
REFUGEES IN THE CONTEXT OF POPULATION DYNAMICS AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT: ANALYSIS WITH APPLICATIONS TO TANZANIA

By
Fidelis P. Mtatifikolo*

Abstract.

In this Paper the Refugee Problem is cast in the framework of the "Population and Development Question". Inflows and outflows of fleeing persons (refugees as defined in the Global Conventions) are seen as some form of (abnormal) Population Dynamics. The empirical part uses Tanzania as a case study.

The following have been established as the main findings:

That generally refugees are viewed with hostility in countries of destination and the statutes controlling them are strict, stringent, rigid and tend to regard them as some semi criminals or prisoners.

That Refugees viewed in the context of population dynamics are an abnormal form of migration: forced, mostly random, disorganized and usually chaotic. It may involve the most "Vulnerable" part of the population too: children and women.

That the bottomline in the Population-Development Question is about harmonious coexistence in the forces of population changes and socio- economic development. Refugees as a form of population dynamics features negatively in this on account of (a) sudden, forceful and massive operations allowing limited or no time for integration (b) displaced persons usually flee with little or no economic means, and (c) no credible system exists globally for refugees' unconditional absorption in the labour processes in the host countries.

That the historical case for Tanzania reveals some transition: from "open sympathy" to refugees in the 60s to mid 80s to "Open Sympathy Fatigue" if not open hostility in the 90s. The elaborate programs for refugee integration in the 70s to mid 80s have been replaced with quick solutions of repatriation (forceful repatriation sometimes).

That the recent waves of refugees between 1993 and 1996 have negatively (on a net basis) impacted on the economy of Tanzania, amidst dwindling international direct material support for refugees on a per capita basis. Both economic and social sectors have suffered heavily.

A few recommendations have been floated:

*Department of Economics/Demographic Unit, University of Dar es Salaam

Governments should change laws and conventions that view refugees with hostility. The lessons of the 60s and the 70s for Tanzania under refugee integration should be studied for possible use on a regional level.

Potential crisis areas, and thus potential sources of refugees, should always be monitored and contingency plans for possible influxes of refugees should be in place for quick integration.

In the framework of Great lakes cooperation a Special Fund could be established to facilitate refugees resettlements, in addition to existence of contingency plans.

In the medium to long term even border restrictions (and citizenship formalities) could be revisited, especially since most borders cut through ethnic groups.

Citizenship of East and Central Africa would eliminate the question of refugees and any tensions, to be viewed as internal thenceforth, can be handled by normal law enforcement mechanisms. In this vein the evolving European Union should be providing lessons.

Introduction and Overview

1.1. Refugees in the Act:

Act number two (2) of 1966 (passed on 23rd December 1965) provides for the control of Refugees in Tanzania. A close reading of the Act shows that Refugees are more of "prisoners" or perceived criminals than free persons. In particular, the various restrictions, such as Section 5 of the Act which gives the relevant Minister (currently that for Home Affairs) extensive powers to order such persons to move (enter or leave) by specified routes or at specified places to restrict movement within the country and to provide for "settlements" for such persons (section 12 of the Act) mean that refugees as such can barely be "economic assets". Indeed, even the language of the Act reads like refugees are some kind of semi-criminals! (e.g., refugee settlements are headed by a "Settlement Commandant" with extensive powers on restrictions, on the kind of assets refugees can possess, restrictions on participation in trade and other related transactions within the country, etc.

1.2 Refugees in the Context of Population Dynamics and Population Policies

Population dynamics refer to population changes over time or space as they are brought about by forces of fertility, mortality and migration. This interaction (fertility, mortality and migration) may affect the overall rate of population growth, the age structure and population spatial distribution. Domestic or internal dynamics normally relate to fertility and mortality, and their changes greatly influence population sizes, age structure and regional distribution. International dynamics are normally reflected in net receipts of population by a nation from the rest of the world via refugee inflows or normal migration. The relative weight of domestic and international dynamics are usually country specific and they may vary by regions even within a country as the case of recent trends in Tanzania show (shown later below).

Population policies refer to statement of target and methods that directly or indirectly concern fertility, mortality, internal population redistribution and structure. Such policies may be explicit, as when specific targets are set and enforced on, say, urban sizes, migrations, marriages rates and ages, and on the number of children “allowed”. Implicit population policies do not require specific targets or enforcement mechanism, but they may be captured by (government and non governmental) programs that address the quality, quantity and cost of services available, which in turn will influence trends in fertility, mortality and internal resettlements.

Refugees fall under the (forced) migratory streams in the discussion of population dynamics. In this area Tanzania has been credited with being an almost permanently net recipient of these kinds of “migrants”. A brief note on the history and the main Actors in the refugees question in Tanzania follows later below. Section 2 is about a short listing of “Theories” linking population dynamics (supposedly to include refugee flows) to economic development.

The Population and Development Question:

2.1 “Theories” Linking Population and Development:

Links between population dynamics and economic development are usually discussed around five major themes (Kelley A; 1988): the capital shallowing effect, the age dependency effect, the investment diversion effect, the environmental effect and the food/employment balances effect.

Capital Shallowing

This is also called the “Savings and capital formation approach”. Population growth (by the three forces: fertility, mortality and migration) lowers the capital-labour ratio since population growth per se need not increase the rate of savings. Capital is thus said to be shallowed below optimal combination with labour, leading to a lower per capita output. Since it has been established for many developing countries that of the sources of growth in output (land, labour and capital) capital growth contributes up to 40% then indeed capital shallowing will have a much more negative impact on output growth in the economy. Forced migration in the form of refugees shows that such migrants have rarely anything to offer to the host country except possibly their labour power. Most flee their countries with no more than a few belongings that they can carry on their heads. Analytically thus refugees, were they to be directly integrated in the mainstream of economic activities in their host countries, would just add to capital shallowing (this should, of course, be qualified against cases where production is still very labour intensive, in which case they might add to labour force and ultimate production; possibly at the cost of depressed wages in their host areas).

The age dependency Effect

Here the emphasis is on the role of savings. Rapid and unchecked population growth (again under the same force, but especially that resulting from high fertility) increases the youth component in total population. The youth have high propensity to consume and usually at the expense of current saving in households. In LDCs aggregate savings normally come mainly from the numerous small size savings by households, not big business savings. An extra child puts incremental claims on household consumption, draining household savings.

Profiles of refugees in most contemporary countries show a disproportionately large shares of what is called "dependent population" since such refugees are forced to flee normally unprepared and thus become destitute in their areas of destination. This is true both for those who spontaneously settle or are in settlement "camps". Such dependency grows with size of refugee settlements (due to other effects of mass settlements, e.g. environmental and other effects). The profiles of refugees in Tanzania show that many are largely children and dependent women.

The Investment Diversion Effect

According to this "theory" high population growth has the impact of detrending particularly economic programs. If such growth originates from high fertility then diversion is toward health and education provisioning at the expense of more directly and immediately productive, economic growth oriented investments. Physical capital investments are ignored, human capital investments are supported with impact that reduces current growth rate for industry, agriculture and physical infrastructure.

For refugees the impact is directly reflected in the cost of resettlement, food and basic services support. In the absence of international support (or delayed such support) the host country programs suffer from this investment diversion. Again, with a disproportionately large share of children the effect is directly that of investment diversion.

Environmental Effect

The link of population to environmental concerns is through the purported adverse ecological/biological impact. In this case intensification and extensification of land use is manifested in decertification, overfishing, declining rain forests and soil erosion. Environmental problems are said to be particularly acute in LDCS because humans struggle to barely survive due to abject poverty, often using elementary technology with little or no precautionary measures for the environment. "Poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems" and for Africa the argument goes even further; that "... Africa has taken too much from its land as well. It has overdrawn from its environmental accounts and the result for much of Africa has been environmental bankruptcy" (see Mtafifikolo, 1995 and Timberlake, 1995). Mass population movements in the form of refugees has the same impact; that of overuse or even abuse of limited resources, using simple technology, and quite often such refugee settlements face "scorched earth" when refugees leave or upon repatriation to their home countries.

The Food and Employment Balances Effect

This works from the argument about sustainable development. Balanced economic development requires two main elements on the food and employment front: that the economy must absorb net addition to the labour force (the employment balance) and that the rate of growth in supply of necessities (food here used as a proxy on account of its large share in the consumption baskets of poor people in LDCS) must be at least such that it can sustain (feed) the additional population at old levels and also meet the extra demand of necessities resulting from rising per capita income. Access to basic needs is through entitlements (direct or through exchange) with the main intermediation being income from employment (self or wage).

Forced migration distorts both balances. The food balance is distorted because such refugees normally have little to even feed themselves with. At their source production is destroyed or simply left to rot. At destinations these refugees are homeless, landless and mostly "in camps". Most countries of destination for refugees have strict conditions for refugees (movement and engagement in any serious economic activities), which adds to their remaining "beggars and destitutes". Furthermore, the employment balances are also distorted since at source labour absorption (supply as well as demand) is suddenly affected, and at destinations refugees are normally denied rights of employment (especially wage employment, but sometimes even self employment). If they are spontaneously settled they can sometimes integrate themselves (at own risk of course, since laws may not allow) in the mainstream of labour processes normally at less than the ruling wage (they become a source of cheap labour). This works to depress wages in host countries if such refugees are a substantial share of the workforce.

2.2 The Bottomline in Population and Development

From the analysis and review of the various theories linking population and development it is remarked that conclusions would flow as follows: that population dynamics and pressures may be largely responsible for various detrimental impacts: capital shallowing, dependency, investment diversion environmental and food/employment imbalances. For nonperforming economies of the third world these impacts form what is coined as "Population and Development Question". This Question addresses the needs for harmonious developments in the forces of population and economic performance.

The refugees issue, finding limited economic analysis in the literature, would be expected to add 'salt to wounds'. LDC's have enough problems with imbalances between economic development and the other forms of population dynamics; namely growth (especially fertility and mortality issues) and normal migratory streams. The refugees add to economic costs mainly because (1) the movements may be sudden, massive, forceful and chaotic, allowing no time for hosts to integrate them easily (2) such forcefully displaced persons normally flee without any means of economic support (3) laws and conventions dealing with refugees are usually openly hostile to refugees, and (4) no systems have been worked out systematically to integrate refugees in economic processes in host countries. Refugees remain and die beggars and destitutes. When integrated in economic systems of host countries they have been known to do well, exploiting the given opportunities. Tanzania shows this for the refugees of the 60s and the 70s who decided to be integrated and obtained citizenship.

The case of Tanzania is discussed next.

Tanzania and the Refugees Problem

3.1 Policies and Practices: 1960s to Mid 1980s:

In the 60s to the mid 1980s Tanzania's response to the refugees problems had been characterized by a policy of "Open Sympathy" (cited in Mtatikolo, 1990 from a UNFPA study). Since independence of Mainland Tanzania in 1961, and at different times, the country has been host

to refugees from Angola and Mozambique (during their war against the Portuguese and in their civil wars), and Burundi, Rwanda, Malawi, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia (during internal 'turmoils' in those countries even after their political independence).

The matters affecting refugees stated in section one above are governed by the Refugees (Control) Act of 1966. Under this Act the designation of a person as a refugee is vested in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The ministry handles the Administration of Immigration and Naturalization Department as well as Law Enforcement (Police) and so it has offices scattered throughout the country and the border posts. The Refugees Act has been supplemented, at various times, by Refugees Declaration Orders by the government on occasions when the case-by-case procedures would not work easily, especially when the influx of refugees involved masses of fleeing people. Such orders were used for Namibians in 1969, Ugandans in 1971 and Burundese in 1973. Individual cases are considered through a different procedure that leaves the applicant seeking refugee status with the responsibility of establishing the case that his/her circumstances warrant refugee status.

Past Government Programs on Refugees

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) the total number of refugees at the end of 1985 was 212,900, comprising of 169,700 Burundese, 21,000 Rwandese, 16,000 Zairians, 6000 South Africans and 200 from unspecified sources.

Credible data on refugees in lacking and different sources give different figures. Table 1 below shows this kind of discrepancy relative to what is stated above.

Table 1: Refugees Entering Tanzania: Some Selected Years:

Year	Country of Origin			
	Burundi*	Rwanda*	Msumbiji	Somalia
1985	190,000	3106	2300	
1988	19,450	53350	18000	
1993	37,950		68641	2656
May 1994		250000		
Total	473,956	301456	88941	2656

Source: Women in Tanzania; Beijing Report (1994)

Notes on the Table

* This total did not include those who were still fleeing Rwanda at time of the Beijing Conference. Data are not split by gender but the bulk of entering refugees were reported as women and children. More recent reports have better breakdown (see below).

The administration of projects and resettlement schemes for refugees falls under a tripartite agreement between UNHCR, the government of Tanzania and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Among the NGOs the Lutheran World Federation in cooperation with the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Services have been the main Implementing Agencies. Others involved include the Christian Council of Tanzania and CARITAS Tanzania. Among the UN agencies the World Food Program and UNFPA also cooperate with the government and UNHCR in their areas of competence.

The main role of international assistance activities was initially the integration of rural settlements gradually into the country's social and economic system. Thus, for instance, after administering large settlements (Ulyankulu, Katumba and Mishamo) for some time the UNHCR "handed them over" to the Government. Thereafter the day-to-day administration of the schemes became government responsibility and the UNHCR helped mainly with development programs when asked to do so in training, health and education. In terms of magnitudes in the 80s the following information is indicative.

Table 2: Refugees Data in the early 1980s:

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Number of Refugees	159000	180000	180000	179000	212900
Expenditure (In '000 US \$)	7144.7	6493.1 5	8857.9	6528.7	6359.8
Per Capita Expenditure (in US \$)	44.94	36.07	32.43	36.47	29.32

Source: UNHCR: Annual Reports, 1983, 1985.

Assistance to refugees fell under several program categories: the General Programs, Special Programs and Program Support and Administration. General programs included local integration (Mainly infrastructural upgrading, etc) and multipurpose programs (facilities, food construction and accommodation). Special programs included high education or the development of special skills while program support and administration referred mainly to the regular budget and general operations (recurrent expenditures). The table above reveals a shrinking per capita expenditure by the support organizations, which may be reflecting reduced resources from donors or increased self reliance on the part of resettlement schemes.

3.2 Summing up on the Refugees Issues in Tanzania up to the late 80s:

A few remarks are in order for the refugees issue up to the late 80s. First the size of the programs, though substantial in terms of magnitudes (involving between 197 and 213 thousand people) was dwarfed by the events of the 60s and 70s under village schemes (especially the villagization

program of 1974-77). The evolution of such refugee settlements into self reliant units upon support by Government, NGOs and the UNHR meant that over time they had less and less squeeze on government and international resources. Mass citizenship granted to clusters of refugees who wanted to become citizens, a policy unique to this country at the time, helped integrate such communities into the social and economic fabric of Tanzania. Secondly, geographical confinement of refugees into periphery areas near borders made it appear a "remote area" problem, especially when discussed with reference to the other population dynamics that involved resettlements or urbanization.

The programs cited under refugees administration and support were meant to facilitate integration of such settlements and the individual households spontaneously settled into the general socio economic setting of the country.

The trends of the 1990s changed many of these developments towards integration as the waves of refugees (from Burundi and Rwanda and, more recently, Zaire) defied normal processes of integration: Tanzania was experiencing "Open Sympathy Fatigue" on Refugees.

3.3 The waves of 1994 - 1996

The trends between 1994 and late 1996 with regard to refugees in Tanzania have been a subject of two major Reports (cited as Greene, R., 1995 and Tanzania Government, 1997). They relate to the inflows, mainly from Rwanda and Burundi, into Kagera Region, North Western Tanzania, in particular Ngara and Karagwe Districts. The two Reports have provided critical inputs to at least two papers (being) presented at this conference so our use of the Reports will be limited to highlighting those inputs that relate to the analytical framework and 'theories' stated earlier.

Kagera region had an estimated total population of about 1.6 million in 1995, and at the peak of the refugees inflows almost 626 thousands were added to the population. The table below shows the population profile

Table 3: Regional population by Kagera Region District

DISTRICT	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	ESTIMATED TOTAL 1995
Bukoba Rural	178,606	165,350	343,956	414,472
Bukoba Urban	141,298	24,098	47,009	57,527
Biharamulo	105,534	133,149	274,447	330,713
Karagwe	144,959	103,990	209,524	252,479
Ngara	83,193	147,632	292,589	352,574
		75,465	158,658	191,185
Total	676,499	649,684	1,326,185	1598952

Source: Tanzania Government, 1997: (note: table reproduced as is; with the gaps that could not be filled).

Between 1994 and 1996, large numbers of refugees from Rwanda and Burundi entered the Region. From April 1994 to December 1996 more than 600,000 Rwanda and Burundi refugees were hosted in the region. Due to cultural and family ties some of those refugees went to live in Tanzania villages spontaneously. Most refugees, however, lived in camps situated in Ngara District.

As of the 30th November 1996 just before the start of repatriation, registered refugees were hosted in camps as shown in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Registered Refugees hosted in Camps: Kagera; 1996

DISTRICT	CAMP	RWANDESE	BURUNDESE	TOTAL
Ngara	Benaco	162,862		162,862
	Lumasi	113,535		113,535
	Musuhara	78,412	2,317	81,229
	Lukole	797	19,823	20,620
	Koza	23,310		23,318
				401,564
Karagwe	Kyabalisa 1	46,405		46,405
	Kyabalisa 2	33,351		33,351
	Rubwera	24,629		24,629
	Kagenyi	15,632		15,632
	Omukariro	9,010		9,010
Biharamulo	Kitali Hill	35,044	59,080	94,924
	Mulonzi	207	15	223
Muleba	Burigi	285	249	534
				626,272

Source: Tanzania Government, 1997.

In addition, an unknown number of refugees settled in local villages.

In Ngara District, the refugees population (400,000) outnumber the local population (191,105) more than two to one. In Karagwe the district population had increased by almost 50% (130,000 refugees and 350,000 indigenous people). In Biharamulo the population rose by about 40 per cent (95,000 refugees and 250,000 locals).

With the exception of Omukariro, the Karagwe camp sites are located in the direct vicinity of local villages, whereas camp sites in Ngara and Biharamulo are more isolated and located at large distances from local villages. These patterns have differential implications in the local communities, especially with reference to resource carrying capacities and possible integration.

3.4 The Economic Burden on Tanzanians:

The impact of 700,000 refugees flowing through Ngara and Karagwe villages during the second half of 1993 (mostly Burundians now returned, and by September 1994 with up to 500,000 Rwandans) has imposed very high costs and heavy additional labour burdens upon more than a third of the total Tanzanian population of 500,000 within these districts of Kagera region.

In addition to the fear and disorder brought upon villages holders of refugees arriving amid news of mass killing across the border an immediate cost burden to Tanzanian villages of the order of US\$ 10 million has been estimated for 1994 alone (Greene and Tanzania Government). Physical losses resulting from the destruction of school materials and furniture, buildings, water sources pollution, massive loss of trees and the loss of 3000 tones of food (including maize seed) have been estimated at US\$ 1.3 million. Table 5 below summarizes the costs and gains.

Table 5: Ngara and Karagwe Refugee Related Losses and Gains (1994)

NO.	LOSS ITEM	[US \$ '000]	US \$ ['000]	GAIN ITEM	NO.
1	Initial Village Impact				
	a. Food and Seed	1,050,000	500,000	Salaries from Agencies	1
	b. Damages - Schools, latrines etc.	100,000	3,000,000	Sales of Bananas	2
	c. Drugs used	20,000	500,000	Other sales to Refugees	3
2	Transport Cost-Road loss		1,500,000	Sales of local Goods, Services Plus Trade Margins to Expatriates	4
	a. Lost sales	3,000,000	5,500,000		
	b. Higher costs	500,000			
3	Medical Services				
	Net Diversion of Services	125,000			
4	Fuel and Water				
	Workload (at \$ 250/women)	4,875,000			
5	Agricultural Production				
	Land Loss and Degradation	250,000			
	TOTAL	9,920,000			

Source: Greene, 1995.

Significant cash losses were reported due to the collapse of the Kigali market for beans and due to delays in completion of a major local highway link which would allow this and other produce to be sold in main Tanzania markets. These have been estimated at US\$ 3.5 million.

Great cost burden was also to be carried by women and girls in terms of additional workload in re-planting crops, collecting wood fuel and water. A total workload of 5000 women years per year has been estimated, plus 1500 person years per year for cleaning up water source pollution and land restoration in 1994 and 1995. Monetary values for this additional workload have been computed at equivalent daily labour rates amounting to almost US\$ 5 million per year.

Food security in some Ngara and Karagwe border villages was also compromised for the 1994/95 crop season, though losses may have been largely off-set by food gains made through the sale or exchange of perishable plantain and bananas with refugees.

Income gains were noted as being significant for up to one quarter of Ngara households with almost half as many severely negatively affected by price rises and/or lost sales. Most gain came from employment with relief agencies, banana, trade and bar sales to refugees, services and house rents to the expatriate community. These were dominantly in Ngara and were estimated to total US\$ 5 million during 1994 and 1995, falling rapidly thereafter as the refugee numbers began to decline by the end of 1995. The Karagwe impact was rated at most one third as high and one tenth relative to District income.

3.5 The negative impact of refugees on Social And Economic Sectors:

Environment:

The negative impact included the destruction of trees and vegetation cover, increased erosion, savanna disturbance and damage to national parks and poaching of wildlife.

Transport Infrastructure

The influx of refugees in the region was accompanied by increased numbers of vehicles taking relief items to the refugees. This resulted into the damage to roads, bridges and other transport infrastructure.

Social infrastructure and Services

The negative impact of refugees in the social sectors included damage to school buildings, health centres and dispensaries and other communal buildings; depletion of existing stocks of drugs, vaccines, and school materials.

(i) Health

The health sector is one of the sectors which was adversely affected by influx of refugees by importation of diseases, increase of drug resistance to diseases and increase in sexually transmitted diseases.

(ii) Education

Primary schools in Kagera Region that were adversely affected by refugees influx were such that in Karagwe District 27 schools were badly affected, while in Ngara District a total of 12 primary schools were badly damaged during the refugees influx.

Agriculture

The negative impact of refugees on agriculture followed the destruction of crops and the siting of camp sites on agricultural land. FAO (1996) estimates show that on average only 25% of farmers in Kagera Region are food surplus producers. With this background and faced with such a large influx of refugees, demand for food outweighed its supply and upwards pressure was exerted on the prices of essential commodities.

Furthermore uncontrolled extensive cultivation by refugees on slopes of hills left behind threats of massive soil erosion.

Livestock

Increased numbers due to livestock brought along by refugees resulted in overgrazing and subsequent land degradation. There was an increase in livestock diseases too. In addition, depletion of veterinary drugs and increases incidence of rabies occurred.

Water and sanitation

There was over-use of water supply systems due to the increased population of the refugees. Water sources were affected by cutting trees and also by pollution. There was also undermining of community contribution. Depletion of water sources and water table from indiscriminate faecal matters and rubbish demanded deeper and expensive wells.

The list of the major negative impacts of the refugee influx is almost endless. It is only pertinent that the case for the burden imposed on Tanzania is more than made clear now.

The long term impact of the refugee problem will depend critically on the extent and speed at which they can be integrated in the mainstream of the host countries' socio-economic systems. If it is a once-and-for-all influx then integration may be planned and smooth, but in the case of periodic, sporadic and irregular influxes (which are the common ones) then integration will be a process taking a long period and demanding more in terms of contingency planning, financial and time resource commitments.

We sum up the paper below.

Short sum up, Conclusions and Recommendations.**4.1 Summary Findings and Conclusions:**

In this paper the following have been established:

1. That generally refugees are viewed with hostility in countries of destination and the statutes controlling them are strict, stringent, rigid and tend to regard them as some semi criminals or prisoners. Settlement camps are headed by "Commanders!". In Tanzania, for instance the current Act is only some (slight) modification of the War Refugees (Control and Expulsion) Ordinance (Cap 40).
2. That Refugees viewed in the context of population dynamics are an abnormal form of migration: forced, mostly random, disorganized and usually chaotic. It may involve the most "Vulnerable" part of the population too: children and women.
3. That the population-Development Question views forces of population changes with reference to the five "economic" variables: capital shallowing, savings and dependency, investment diversion, environmental degradation and food/employment balances. Analytically refugees are associated primarily with the NEGATIVE aspects of these forces.
4. That the bottomline in the Population-Development Question is about harmonious coexistence in the forces of population changes and socio- economic development. Refugees as a form of population dynamics features negatively in this on account of (a) sudden, forceful and massive operations allowing limited or no time for integration (b) displaced persons usually flee with little or no economic means (c) laws and conventions on refugees are usually openly hostile to refugees and their integration and (4) no credible system exists globally for refugees unconditional absorption in the labour processes in the host countries. They are viewed as beggars or destitutes requiring "sympathy" and relief programs not as an economic force.
5. That the historical case for Tanzania reveals some transition: from "open sympathy" to refugees in the 60s to mid 80s to "Open Sympathy Fatigue" if not open hostility in the 90s. In recent years Tanzania has been openly hostile to governments that are a source of the refugees influx into this country. The elaborate programs for refugee integration in the 70s to mid 80s have been replaced with quick solutions of repatriation (forceful repatriation sometimes).
6. That the recent waves of refugees between 1993 and 1996 have negatively (on a net basis) impacted on the economy of Tanzania amidst dwindling international direct material support for refugees on a per capita basis. Both economic and social sectors have suffered heavily, and there have even been recent attempts to quantify the costs in monetary terms (Greene, 1995 and Tanzania Government, 1997).

A few recommendations follow:

4.2 Recommendations:

From an economic view point refugees are a potential economic resource: as a labour source and as markets once sufficient time is allowed for settlement and integration. The following few recommendations are thus in order.

1. Governments should change laws and conventions that view refugees with hostility. The lessons of the 60s and the 70s for Tanzania under refugee integration should be studied and taken advantages of. It is known they worked very well and with manageable cost to government, and the results are that integration has, over the years, been completed for those refugees who were granted citizenship then.
2. Potential crisis areas, and thus potential sources of refugees, should always be monitored and contingency plans for possible influxes of refugees should be in place for quick integration. The main Actors shall still remain the same: the government, the UNHCR and NGOs. A formal forum will need to be established to periodically revisit and review developments in the region, with a clear assessment of the refugee implications of such developments. A forum to operate along the line of "military preparedness" is what is being implied, and this need not be a big bureaucracy.
3. Economic analysis of the refugee issue is too infant. Sufficient models exist on (mathematical and economic) theories of chaos and contingency planning but are yet to find use in the chaos we see with refugees influxes. Economists and other social scientists should take this up.
4. In the framework of Great lakes cooperation a Special Fund could be established to facilitate refugees resettlements, in addition to existence of contingency plans. Special Funds are not uncommon in East Africa, and in Tanzania they are periodically for special purposes in the Budget Framework almost every year. In the years of the East African Community several Funds were operative (from the earlier days of the East African Common Services, which were also operated under Special Funds), so this proposal is not "out of this world".
5. In the medium to long term even border restrictions (and citizenship formalities) could be revisited. Most borders cut through ethnic groups. A Masai who flees Kenya into Tanzania or a Nyasa and Makonde fleeing Malawi and Msumbiji, respectively, into Tanzania are not distinguishable from their Tanzania counterparts. It would seem current practices could then be discriminatory: spontaneous integration through ethnic ties vs "Camp settlements" for those without relatives.

Citizenship of East and Central Africa would eliminate the question of refugees and any tensions, to be viewed as internal thenceforth, can be handled by normal law enforcement mechanisms. In this vein the evolving European Union should be providing lessons.

References:

- Greene, R. (1995). "That They may be Whole Again: Offsetting the Refugees Influx Burden on Ngara and Karagwe Districts". *A Report for UNICEF*.
- Kelly A (1988). "Population and Economic Development: A Survey of the Main Issues". *Journal of Economic Literature*, December.
- Mtatifikolo, F. (1990). Tanzania: Population Dynamics, Employment, Earnings and Food Balances; An Analysis of Trends. *Teaching Texts; Population and Development Series; Tanzania Case Study*; Module 4. ISS, The Hague.
- NIDI and ISS. The Hague, The Netherlands. *Teaching Text in Population and Development; Tanzania case Study*.
- Mtatifikolo, F. (1995); "Adjustment Processes, Social Service Delivery and the Environment: Some Macro-Micro Linkages in Tanzania". *UTAFITI* (New Series), Vol. 1; No. 2. (1995), UDSM.
- Pearce, David W and Jeremy J Warfird (1993). *World Without End: Economics, Environment and Sustainable Development*. Oxford University Press (Published for the World Bank)
- Tanzania Government (1966). *The Refugees (Control) Act*. 1966. Act No. 2; Government Printer.
- Tanzania Government (1994). Women in Tanzania: *Report to the Beijing Conference*.
- Tanzania Government (1997). *Post Refugees Assessment Mission in Kagera Region; PMO: Report of a Mission*: February.
- Timberlake, L. (1985). *Africa in Crisis*: Earthscan, London.
- UNHCR Various: Annual Reports.