

Population Issues in Refugee Settlements of Western Tanzania

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Abstract

This paper discusses population issues of refugee settlements in Tanzania, including the rights and duties of refugees, the problems of integration at various levels, and the plights commonly experienced during refugees crises. The paper also looks at the effects of rapid population growth on the settlements resource base, the environment, and the community as a whole. Finally, it draws recommendations on how the rapid growth rate can be decelerated.

Introduction: Development of Refugees in Tanzania

The 1951 United Nations Convention, along with the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, defined a refugee as a person who:

... owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of protection of that country.

Different countries interpret the term 'well-founded fear' differently. Numerous refugees, like those displaced by drought, famine and other natural disasters are not covered by the protection or assistance of the convention. In the process, a nomenclature has evolved to distinguish 'convention refugees' (those falling under United Nations Convention and status) from 'economic refugees', 'internal refugees', 'displaced people' and 'returnees'. These terms are subjective and dependent on the political orientation of the user, and his/her relationship with the refugee group. The special circumstances pertaining to Africa, especially the issues of colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination has led the Organisation of African Countries (OAU) to expand the definition of refugees to include,

... every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either country or part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his/her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

Refugee status, which is a right to the refugee as agreed upon by the international community through various international instruments, is given under conditions. This right of protection and basic needs of life goes hand in hand with the conditions that the refugees should not pose immediate threat to the host state,

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and that they should recognize the sovereignty and integrity of their home state. The status of refugees in Tanzania can be categorised according to two periods: the pre-independence and post-independence eras. In the then Tanganyika, for instance, the concept of refugees was not a new phenomena. During the colonial era, the concept of refugees was racially discriminatory by being applied mainly on persons of European origin. It was mainly applied to Germans who were prisoners of war or missionaries, whereas Africans who had fled from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique were simply treated as migrant labourers (Ayok, 1990). In 1943, for example, there were 9261 European refugees (3015 Italians, 5727 Poles, and 519 Greeks); and these were placed in camps throughout Tanganyika. Some of them were settled at Tabora in Western Province (Kuczynski, 1948; Western Province Annual Report, 1941).

At independence, from inception the leadership of the country consciously chose a model of peace and unity. In particular, the government offered refugee status to all political parties fighting colonialism in their countries. Refugee status was not only limited to these political parties, but it was also granted to all those who were affected by serious and systematic violation of human rights—particularly the persecution of persons on grounds of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social or political group—civil wars or events seriously disturbing public order, external aggression, occupation or foreign domination, and natural and ecological disasters (Hofmann, 1992). This model ensured Tanzania remained a safe haven to the countless numbers of people fleeing from wars, discrimination and prosecution in Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) and Somalia (Parker, 2000). In defining post-independence refugees, one also needs to make a distinction between the pre- and post-Rwandan 1993/94 genocide refugees. This distinction is important when discussing the extent of the impact of refugees on the resource base and environment in the host/community area.

The concept of a refugee is not entirely a legal construct. Empirical analysis identifies its association with aid programmes provided by donors. Where assistance is given, the label “refugee” connotes certain behavioural patterns on the part of the receiver and the giver (Zetter, 1986). Natural and ecological factors, which are often magnified by inadequate economic policies, may act as a stimulus for one to camouflage as a refugee to take advantage of donations made to refugees. The aim of this paper is to briefly look into the historical perspective on the development of refugees in Tanzania and various issues related to their settlement mainly in Western Tanzania. The paper also looks into the issues of high growth rate of refugees and their effects on resource base, and the relationship between refugees and nationals as reflected by the refugees desire to be integrated or be repatriated to their homeland.

Refugee Population in Tanzania

The first Africans from an independent state who sought refuge in Tanzania were the Batutsi from Rwanda. According to Ambassador Mutanguka Zephyr, Rwandese sought refugee in Tanzania as early as 1959 (*Daily News*, February 22, 2000). Burundi refugees started fleeing Burundi as early as October, 1965, after a

failed Bahutu coup; and later in 1969 after the threat of a coup resulting in reprisals by the state on the Bahutu majority. The influx of refugees from Rwanda and Burundi was mainly a result of ethnic fighting.

Refugees started flowing in Tanzania in great numbers in the 1960s, immediately after independence in 1961. This was attributed to the fact that Tanzania was the only independent state in the region, and the willingness of the leadership to assist liberation of those under colonial domination. *En masse* refugee status was thus given to freedom fighters from Southern Africa who were struggling against colonialism. Thus, in the early 1970s, out of the 10 million refugees in the world, 5 million were from Africa. That is equivalent to saying one African out of every 70 was a refugee (Kibreab). In 1972, there was another refugee exodus of the Bahutus, resulting from reprisals by the Batutsi-controlled government. This culminated in 200,000 people being murdered and 150,000 fleeing to Rwanda and Tanzania.

Refugees from Burundi, who usually travel or flee in family groups, form the largest group of refugees in Tanzania. Other refugees come from Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). The refugee settlements are located mainly in the Western part of the country, namely Kigoma, Tabora, and Rukwa regions. These regions share a common border with Rwanda, Burundi, Republic of Congo, and Zambia. The 1950 internal conflicts within some of these neighbouring states have from time to time forced a considerable exodus, thus giving rise to refugees seeking sanctuary in Tanzania. Western Tanzania, which hosts the majority of Burundi refugees, has been characterized by low population density, infrastructural underdevelopment, and economic backwardness. However, one note here that relative to other parts of the country, these Western regions were fairly underdeveloped and under-populated, may be because of the capitalist system which made these regions labour reserves. Table 1 below shows distribution of refugee population relative to the indigenous population in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Table 1: Distribution of Indigenous Population and Refugee Population in parts of Western Tanzania: 1978 -1989

Region/District	Census Population 1978	Estimated Population 1987	Refugee Population 1987	Refugee Population % Age Of Total Population
Kigoma Region	648,941	870,500	28,300*	3
Kasulu	255,649	342,400	7,700	2
Kibondo	139,991	787,000	12,000	1
Kigoma	253,301	339,200	8,700	2
Urambo	141,104	171,000	28,448	17.5
Rukwa Region	451,897	642,500	101,442	15.7

Sources: URT, 1978. Population Census, 1978: Preliminary Report, United Republic of Tanzania; Lugusha, 1981. Survey of Kigoma Region; UNHCR, 1987 Census of the Refugee Population in Settlements

* Estimate

A higher percentage in the refugee population does not necessarily imply more refugees in an areas. If you consider Kigoma and Urambo, for example, both of them had about 28,000 refugees. The percentage of refugees in the two places

differs significantly. This is because the base population affects percentage. Urambo had a small base population in comparison with Kigoma, and hence a higher percentage of refugees. The statistics for refugees, which can broadly be viewed as time series data, is stochastic and unpredictable in nature. As it stands, the current population of refugees and their places of origin and their settlement places are as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Tanzania Refugee Statistics as at 20/1/2000

No.	Country Of Origin	Settlement/Camp	District	No. of Refugees
1.	DRC (Kigoma)	Nyarugusu (c)	Kasulu	52,806
		Lugufu (c)	Kigoma (R)	46,649
	Sub total			99,455
2.	Burundi (Kigoma)	Mtabila A (c)	Kasulu	14,573
		Mtabila B (c)	Kasulu	38,633
		Muyovosi (c)	Kasulu	36,709
		Kanembwa (c)	Kibondo	17,406
		Nduta (c)	Kibondo	48,982
		Mkugwa (c)	Kibondo	1,285
		Mtendeli (c)	Kibondo	47,790
		Karago (c)	Kibondo	24,142
Sub total			229,520	
Tabora Region				
3.	Burundi	Ulyankulu (s)	Urambo	41,602
	Sub total			41,602
Rukwa Region				
4.	Burundi	Katumba (s)	Mpanda	85,866
		Mishamo (s)	Mpanda	44,630
	Sub total			130,496
Kagera Region				
5.	Burundi	Lukole A & B (c)	Ngara	88,542
	Rwanda	Lukole B (c)	Ngara	21,241
	Burundi	Mwisa (c)	Karagwe	nil
	Rwanda	Mwisa (c)	Karagwe	2
	Congo	Mwisa (c)	Karagwe	10
	Sub total			109,795
Tanga Region				
6.	Somalia	Mkuyu Handeni	Handeni	3,910
	Ethiopia	(c)		6
	Sudan	-		10
	Kenya	-		4
	Uganda	-		3
	Angola	-		5
	Sub total			3,938
7.	Yugoslavia	Dar es Salaam	Ilala	1
	Iran	Iringa	Iringa	9
	Sub total			10
	Grand Total			614,816

Source: UNHCR, Geneva

s = for settlement.

c = camp.

There is no simple equation to explain the number of refugees in any year. There are two main reasons for this. One is that human rights conditions of the states with refugees in Tanzania are unpredictable. *En masse* refugee influx may happen at any time, and without any warning. While some situations that may actuate refugees may ease and encourage refugees and the displaced people to return to their homes, new situations are constantly being created that induct refugees. Examples are refugees from Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. Second, is the cultural affinity. The people in the regions in which the refugees settle are those surrounding the great lakes. These peoples have a lot in common with the refugees in terms of culture and language. A refugee can therefore enter the country easily, and mix with the nationals. Such an action would render the person so entering the country not to be counted as a refugee.

Integration/Voluntary Repatriation/Resettlement of Refugees in Tanzania

A phenomenal increase in the number of refugees in Tanzania has been witnessed in the last three decades. As long as the root causes that give rise to their presence are not solved, the number of refugees is expected to rise. The reasons that gave rise to refugee influxes from the 1960s to the present range from continued ethnic conflicts in countries such as Rwanda and Burundi; political instability in countries such as Uganda, Malawi, Ethiopia, DRC, etc.; and independence struggles for countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa.

Every refugee situation affects the individual refugee, the host country, the country of origin, and the international community. There are three durable solutions to the refugee question: voluntary repatriation, integration, and resettlement. Voluntary repatriation is considered as the most ideal (Warner, 1994). Voluntary repatriation is a principle of international law. The removal of the causes of flight in the countries of origin is an important condition for voluntary repatriation. The mediating parties should therefore consider the history of the influxes and iron out the differences arising from this history so as to come up with a solution that would encourage voluntary repatriation.

Because of the long period of time some refugees had spent in the country, making voluntary repatriation not feasible, the government opted for the solution of integrating them. Tanzania's positive provision for the effective settlement and integration of refugees has placed it in the forefront of refugee rehabilitation (Rogge, 1981). The approach of integrating refugees in Tanzania is partly a reflection of the humanitarian stance epitomized by the former President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and partly by the recognition that refugees can also play a positive role to development by providing labour force to the under-populated and under-utilized hinterland.

The success of integration is difficult to quantify with certainty. There are two reasons for this. One arises from the historical perspective of the contact between the indigenous population and the refugee population; and the other is the aspirations of the refugees themselves. Musoke (1997) described the relations existing between the refugee population and the indigenous people to have transcended from that of hospitality to hostility. According to Musoke, and other

~~scholars who agree with him (Lwehabura *et. al.*; URT, PMO, 1995: 7), the negative outlook and reactions against the refugees is attributed mainly to the following facts and developments.~~

1. Criminal and other social deviant/negative acts and attitudes of some members of refugee community, and in some cases in collaboration with the indigenous population. This includes acts like cattle rustling, illegal possession of arms, rioting, robbery, raping, grievous bodily harm, etc., all these resulting in some cases in the loss of life, damages to the property, etc. The call for the quick repatriation of the refugees to their respective home countries and subsequent closure of doors to Burundi, Rwandese, and Zairean (now Congolese) refugees by the government of URT at the end of 1996 is partly attributed to these developments.
2. Discrimination of the indigenous population by the UNHCR and other NGOs, has been interpreted as a sell-out to the indigenous people. This is because when refugees initially entered the country (early 1960s), the indigenous population accorded them all hospitality including giving them food, shelter, etc. The assistance by the international community to the refugees scarcely reciprocated the hospitality rendered by the indigenous population, as they were solely targeted to the refugee population. It is a fact that when refugees first arrived in Tanzania, especially during post-genocide Rwanda, they just settled anywhere they could find, including on the properties of the local population, and in public places including schools, churches, courts, etc. They grabbed anything they could lay their hands on, including food crops in the *shambas* of the local people. Because of their influx in big numbers, their presence eroded the local resources base as well as the carrying capacity of the physical and social infrastructure. Schools were closed down, trees and vegetative cover on land cut down, water sources depleted and/or highly polluted, sanitary conditions negatively affected, and above all, food stocks were depleted resulting into food insecurity for almost all households in villages surrounding the refugee camps in a short period – all these happened behind a background where new stocks/replenishment and/or compensation were not in sight or forthcoming. Unfortunately, refugee assistance from the international community did not address such the negative impacts on the local population by the influx of refugees. (Musoke, 1997, Mwakasege, 1995).
3. The eruption of the Banyamulenge factor in Zaire
4. Flows and inadequacies inherent in the present international and national refugee regimes.

The pre-genocide (pre-1994) attitudes of the Burundi refugees and the indigenous population on integration are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Attitude of Burundi Refugees Towards Citizenship by Place of Settlement (N=190)

Attitude	Type Of Settlement	
	<i>Organized</i>	<i>Spontaneous</i>
Positive	0.53	96.50
Negative	99.47	3.50
Total	100	100
Number of respondents	190	171

Source: Ayok & Mbago, 1989.

Table 3 shows that almost all refugees in the organized settlements from a sample size of 190 were not keen on integration, whereas 96.5% refugees out of a sample size of 171 from the spontaneous settlements were keen on integration. This is a reflection that relations between the indigenous population and the refugees in the spontaneous settlements at that time were good as reflected by the refugees' desire to integrate

Table 4 shows that 21.6% out of 162 nationals felt that refugees in the assisted villages should not be given citizenship, whereas only 8.5% out of 117 nationals felt that refugees in the unassisted villages should not be given citizenship. This is a reflection that refugees in the non-assisted settlements had been assimilated into the values of the indigenous population, a reflection of cultural affinity between these two peoples.

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Attitude of Tanzanian Nationals Towards Giving Citizenship to Refugees: A Comparison Between Assisted and Unassisted Villages in Self-settlements in Kigoma Region

Attitude	Type of Settlement	
	<i>Assisted</i>	<i>Unassisted</i>
Positive	78.40	91.50
Negative	21.60	8.50
Total	100	100
Number of respondents	162	117

Source: C.A. Ayok & Mbago, M.C.Y., 1989.

Though integration is encouraged, there are also instances of passivity and refusal by some refugees to assimilate with the local populace. This probably emanates from the fact that refugees are integrated without asking them what are their future plans. A survey by Benyi (1993) of 50 Zairean refugees residing in Tanzania on their future plans gave the following information regarding their future plans.

According to Benyi (1993), the source of his sample was the Ministry of Home Affairs and individual Zaireans residing in Dar es Salaam. His analysis showed that most of the sampled refugees were single. Those who ascribed their causes of flight to be political were 32%, economic 18%, and further studies were 50%. The salient motive of flight of the sampled population was seen to be further studies

than political. This is reflected in the few numbers of the refugees wanting to integrate, which supports observations by Mbago and Ayok (1989), which shows that over 99% of the Burundi refugees from organized settlements had a negative attitude towards integration. From the Table 5, most of the refugees were young people aged 20-25 who had their aspirations for the future as reflected in their wishes not to integrate but to resettle in a third country, most probably for further education. The sample for those aged 36 and above years is too small to warrant any valid inference.

Table 5: Zaire Refugee Future Plans

Age	20-25	36-45	46-55	56-65	Total	Percentage
Sex	M	M	M	M		
Return	12	2	1		15	30
Integrate	2	2			4	8
Resettle in a third country	27	2	1	1	31	62

Source: Benyi (1993).

The Issue of Human Rights

The instability caused by the Banyarwanda refugees had great repercussions in Tanzania. Some of the refugees were not willing to accept the solutions provided by their host. Their intransigence forced the Tanzanian government to enact a refugee law in 1966, which contained several caveats to control their movements and activities. This act restricts mobility and inhibits the employment of refugees, which is in contradiction of Article 17 of the 1951 Convention. As it is now, refugees have to get a permit from commandant's office in the settlements before leaving their camp. Failure to obtain a permit can result in a six-months imprisonment.

Restrictions on mobility have serious implication on employment opportunities. As a consequence of this, refugees residing in Mpanda, or Tabora towns are rounded and sent back to the settlements annually. For example, in May, 1986, 33 Burundi refugees living in Tabora were ordered back to the settlements. There are rumours that some were involved in criminal activities (*African Concord*, 8 May 1986; *Daily News*, 7 July, 1985; and 9 July 1986). According to Daley (1989), pressure on refugee households forced some of them to supplement their cash incomes by becoming agricultural labourers.

I am not against the rule of law of restricting refugee movements, but I am advocating that using proper machinery, refugee should be allowed to enter into limited economic venture. This will reduce their boredom in the settlements and perhaps reduce their birth rate because they will be preoccupied with other tasks.

Migration and organized schemes are reputed to have deleterious effect on the status of women. In periods of crises or in new socio-economic environments patriarchy tends to intensify, and women are said to assume lower profiles. Quite often women, like children, are ascribed passive roles as victims who are ill-

equipped with new and demanding situations. This negative perception of women's capacity for change is compounded by the male bias inherent in refugee and state sponsored development programmes, whereby distribution of resources—whether land, food, or clothing—are all conferred through the male representative of the household (Harrell-Bond, 1986). One of the consequences of the limited opportunities within the settlements is the exploitation of the women by the state bureaucrats and agency personnel. It has been reported that several refugee women—particularly secondary school leavers—have been forced into prostitution or similar shameful activities. Unfortunately it is the illegal activities by the refugee, which have been given more prominence rather than the conditions that have led to the arising of these activities.

Population in the Organized Settlements

The settlements Western Tanzania that have somewhat stabilized are Mishamo and Katumba. Ulyankulu and Mwese are not so prominent. The population changes in these settlements can somehow be studied. However, there are no data to show the number of refugees dying from a refugee situation during the asylum phases. Table 6 shows the distribution of population in the settlements in the 1980s.

Table 6: Refugee Population in Some of the Settlements in Western Tanzania 1967-1987

Settlement	Date of Arrival	Country of Origin	Census Population 1987	Percentage of Refugee
Katumba	1973	Burundi	66,885	46.7
Mishamo	1978	Burundi	34,557	24.1
Ulyankulu	1972	Burundi	29,998	20.9
Mwese	1964	Rwanda	3,000	2.0
Total Refugee Population				142,927

Source: TCRS Documentation 1964-1987; Armstrong, 1986; UNHCR/Tanzania Government Refugee Census, April 1987.

In these settlements, there is a clear class stratification ranging from poor peasants to the bourgeoisie as observed by Daley (1989). As for Mishamo, the settlement was planned for 37,500 people, but only about 27,000 formed the initial group. Clearly, as the years passed, the population drastically increased. As seen before, Mishamo's population has always been youthful. The implications of such a youthful population are a very high dependency ratio, translated to eventual high fertility, direct demands on schooling and health activities, and later on a need for more land and resources upon attainment of adulthood.

Population Changes in the Settled Settlements

We could not get recent figures on the population changes in these settlements. However, some studies on the changes in the past years have been done. A study by Anderson (1987) gave the following figures (see Table 7) for the population size at Mishamo.

Table 7: Population Size for Mishamo 1979-1985

Date	Male Adults*	Female Adults	Male Children	Female Children	Total	Sex Ratio
December 1979 ¹	6151	6819	7643	6580	21193	102.9
February 1979 ²	6458	6775	8591	7878	29702	102.7
June 1983 ³	7064	7100	9258	8586	32008	104.1
March 1984 ⁴	7011	7066	10533	9900	34530	103.5

*Adults are assumed to be those of 18 years above.

Source: 1. Settlements files. 2. Census February 1981. 3. Census June 1983. 4. Figures supplied by Settlement commandant.

Ideally, population projections should be done by incorporating fertility and mortality assumptions. Then the software PEOPLE could be used to project the population. However, deaths in refugee settlements were not always recorded. Refugee migration to Tanzania involved changes in physical, ecological, and climatic conditions. Attitude differences and exposure to malaria had devastating effects on the morbidity and mortality rates of the population in the years immediately following flight. For example, in Katumba, agencies whose main role was to save lives were not easily ready to record adverse conditions. Neither were refugees willing to report deaths (Daley, 1989). As Anderson (1987) noted for Mishamo, although birth and death rates for each village were recorded, major inconsistencies and omissions in the records could not give clear indications of natural population increases. Furthermore, prediction of the likely future growth of a refugee settlement is problematic in the extreme. External events, especially development in the countries of origin, may intervene to effect a major impact; while even medium term trends, such as out-migration, cannot be predicted with any accuracy.

In the absence of reliable estimates of mortality and fertility, and assuming exponential growth of the population regarding 1979 as the base year, the crude growth rate r is calculated as:

$$r = \ln(P_{1984}/P_{1979}) \\ = 0.048 \text{ or } 4.8\%$$

where

P is the total population in that particular year.

Assuming an exponential growth rate, the projected population is

$$P_t = P_0 e^{rt} \text{ or } 4.8\%$$

where

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Assuming an exponential growth rate, the projected population is

$$P_t = P_0 e^{rt}, \text{ where } r = 4.8\%,$$

t is the time in years and P_0 is the base year population. Assuming the same growth rate,

$$\begin{aligned} P_{1997} &= 27193e^{0.048 \times 18} \\ &= 64,518. \end{aligned}$$

This is a crude projection and it has to compare with the actual population figure.

As can be seen from Table 7, the majority of the people in all the years are people younger than 18 years. The addition of the youthful population into the reproductive age, coupled with relatively high standards of health care (resulting in a reputed infant mortality of 45 per 1000, (Anderson, 1987)) increased the rates of growth in Mishamo.

Effects of Population Growth on the Resources

Most of the refugees who have been entering Tanzania are rural refugees. Rural refugees usually move in groups, as opposed to urban refugees who are more likely to move as individuals. Rural refugees, in most instances, move across the relatively open borders and receive asylum in countries adjacent to their countries of origin, as with the case of refugees coming to Tanzania from neighbouring Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, and Uganda. A rural refugee comes from a village environment, and is actively engaged in agricultural occupation or an indirect service occupation (e.g. carpenter) in a village environment. The growth of refugee population, and in particular rural refugee population, has a remarkable effect on the host country. Usually, as the population grows and requires more from a limited base, this may lead to environmental deterioration or intensification of land use due to poor technological change. This imbalance causes soil erosion, deforestation, landlessness, and out-migration (Boserup, 1965; Van Donge, 1992).

Most of the refugees entering Tanzania have been settled in North-western Tanzania. These areas are endowed with reliable rainfall, permanent rivers and streams, abundant forest, woodland and grassland covers, productive soils, fresh water lakes rich in fish varieties, economic minerals and ingenious local population (URT, 1991; Mwakasege, 1995). All these are susceptible to varying degrees of damage/destruction through over-exploitation, misuse, and pollution (Rugumamu, 1997). Moore (1971), for example, estimated a carrying capacity ratio for the Mpanda district area to be 15.11 per sq. km. on cultivable land. With its high population growth rate of between 3.5-4% per annum, Katumba has a high density of about 115.3 per sq. km. According to Daley (1989), the carrying capacity at Katumba has been exceeded by over 400%. This has resulted into environmental degradation, including

- water pollution due to the fact that traditional water sources are checked in terms of quality and quantity due to a rise in demand;
- loss of forest cover (deforestation) arising from demands for poles and timber for housing, fuel wood, making of charcoal for use and for sale; and
- degradation of farm land.

Intensification of production can lead to increased dependency on the use of fertilizers, declining yields, and reduction or abandonment of fallow periods. This crisis in the agricultural sector, described by Bernstein as the simple reproduction squeeze, 'involves a greater expenditure of labour time on poorer or more distant soils to produce the same output of crops, thereby increasing the cost of production and reducing returns to labour' (Bernstein, 1977). Green (1994) assessed the costs of negative environmental impact to be in the order of US \$10 million for 1994 alone.

Other long-term effects include soil erosion resulting from loss of vegetation cover, impairment of sanitary and sewage systems, destruction of bridges and other infrastructure due to the frequent and heavy use by the international agencies servicing refugees are no exception (Sawio, 1997; Shitundu 1997; Rugumamu, 1997; Musoke, 1997; Kikula & Magabe, 1996; Green, 1994). Damage to national parks and poaching of wildlife in the refugee camps located near national parks and wildfire have also been noted. If one compares the refugee influx of the 1994—i.e., over 500,000 refugees against the Ngara (local) population of 191,185—there was an increase of over 260%. In Karagwe district there was an influx of over 200,000 refugees against the local population of 352,574, or almost over 50%. With a population of 6006, Kasulu village, in Ngara district, had to host an estimated 486,300 refugees in Benaco, Msuhula, and Lukole camps. Nyabiyonza ward, in Karagwe district, with a population of 28,380, hosted about 105,000 refugees from Rwanda at Kyabalisa I and Kyabalisa II camps. The ratio of the local population to that of the refugees was 1:80.9 for Kasulu, and 1:3.69 for Nyabiyonza ward (Mwakasege, 1995).

An increase in rural population based on local resource use system constrained by inadequate capital, application of low level technologies, as well as rudimentary storage and marketing infrastructure has contributed to accelerate environmental degradation. Data for these hazards usually are not recorded. In refugee-prone areas, the local peoples' economy is predominantly subsistence, and hence incapable of generating a surplus for the increased demand by the increased population.

In October 1993, reports say that 373,213 refugees lived with 217,095 local people in eleven wards in Kigoma Region (Office of the Kigoma Regional Commissioner, 1995); whereas in Kagera region, by August 1994 approximately 263,138 local population in sixteen wards lived with 467,669 refugees (PMO, 1994). In Kigoma region, between October 1993 and December 1994 an estimated 20,697 hectares of land was cleared by the refugees and refugee related operations (PMO). In Kagera region, an estimated 24,000 hectares were cleared, with a further 50,000 hectares suffering from varying degrees of destruction due to uncontrolled fuel wood gathering (Grimsich, 1996). As concerns wildlife threat, Grimsich (1996) noted that in Ngara, the proximity of the refugee camps to the neighbouring forest reserves and the Burigi game reserve has resulted in intensive game poaching and a decrease in game population estimated at 7.5 to 9.0 metric tons of illegal bush meat consumed weekly in these camps.

Population Policies in the Settlements

Before discussing any policy issues on the refugee population in Tanzania, it is important to consider the role of counselling to the refugees since most different problems facing refugees call for the need for efficient and competent counselling. Counselling as a profession is relatively new in Africa, and this constrains the development of professional services for African refugees (Eriksson *et. al.*, 1981). The conditions prevailing in the host countries and in the countries of origin of the refugees will have to be taken into account while providing personal needs and advice to the refugees as human beings. Part of the counselling should be a need to advice the refugees to restrain from having children if they have not been settled into the camps because an outbreak of any calamity will have maximum impact on the children. It ought to be noted here that since it is the women who give birth, in most cases women are victims of the refugee process. Sometimes women arrive in the host countries with unwanted pregnancies and diseases acquired from raping or forced sexual intercourse from all sorts of personnel. Some of the women get the unwanted pregnancies even after arriving in the host countries. Contraceptive uses are some of the most important determinants of fertility rates. Under normal circumstances, the higher the rate of contraceptive use, and the lower the level of fertility (Bongaarts *et al*, 1990). So there is a strong need to have family planning programmes among the refugees, especially those who are not yet settled in the settlements.

As for the refugees who have been integrated, fertility should also be regulated taking into account the pressure they impart onto the settlements resources. The chances of reducing fertility through contraception are hindered by the persistence of cultural and socio-economic norms that encourage high fertility. A considerable resistance still exists among both women and men regarding the use of modern contraceptives. This is due to strong demand and need for large families, fear of physical side-effects, and other cultural barriers such as mistrust between couples. Arguments have been advanced that Africa has or has had its own system of fertility control, which used to be sufficient. Today, economic changes and other forces of modernization have destabilized many of the traditional socio-economic and cultural systems (Kamuzora, 1987). As a part of their duties, therefore, counsellors should enlighten the refugee population on how to adjust to the norms of the places they have settled by having children the resources can handle. This is a positive population policy for settlements. Another factor, which could regulate fertility, is the involvement of women in all sorts of economic ventures.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has shown that the refugee population in the settlements is growing rapidly. Refugee problems are compounded when birth rate is high. This is true in all refugee populations. Fertility is high in all refugee populations, and infant mortality is low in the organized refugee settlements. There is, therefore, a need for counsellors to advice refugees to disengage from having children during their initial stages of flight. Applying modern methods of contraception and traditional methods of abstinence can do this. As for the refugees integrated in the

settlements, it has been shown that their birth rate is high, and this has put pressure on land and other resources. Applying modern and traditional methods of contraception can regulate birth rates in these places. Involving refugees in sideline employments may also lead to a reduction in the birth rate. There is also a need to involve environmentalists in the planning of refugee settlements so as to arrest the environmental hazards that can result from haphazard refugee settlements.

There is also a need to have vital statistics—births, deaths, and in-migration—properly documented. Reliable statistics will lead to reliable inferences on the population parameters, and hence a proper evaluation of the impact of population growth on resources. There is, therefore, a need to set up a machinery for collecting these statistics; or even using the settlements commandant's office to collect these statistics. Data should not be collected on population only, but also on the environment parameters and other settlements resources.

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