socio-economic status of host community is affected in one way or the other due to the presence of refugees and the related relief aid. This is especially true when numbers are as earthshaking as they were in Ngara District, North western Tanzania.

Little researches have been conducted on examining the impact that refugees have on host population. An important reason for these limitations may be the fact that refugee relief organisations and refugees studies all have refugees as their focus and concern at the first place and other related factors taken as secondary. (Chambers, 1986; Callamard, 1994; Whitakker, 1999). When impacts on host populations are measured in general terms i.e. of host country governments, economies and services rather than in terms of people or different groups among the host population at the household level, the adverse effects of refugees on the different groups are normally uncared for. In literature, this is what is called '*Refugee-centrism*'. Where in terms of importance refugees come first, hosts second, (Chambers, 1986).

It's indeed true that the presence of refugees has generally imposed significant burden on local infrastructure, environment, and resources. For instance there has been a steady decline in security in the border regions with Rwanda, Burundi and DRC which has impacted local populations and refugees. Most host Governments tend to concentrate mostly on the negative aspects of refugee presence in order to secure development funding from international community and donors.

Nevertheless, Refugees can also benefit hosts by providing cheap labor to local producers, expanding consumer markets for local goods, and justifying increased foreign aid. Thus, the reception of refugees can sometimes be seen as part of a government's broader development plan.

The debate of refugee impact on its host country's economy has not been addressed as widely or thoroughly as the ordeal that the refugees themselves endure (Chambers, 1986; Whitaker, 1999; Vas Dev, 2003). Therefore, it is important to shed greater light on this subject matter in order to better understand how the Tanzanian national

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government can best address refugee populations and mitigate any negative effects on the national economy. Based on the limited amount of information and studies available, this study therefore, aims at redressing this gap by exploring and explains the impact of the refugee presence on host populations using Ngara District, North Western Tanzania as a case study.

1.1 Research objectives:

Main Objective:

The main purpose of this study is to explore the impact of refugee presence and related relief and aid resources on local community in Ngara District.

Specific Objectives:

- **1.** To examine the extent to which the influx and the presence of refugees have influenced the socio-economic status of the people.
- **2.** To examine the implication of the refugee repatriation upon the socio-economic status of the resident host community.

1.2 Research Questions:

The key research question guiding this study has been: "What are the most important changes in the socioeconomic environment in Ngara District that have been brought about by the presence of refugees". It is from this key research question some more specific questions to solicit data will be developed.

1.3 Research hypothesis:

On the basis of the above objectives the following hypothesis is formulated and guides the study: Mass influxes of refugees and related relief aid resources have influence on socio-economic status on local host communities.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH:

2.0 Research Methodology:

This section illustrates the patterns and procedures, which were considered as best to raise valid conclusion and therefore employed in the whole process of conducting this study.

This part particularly presents the following;

- The population from which the participants were obtained.
- The manner in which and how many participants were obtained.
- The way in which data were collected.
- The methods used for processing and analysing the data obtained.
- Problems that the researcher encountered in the course of undertaking the study

Kothari C.R (2004) views research methodology as a way to systematically solve the research problem with the purpose of providing the collection of relevant information at the minimum cost in terms of time and money. Baker & Shirts (1972:1999) further suggested that there is no single research method that can universally be accepted and applied. Therefore, the methods to been employed in sampling, data collection and analysis of any research depend on the nature and the types of the problem investigated.

In order to answer the questions and test the hypothesis set to this study, two levels of research have been created in order to collect sufficient empirical data¹². The first level includes the regional/local context of Ngara District. Through interviews with key informants and document reviews the necessary information has been collected. Key informants included employees of the aid organisations, local civil servants and local people with knowledge of the area and its people. Furthermore, religious leaders, and long-time businesspersons have been interviewed.

The second level of research contains the household, which has been explored via questionnaire.

2.1 Research Design:

Research design is a plan for conducting a research. Kothari C.R argued the same as the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. It constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. A research design is implemented in order to attempt to find answers to the focused questions, and to test the hypotheses that were formulated by the researcher.

In view of the nature of the research problem, this study has adopted qualitative design. That means the data to be obtained are not ordinarily expressed in numerical terms. However, there is no universal or single correct design in conducting a research but rather a design is largely dictated by the nature of the study and many other practical considerations that emanate from the problem being studied. That is to say, it does not mean that numerical figures are not at all featured in this study but rather description is emphasized (analysis is done mostly in words i.e. descriptive).

This technique is used purposely because the study wanted to obtain accurate and in depth information from the participants' point of view, in order to bring to surface the impacts of refugee presence on local host communities.

¹² These levels should not be confused with the three levels in the conceptual model.

2.2 Sampling protocol:

Sampling is essential not only in qualitative research alone, but in all kinds of research. Sampling specifies the elements to be observed or studied. It enables the researcher *define* who and where the data for the study will come from. Is the data to be obtained from individuals, groups, or organizations? Besides the definition of who will be studied, sampling also helps maintain some level of representation.

The Sampling scope of the study; It was definitely not possible for the whole Ngara district population to participate, that's why in this study I decided to confine myself to Ngara village as a representative of Ngara district. The reason for choosing this area was based on its extensive history of hosting refugees. Both refugee camps in Ngara were located in and/or around this particular village - thus, provide an ideal sample model of study. Moreover, the reason for the choice was also based on the experience of the researcher in that area. Therefore enough and viable information about the study was expected to be easily obtained here.

The conceptual scope; In the course of this study, the researcher opted to confine himself to the socio-economic impacts, which are those that linked to social and economic relationship only.

2.3 Study population and Sampling:

A study population can simply be referred to as the group of people of interest from whom information can be obtained.

Sampling: The idea behind use of samples in this study was that the researcher believes that it is absolutely impossible to reach everybody due to several limitations such as financial, long distance¹³, and time constraints. Due to that fact, a decision to select a small proportion to participate was considered imperative. The assumption behind the selected samples being that they are true representative of the population i.e. they contain most of the characteristics that are present in the population.

Therefore, in order to get the required respondents, this study employed the following sampling techniques as enumerated below;

Purposive sampling: This is a procedure whereby researcher deliberately selects respondents basing on the knowledge, experience and beliefs towards the researched problem. The primary assumption in purposive sampling is that by selecting persons who are typical with regard to the study's variables any errors of judgment in selection will tend to counterbalance one another (Grinnel, 1988). In this context, the reason for deliberate selection of respondents in this study was considered; firstly, because of their different knowledge, experience, and leadership positions they hold and secondly, ability to participate actively. The selected respondents in this study were employees of the humanitarian agencies, local civil servants, religious leaders, and long-time businesspersons, members of the households and local people with knowledge of the area and its people.

Convenience sampling: Kothari defines the convenience sampling as method in which population element are selected for inclusion in the sample based on the ease of access. That is to say for convenience sake the study units that happen to be available at that time of data collection are selected in the sample. (Babbie, 1998). Basing on this fact this method was applied where necessary¹⁴ in order to get most resourceful respondents.

Size of the sample: This study covered a total sample of 10 *(ten)* respondents. The overview of activities, including the selection of respondents and the geographical location of the sample can be found in table 1 below. *Table 1: Distribution of respondents by category and institutions:*

Sn	Category	Institutions	# of respondent	Percentage distribution
1	Employees of the NGOs	NGOs members	01	10
2	Local civil servants	Ngara District Council	01	10
3	Religious leaders	Churches & Mosques	02	20
4	Long-time businessperson/entrepreneurs	Ngara market	02	20
5	Member of the households	Ngara district	02	20
6	Local people (Elders) with knowledge of the area.	Ngara district	02	20
TOTAL			10	100

Source: Researcher, 2013

2.4 Data collection methods:

Methods of collecting data are the means or tools adopted in systematic collection of information concerning the problem under study. These methods normally differ according to the nature of the study problem, status of the researched community, and the research objectives. In this study, in order to explore the impact of refugee presence and related relief and aid resources on local community the focus was mainly directed on the socio-economic impact of the refugee upon the lives of the resident host community in Ngara as a case study.

¹³ Since the researcher is apparently in Austria

¹⁴ Particularly at the second level of data collection where the data were collected by the use of questionnaire

In this study two types of data were collected; these are primary and secondary data respectively. The primary data¹⁵ were those which were collected afresh by the researcher and happened to be original in character. The secondary data¹⁶, on the other hand are those which have already been collected by someone else and which had already passed through the statistical process. In view of that therefore, the researcher applied the following methods to collect the required information;

2.4.1 Questionnaire:

This is among extensively used method in collecting information in various studies. Questionnaire is a set of questions, which are usually set to the selected respondents to answer at their own convenience and return the filled questions to the researcher. Here, the instruments are structured in the sense that there are fixed sets of questions to be asked. Questions asked by the researcher in this study used two formats, i.e. open-ended or closed questions. Open ended questions were useful in obtaining information on facts with which the researcher was not familiar with, such as opinions, attitudes and suggestions from the informants or sensitive issues, whereas closed questions offered a list of possible options or answers from which the respondents must choose. The researcher decided to use questionnaire because most of the respondents identified could read and write.

2.4.2 Interview:

Interviews are the primary strategies for data collection in qualitative research. Qualitative research interviews are typically open-ended questions designed to elicit maximum information while allowing for possible individual variations. Interviews are excellent ways to probe, pose, or redirect unanswered or evaded questions. They also give researchers a unique opportunity to observe the reactions of respondents that would be impossible to convey in interview schedules or questionnaires.

Kothari (2004) refers Interview method to the presentation of oral verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses. According to him, this method can even be used through personal interview and if possible through telephone interview

In this study the use of *Skype interview* was employed due to the fact that the researcher was at that time in Austria and the respondents are in Tanzania. This method enabled the researcher to collect information directly from the mouths of the respondents regardless of the distance.

2.4.3 Desktop document review:

This is another method employed in this study. This method involves deriving information by carefully studying written documents, or visual information from the textual sources. This included textbooks, newspapers, articles, speeches, advertisements, pictures and many other literature sources. Since a lot have been documented about refugee experience, the researcher gathered a lot of information through reviewing this related documents.

2.5 Technique for data processing and analysis:

Data Analysis: Data collected through interviews, informal consultations and document review were analyzed using *Content* and *Contextual* analysis techniques. According to Babbie (1995), *Content analysis* focuses on the content of communication, such as interviews, speeches and FGDs. Content analysis allows for determining and analyzing the questions such as what, how and why. On the other hand, *Contextual analysis* was also used to analyse collected data on the basis of the contexts.

2.6 Organization of the study:

The study is divided into five sections: The first section provides background information of the research problem and sets the context of the study. The second section provides the research methodology and approach. The third section discusses the related literature that informs the study. The fourth section offers the data analysis and discussion on the effects of the Refugee presence on local community in the study area. The firth section offers the general conclusion and recommendations emanating from the findings.

3. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE:

Literature review is meant to explore what is known about the problem. This is done for the purposes of identifying existing knowledge gaps and hence opens up a new set of fruitful inquiry.

This chapter therefore, concentrates on the theoretical aspects regarding the research theme. Firstly, it attempts to bring to the surface the information already known concerning the effects of refugees on host populations in Africa¹⁷. Because this study has been conducted in a rural area, the following parts merely expound the effects of refugees on rural populations in African countries¹⁸. Firstly, this chapter begins with the historical background of refugees in Tanzania, then describes the changed view on refugees in rural area and examines the effects on the physical and socio-economic environment. With this information in mind, the research starting point is formulated. These starting points are presented in the fourth chapter.

¹⁶ This included the analysis of documents (textual sources)

¹⁵ This included those data which were collected through the use of survey tools such as interview and questionnaires

¹⁷ Studies that have been reviewed are limited to those concentrating on African countries, generally comparable to the research area. Most of the applied studies have been conducted in Sub-Sahara Africa, in the central part of the continent.

¹⁸ The effects of refugees on the Physical and on the Socio-Economic environment.

3.0 Historical background of refugees in Tanzania:

While the rest of the world enjoyed the 1990s economic growth, Africa found itself suffering from various calamities such as repeated drought, famine, and massacres of amazing magnitude. One can still remember that during this time, violence erupted in Sudan, Mozambique, Eritrea, Burkina Faso, Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi, and refugees from the Great Lakes region found Tanzania to be a safe haven. Tanzania therefore, has a long history of accepting migrants from all over Africa, and its inhabitants are known to be friendly and very welcoming to foreigners. Since independence, the Tanzanian government has worked really hard to promote unity amongst people, and ethnic strife happens to be absolutely minimal (Miguel 2004) especially in contrast with its neighboring countries.

Despite the fact that refugee inflows to Tanzania, largely from Burundi, have occurred since the 1970s, this research focuses on the second wave of refugees arrived in the early and mid nineties. They constituted the large influxes of refugees following the unprecedented civil strife and killings, which took place in Burundi in 1992/93 and in Rwanda a year later. This is because up until 1993, refugees had largely been assimilated into local population. The 1993 and 1994 inflows marked the establishment of large camps, a network of food distribution facilities, the sudden presence of multiple international agencies, and the beginning of the Tanzanian government's policy of separating the refugees from the local population. The 1993 and 1994 incidents also began without any prior warning.

3.1 Refugee inflows in Kagera, North Western Tanzania:

3.1.1 Context:

The Kagera region is a very remote region in northwestern Tanzania. The region is located between Lake Victoria, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Kagera is one of the poorest regions of the country in terms of income per capita with an average of 149,828 Tanzanian Shillings (Tzs, i.e. 166\$ a year) per capita (National Bureau of Statistics, 2003). In 2002, about 2 million people lived in a region of 29,241 square kilometers and mainly relied on subsistence agriculture. One particularity of this region results from its recent history of hosting refugees that makes it an extraordinary "laboratory" for studying the effects on local populations. The magnitude of the phenomenon makes Kagera unique. Starting on October 21, 1993, between 250,000 and 300,000 Burundians fled into Tanzania following the assassination of the president of Burundi. A new influx of 250,000 refugees came from Rwanda within only 24 hours, starting on April 28, 1994, according to Rutinwa (2002,28).

This sudden influx resulted from the crash of the plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, known as the triggering factor of the Rwandan genocide. This movement, described by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as the largest and fastest exodus it had ever witnessed, was followed in the next two months by another nearly million refugees fleeing Rwanda. To put the reader into the picture, in 1995, there remained about 700,000 refugees in Kagera, whose local-born population was about 1.5 million people at that time.¹⁹ Such an influx representing more than one-third of the regional population.

In general the socio-economic conditions of the people in Kagera region before the refugee influx in 1993 has been relatively low. The migration of individuals to other regions of Tanzania in search of paid labour has contributed to the low performance of the regional economy further undermining sustainable development initiatives.

The advert of the mass influx of refugees to the regions compounded the already precarious and the depressed state of the development of the regions and their people. Negative effects are felt the most in the following five sectors: the environment and natural resources; infrastructure; food production and security; social welfare; regional and district administrative capacity.

The social welfare sector (in both regions) education, health, water supply and sanitation services are generally inadequate and of a sub-standard level, due to an acute shortage of resources, low morale of the personnel, together with a rapid population growth. Low capacity of regional and district personnel, remoteness of the regions and a lack of basic facilities compound this precarious situation.

3.1.2 Refugee Camps in Kagera:

Since late 1993, when Burundi refugees arrived in Ngara district, there have been several sites established to receive refugees from both Burundi and Rwanda. Lukole was established as a semi-permanent settlement for about 12,000 refugees from Burundi in December 1993. This refugee camp was located within the boundaries of Kasulu village about 25 kilometers east of Ngara town.

Near the junction with the Karagwe road, Benaco was the initial reception point for about 250,000 Rwandan refugees in April and May 1994. As the refugees influx from Rwanda continued, Lumasi was opened in June 1994 and Musuhura in August 1994 to decongest Benaco.

All of these camps including Lukole, were within several kilometers of one another and came to be known as Greater Benaco. This area located within Kasulu village and along the edge of the Burigi Game Reserve, hosted

¹⁹ Other refugees also came from the Republic Democratic of Congo starting in 1997. However, my region of interest, Kagera, did not host these refugees. Congolese camps are mainly located in the neighboring region of Kigoma.

a population of nearly 400,000 refugees from mid 1994 through 1996. In September 1994, UNHCR and the government recognized the need for a separate camp to protect mixed Hutu-Tusi families and refugees from other countries. Mulozi was opened in the south east Ngara district along the road between Rulenge and Biharamulo district. The camp population never reached more than 250 people.

As the security situation in Burundi worsened, the flow of refugees into Tanzania increased again in early 1995. This influx of 60,000 included Burundians nationals as well as Rwandans who had been living in refugee camps in Burundi since 1994. In February 1995, a new camp was opened for those refugees in Kitali hill in neighboring Biharamulo district along the border with Ngara. By November 1995, the population at Kitali had swelled to 124,000 refugees. Subsequently, in January 1996, at temporary holding site was established at Keza's own population eventually reached 43,000 refugees before 20,000 Burundians were transferred to Kitali in October/November 1996.

Thus, on the eve of the repatriation of Rwandan refugees in December 1996, Ngara was home to nearly half a million refugees living in seven locations. After the repatriation, in January 1997, the remaining Burundian refugees were consolidated into one camp at Lukole. UNHCR and Tanzanian government closed all Benaco, Musuhura, Mulozi, Keza ans Kitali camps, and Lumasi was re-opened as Lukole B for Burundian refugees transferred from Kitali and Keza. In February 1997, the transit center at Mbuba near Rulenge was re-opened to receive the ongoing low level influx from Burundi and Rwanda. At the end of December 1998, the population of Burundians in Lukole was 108, 000. By January 1999, nearly 5,000 Rwandan refugees were being kept at Mbuba transit center awaiting a final decision on their status by the National Eligibility Committee comprising the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and UNHCR.

Type of Population	Origin	Total	Of whom assisted by UNHCR	Per cent female	Per cent under 18
Refugees	Dem. Rep. of the Congo	63,300	63,300	52	59
	Burundi	53,800	53,800	46	65
	Somalia	1,400	1,400	62	57
	Various	190	190	50	43
Asylum-	Dem. Rep. of the Congo	800	800	50	55
seekers	Various	60	60	55	45
Others of concern	Naturalised Burundian refugees (NNTs)	155,100	155,100	-	-
Total		274,650	274,650		

 Table 3: Persons of concern to UNHCR in Tanzania in 2010
 Image: Concern to UNHCR in Tanzania

Source: UNHCR Fact Sheet, Tanzania.

Map of Refugee Camps in North Western Tanzania:



Source: UNHCR Regional Spatial Analysis Lab (Nairobi)

3.2 Refugees and its Effects on Host Populations

3.2.1 Change in how the presence of refugees was experienced by host areas

During the 1960's, many of the larger refugee influxes in Africa found place into border areas that often were occupied by ethnic kin of the refugees. Land was relatively abundant and what is more, refugees were often welcomed because the production was constrained more by the shortage of labour than the availability of land. Therefore, the impact of the refugees was relatively small and through the dispersal of refugees by means of spontaneous self-settlement, their impact was spread. Food shortage and constraints on health and educational services did exist, but most hosts were able to gain something from refugee labour. In short: many host populations welcomed small groups of refugees. Nevertheless, this situation has changed.

The African population has risen, so has the number of refugees. Today host countries have to face the challenge of large influxes of refugees while land becomes increasingly scarce. At the same time, earlier modes of sharing, which were possible because of the relatively small numbers of refugees, weakened. In consequence, the reception and the impact of refugees, especially on the physical and socio-economic environment have changed notably (Chambers, 1985; Kuhlman, 1994). These effects are described below.

3.2.1.1 Effects on the physical environment

In order to inventorize the effects of refugees on the environment a subdivision of aspects has been made: the increase of pressure on natural resources, the environmental degradation and the realization of the need of conservation of nature.

a) Increase of pressure on natural resources

Conflicts between refugees and locals over natural resources are common. A new refugee population without land is likely to concentrate on gaining whatever livelihood it can from poor grounds. The lands are accessible for refugees and provide them with basic needs such as water for domestic use and their cattle, trees for building houses and firewood, grass for thatching or grazing cattle and products from the woods and fields for feeding. Especially poorer locals depend heavily on these common natural resources. What is more, they are often not very mobile and therefore rely on the resources close to where they live. The increased pressure on natural resources results in harsh times for poor local people who have no other resources to rely on (Chambers, 1985; Kuhlman, 1994).

b) Environmental degradation

Environmental degradation is a direct result of the increasing pressure on natural resources. Therefore a refugee is often called a *resource degrader* (Jacobsen, 1998). Although environmental degradation in many cases is an already existing problem, the presence of refugees complicates the situation. There are 3 common types of environmental degradation.

- 1) Deforestation. This is a result of felling trees for building houses and firewood and it is a problem in refugee-affected areas.
- 2) Collecting firewood. This contributes to desertification with long lasting consequences and is a recurrent issue as well (Rutinwa, 1996; Tollens ea. 1999).
- 3) The extensive use of local water resources. This leads to pollution and sometimes to a complete disappearance of the source. The impact on the host population can be tremendous. The poorer hosts are not the only losers: the entire population suffers from a degrading environment. Therefore, it is not surprising to find local communities showing hostility to the refugees' exploitation of the natural resources (Chambers, 1985).

c) Realization of the need of conserving nature

A positive side of the environmental degradation is the increased interest towards natural resources. They see what has been taken away and see the necessity of getting it back. This can lead to recognition of the need to plant trees and the need of using water sustainable as well as other conserving activities (Whitaker, 1999).

3.2.1.2 Economic Effects:

Refugees are most often an impoverished group who are supported by international agencies and its host country. The Tanzanian government attests that the refugees which it hosts have become a burden to its development, degrading the markets and exacerbating, if not creating, a scarcity of resources.

a) Common Property and Infrastructure

As resources are shared with the refugees, willingly or not, the common goods are spread out even thinner amongst its users. This economic effect is felt the hardest by the poorest of the rural communities as they are the most dependent on the common property for their livelihood (Chambers, 1986, p. 253). Similar to the overuse of land and the foraging of food, the common goods, such as grazing land, water and roads, experience greater exploitation and use, thus rendering them unusable for future functions. In some regions of Tanzania, wells were destroyed and natural springs polluted, thus affecting the water supply for many of the surrounding villages (Rutinwa, 2003, p. 37).

Infrastructure has also been negatively altered due to the refugee influx. The heavy-duty vehicles used by the emergency relief operations have worn down roads, bridges and airstrips due to the volume and weight of the cargo (Rutinwa, 2003, p. 23). During the rainy season, the "most affected bridges were washed away by floods which they normally withstand, turning some parts of the [Kagera] region into islands" (Rutinwa, 2003, p. 23). This not only affects transit routes through the country, but it also affects the local access to markets.

Dimension	Host Surplus Farmers	Host Subsistence of Sub-subsistence Farmers	Poorer Hosts without Land
Food Shortage and High Prices	++	+/-	
Food Supplied to refugees depress local food prices	-	+/-	+ 1
Cheap and convenient refugee labor	++	+/-2	-
Pressures on existing services	Little change	1.7	-
New services for refugees shared with hosts	+	(+) 3	(+) 3
Refugee exploitation of common property resources	(-)	-	
Overall Economic Development	++	+	+

Table 4: Balance sheet on the effects of the Refugees on the host country:

Legend:	++ → gain	(+) → may gain,	+ → gain
	heavy	unlikely to lose	- → lose
	→ lose	(-) → may lose,	$+/- \rightarrow mixed$
	heavy	unlikely to gain	effects

Source: Chambers (1986)

Notes:

1"The benefits of cheaper food may, however, be more than offset by loss of work and lower wages from competition by cheap refugee labor" (Chambers, 1986).

2"Positive if labor scarce and land abundant; negative if labor abundant and land scarce" (Chambers, 1986)

3"The degree of benefit depends on the degree of access. If only a few hosts can get school place or clinic treatment, it is the poorer hosts who are most likely to be left out" (chambers, 1986)

4. THE ANALYSIS OF THE BENEFITS OF REFUGEE PRESENCE ON HOST COMMUNITY IN NGARA DISTRICT

This section is concerned with the presentation of the research starting point, where the analysis of the benefits of the Refugee presence on the Socio-economic status of the host community in Ngara district is presented.

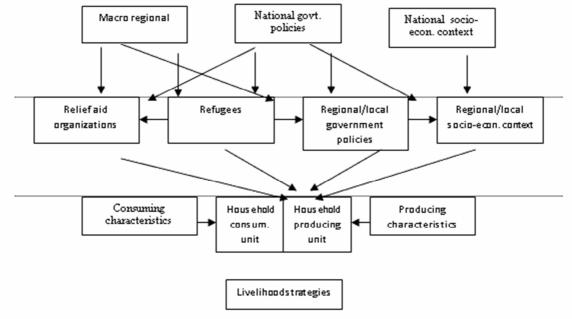
4.0 Conceptual model:

The conceptual model shows the hypothetical relations between the various factors. The model, shown in figure 1, consists of three major levels. The first level in the model represents the macro-region factors and influences the second level directly. It influences the lowest level only indirectly. The second level is made up of four factors:

- i. The refugees; they came to the research area as an outcome of the macro political situation.
- ii. The humanitarian relief aid organisations; they have responded to the emergency situation there.
- iii. The regional/local governmental policies concerning refugees and rural development.
- iv. The regional and local socio-economic characteristics.

The humanitarian relief aid organisations presented here are subdivided into emergency aid organisations and structural aid organisations. The first type of organisation consists of agencies that provide refugees food and shelter (the first basic needs). The main purpose of the second type, structural aid organisations, is to assist the local population in view of the tremendous influx of refugees. Their aim is to impose structural improvement

4.0.1 Figure 1: Conceptual model:



In addition to the socio-economic aspects that are also important on the macro region level, some extra attention needs to be paid to other aspects, namely job opportunities, price fluctuations and the availability of products, services and labour.

The third and lowest level is the household level. The household can be analysed as both a consuming unit as well as a producing unit. Both the producing and consuming characteristics can individually influence the livelihood strategy. For example, when a household produces a lot and consumes little, it creates a surplus that can be used for new investments. In this case, the household has adopted an accumulation strategy. On the other hand, when a household produces little, but consumes a lot, neither surplus nor resources are obtained. Here the household has a survival strategy. The origin, the size, the composition of the household and its income are important for the household as consuming unit. Distinctive for the household as a producing unit, are the head of household, the level of education and the resources and finally the economic activity.

4.2 The impacts of Refugee presence on the Socio-Economic status of the host community

4.2.1 Costs versus Benefits of the Refugee Presence:

The sudden presence of refugees, relief resources, and aid workers in western Tanzania starting in the early 1990s brought both costs and benefits to host communities. During the initial influx, the impact was largely negative as aid agencies focused on providing emergency relief to the refugees and often ignored local hosts. Food shortages and sanitation were particular problems. Over time, though, relief pipelines were established and host communities started experiencing some benefits. Agricultural production and economic activity increased dramatically, as refugees represented both a large consumer market and a source of cheap labor. Many Tanzanians got jobs with aid agencies, and others started small businesses. Rural hinterlands were transformed into sprawling cities, and sleepy towns became headquarters for relief operations. There continued to be problems as well, of course, including environmental degradation, disease, inflation, crime, and insecurity. In an effort to compensate Tanzanians collectively for the burden of hosting refugees, NGOs initiated a range of

In an effort to compensate Tanzanians collectively for the burden of hosting refugees, NGOs initiated a range of development projects in host communities. In late 1994, seeking to coordinate these projects, donors agreed to support what later became the Special Programme for Refugee-Affected Areas (SPRAA), administered by the prime minister's office and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In many ways, the program represented a wish list of projects the government could not afford otherwise.²⁰ Its coordination role was not felt

²⁰ Loren B. Landau, "The Humanitarian Hangover: Transnationalization of Governmental Practice in Tanzania's Refugee-Populated Areas," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 21, no. 1–2 (April 2002): 260–299.

at the local level for several years, and even then it was limited.²¹ Whether through this umbrella program or alongside it, significant donor resources were directed toward Tanzanian host communities.

4.3 Views on refugees and the effects on host populations:

This sudden presence of refugees and relief resources in North Western Tanzania significantly altered the lives of people who lived there. In this section the key question guiding this research²² is answered:

4.3.1 Effects on socio-economic environment:

Before turning to the analysis of the effects of refugees on the socio-economic environment, this broad term needs some additional attention. In sociology, a *social environment* or *social system* is defined as follows: "The social system consists of both a social structure of interrelated institutions, statuses, and roles and the functioning of that structure in terms of social actions and human interactions. The social system thus is said to include both social change (the processes and patterns of action and interaction) and social stability (stable social structural forms). Further, the social system constitutes a unitary social whole reflecting a real value consensus, the sharing of common values, social norms, and objectives"²³. *Economy* is a general term for everything that deals with the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. An essential factor within economy is labour. Combining these two factors *social systems* and *economy*, an environment is created in which the *labour market*, *availability of community services* and *products*, *price fluctuations* and *social systems* are important.

Below, these aspects are described to explain the most important changes in the socio-economic environment that happened in Ngara District as a result of the presence of refugees.

4.3.1.1 The labour market:

The labour market as such both constitutes of a demand side and a supply side. More concretely: the latter represents the availability of labour, while the former represents employment opportunities. *a) Demand side*

Aid organisations with their money, knowledge, employment opportunities and relief resources alter the local economy. The presence of refugees in Ngara district has contributed to an employment boom. Job opportunities created by aid organisations vary from skilled to unskilled labour. These job opportunities often attracted people from many different places, especially when national chances for wage employment are small. Wages paid for jobs at aid organisations range widely for skilled and unskilled positions but were in most cases higher than local standards, up to roughly two or three times those available for well-paid jobs in the rest of the country (Kuhlman, 1994; Whitaker, 1999; Waters, 1999).

Another positive aspect is the introduction of new skills and technologies to national staff working with refugees which can be of value to them in the future. As emphasized by one key informant, a trend that has developed also is that NGOs were focusing on training programmes that link into the government of Tanzania's desire that agencies should build the capacity of their local staff, which will be of benefit to Tanzania in the long term. *b) Supply side*

Another benefit of the refugee influx that has been identified in this research is the availability of cheap refugee labour force for local Tanzanians farmers. Refugees are usually hired for agricultural work like planting and haversting, fetching water etc. However, skilled refugee labour has also been used for building houses and other permanent structures. Many locals are happy with the coming of refugees because they provide a cheap source of labour. Literatures point out that the effects of refugees on the supply side cannot be generalized easily. On average, refugees form a large labour force. They receive free food rations and are available when needed (Chambers, 1985; Callamard, 1994; Kuhlman, 1994; Tollens ea. 1999). According to Betts, local people think of them as more reliable, more adequate and cheaper (Betts, 1980), probably because refugees don't have a choice. A study held in Tanzania in the 1960's shows that the primary interest of the local people in offering relatively good conditions to the refugees had been the refugees' labour. The local people expressed disappointment when refugees moved off to their own land, and asked how they would now be able to look after the *shambas*²⁴, which the refugees had extended for them (Yeld, 1971).

Chambers, however, claims that not everybody gains from the refugees as a labour force. In some cases the poorer hosts can take advantage of the refugees when land is abundant and they can employ refugee labour to produce more. This enables them to expand their agriculture or disengage their own labour for more profitable activities. Most of them though, cannot afford refugee labour. The poor hosts see their opportunities for work decline and wages decrease. This is especially true for the poorer hosts, relying on labouring for all or part of

²¹ Beth Elise Whitaker, "Creating Alternatives: Refugee Relief and Local Development in Western Tanzania," in Ondine Barrow and Mike Jennings, eds., *The Charitable Impulse: Relief, Development and Non-Governmental Organisations in North East Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001).

²² What are the most important changes in the socio-economic environment in Ngara District that have been brought about by the presence of refugees?

²³ This definition can be found in the online sociology dictionary: www.iversonsoftware.com

²⁴ Shamba is the Kiswahili word for field or garden.

their livelihood. The cheap refugee labour is for that very reason a threat for them (Chambers, 1985; Kuhlman, 1994).

In reaction to Chambers, Callamard argues that refugee labour does not always have this effect on the poorer hosts. He argues that thanks to the refugees the poorest people in particular have a chance to get involved in trade, for example (Callamard, 1994). On the other hand, a study conducted by Harrell-Bond (1986) shows that all hosts suffer from refugees' competition economically, resulting in tension and conflicts.

4.3.1.2 Availability of Community Services:

This subsection concentrates on the effects of refugees on the following community services: education, health and infrastructure.

a) Education

The realization of schools is often an integral part of structural development projects of organisations and governmental policies. A building is a physical structure. For this reason, aid organisations are often very willing to finance projects in refugee-affected areas concerning the construction of schools and the improvement of education. A building provides visual evidence that something is being done and therefore popular.

In spite of such assistance, the pressure on education facilities is often acute. For example, when refugees arrive in a certain area, it often happens that they seek protection in school buildings, use tables and chairs as firewood and fill the latrines due to lack of alternatives. As a result both local pupils and refugees are hampered to go to school (Waters, 1999).

Finally, the help that is being offered to the refugee-affected areas is often retreated after the repatriation of refugees, downgrading the new school facilities rather quick.

b) Health

The health facilities are also confronted with problems due to the arrival of refugees. The refugee influx in the Great Lake District Region for example, represented an overall population increase of more than 50 % in the affected areas, while sometimes refugees outnumbered locals by five to one. In the local health centers, drugs and treatment became harder to obtain. Even after establishing hospitals in the camps, refugees continued to use local health facilities. The refugees occupied more beds than locals at several hospitals (Chambers, 1985; Whitaker, 1999). In addition, health centers have often disappeared when the refugees and their related aid reaction left (Waters, 1999).

One of the most notable positive impacts has been that Tanzanian villagers have had unlimited access to medical/nutritional services provided within refugee camps. The level of Tanzanian attendance to health and nutritional services in the camps could be as high as 20-40% depending on the distance the villages are from a refugee camp.

c) Infrastructure

Infrastructure can include many different aspects but in this study it encompasses visible and tangible roads. The local infrastructure can be affected as a result of a more intensive use and the use of motorized vehicles of the aid organisations. The increased impact on the infrastructure heavily damages the roads. However, aid organisations reacted to the deterioration through initiating infrastructure development projects. Building tarmac roads and rehabilitating old ones are elements of such projects too (Tollens ea. 1999).

Both the Kagera and Kigoma regions have benefited from the significant capital investments made by donors since 1994 on spot repairs and rehabilitation of the main trunk road network and feeder roads that serve refugees camps. In Ngara district, this includes the rehabilitation of the Rusumo-Isaka road, construction of the Ngara-Murgwanza road and the rehabilitation of several feeder roads. Eventually, an all-weather dirt road, on which high speeds are impossible, ends up being safer than badly maintained tarmac roads.

4.3.1.3 Availability of products

The availability of products can either increase or decrease dependant on the type of product and period of time. To explain this, a division has been made between the increase of products on the one hand and the decrease on the other.

a) Increase

A local economy that is dominated by a subsistence sector sometimes changes into a flourishing trading system with an increasing exchange of products (Callamard, 1994). The areas closest to the refugee camps appear to enjoy the new developments most, but sometimes an entire region sees its economy develop. The refugee camp becomes a commercial center that gives incentives to local entrepreneurs and refugees with personal contacts across the border. Furthermore, the growing local markets facilitate local farmers, who had difficulties finding markets, to dispose of their crops. Instead of walking for hours looking for markets, they can sell their products locally (Chambers, 1985; Whitaker, 1999). These developments improve the availability of products remarkably. Furthermore, the presence of aid organisations with international employees can trigger the import and thus increase the availability of new and western products, both food and non-food products (ibid.).

b) Decrease

When refugees arrive in a rural area, it is likely that they deplete local food supplies. In such emergency situations, refugees come in vast amounts and the direct need for food and other supplies is so high that no attention is paid to the long-term consequences of the eventual impact on the local food staple (Chambers, 1985; Callamard, 1994; Rutinwa, 1996; Whitaker, 1999). The negative effects of the food supply are most acute in refugee-affected areas where dry seasons succeed wet seasons. Especially in times of rain before the harvest, shortages of food can become problematic when the little remnants have to be shared with both local people and refugees. The vulnerable people will be hit the hardest: they do not store; they have no surplus to gain from and they cannot afford the risen prices.

Besides agricultural products, the availability of livestock and game has to be taken into account. Areas where livestock used to graze earlier can become occupied after the influx of refugees, forcing the herders to take their flocks far away in search of food. Smaller and more distant grazing fields might create problems for the quality and quantity of the livestock.

Finally, the hunting of game by locals and refugees in some regions results in a drastic and problematic diminishing of game. Local people can be affected by the smaller supply of game that used to be an important part of their diet (Whitaker, 1999).

4.3.1.4 Price fluctuations:

Like the availability of products, the effect on local prices may be two-sided. It appeared that sometimes they rise while in other situations they fall depending on the type of product.

a) Rise

Due to the increase of demand in a refugee-affected area, the prices can rise. After the refugees start receiving rations, the problem of shortage and price rise will not be solved. Often, refugees will continue to depend on local crops and livestock. The wish for a diverse diet and the preference for local products are two reasons that explain this continued large demand and the consequential remaining of high local prices. In response to the high prices, local farmers can become overanxious and sell high portions of their production. This might threaten the food security of the farmers' family (Whitaker, 1999). Not only does the local population see the prices of food rise, other costs of living can increase too, like rental prices.

b) Fall

On the other hand, the opposite may occur for the food prices and supplies, when relief food supplies are adequate or in excess. A successful food exchange can have a social impact, linking the refugee population and the local people in a relationship of mutual benefit and preventing bitterness between highly subsidized non-food producing groups (refugees) and less or non-subsidized food producing poor groups (locals) residing in the same region. The local poor can thus gain from spill-over effects of more than adequate relief supplies (Chambers, 1985; Callamard, 1994). These abundant local supplies, in combination with the disincentive effects of food aid on local production drive down local food prices. What should be taken into account is that when prices rise, especially poor people will be hit the hardest, while when prices fall, they can reduce the cash incomes of small near-subsistence farmers who rely on the sale of their small surplus.

4.3.1.5 Social systems:

The presence of refugees can have both positive as well as negative impacts on the social systems of host populations and are indicated respectively.

a) Positive consequences

Social relationships between host populations and refugees are not static and polarised. They are dynamic and both groups tend to create new social relations. For example, they create new friendships, attend sports together and have realised an interaction of products, knowledge and experiences (Rutinwa, 1996; Whitaker, 1999).

b) Negative consequences

In refugee-affected areas, higher levels of crime and insecurity are experienced. Sometimes farmers have to sleep outside to protect their crops from thieves (ibid.). Not only theft, but also armed robbery or even kidnapping or killing occurs in areas where refugees shelter. In short, in various refugee-affected areas crime rates have risen and jails have seen their number of prisoners increase. In areas where refugees are located closely to the border, conflicts may spread to the host country. Neutral areas can become a part of the war ground. (Rutinwa, 1996; Mahiga, 1997). Such conditions penalise and impoverish local people and even drive them off their land, this hampers development.

Another negative consequence is the breakdown of the traditional social structures. Changes in the attitude of youth toward their elders and their roots, during the time of refugees, as a result of the enormous population increase have been observed as negative (Waters, 1999).

In sum, the overview of the different effects of refugees for the rural population suggests that the impact of refugees is not a zero-sum game but a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon where social, physical,

environmental, cultural and economic factors must be taken in account. Due to the variety in situations in which host populations have been confronted with refugees, it is very difficult to generalize (Whitaker, 1999) *Table 4: Balance sheet of the effects of Refugee on Tanzania*

Dimension	n Negative	Positive	Balance
Government Finances	 Diversion of funds and resources away from national priorities 	 IOs provide funds to aid with refugees Government revenue increase due to taxes received from IOs 	+
Security	 Greater expenditure on security needed in refugee affected areas 	 Criminal activity cannot be strongly linked to influx of refugees 	-
Labor	 Locals receive smaller salaries from IOs than expected Crowding out of locals from labor market 	 Decrease in human capital cost for local industries due to increase in labor supply 	+/-
Food and Shelter	 Increase in staple food prices and real estate prices Farmers decrease in crop vield 	 Increase in overall welfare Decrease in household expenditure 	
	 Local poor have less disposable income due to price increase Food aid crowds out local market 		(-)
Common Resources an Infrastructure		 IOs build infrastructure which is also used by locals 	+/-
Business	 Increase in productivity may not be due to refugee availing cheaper labor, but from external market forces 	 Expansion of enterprise due to increase in labor Increase in demand and supply for small enterprises Increase in market activity 	(+)
a -	$\begin{array}{ll} (+) \rightarrow \text{greater asset} \\ \text{sset} \\ \text{strong} \\ \text{ourden} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} (+) \rightarrow \text{greater asset} \\ \text{than burden} \\ (-) \rightarrow \text{greater burd} \\ \text{than asset} \end{array}$	effects	

Source: Author's compilation.

5. CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION:

5.0 Concluding remarks:

This study has explored the benefits of refugees' presence on the socio-economic status of the resident host community in Tanzania taking Ngara district as a case study.

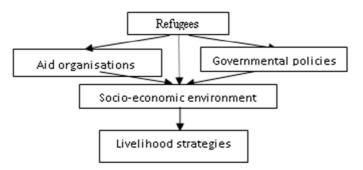
Research questions have been formulated to draw up an inventory of the characteristics of the aid organisations, the governmental policies, and the important changes in the socio-economic environment in order to gain insight into the main explaining factors behind the contribution of the refugees towards socio-economic development of the Ngara district as refugee host community. Questionnaires, interviews with key informants and desktop document review have been used as resources for the development of this study.

The findings shows that Refugee situations are not likely to disappear in the near future, and understanding the impacts of refugee presence on poor host populations is therefore imperative. It is not possible to say whether host communities as a whole gained or lost as a result of the sudden influx of refugees, relief resources, and aid workers in Ngara, Tanzania. The situation created both positive and negative opportunities for local hosts.

This study has presented evidence that many Tanzanians took advantage of these opportunities and benefited substantially from the presence of refugees and international relief organizations. Agricultural productions and economic activities increased dramatically, as refugees represented both a large consumer market and a source of cheap labour. Social services were insufficient at first to meet the massive demand, but ultimately improved after the construction of facilities in the refugee camps and the implementation of development projects in host communities. The refugee presence was also associated with important problems, including widespread environmental degradation and an increase in crime and insecurity. These changes were not evenly distributed throughout western Tanzania. Other Tanzanians were not able to benefit as much, and some even lost access to resources and power which they previously enjoyed. In general, hosts developed ways to cope with the negative impact of the refugees while attempting to take full advantage of the positive opportunities created by their presence.

5.1 Concluding relations from the Conceptual model:

Figure 2:



FROM FIGURE 2 ABOVE IT CAN BE SUMMARIZED THAT: FIRST OF ALL, THE INFLUX OF THE REFUGEES, WHICH HAS BEEN THE CAUSE OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES IN NGARA DISTRICT IN THE FIRST PLACE, HAS ONLY INDIRECT INFLUENCES ON THE LIVELIHOOD CONDITIONS. THE REFUGEES ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENCE OF MOST OF THE HUMANITARIAN AID ORGANISATIONS AND HAVE INFLUENCED THE POLICIES OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT. THESE AID ORGANISATIONS HAVE A NOTABLE INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT, DUE TO THEIR JOB OPPORTUNITIES, THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND THE MONEY THEY BRING TO THE DISTRICT, BUT ALSO DUE TO THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMUNITY SERVICES. THE GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES, IN TURN, HAVE LESS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT, WHICH CANNOT BE NEGLECTED FOR THAT MATTER. THE CHANGED SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT, FINALLY, HAS INFLUENCED THE LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF THE NGARA PEOPLE REMARKABLY.

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