

Socio-economic Implications of Protracted Refugees On Peace and Security in Tanzania: The Case of Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Kigoma Region

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Abstract

This article presents socio-economic implications of protracted refugees on peace and security in Tanzania as informed by the experiences unveiled from a study conducted at Nyarugusu Refugee Camp in Kigoma Region. It is a product of a case study research design of a sample of 79 respondents obtained through systematic and purposive sampling. The sample was drawn from refugees in Nyarugusu Camp, community members, refugee's leaders, UNHCR personnel and local government authority leaders. Data was collected through questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Data was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively. Quantitative data was analysed using descriptive statistics, while qualitative data was analysed using content analysis. The findings revealed that refugees in Tanzania have been staying in camps for many years, thus creating threat and insecurity to the host community. The host community also faces parallel impacts in relation to security of their properties, disharmony, immoral behaviour such as rape, armed robbery, congestion in social services; and loss of land without direct compensation. Also, the host communities were affected in their daily activities such as agriculture and businesses, as well as access to social services which they had to share with refugees. The study recommends that the national refugee policy document be reviewed to lessen its implementation challenges and accommodate all categories of refugees; the government plan ahead possible refugee influx and measures to attend them; the government and development partners carry more research on refugees' life in camps to find out possible solutions to refugees case load; and subsequently devise durable solutions to the problem of prolonged refugees in the country.

Key words: *socio-economic, protracted refugees, peace, security, Tanzania*

1. Introduction

The world started considering issues of refugees seriously during World War II (UNHCR, 2013). As a result, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was set up in the same year with a documented legal mandate to help about one million people who were uprooted after that war to return home. This notwithstanding, the number of refugees worldwide has steadily increased in the past five years, largely driven by conflicts (IDMC, 2016). In 2016, the number of refugees under the UNHCR mandate reached more than 17m for the first time

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since the peak years in 1990 and 1992. It rose by 65% in 2011; and shot up by 22.5m million worldwide by 2019 (UNHCR, 2017). Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon together host 30% of the world's refugees, with Syrian refugees constituting 98% of the refugees in Turkey. The refugee population in Pakistan almost exclusively originates from Afghanistan (Sidoti, 2012).

The majority (84%) of the world's refugees at the end of 2016 were concentrated in developing countries, particularly in Africa and Asia (Nkonya, 2010). Over a quarter (28%) of the global refugees live in low-income countries, where nine out of the top ten countries to host refugees are low or middle-income countries (OECD, 2019). Refugees in these countries live in widely varied conditions: from well-established camps and collective centres to make-shift shelters; or living in the open awaiting repatriation, local integration or resettlement. In Africa, refugees from countries such as South Sudan, Sudan, Congo (DRC), Cote d'Voire, Somalia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Chad and Burundi are hosted in neighbouring countries, including Tanzania (Nkonya, 2010).

Tanzania has been a host for refugees even before independence. The earliest refugees came from Rwanda in 1959 and stayed in Kagera region (Alix-Garcia and Saah, 2010). A notable event on the refugees' situation emerged in 1972 when the influx of Burundian refugees (about 160,000) were flown to Tanzania after mass killings committed by the Tutsi minority government to the majority Hutus (UNHCR & UNDP, 2015). These refugees were hosted in villages in Kigoma region, close to their places of origin, but later on the government decided to establish three refugee settlements farther away from the border (URT, 2016). Generally, Tanzania hosts around 300,000 refugees, mainly from Burundi and the DRC who reside in Nyarugusu, Mtendeli and Nduta camps in the north-western part of the country (Magweiga, 2013). Other settlements such as Ulyankulu, Katumba and Mishamo were established later in Tabora and Katavi regions. The refugees have been provided with fertile and enough land for each household. Their stay has been in accordance with Tanzania's *Ujamaa*¹ ideology. However, their stay and future welfare has not been clear, and this has created a protracted refugee situation (Bruno, 2014).

Tanzania is still hosting more than 68,000 refugees in Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, and about 163,000 in three old settlements of Ulyankulu, Mishamo, and Katumba (URT, 2019). In its efforts to seek a permanent solution to the refugee problem, the Ministry of Home Affairs, in collaboration with the international community, invited Burundi and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to discuss the matter in Dar es Salaam. The discussion led to the establishment of a tripartite commission to assist in coordinating voluntary repatriation for long-stayed refugees in the camps (UNHCR, 2018b).

¹ *Ujamaa* means familyhood. It is Tanzania's social economic philosophy that guided the country's political, social and economic standing. It is aimed at making Tanzanians reap the advantages of the nation in an egalitarian manner.

Peace and security in the refugee camps have been on top of the agenda for host countries and the international community (Collier, 2011; URT, 2015). According to the Refugee Services Department, refugee life should not be permanent (URT, 2016). Similarly, Tanzania's Refugee Policy (2003) indicates that refugee camp life span is one year (URT, 2014). Within this period, the government would negotiate with respective countries and the international community to create safe zones (areas) within the country of origin where refugees could resettle as they go back. Another provision in the refugee policy is that one refugee camp should not host more than 50,000 refugees at a time, to maintain proper environmental conservation and administration, and to reduce socio-economic impacts to refugees and host communities, including those related to peace and security (URT, 2013).

While the refugee situation and their impact of labour migration on development in the countries of origin and destination are well studied, the issue of peace and security to protracted refugees and host communities need to be investigated, especially in low-income countries. Although the government of Tanzania has a good refugee policy that provides guidelines for what should be done as far as keeping refugees in the country, the extent to which it is effectively implemented to maintain peace and security for refugees and host communities needs to be reconsidered. For example, the lifespan of refugees in the camps is more than 15 years, while a practical solution to address the refugee situation and other provisions in the policy take a longer period to implement. Thus, in turn, this may result into jeopardizing the livelihoods and security of both the host community and refugees. In light of this problem, the current study assessed the socio-economic implications of protracted refugees on peace and security in the host community around the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp.

The article is organized in four sections. Following the first section that introduced the subject matter on the socio-economic implications of protracted refugees on peace and security in the Tanzania, section two is on literature review, both empirical and theoretical, including related theories to the studies, as well as the theoretical framework. The third section deals with methodology including research design, study area, sampling techniques and sample size, sources of data, data collection tools and data analysis. The fourth and the fifth section include presentation and discussion of the findings. The last section, section six, gives a conclusion and recommendation.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature Review

The United Republic of Tanzania has a long history of attracting refugees as a result of its proven record of a peaceful and stable environment (UNHCR, 2012). It has been a major refugee hosting country since its independence in 1961, and it is one of the most hospitable African countries for asylum. In its early days, it

hosted tens of thousands of refugees fleeing post-colonial conflicts and wars throughout Africa (Mendel, 1997; Milner, 2009). It has also consistently hosted refugees from three countries that have seen a great deal of conflict in the last half-century, and which share its long and porous border. It borders Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Rwanda.

Following the influx of Burundians, Rwandese and Congolese from 1993 to 1998, where about 1.3 million people entered the country, Tanzania reviewed its Refugee Control Act No. 2 of 1965, and passed the Tanzania Refugee Act No. 9 of 1998 (URT, 2010). Despite this trend, Tanzania had not formulated a refugee policy all along. For the first time, a refugee policy came to existence in the year 2003, which among other things, delineated the will of the country to assist in seeking a lasting solution for refugees hosted in Tanzania (Ferris, 2007). The United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) advocates three possible durable solutions to the refugee problem: repatriation, resettlement, and local integration or naturalization (URT, 2013). Informed by the will of seeking a durable solution to the matter, Tanzania, in collaboration with the international community, has been able to repatriate numerous refugees back to their countries of origin, on their own will. For instance, about 550,000 Rwandese refugees returned home between 1995 and 1996; more than 500,000 Burundian and 65,000 Congolese have also voluntarily returned home since the 2002; while around 15,000 have been resettled to a third country (URT, 2003).

Large-scale and protracted refugee influx can have macro-economic impacts on a host country's economy (Deutsch, 2014). Some of these impacts are associated with increased and uncompensated public expenditure related to the care and maintenance of the refugee population (Brahim & Mrefu, 2011). Recently, studies have focused on the impact of refugees on the local economies of hosting countries (UNHCR, 2017; UNHCR, 2019). Studies by Magweiga (2013), Whitaker (1999) and Rutinwa (2010) on the impact of Rwandan refugees on local agricultural prices between 1993 and 1998 in Tanzania, found a significant increase in prices of some agricultural goods such as green bananas, beans and milk; and a decrease in the price of aid-delivered goods like maize. As a result, many Tanzanian farmers who produced a surplus benefited from the increased demand for their agricultural products in local markets. Anecdotal evidence suggested that, on average, farmers doubled the size of their cultivated land and their production of bananas and beans during 1993-1996 (Whitaker, 2002). The increase in the size of the local market also boosted business and trade activities conducted by both hosts and refugees. At the same time, welfare indicators such as electricity consumption, watching television, and using refrigerators increased in host population households near refugee camps (Jacobsen, 2001).

2.2 Theory of Refugees

Kunz (1981) classifies refugees into three distinct groups derived from refugee attitudes towards their displacement. The first group consists of refugees whose opposition to political and social events at home is shared by their compatriots, both refugees and those who remain in-home areas. The second group comprises of refugees who have left their home areas because of active or latent discrimination against the group to which they belong; these frequently retain little interest in what occurs in their former homes once they have left. These are refugees who feel irreconcilably alienated from their fellow citizens; Kunz refers to these as events-related refugees. A third type of refugees includes people who decide to leave their home country for a variety of individual reasons. These self-alienated refugees feel alienated from their society not by any active policy of that society, but rather by some personal philosophy. While Kunz does not specifically address the problems associated with repatriation, it can be suggested that the majority of the first type of refugees would be the most likely to participate in a repatriation. Refugees who retain a strong attachment to both the feelings of homeland and to people who did not flee as refugees, are the most likely to want to repatriate.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is developed from Kunz's theory of refugees (1981) which, as already pointed out, classifies refugees into three distinct groups. As already clarified, the first group consists of refugees who fled due to political and social events at home. The second group consists of those who left their home areas because of active or hidden discrimination against some groups at their home, in a way that they feel incompatible with their fellow citizens. The third type of refugees includes people who decide to leave their home country for a variety of individual reasons, including isolation from their society by some personal philosophy.

The model argues that a majority of refugees subjected to discrimination and often outright violence feel that they are unwanted or unsafe in their own homelands. The desire of such people to return home depends on substantial changes meant to reverse the discriminatory and /or violence situations in their places of origin. The framework further shows that most of the refugees in Nyarugusu Camp were a result of political and social events that had occurred in their countries of origin, especially events related to ethnic conflicts. This resulted into displacement of many people, especially women and children. Thus, they fled to Tanzania and settled for an extended period. The government of Tanzania has made a lot of efforts to repatriate the refugees but most of them are not willing to go back home. This is because they have no trust in the security set-up at home, and are also afraid to be isolated by the people in their country of origin; so, they become protracted refugees.

The protracted situation has socio-economic implications on peace and security of the host community. The longer refugees stay with a host community, the more they might become familiar with each other, thus build trust. They create cultural interactions and relationships, which result into intermarriages, worshipping and inviting each other to different ceremonies and funerals. They also interact in social service facilities such as water sources, health centres, worshipping places, and power supply in terms of electricity and /or generators.

The framework further illustrates that a trust built between refugees and a host community may nevertheless be used by evil refugees to harm the host community, especially those who enter the country illegally and stay in people's homes. Refugees with a military background or with access to ammunition may increase the rate of crime in a community, thus jeopardizing the peace and security of the host community.

The framework further assumes that hosting refugees of different nationalities in one camp, as it is the case in Nyarugusu Camp, may result into conflicts between the refugees themselves, creating a state of disharmony in a camp. Finally, the framework illustrates the role of the government in maintaining peace in the protracted refugee camps and among host communities. Worldwide, low and middle-income countries host the majority of refugees; they were estimated at 85% in 2017 (UNHCR, 2018). In this regard, their local communities often experience a high level of poverty and face increased chances of economic vulnerability. As a result, this situation leads to economic competition over scarce resources between host and refugee communities, and causes increased social tensions within the society.

Most studies on the impact of refugees on host communities have dealt with economic and environmental effects, repatriation, resettlement and local integration or naturalization of refugees (see, e.g., De Bruij, 2009; Jacobsen, 2002; Maystadt & Verwimp, 2014; and Rutinwa & Kamanga, 2003). Despite this evidence, the social economic impacts of hosting refugees on peace and security to local communities, in particular, leads to protracted refugees. This study investigates how the presence of protracted refugees influences social life in host communities, in particular, peace and security.

3. Materials and Methodology

The study was conducted at the Nyarugusu Refugee Camp, in Kigoma Region, North-west Tanzania. The camp accommodates the largest refugee population in the country; and also represents a range of contextual factors. For instance, the camp mostly hosts protracted refugees who arrived in the late 1990s. Geographically, the camp shares its border with the neighbouring countries of Burundi, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo; thus, it receives a large number of refugees from these countries. These countries generate refugees

because of civil wars that have taken a long time. The targeted population for the study was all refugees in the camp, international staff/workers residing in and outside the camp, and host communities surrounding the camp.

A case study research design was adopted to get a deeper understanding of the socio-economic impacts caused by the long stay of refugees in the host country. Sampling involved thirty (30) community members who were randomly selected, six (6) UNHCR staff in the camp, eight (8) Ministry of Home Affairs staff, four (4) NGOs workers, six (6) social and community workers, six (6) administration staff, ten (10) refugee leaders, and nine (9) key informants. The key informants included the Regional Commissioner (RC), Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS), Secretary to the Regional Defence and Security Committee (DRS), Regional Immigration Officer, District Commissioner (DC), District Executive Director (DED), Division Secretary, and the Ward Agricultural Extension Officer (WAEO).

The data used in this study was gathered through questionnaires, interviews, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The surveys and FGDs were conducted around the camp from the refugees and their leaders, while structured questionnaires were administered to administrative staff working in the camp and key informants. As for the FGDs, two focus group discussions were formed: one from the community, and the other from those in the camp. Only those who were willing to participate in the FGDs were involved. Each group comprised of eight (8) members, men and women. The groups were segregated by sex due to the concerns raised by community members: that female participants might feel hesitant to voice their opinion in the presence of male participants. A moderator who was assisted by a keen note-taker was provided with an interview guide to direct the discussion. The discussions were open to allow participants to concentrate on issues they considered of particular importance. The discussions were conducted in the local language and in Kiswahili, and were later transcribed and translated by the note-taker.

Information obtained through questionnaires was analysed using content analysis. The study collected transcripts from respondents and obtained the frequency of repeated ideas, which were then made into codes; and later the codes were made into themes. Subsequently, categories of the data were organized to give meaning to the data collected. Analysis was done to process stories collected from the interviews with the key informants, where thematic analysis was used to describe different themes raised from interviews. Transcriptions of the recorded information were done. The transcripts were coded manually using qualitative matrix tables, by adopting inductive coding methods using predetermined themes and themes that emerged from the text. Transcripts were then coded followed by discussions on the differences in codes to have a consensus. Data was analysed using the Microsoft Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer programmes. The collected quantitative data

was summarized to ensure that it was in a form suitable for addressing both research questions and the method of analysis used. This was done while ensuring that the original meanings of the statements made by respondents were maintained. The summarized data was then coded and used for subsequent statistical analysis. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were generated. Qualitative data was analysed using content analysis, in which data was put into small themes and summarized into short texts. These were used to supplement the information obtained from quantitative data.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics of the Study Population

Understanding people's sex was important in this study because, unlike men, women and children are more vulnerable in times of war and rivalry in their host countries, as noted by Mahinchai (2010). Socio-economic impacts caused by movements hit them differently than males. The study revealed that close to three-quarters (70%) of the respondents were male (see Table 1). This is because men were more willing and freer to give their views. Women, on the other hand, perceived interviews as wasting of time due to their multiple responsibilities. Others were illiterate and they could not narrate the required information. In terms of age, most of the respondents were above 34 years old (see Table 1).

Marital status, as a demographic component, had certain impacts in this study because marriage is an important unit for building up a family, as indicated by Glick (1989). Given the protracted situation of the refugees hosted in Tanzania, the study focused on marriage with the intention of finding out whether there were intermarriages between the refugees within the camp, as well as between refugees and the host community. The findings show that slightly more than one-third 38% of the respondents were married with people of their ethnic groups, while 19% were married to different nationalities. About 22% were widowed; those who were divorced comprised 13%; and those who were single were 8%. Table 1 provides the summary.

Table 1: Respondents Socio-economic Characteristics

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
15-24	10	13
25-34	12	15
35-44	15	19
45-49	11	14
50-54	16	20
55-59	8	10
60+	7	9
Total	97	100

Sex		
Male	53	55
Female	44	45
Total	97	100
Marital Status		
Single	6	8
Married (Same Nationality)	30	38
Married (Different Nationalities)	15	19
Divorced	10	13
Widowed	18	22
Total	79	100
Education		
Primary level	19	24
Secondary Level	26	33
Post-Secondary	34	43
Total	79	100
Size of family		
5-6	40	51
4-5	35	44
Less than 4	4	5
Total	79	100

Source: Field data (2019), Nyarugusu Refugee Camp

As noted by Muttarak (2013), one of the most commonly used indicators of social interaction between immigrant or refugee communities and mainstream society is intermarriage. Intermarriage takes place when two persons of two groups considered ethnically different, marry. This is believed to have important social implications for both immigrants and their host communities. Basing on this view, the study was also interested to learn the kind of socio-cultural integration that exists within the camp and the host community. This was examined through the lens of social interaction between migrants and natives in a variety social contexts such as intermarriages, interethnic friendships and inter-ethnic relations within the camp and, finally, encounters in the neighbourhood.

It was found that there were intermarriages within the camp between refugees of different nationalities, as well as within the host community. Other forms of strong socio-cultural integration were through friendship, close attraction and conviction between refugees within the camp and refugees with the host community. This corroborates results of a study by Gsir (2014) who opines that social interaction happens when some migrants and members of the host society develop close ties and trust, and become simply friends. It was also indicated by Savelkoul et al. (2011) that the majority of the population, both refugees and host, can benefit in terms of socio-cultural integration even though friendship relations are not as formal as intermarriages. Schlueter (2012) noted

that inter-ethnic friendships not only reflect voluntary and intimate social relations between individuals, but also indicate to what extent members of different ethnic groups accept each other for such relations.

4.2 Level of Education

According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees should enjoy access to health services equivalent to those of the host population. Similarly, UNHCR (2002) and Schmidt (2016) remind that education applies to all persons without any discrimination; whether individuals are at home, displaced or living in asylum. The study examined the levels of education attained by the respondents and the results in Table 1 show that the level of education was varied among the respondents. While 23.3% of the refugees in the camp had primary school education, 33.3% of the respondents outside the camp had secondary education, and key informants (43%) had post-secondary education. The study also found that some of those who were working with the UNHCR had post-secondary education. According to the UNHCR (2018), refugee form the highest number of displaced persons in the world, and their children are more likely to lose their right to education. Sakyihwa (2020) studied refugee settling experiences and impacts on children's education in Ganfoso Refugees Camp in Ghana. The study revealed that parents' experiences, stemming from immigration and the camp mediated rules, affected children; and so affected school rules that made it difficult for teachers to render services that would have supported the children.

4.3 Household Size of the Respondents

Household size is a significant benchmarking factor in determining individual household level of socio-economic characteristics, as indicated by Bruij (2009). According to the UNHCR (2000), by fleeing from their homes and regularly losing family members, many lives of refugee households are seriously interrupted; and people are cut off from their families and usual resources, placing them in particularly vulnerable positions. The study aimed to find out household size in terms of the number of children and other relatives, bearing in mind that a large number of people have direct impact on socio-economic activities in the camps and around host communities, as well peace and security in the area. According to the 2012 population and housing census, the birth rate was found to be high in refugee camps: for example, in Nyarugusu Camp it reached over 2,650 live births per year, with a growth rate of 3.8% per annum (URT, 2014).

The findings shown in Table 1 indicate an average household size of five individuals and above for both refugees and host community. In refugee families, boys were found to be relatively more than girls, whilst the elderly population showed opposite characteristics. The study further revealed that many of the households are headed by more vulnerable members of society, such as single mothers, orphans, and elderly people. Similar findings were

reported by the Appraisal, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit (AMEU) (2010): that a majority of households of internally displaced persons, including refugees, were found to be female-headed.

4.4 Nationality

The intention was to understand whether the nationality of refugees had any association with endangering peace and security of others in the camp and the surrounding community. The Nyarugusu Camp was hosting about 68,535 refugees from different nationalities because other camps in the country had been closed by the time of data collection. This is because for a camp to operate it has to have more than 5,000 refugees, as per Tanzania's regulations on refugees (URT, 2016). The study found out that most (93.5%) of the refugees were from the Democratic Republic of Congo, followed by Burundians (3.5%). Those from other nations constituted 3%, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Refugees Hosted in Nyarugusu Camp

Nationality	Number	Percent
Congolese	64,080	93.5
Burundian	2,398	3.5
Other Nations	2,057	3.0
Total	68,535	100

Source: Refugee Service Department, 2019

Although the Congolese were the dominant refugees in the Nyarugusu Camp, there was no evidence that security was affected by their large numbers. Some few allegations of breach of peace were reported as a result of having mixed nationalities in the same camp. This was caused by differences in culture and hatred reflecting the state of affairs in their countries of origin.

4.5 Refugees Socio-economic Activities and Their Impact on the Host Community

Agriculture is the primary occupation for more than 90% of the residents of Kigoma, and also for the large majority of refugees who reside in the Nyarugusu Camp. The interest to understand the impact of refugee's socio-economic activities in relation to peace and security on host communities was imperative in this study. Through FGDs, the study revealed strong social, economic and environmental effects of hosting refugees in the camp brought about by the activities they do. Such activities include formal employment, volunteer work, petty businesses, peasantry/labourers, and food vending. It was also reported by the Ward Agricultural Extension Officer that refugees were involved with other activities outside the camp, in the local community. Some of them engaged in farming activities. As a result, there has been some expansion of farms in nearby

villages due to the availability of refugee labour force. During FGDs, village leaders informed that the hosts prefer to hire refugees in their farms because they are hardworking and trustworthy. As indicated by Whitaker (2002), by using refugee labour, hosts increased both cultivation and production in Karagwe District. For example, on average, farmers doubled the size of their cultivated lands due to the presence of refugees. In addition to household plots, they expanded their periphery intercropping plots, and even plots previously kept as grasslands. Rutinwa (2002) reported similar findings: that refugees represented a source of cheap agricultural labour for villagers in Western Tanzania.

Despite benefits accrued from refugee labour, and contrary to what has been reported, some villagers complained of theft, mainly of food crops, by such refugee workers. In some places the problem was so serious that villagers perceived refugee labour as a liability rather than a benefit; yet, local communities continued to keep refugees in their houses and hire them. Similar observation was shown by Sakyiwah (2020), who reported that theft was the most common threat to villagers surrounding refugee camps, where everything from household items to bicycles were being taken, although the target was on agricultural crops and livestock. Also, sudden population increase affected food security in local villages, particularly at the beginning of the refugee influx. At first, villagers sympathized with the plight of the newly arrived refugees and contributed their own food. Hungry and tired refugees also helped themselves to local farmers' crops, especially along the main entry paths.

The discussion above corresponds with the explanation from one Congolese refugee woman, aged 43 years, who was found working in a farm in Nyamidaho village, who had this to say:

I am a single parent from Nyarugusu Camp with eight children whose father died in the war in my country. My children and I spent most of our time in local people's farms during cultivation and weeding seasons because the support provided by the UNHCR and the Tanzanian government does not suffice the needs of my family. Our fellow refugees with money hire farms from our hosts each season and grow their own crops. I would like to hire a farm for my family but I have no money to do so. I therefore offer work for the hosts to get money for my family's needs.

Furthermore, FGDs revealed that there are times when the hosts do not pay the refugees after they have worked in their farms. This situation creates conflicts between refugees, farm owners, and the entire community, thus threatening peace and security. Women and girls are mostly affected, as they are the majority of the labourers in the hosts' farms. Sometimes the victims report such cases to camp leaders who, in collaboration with the village executive officers, help to solve these problems. As noted by Agblorti (2011) in the study on host community's perspective on refugee integration in Ghana, as refugees stay longer in camps, they become familiar with the host community, interact with it to the extent that they become labourers to the host community farms, and may use that

interface to harm their hosts, or to be harmed by their host. The study findings further revealed that some refugees had established friendship with the host communities, and were able to hire pieces of land and produce their own food. Others cleared land by cutting trees and creating their farms in other people's premises, sometimes without permission; thus threatening peace and security between themselves and the host community. These findings concur with the findings by Martin (2005) and Liganga (2006), who cautioned that environment-related conflicts are likely to occur among host communities surrounding refugee camps due to land use and environmental impacts.

It was further revealed through FGDs that some refugees engage in non-farm businesses such as handcrafts, and selling high quality fabrics that is not available in local/regular markets. There were some shops with imported materials commonly known as *vikwembe (vitenge)* from Congo, shoes, music tapes, and other consumer goods. Other petty businesses included making and selling local brew, hairdressing, food vending and tailoring. Sundar (2003) and later UNHCR (2006), found that with an increased local market, there was an upsurge in business and trade conducted by both hosts and refugees. It was also reported that Tanzanian entrepreneurs from around the country also flocked to areas where commercial centres had developed in refugee camps with daily markets full of consumer items, and established countless shops as well as restaurants around the camps. This implies that the presence of refugees for a long period in a camp provides economic opportunities for host communities. However, as noted by Whitaker (2002), the intergroup trade could fluctuate significantly as refugees are prevented from leaving camps, and Tanzanians are barred from entering refugee camps (*ibid.*).

Despite business being good, sometimes conflicts have erupted between owners of the businesses and people offering transport, particularly cyclers who ferry businesspersons to their customers. These 'transporters' sometimes charge high costs from the border to the camp, which some refugee businesspersons cannot afford. This was testified by a village officer who admitted that they frequently attended to such disputes. This concurs with findings by Berry (2008) and Jacobsen (2002), who reported that most of the problems in refugee camps were conflicts or problems related to issues such as harassment of refugees by host service providers, government officials, and others.

The study also observed that there were frequent refugee movements from the camp to Kasulu town (district headquarters) using local mini buses. About 15 mini-buses were operating daily from Kitanga, Heru Ushingo, Mvugwe, Kigadye and Makere villages to and from Kasulu. The total number of refugees travelling between the camp and Kasulu was estimated to be 50-70 persons per day; and these were mostly businesspersons. Both bus drivers and their assistants confirmed to have transported refugees on a daily basis. One male bus worker, aged 31 years, gave the following observation:

"We usually take about 2-4 refugees in our buses in the morning and bring back others in the afternoon; we do not disclose them to the police and immigration officers. They are our good customers and they don't have problems paying for their luggage and fare. In the morning at 6.30 a.m., when the traffic police and other regular policemen are not yet on duty, they catch the buses at any bus stop station, but in the afternoon, they request to be off loaded a bit far from their entrance gate (but inside the camp), because they don't want to be seen by the officers in the camp and the security guard at the gate. They hire motorbikes from where they are dropped off to get to where they stay through unofficial paths because our minibuses are not allowed to enter the camp without a permit."

5. Refugee Movement Outside Camp in Relation to Peace and Security

The study intended to establish the extent to which refugees were free to move outside the camp, and whether such movements were controlled by a responsible agency. The study intended to find out whether their freedom to go outside the camp had a direct or indirect impact on peace and security. It was revealed in FGDs that refugees are not prevented from going outside the camp to search for household needs because the supplies they get from UNHCR, the Tanzanian government, and other agencies cannot meet all their basic needs. Observation made in neighbouring villages of Makere Nyamidaho, Nyarugusu, Heru, Ushingo, Mvugwe, Kitagata and Mwali indicated that during market days, about half of the people who visit such market places are refugees.

Instances of host communities entertaining refugees in their residences illegally were also reported. While some refugees were living within their relatives' residences, others rented houses and conducted economic activities outside the camp illegally. As noted by Reuters (2007), many people in the host communities of Tanzania are more likely to stay with refugees in their residences for different purposes, including being a source of labour, while others like to trade with them illegally. This was confirmed during FGDs. Sakiyah (2020) has indicated similar findings: that increased chances of interaction with refugee populations may have an influence on the social life within a host community; and besides local differences, those living closer to a refugee camp do not necessarily feel less safe due to constructive relations between refugees and hosts. However, for refugees who are not honest, such loopholes may be used to harm the host community, and the nation at large, directly or indirectly.

It was further revealed that the nature of the camp necessitates refugees to visit markets frequently because the camp is situated in the midst of a forest. As indicated by Alix-Garcia and Saah (2010), cultural proximity to refugee a population increases social and economic interactions over time, and a recognition of the importance of support given to refugees by stakeholders and NGOs. The only point to control movement is through the main gate managed by the government Refugee Service Department (RSD), with shifting security guards—only one at a time. This agency had few staff (7) in the camp. It is

estimated that there are more than 45 pedestrian pathways leading out of the camp, so restricting movement with such capacity is a difficult task. This situation is endangering peace and security in the camp and around host community.

Besides localized movements, the study also learnt that there were movements of refugees to far-off distances, and even to their countries of origin. The WEO, village chairperson, and elders in the village testified this during interviews. They estimated that an average of 50-60 refugees crossed the border on a daily basis to Congo through Kigadye village, crossing River Malagarasi (the border) to Susumo (Burundi), then down to Lake Tanganyika shores in Nyanza or Rumonge (Burundi), and finally to Congo. The same route is used to get back to the camp. This is practised more frequently during the dry season. A number of interviewed refugees and villagers admitted that there were such routes. Similar findings were observed by Ferris (2007): that refugees frequently go out of camps without permission, and sometimes go as far as their countries of origin. When asked whether the police were aware of such movements, one male local authority leader in Heru Ushingo village had this to say:

The police are aware of the routes. In fact, few defiant police officers in Heru Ushingo and army officers at the border are alleged to participate in this trafficking. Some of them (police) are the owners of motorbikes used by refugees. For example, my uncle is a motorbike transporter who usually takes the refugees to the police post first before going to the border to secure his illegal trip through corrupt police officers who condone the business and earn money from this illicit act.

Such movements endanger peace and security in the host community because some criminal refugees may use such loopholes to bring in arms into the host community that can be used for evil intentions, such as breaking into and robbing people's residences and business places. Such people have been reported to physically and sexually abuse people, especially girls and women. The study proved beyond doubt that an uncontrolled movement of refugees outside the camp is not safe – both for the refugees and the host community – because refugees with evil intentions can use that opportunity to commit crimes.

5.1 Refugee Socio-economic and Cultural Impacts on Peace and Security

The study, through interviews and FGDs, revealed that there were social and cultural interactions of refugees and the host community. Both host community and refugees share some common social and cultural elements that are important for their harmonious co-existence. For example, they share their ceremonies like weddings and funerals. Another social and cultural interaction was observed in marital relationships between the host communities and refugees. This happens between host females and refugee males. One Congolese man who had married a Tanzanian woman, had this to say: *"I am happy I am married to a Tanzanian woman because in that way I became a member of the family of this country. You can call me a Tanzanian if you wish."*

The market place is another area of interaction as per interviews and field observation. Apart from being a place where business and economic activities are conducted, the market is also used as a meeting place where people meet every day and develop relationships. However, such interactions could result into new socially unwanted behaviours in terms of anti-cultural tendencies and breakdown of traditional social structures, including a change in the attitudes of the youth towards their elders. The study revealed that the interaction also resulted into the emergence of some new behaviours such as prostitution, drug abuse, and inappropriate dressing and hair styles. Incidences of crime, alcoholism, theft, drug addiction and rape were reported to be higher than they were before. Social relations between refugees and their hosts also had some negative consequences. Whitaker (2002) also found that refugee camps were associated with social problems such as drunkenness, prostitution, sexual promiscuity, and mischief. It was further observed that hosts blamed refugees for these changing social dynamics; however, they saw them as an inevitable result of the drastic population increase in the area.

Another social impact was overcrowding, which continues to impede humanitarian efforts, thus affecting the provision of basic and dignified living conditions for refugees. This has created additional pressure on shelter, school, and water services. It was reported that congestion in the provision of social services like water, education, and health was associated with environmental degradation problems in the area. In a study on the impact of environmental degradation on refugee-host relations in Tanzania, Berry (2008) observed similar findings: that one of the major problems of refugees in the host community was environmental degradation. On the other hand, the study revealed that the construction of community-based shelters by the UNHCR, and associated institutions, accelerated environmental problems in the host community, mainly deforestation due to cutting down trees for building houses, making charcoal and as firewood. As noted by the government of Tanzania, the Department of Service Delivery for Refugees, the main priority of UNHCR for the refugees is to provide adequate shelter for up to 74% of refugees and asylum-seekers, by providing 2,880 mobile shelters and 3,000 refugee housing units (URT, 2019).

Furthermore, pollution due to deposition of waste materials from the services provided, was another environmental problem reported in the area; as well as land degradation due to over-population in the camp. It was admitted by officers in the camp that maintaining law and order in over-populated situations was a difficult task because sometimes human beings act irrationally. Similar findings were observed by Berry (2008) and Rutinwa (2010): that the increased felling of trees has also led to wind- and water-induced soil erosion and the depletion and pollution of water resources; thus creating food shortage. Local government authority leaders reported that the reliance on firewood as the main source of household fuel for cooking, lighting and heating has

accelerated the environmental problem. This is mainly due to the depletion of wood stocks, which has heightened exposure of women and children to risks related to sexual and gender-based violence as they have to walk long distances to collect firewood and fetch water for domestic use.

The destruction and mismanagement of property was reported to be a problem during the interview with local government leaders. For example, cars, motor bicycles and farms of the host community were either stolen or vandalized by refugees. Refugees were also reported to be a cause of hostility in the area due to drunkenness, especially on market days. Crime rate in the host community increased as various vices such as theft, rape, killings, alcoholism and drug abuse were reported to the police, with many cases being blamed on refugees. Collier's (2011) study also found that these problems were rampant in refugee areas.

Although refugees have been associated with the problems described above, the study has shown that the coming of refugees has had some positive impacts to the host communities. For example, social services -- such as health services and water -- that are provided to refugees through international funding also benefit the host communities. Refugees, on the other hand, gain from the host community as they are allowed to run some small business such as hotels and restaurants, which serve the community. The restaurants -- which sell food and soft drinks such as coffee, tea and bread -- serve both the local communities and refugees. In general, there are a number of socio-economic skills and benefits that the host community acquire from refugees. The World Development Report (2011) also states the fact that development projects by the UNHCR to serve the refugees involve substantial expansion of hospitals, clinics, road networks, and water supply, as well as reforestation plans to alleviate environmental degradation. Therefore, the services established and improved for use by refugees, remain in a host community for a long time even after refugees have gone back to their countries of origin.

Apart from the support the refugees get from the host countries and organizations like the UNHCR, the hope of going back for some of them is still unpredictable, for fear of reprisals. One Burundian man, aged 41 years, said:

I am a Burundian, of Congo origin. My parents fled Burundi in 1972 and stayed as refugees in Congo. I was born in Congo in the same year my parents arrived in Congo. They died in Congo while I was away working in 'oro' (gold). I later got married to a Nyamulenge woman (a Congolese) and returned to Mboko. My wife was not accepted by my relatives and neighbours except few fellow Burundians because she was a Nyamulenge. This was because of the inter-tribal conflicts between the Bembe and Nyamulenge. The majority of my neighbours were of Bembe ethnicity. In 2008, I tried to return to Congo where I planned to go back and work in the Misisi gold fields, but I received bad news that my in laws had survived killings and fled to Malawi. I also got information about conflicts between the Bembe and Nyamulenge ethnic groups because of massacres committed by Nyamulenge soldiers in Bembe. My wife swears that she and her children will never return to Congo. I wanted to, but I am not a Congolese. I cannot go to Congo without my family. I am a Burundi alien, and I am worried to go to Burundi.

As noted by Justin (2008), refugees who stay in a host country for long time find it very difficult to return to their countries of origin due to fear that they may not cope with life. It was also indicated by the UNHCR (2006) that protracted refugee situations stalk from political action and inaction, both in the country of origin and the host, the policy responses of the country of asylum and lack of sufficient donor engagement. The UNHCR cautions that the failure to address the situation in the country of origin means that refugees cannot return home; and the reluctance to assist by the host country reinforces the perception of refugees as a burden and a security concern, leading to encampment and the lack of local solutions. Humanitarian agencies are then left to shoulder the burden.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

The study assessed the socio-economic implications of protracted refugees on peace and security in Tanzania. Specifically, the objectives were to investigate the outcome of refugees overstaying in a host country, especially the impact on socio-economic activities of a host community. Specifically, it was to assess the impact of the freedom of movement of refugees outside the camp in relation to peace and security, and examine the influence refugees have on socio-economic activities in relation to peace and security of a host community.

The results show that, economically, refugees are engaged in income generating activities such as conducting small businesses, peasantry, selling labour in the host community farms, while others are employed. Moreover, there are those who are living in the camp out of their own will, and some are involved in food vending and fishing to support their lives.

In relation to the freedom of movement outside the camp, it was revealed that, even though the refugees were not formally allowed to go out of the camps, they did so to obtain some household needs because the amount of food and other goods being provided by the UNHCR and the government was not enough to support them. Some went to the markets, especially during special auction days, and engaged in small businesses like selling Congolese fabric and other goods preferred by the host community. Others went as far as crossing the border to DRC to conduct business. This situation was likely to endanger peace and security in the camp and around the host community.

Concerning socio-economic impacts of refugees on peace and security to the host community, it was reported that there was physical and sexual abuse for both refugees and host community; corrupt behaviour such as armed robbery; loss of land without direct compensation for the host community; congestion in social services in the host community due to sharing with refugees; and unnecessary long stay in a host country. Some refugees were unwilling to go back home due to political unpredictability in their home countries; and the fact that most had lost their belongings, and found it difficult to start afresh. The government was also partly responsible for this long stay because of poor plans to repatriate refugees.

The study thus concludes that socio-economic impacts of refugees on peace and security of a host community are complex, and have both negative and positive aspects. Positive impacts include availability of water, fabric from neighbouring Congo, different skills learned from refugees including different designs of decoration, and dressing and hair styles. Negative impacts include escalating crimes including sexual abuse such as rape, robbery, overcrowding in social services, conflicts and fighting. The host community, on the other hand, thought that refugees were a menace as they were benefitting much from the available resources, which were supposed to be supporting the host community. In comparison, the study revealed that there were more negative than positive impacts of hosting refugees for a long time in the host country.

6.2 Recommendations

The international policy on refugees has negative implications to Tanzania. It puts the country under strain partly by the insecurity attributed to refugees, including the relentless pressure put on limited natural resources. Therefore, the international policy on refugees needs to be reviewed to allow a host country to decide on suitable conditions of keeping refugees. Moreover, the national refugee policy document of 2003 allows refugees to stay in the host country until they feel that there is peace in their countries of origin. The policy implication of this is that refugees shall not be forced to return to their countries of origin even if the situation is no longer threatening so long as they have not decided to do so. This creates a state of protracted refugees in camps. The policy should clearly state the maximum time refugees could stay in a camp, as well as creating safe zones in their country of origin to encourage these refugees to return home.

Although the UNHCR provides substantial support to the government for the reinforcement of security in and around refugee camps, the government should plan ahead and find lasting solutions to possible refugee influx, and measures to take. To get rid of frequent movements between refugee camps and the countries of origin, the study recommends that security should be increased in the camps to control movement to and from home countries. The policy implication of this is that refugees should be provided with appropriate identity cards to allow proper identification when necessary. A comprehensive registration database should be available to the government at the refugee service department, which should also be shared with immigration and the National Identity Development Agency (NIDA).

For those refugees who are involved in socio-economic activities that sometimes result into conflicts, the study recommends that only limited economic activities should be allowed in the camps. Moreover, the refugee population in each camp should be controlled to avoid unnecessary overcrowding, and to assist administering social services.

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