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# “Kila Kibaya Kina Uzuri Wake”

Every cloud has a silver lining

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An analysis of the effects of refugees on household adaptive capacity in Kagera, Tanzania

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**Utrecht University**



## MASTER THESIS

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on household adaptive capacity  
in Kagera, Tanzania

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## Abstract

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### An analyses of the effects of refugees on household adaptive capacity in Kagera, Tanzania

*Every year thousands of refugees worldwide have to leave their home-countries and flee to neighbouring countries. These host countries experience certain effects of refugees, however, little is known about these specific effects on local inhabitants. With the use of an adaptive capacity framework, a household level study was executed in Kagera, Tanzania. Based on 4 months fieldwork, surveys and interviews form the basis of an assessment of positive and negative effects of refugees, to be able to discover change in adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. The result show that refugees have positive and negative effects on the adaptive capacity of locals. Mainly human and financial capital are influenced positively, and natural capital is influenced negatively. Also, a tendency of positive effects in northern Kagera and negative effects in southern Kagera was discovered. Additionally, a difference in households that mainly benefitted from the refugees and that were disadvantages was revealed. Nevertheless, the main finding was that the Kagera region as a whole experienced mainly positive effects of refugees, and the inhabitants of Kagera thus established an increased capacity to adapt.*

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# Introduction

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## Effects of refugees in Kagera, Tanzania

Since its independence Tanzania has experienced multiple flows of refugees, from the countries it is surrounded by. Conflicts in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), displaced many people of who a lot fled to Tanzania. As Tanzania was always a relative stable country in the region, it was seen as a safe haven for a lot of refugees who fled their own countries. Still nowadays, an influx of approximately 300 refugees are entering Tanzania on a daily basis. These refugees mainly enter in the north-west of Tanzania, where the Kagera province is situated (UNHCR, 2016; UNHCR 2017).

Kagera is a province in north-west Tanzania where multiple refugee flows have been and are currently hosted. In the past refugees from Rwanda entered in the northern parts of the province, and refugees from Burundi entered in the southern parts of Kagera. Nowadays, northern Kagera does not experience an inflow of refugees anymore, but still refugees are living in the region. In the south, refugees have left the area, but are also still entering the region, as the hostilities in Burundi are still ongoing at the time of writing (Rutinwa, 2002).

Not only Africa, but the whole world currently experiences massive refugee flows and refugees are often portrayed as only having negative effects for hosting countries. Refugees are often said to come with crimes, weapons, instability, unemployment and other problems. This negative tendency was also observed by the Tanzanian government. After the massive influxes of refugees in the 90's due to different conflicts in the Great Lakes Region, the Tanzanian policies shifted from being hospitable to having a protective attitude. The latter attitude should have saved Tanzania from experiencing too much negative effects of refugees (Zetter, 2012; Chaulia, 2003). However, this negative tendency makes it hard for refugees to contribute to a host country, while they can also have lots of positive effects. Refugees can for example contribute to their host countries economy with trading opportunities and via humanitarian aid that is offered to refugees as well as to locals (Jacobsen, 2002). An assessment of positive and negative effects for a hosting region can thus help to better be able to identify possible opportunities and risks of refugees.

For this study an assessment of positive and negative effects of refugees in Kagera, Tanzania was executed. To be able to see how the inflow of refugees affected the households in Kagera, the Local Adaptive Capacity (LAC) framework, as designed by the Africa Climate Change Resilience Alliance (ACCRA) committee, is used as a lens to study the positive and negative effects of refugees (ACCRA, 2012). Via this framework it is possible to assess whether and how households in Kagera are able to adapt to the inflow of refugees. Adaptation can help to moderate or avoid negative effects or exploit beneficial opportunities that result from positive effects. Consequently, this research will answer the following main question:

*“How does the inflow of refugees affect household capacities to adapt to the effects of refugees in the Kagera region, Tanzania?”*

With this research question, multiple research gaps are covered. As the research focusses on negative as well as positive effects, it works against the tendency of scholars to focus solely on negative effects of refugees. Moreover, when focusing on the positive outcomes of hosting refugees, this can generate a humanitarian effect. If this research shows that refugees can be beneficiary for a hosting community, governments are more likely to accept and take care of refugees in future situations. In this way, in a world that has to deal with huge refugee flows all over the world, a positive attitude towards refugees can solve some humanitarian problems. If it is known which positive effects hosting communities can generate from refugees, they can ask for specific assistance to reach these effects, which will make the influx of refugees more like a ‘win-win situation’. Additionally, the effects of refugees are often only studied on a state-level. This research assesses the effects of refugees on a local level, and as such attaches more value to the opinions of local hosting communities. Consequently, the importance of the effects of refugees on the livelihoods of local communities is emphasized. Furthermore, with applying the LAC framework (which is designed to assess adaptive capacity for climate change) on another type of shock, namely the inflow of refugees, new options for studying adaptive capacity are explored. While in this research the framework is used as a lens to assess adaptive capacity in Kagera, the case of Kagera might also contribute to develop the theory.

This research will answer the main question by studying the positive and negative effects on the adaptive capacity of households in Kagera. The thesis starts with a theoretical chapter (1) in which the literature on positive and negative effects of refugees is presented, as well as an in-depth explanation of the LAC framework. Then, the methodological considerations are

discussed in the next chapter (2), where the focus lies on the conducted interviews and surveys. Next, the Tanzanian and Kagerian context will be presented in chapter 3, including an introduction of the research population. From chapter 4 the case-study starts, and explains how refugees are integrated in Kagera. chapter 5 assesses the initial positive and negative effects of refugees in Kagera. In chapter 6, the LAC framework will be applied on the case of Kagera, to assess the adaptive capacity of locals by studying positive and negative effects of refugees. In the discussion, the validity and reliability of the data will be discussed, and, lastly, in the conclusion a brief overview of the discussed sections and a clear answer to the research question will be presented.

# 1. Theoretical framework

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Countries that host refugees for longer periods will experience multiple economic, security, social, political and environmental consequences. When refugees arrive in a certain region, they are likely to compete with locals for the available resources. A scarcity in resources, like water, food, housing and medical services, may occur. In addition, the presence of refugees increases the pressure on social services like schools and hospitals. However, refugees can also come with positive effects for the hosting communities. When they arrive humanitarian organizations often also enter the region, which can uplift the level of social services in the area. Additionally, the growth in population often offers new business opportunities for locals (UNHCR, 2004). Thus, the effects of refugees can both be positive and negative. Below, these effects will be discussed more extensively. However, an interesting question remains, namely, how hosting communities are able to adapt to these effects of refugees. Therefore, the second part of this theoretical framework will explore a framework of Local Adaptive Capacity (LAC) as proposed by the Africa Climate Change Resilience Alliance (ACCRA) to be able to analyse the adaptive capacity of hosting communities in the empirical chapter, and see in what way the effects of refugees affected the local communities in Kagera.

## 1.1 Positive and negative effects of refugees

The existence of positive and negative effects of refugees should be seen as a dynamic relation. The presence of positive and negative effects of refugees should be observed in the context of the host country, like the political situation, the business opportunities available, the specific natural environment and the nature of integration and contact between locals. However, when assessing the literature on effects of refugees, some effects are often described and seem to play a role in many case studies. Therefore, the following paragraphs will describe the benefits and risks that come with the inflow of refugees in the region. First, the literature on positive effects of refugees will be discussed and then the literature on negative effects will be discussed. If applicable, per effect, national and local consequences of hosting refugees will be discussed separately.

### 1.1.1 Positive effects

The following paragraphs discuss in what way refugees are able to have positive effects on their hosting communities. In assessing the relevant literature two main effects come forward, namely, economic and social effects.

#### - *Economic effects*

Large-scale refugee influxes are likely to have effects on the macro economy of a country. These impacts are often related to increased government expenditures used for care and maintenance for the refugees. For example, in Malawi, a large part of the government expenditure went to govern the refugee inflow and to cover for their indirect and direct effects. In Malawi, the government expenditure on refugees was almost US\$ 9.5 million in 1988 (World bank, 2010). As multiple countries experienced such increase in government expenditures, the UNHCR emergency assistance program was set up. The program was developed to make sure that the hosting areas of the country would also benefit from the increase in government expenditure. The programme focussed on building schools, hospitals, roads, water supplies and replanting trees, and ensured that these services were also available for the hosting communities (Zetter, 1995). Additionally, on the macro level, it is seen that a large inflow of refugees also directly strains the economic infrastructure of neighbouring countries, which exposed the need for emergency financial assistance systems. For example, in a report about Kosovo, it was shown that the six countries mostly effected by the inflow of refugees needed a budget of approximately US\$ 100 million per country. Specifically for Albania and Macedonia, additional programmes were advised. The report stated that additional funds, which could be available quickly, are essential for hosting countries to be able to deal effectively with the economic consequences of refugees (IMF and World Bank, 1999). While the actual costs of refugees seem negative, the realization of the international community on the need for quickly available budgets to cover negative effects of refugees and to help to direct government expenditures in the directions of locals, has been a positive step forwards in dealing with economic effects of refugees on a national level (World Bank, 1999).

On the local level, the economy also experiences numerous effects, which is researched by multiple scholars (amongst others: Jacobsen, 2002; Alix-Garcia, 2007; Whitaker, 2002; Hamza, 2006). An impact evaluation study from refugee camps in Kenya, Daadab, discovered that in terms of money the local hosting communities received approximately US\$ 100 million

from the refugee inflow in 2010. This benefit is possible due to multiple effects. Some of the funds for the camps are also invested in the local community. Additionally, a main benefit comes from the new trade opportunities in the region, which are created through the increase in population. Also, major local markets were developed which further enhanced these opportunities.

Additionally, a study in Tanzania showed the effects of Rwandese refugees on the agricultural prices for locals. The study showed a significant increase in prices of agricultural goods when comparing the years 1993 and 1998, like matoke (cooking banana), beans and milk, and a decrease in goods that were also delivered by aid organization, like maize. Consequently, farmers with a surplus in local agricultural goods could benefit from the higher prices they received for their goods. The study suggests, that on average, local farmers at least doubled the size of their land and the production of agricultural products like beans (Alix-Garcia, 2007; Whitaker, 2002). As a consequence, trade in local markets increased, which enhanced business opportunities for both refugees and the host communities. This growth in welfare opportunities was also seen in an increase in luxury items in the region, like television and fridges (Whitaker, 2002).

Another example, of benefits for locals are the skills that are transferred from the refugee population to the locals. This increase in knowledge can help the locals in multiple ways to contribute to their local economy. For example, in Jordan a transfer of skills from well-trained Iraqi staff was seen in hospitals and universities, but more significant, the Iraqis transferred knowledge in doing businesses (Crisp et al., 2009).

Moreover, the refugee inflow can make a contribution the local community via their access to transnational recourses. These resources, like social networks and remittances, can benefit the local economy because they can improve the general living conditions for the whole area. For example, research into the Somali community in Canada showed informal transfers of money to relatives in Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen (Hamza, 2006). Horst and van Hear (2002) have shown the impact of remittances on host communities, in the case of Somali refugees. Individual remittances were often send to displaced people who invested the money in livelihood needs, like water and housing. Consequently, the local economy benefitted from this inflow of cash (Jacobsen, 2002). However, it is important to realise that remittances can enhance inequalities in communities. The cash flows will mainly go into one direction, which

thus disadvantages poorer households who do not have relatives living abroad. However, as local communities mainly experience the effects of the remittances in the region, for them, the inflow of resources will mainly be positive. Nevertheless, collective remittances can have a negative impact on the local communities as they can be utilized to finance on side of a conflict or support military operations. An example of this was seen in Eritrea where refugees were involved in supporting the struggle for independence (World bank, 2010).

- *Social effects*

The inflow of refugees can have multiple effects on host communities, as well on social and ethnic relations as on the delivery of social services. The UNHCR (2006) has found that positive social effects are likely to occur when refugees are from the same cultural and linguistic tribes as the host communities they enter. People originating from the same groups are more likely to live peacefully together in the new setting. For example, when 25.000 refugees from the Central African Republic entered the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1990, their similarity in culture based on the Yakoma tribe, made the integration of the Central African refugees easy and peaceful. Also, Afghans refugees with a Pashtun background in Pakistan integrated easily because they shared the same cultural background. Almost all those social relations between refugees and locals were peaceful (World bank, 2010).

Specific social advantages of refugees can be found in the help that is often offered by humanitarian aid organizations. Some international funding also focusses on the local population when distributing their services. By doing so, the relation between refugees and the local population will be less tense as locals will not feel subordinate. Additionally, the social services in a village will receive a uplift. Examples of these programmes can be found in Tanzania, where the UNHCR with other organizations launched the Special Programme for Refugee Affected Areas from 1997 till 2003 (Alix-Garcia, 2007). These programmes focussed on farming activities, road constructions, tree planting and the development of business models, specifically for host communities and the surrounding areas. Another project can be found in Lebanon, where the government tries to improve the local situation which is influenced by Palestinian refugees. The government tries to link relief and reconstruction projects around the camps, to local development (El-Amaout, 2010).

### 1.1.2 Negative effects

The following paragraphs discuss in what way refugees can have negative effects on their hosting communities. First, the economic effects will be outlined, and second, social effects will be discussed. Third, security effects will be discussed, and lastly, environmental effects.

#### - *Economic effects*

Since under the positive effects the negative effects of the macro level was already touched-upon, via an increase in government expenditure, this section will merely focus on the negative local level effects. On the local level refugees can be a risk for the economy as refugees can be competition in the labour market and the higher demand for products can increase prices. In Tanzania refugees provided cheap labour, especially in the agricultural sector, but also in housekeeping and construction work. As a consequence, the local non-skilled labourers were not able to compete with the refugees (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009).

Additionally, due to increase in population and the presence of the humanitarian staff the prices of luxury goods and of rental houses went up drastically. Schmeidl (2002) showed that mainly poor Pakistani were experiencing disadvantages of the refugee inflow, as products and rental houses became increasingly expensive, during the 80's and 90's in Peshawar. This example clearly demonstrates that especially poor locals do not only experience negative effects that are not so much present for the wealthier part of the community, they also are not able to gain from the inflow. Thus, on an economic level, often only wealthy locals with resources and skills are able to benefit from the inflow of refugees, which fuels inequality in a society (Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009).

Moreover, the increase in urbanization amongst refugees has negative economic effects for locals. This drive towards the city is mainly present in countries where refugee camps do not exist. In 2008, almost half of the global refugee population was resided in cities (UNHCR, 2009). Refugees resided in cities often live in areas that are densely populated with a low level of services. Consequently, urban refugees can cause a crisis in the competition over urban resources like land, with local communities (Deikun and Zetter, 2010). In Egypt, this happened in Cairo and Alexandria, where, amongst others, Sudanese, Eritreans and Iraqis live in difficult circumstances with no access to resources. As a consequence, many conflicts between these groups and refugees are reported (Buscher and Heller, 2010).

- *Social effects*

The presence of refugees can have multiple negative effects on the social relations as well as the delivery of social services in host countries. The presence of refugees can be enough to disturb social cultural relations in a hosting country. With the inflow of refugees traditional existing conflicts between certain tribes can start again once these groups are exposed to each other because one group entered the region as refugees. This for example happened in Macedonia where Albanian refugees reignited existing tensions when they entered an area where Serbs were living (Pini, 2008). Also, when no tradition conflicts exist, the inflow of new tribes in a region can cause destabilization and segregation in the region. The arrival of foreigners in a region where locals are used to the traditional roles in society can cause destabilization (World bank, 2010).

Additionally, social relations can be affected because of inequality that appears when refugees enter the host community. Refugees are often perceived by locals as the only group benefitting from humanitarian aid. If people have a refugee status they can benefit from education, training, better health facilities, sanitation and other services that are offered in camps. As a consequence locals feel that refugees are a privileged group in their society, which creates tensions and sometimes even hatred (Betts, 2009).

Moreover, social relations in for hosting communities change as much more sexual relationships are started. As Lugalla et al., (1999) explain, refugees often contribute to new patterns of sex networking in the region. As such, this is not a negative effect, but the consequence are negative because often more sexual relations also means more HIV and AIDS transmissions. This was also observed in Tanzania when Lugalla et al., (1999) studied the social cultural context of increasing HIV and AIDS transmissions.

Another social effect of refugees is that already existing social problems in the hosting society often increase. For example gender based violence, like the vulnerable position of women to be exploited, abused or trafficked, often increases. The UNHCR (2010) showed for example, that in the Southern provinces of the DRC, that is home to many refugees, more than a third of the total sexual assaults were committed.

Also, gender relations within households have been studied. It is shown that women are increasingly part of income-generating activities due to new opportunities, which changes

traditional patriarchal roles in society. For example, male Somali refugees face problems to be employed and need to depend on the income of the females in the family. This change in relations of dependency can lead to social disorders, distress and even domestic violence, which again destructs the society (Women Refugee Commission, 2009; Morris, 2010).

- *Security effects*

On the national level refugee inflows can cause a security dilemma because they often interfere with the sovereignty of a state. Countries should be able to control their borders and the people entering the country. When a large influx of refugees enter a country, this is often hard to ensure. There is an external security dilemma when there is a chance that a war spills over to the host-country (World Refugee Survey, 2001; Loescher, 1992). According to Salehyan and Gleditsch (2006), the influx of refugees from neighbouring countries can destabilize neighbouring countries in the following three ways:

1. Via the expansion of rebel social networks and the diffusion of violence:

When refugee camps are located close to the borders of the hosting country and the home country of the refugees, the camps often are a source for new (forced) recruitment by rebels and provide a safe-haven for rebel groups to be able to re-organize themselves (Salehyan and Gleditsch, 2006). In Uganda, Tutsi refugees from Rwanda formed the Rwanda Patriotic Army, which later returned to Rwanda and committed attacks in the northern regions in Rwanda (Lomo et al., 2001). Additionally, in Pakistan, Afghan refugees who opposed the communist regime caused a situation in Pakistan where the Pakistani locals also radicalized, which created a weakened Pakistani state (Rashid, 2008).

2. Via the facilitation of transnational spreading of arms, combatants, and ideologies conducive to conflict:

When refugees enter a host country, they can still act as combatants. This can happen by supporting a party in the conflict from their home country, or by supporting fighting groups in their host country. For example, in the civil war in Jordan, the Palestinian refugees that regrouped under the Palestine Liberation Organization, played a direct role in the hostilities. As such, the refugees acted as direct fighters within the conflict. Additionally, in Sierra Leone, the recruitment of Liberian refugees within fighting groups in Sierra Leone further destabilizes and fuelled the civil war in Sierra Leone (Salehyan and Gleditsch, 2006; Hoffman, 2007).

### 3. Via the creation of bilateral tensions:

When refugees cause problems for a host country, it can harm the relation between the host and the home country of the refugees. As a consequence, these countries become less willing to cooperate while this is often necessary to find an effective solution for the refugee inflow. In worse cases, it can even lead to hostilities between countries. For example, the Rwandan-Tutsi refugees played a role in the removal of the Milton Obote administration, which deteriorated the relation between Uganda and Rwanda. Also, in India, the Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka were involved in the killing of Indian prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi (Salehyan and Gleditsch, 2006).

On a local level, the security dilemma that occurs with the inflow of refugees, focusses more on internal difficulties, like problems caused by refugees living in the camps. Some camps are not defended and lawless which makes them vulnerable for attacks by rebels. Additionally, in nearly all camps, crime, rape and the recruitment of young men are amongst the problems that threaten the security. Since it is almost impossible to differentiate between refugees, criminals and combatants, the last two groups often live together with refugees and sometimes even take over the governance of the whole camp. A problem with this is that all refugees are linked to the negative consequences of the camp which creates a negative tendency in the hosting society. When this negative tendency exists it is likely that the relations between the host population and refugees are hampered. Consequently, host communities are often less able to benefit from the positive effects and opportunities that appear with the refugee inflow. Moreover, most camps are not fully closed environments and as a consequence the problems can spread in the region (Rutinwa, 2002; Jakobsen, 2002).

#### - *Environmental effects*

Effects of refugees on the environmental level are often only negative. Refugees have a large impact on natural resources like water supply, land divide and wood supply. In the arrival phase there are multiple effects on the environment caused by the inflow of refugees. Refugees often have no traditional relation with the new land they are entering and only think about facilitating their immediate needs. This often causes environmental crises in water supply via pollution and fire wood shortages due to unregulated cutting of trees (FAO, 1994). However, when refugees are more permanently staying in their host country, their impact on the environment changes, but can still have large effects (Jakobsen, 1997). A study of effects of refugees on the environment in Sudan shows that the most significant effects are deforestation, land

degradation, polluted water and unstable ground-water levels. Additionally, the extra pollution in hosting areas, caused by refugees, often is a source of diseases for example via polluted ground water. Consequently, new diseases occur in the host region and diseases also spread more rapidly (Lugalla et al., 1999; World bank, 2010).

Moreover, the access of hosting communities to local resources and land is also often effected negatively. Due to population growth the pressure on natural resources and land increases, which makes it harder for locals to access, use and extract these resources. For example, in Daadab, it was shown that environmental degradation was a direct cause of housing refugees in a low productive area. As a consequence, the pressure on local resources increased and locals were less able to use the natural resources (Enghoff et al., 2010; Jacobsen, 1997). Studies in the Great Lakes Region, like Tanzania and Kenya, showed that when refugees were able to access land and common natural resources, their productivity will increase massively. Consequently, hosting communities will also experience more advantages of the refugee inflow. However, shortage of land and natural resources is often still a normality for refugees, which forces them to exploit natural resources of locals (World bank, 2010).

Concluding, it can be stated that refugees are both benefitting the host communities as well as that they can have negative effects. The table (1) on the following page gives an overview of the literature on the effects of refugees. As already mentioned in the introduction of this section, this is an overview of the most prominent effects of refugees. It is important to realise that these effects can be different per region and subjected to local variances. However, it is still a useful overview as it shows the general line of effects of refugees on hosting communities, and it can be used as a basis to assess the effects of refugees on the case-study of Kagera in the empirical chapter. Also, it is important to notice that effects of refugees can be different for every household. As seen in the literature overview above, almost every positive effect was accompanied by a negative counterpart. Even when refugees create a possible benefit for themselves and for the hosting community, it is important to realise that there are winners and losers in each group of people.

Table 1: Overview of effects of refugees on hosting communities

Positive effects	Negative effects
<p>Economic effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Aid to cover increased government expenditures</li> <li>- Trade opportunities</li> <li>- Price increase agricultural goods</li> <li>- Transfer of skills and knowledge on businesses</li> <li>- Transnational resources</li> </ul>	<p>Economic effects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unfair competition</li> <li>- Price increase of luxury goods</li> <li>- Overcrowded cities</li> </ul>
<p>Social effects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More social services available</li> <li>- Humanitarian aid</li> </ul>	<p>Social effects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conflicting tribes</li> <li>- Inequality</li> <li>- Changing sexual relations</li> <li>- Increase and change in existing social relations</li> </ul>
	<p>Security effects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expansion of rebel networks</li> <li>- Transnational spread of hostilities</li> <li>- Bilateral tensions</li> <li>- Local security problems</li> </ul>
	<p>Environmental effects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Water supply</li> <li>- Land divide</li> <li>- Deforestation (firewood shortage)</li> <li>- Pollution</li> </ul>

To be able to see how locals are capable of dealing with the above mentioned effects of refugees the Local Adaptive Capacity framework can be used. This framework will be discussed in the next section.

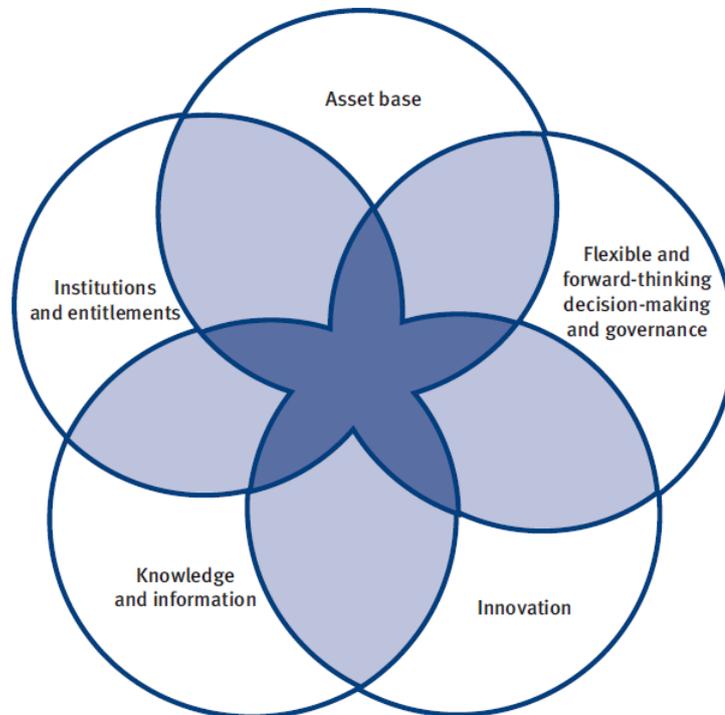
## 1.2 Local Adaptive Capacity

Dealing with positive and negative effects of refugees can greatly influence people's lives. How host communities are able to deal with these effects can be assessed by looking at the adaptive capacity of the hosting communities. The goal of adaptation is to decrease harm and benefit from opportunities, which occur due to a new situation. Adaptive capacity can be seen as a combination of forces that influence the ability to adapt (Brooks, 2003).

On a local level the adaptive capacity of households can be influenced by, amongst others, their managing skills, the local infrastructure, the institutions, the political situation, the social relations in a community and the access to financial, environmental and technological resources (Agrawal and Perrin, 2008; Smit and Wandel, 2006). Previous studies into adaptive capacity focus mainly on five assets of the sustainable livelihood approach. These studies are helpful to identify the resources that are available for locals, however they do not incorporate processes and functions (like institutions) that can also influence adaptive capacity on a local level (Brooks, 2003; Vincent, 2007). A more holistic approach to assess adaptive capacity is offered by the Local Adaptive Capacity (LAC) framework, as proposed by the Africa Climate Change Resilience Alliance (ACCRA). This framework recognizes the importance of the overlapping role of both the functions and the assets. The ACCRA program tried to build understanding of this complex environment within a community by identifying five different characteristics. To be able to effectively apply the LAC framework it is important to first identify the characteristics that are part of the framework. Also, it is noteworthy that these characteristics are distinct but also interrelated. A change in one of the characteristics can also influence other characteristics. This is also shown in the overlapping pieces in figure one. These characteristics, *the asset base; institutions and entitlement; knowledge and information; innovation; and flexible forward thinking decision-making* are displayed in figure 1 (ACCRA, 2012; Jones, 2010).

Figure 1:

Conceptual diagram showing the relationships between characteristics of adaptive capacity at the local level.



Source: ACCRA, 2012

The first characteristic is the *asset base* as possessed by local households. It refers to the sustainable livelihood components of financial, physical, natural, social and human capital. The possession of these capitals is necessary to be able to adapt to a new situation. Thus, the ability of a household to respond to changes in the society is heavily dependent on their access to, and control over these key assets. A shortage of resources to a household may limit the ability of a system to respond to changes in the environment. The relationship between the key assets and adaptive capacity is complex. It is important to note that asset ‘abundance’ is equally important as asset diversity and access to assets that are in some sense a surplus and can thus be interchangeable (Ospina and Heeks, 2010).

The second characteristic is *institutions and entitlements* which refers to rules that govern belief systems, behaviour and organizational structures. Central components of this characteristic are organizations that create equal opportunities in a community, focus on representation of the whole community and focusses on participation in decision making processes. Also,

institutions should focus on a fair distribution of the assets mentioned under the first characteristic. Moreover, institutional roles and behavioural norms that create how inhabitants will react to change and shocks in their community are important for adaptive capacity. When institutions are rigid, it can be increasingly difficult for locals to adapt to a new situation. Thus, the flexibility of institutions, to allow locals to adapt to a new situation, is important for an effective adaptive capacity (Ostrom, 2005; Jones, 2010; Dulal et al., 2010).

The third characteristic is *knowledge and information*. The central idea behind this component is that communities are increasingly able to adapt to new situations if they have appropriate knowledge of the potential changes in society, as well as solutions to adapt to the changes. Thus, understanding of future change, including all potential complex situations, and the ability to assess personal options in the new situation is important for effective adaptive capacity. The way in which knowledge is spread in a community is also important for adaptive capacity. This is closely related to the second characteristic as the collection, analysis and distribution of knowledge often goes via these institutions. However, on the local level, informal knowledge generation also plays a significant role. It refers to how knowledge is shared between local inhabitants in a community. Moreover, it is important to realise that information about the change itself is often not enough to respond to these changes. Also, the knowledge of inhabitants of organizations and for example funds that can help them, is important. All these relevant information should lead to the effect that locals are capable of making well informed, sustainable, long term decisions (Ospina and Heeks, 2010; Frankhauser and Tol, 1997).

The fourth characteristic is *innovation* which refers to an environment that fosters change, experiments and the ability to explore solutions, all to be able to benefit from the new situation. Innovations are often referred to as large-scale, high-tech changes, however, on a local level, innovation is more likely to refer to autonomous small initiatives that change for example habits and traditions in a community. Innovation on a local level often happens spontaneously. Innovation is closely linked to the 'asset base' of people because it determines people's economic ability to make investments and take risks. Additionally, innovation is related to 'knowledge and information' because based on people's knowledge they assess whether they take risks and how they can take advantage of new opportunities (Wongtschowski et al., 2009; Jones, 2010)

The last characteristic is *flexible forward-looking decision-making and governance*. It refers to the ability of a system to anticipate, incorporate and respond to changes with regard to its governance structures and future planning. Informed decision making, transparency and prioritisation are key features of adaptive governance. Responsive and learning-based governance makes it easier for the system to adapt to a new situation. Dynamic governance organizations should be able to include new information into their policies, to respond to new environmental, social or political conditions (Smith et al., 2003). Additionally, a long term perspective of governing organizations is necessary to be able to anticipate on future weaknesses and vulnerabilities, as well as to create new opportunities (Ayers and Huq, 2009, Jones, 2010).

Thus, these characteristics influence and control the degree to which a local population is responsive to external changes. An overview of the above mentioned characteristics can be found in the table (2) below:

Table 2:

Overview of LAC's five characteristics and summary of features	
<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Features that reflect high adaptive capacity</b>
<u>Asset base:</u>	Availability of key assets that allow the system to respond to evolving circumstances
<u>Institutions and entitlements:</u>	Existence of an appropriate and evolving institutional environment that allows fair access and entitlement to key assets and capitals
<u>Knowledge and information:</u>	The system has the ability to collect, analyse and disseminate knowledge and information in support of adaption activities
<u>Innovation:</u>	The system creates an enabling environment to foster innovation, experimentation and the ability to explore niche solutions in order to take advantage of new opportunities
<u>Flexible forward-looking decision-making and governance:</u>	The system is able to anticipate, incorporate and respond to changes with regards to its governance structures and future planning

Source: ACCRA, 2012

The five characteristics described under the LAC can be seen as a starting point to conceptualize adaptive capacity. While a framework is needed to be able to analyse local adaptive capacity, this does not mean that this model is the only way in which adaptive capacity can be measured. It has to be kept in mind that there is not one way to measure these normative concepts. Thus, the LAC framework as explained above does not perfectly describes what an adaptive system will look like, it is more a framework that gives features that are likely to support adaptive capacity. It is important to realise that the presented characteristics can be present in different societies in different forms. For this thesis the LAC framework will be used to analyse the local adaptive capacity of households on the effects of refugees in Kagera, Tanzania.

The framework should be seen as a lens through which the situation in the Kagera region in relation to refugee inflows can be studied. The characteristics of the framework should not be seen independently. A change in one of the five components will affect the adaptive capacity, but probably also influences one or more other characteristics. However, the model does suggest that all five characteristics should be weighted equally. This is probably not a realistic representation, and further research is encouraged to find out more about the weight of each variable in the framework.

In the literature adaptive capacity is often researched in terms of climate change, however, effects of refugees can also be taken as a change in situation to be assessed by the adaptive capacity of locals. As already stated, the model will be used to research the adaptive capacity of host communities experiencing inflows of refugees as a change in situation. The LAC model is designed to measure adaptive capacity in relation to climate change, and as a consequence it can be debated whether it is possible to also use it for refugee inflow 'shocks'. Nevertheless, the so-called shock, or change in the environment, that occurs with the inflow of refugees can be seen as comparable to a shock climate change. Namely, both happenings can be seen as a sudden shock, the happenings are independent and cannot be influenced on the local level. Moreover, the changes are both slowly moving processes. These comparisons form the basis on which the framework will be used for the inflow of refugees. In addition, the model is already developed to be able to measure adaptive capacity in a comprehensive way. Consequently, this model is the most suitable for this research on adaptive capacity, and thus also used for practical reasons.

## 2. Methodology

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In this section the methodological considerations for this thesis will be assessed. Data for this study will be obtained through a variety of (mainly) qualitative research methods. As there is little research conducted on local effects of refugees, this study has been designed to be explorative in nature. Therefore, a qualitative research design, “with the purpose of developing deep understanding, and capturing everyday life and human perspectives” (Taylor, 2005: 101)– was found most suitable for this study. First, qualitative research allows the researcher to discover aspects that are of particular importance to the respondents since it aims to “interpret the social world from the perspective of the people being studied” (Bryman 2004: 20). Second, qualitative research is found suitable when studying the development of events and patterns over time (Bryman, 2004). This is essential when researching the effects of refugees, which, in Tanzania, started many years ago and is still ongoing at the time of writing.

In the following sections the methodological considerations will be outlined. First, the research question will be presented. Second, the operationalization will be discussed. Last, the means of data collection are shown, which focusses on the research areas, interviews and surveys.

### 2.1 Research questions

The following questions will be the guidelines of this thesis. The main question is: “How does the inflow of refugees affect household capacities to adapt to the effects of refugees in the Kagera region, Tanzania?”

This question will be answered by considering the following sub-questions:

Theoretical question:

1. What are the current known effects of refugees and in what way does this influence their adaptive capacity?

Case-study questions:

2. How has the inflow of refugees changed over the years in the Kagera region?
3. To what extent is there interaction between the refugees and the locals of the Kagera region? (Integration)
4. How are refugees perceived in the Kagera region? Positive and negative effects?

5. How do refugee inflows affect the households asset base in the Kagera region?
6. How do refugee inflows affect households access to knowledge and information in the Kagera region?
7. How do refugee inflows affect households innovation in the Kagera region?

Sub-question one is already answered in the first (theoretical) chapter. Sub-question two will be answered in the third chapter, where the background of Tanzania and the Kagera region will be explored. Sub-questions three and four will be answered under chapter four and five. Lastly, sub-questions five till seven will be answered in chapter six, where an analysis of the empirical data will show the how the effects of refugees influences the adaptive capacity of the inhabitants of Kagera.

## 2.2 Operationalization

The concepts mentioned in the research questions will be explained more in-depth here. The main question researches the relationship between the inflow of refugees and the adaptation to the effects of refugees. Refugees have certain effects and the main question is how people are able to deal with those effects. So, it is researched how the inflow of refugees influences the adaptive capacity of a local community, in this case to be able to analyse whether inhabitants of Kagera are able to deal with the effects of refugees.

As shown in the sub-questions, first, the integration of refugees in Kagera and the way in which refugees are perceived are studied. The case study sub-questions two to four are mainly there to explore general patterns of refugee flows, how the refugees interact with the people living in the Kagera region and how they are perceived. It will help to form an idea on which the theoretical framework can be applied and to understand more about the local context. As integration is as very subjective term, for this question interactions between refugees and local inhabitants were studied. To be able discover the general perception on the refugee inflow, research focused on positive and negative effects of refugees.

In the second part of the empirical section, the LAC framework will be used to research the adaptation of local communities to the effects of refugees. The LAC shows the five characteristics that are needed to be able to adapt to the new circumstances. It is researched

how the inflow of refugees effects the adaptive capacity of local communities, to be able to see whether people are now more or less able to deal with this change in their environment.

As explained in the theoretical chapter, the LAC framework has 5 components, being 1.) the asset base, 2.) innovation, 3.) knowledge and information, 4.) institutions and entitlements, and 5.) flexible forward-thinking and decision-making, and governance. These characteristics show to what extent a community is resilient and responsive to changes caused by the external environment. With this framework one can measure the impact of change on a community's adaptive capacity. Thus, the question is how the inflow of refugees impact the five characteristics of LAC. However, before these characteristics can be applied on the case they should first be explained more in-depth. It is important to operationalize the characteristics because this makes it possible for other researchers to repeat this research which increases the reliability of the research.

The asset base refers to the key assets people possess to be able to respond to change. Thus, it is questioned how the inflow of refugees influenced the key assets. This is done for both positive and negative changes. For *financial capital*, the change in the financial situation of a family was researched. This was mainly done by looking at a change in income and savings, and how this is related to the inflow of refugees. For *physical capital*, the possession of material goods was studied. Mainly the relation between the inflow of refugees and the increase or decrease of certain goods. For *human capital*, it was studied how people's health, education and habits were influenced by the inflow of refugees. These aspects were chosen, as they form the a main, measurable, basis for human capital. For *social capital*, the social relations to develop human capital were researched. It was studied whether refugees changed the social structure in a community by looking for changes in social relations between locals, with the church, with NGO's, or local leaders. For these interactions, purpose, frequency, period, how many people and positive and negative contacts, were taken into account. Lastly, for *natural capital*, the stock or flow that produces goods and services was studied. This was done by looking at how refugees changed the natural resources available for local inhabitants. Specific attention was payed to water, firewood and land, but also general questions on natural resources were asked.

Innovation entails the fostering of new practices. People should be able and willing to respond to changes. This is measured on a local level by researching how households responded on the

refugee inflow and whether they are able to benefit from new opportunities. Also, it is explored whether locals invented new strategies to survive and what they have learned from the inflow of refugees.

Knowledge and information refers to the local generation and exchange of knowledge. It is researched whether people knew about the refugee inflow and if they were aware of possible options they had when the inflow started. It was also asked if the information they received was correct. Moreover, the general information structure was researched. Another important aspect of this characteristic is whether people were able to reach long term goals, based on the information they possess.

Institutions and entitlements focus on the rules that govern belief systems, behaviour or the organizational structure. It focusses on how people have access and control over the capitals as mentioned before, via institutions. It is important to see whether institutions enable people to adapt to the new situation. However, as this research focusses specifically on the effects of refugees on households, this institutional level will not be measured in-depth in the empirical chapter. Nevertheless, as a significant part of the knowledge and information perceived in a community goes via these institutions, they are still touched upon in that section.

The same accounts for flexible forward-thinking and decision-making, and governance. It refers to the structure of organizations and governance; mainly on how dynamic governance is needed to ensure effective adaptation. As such, this characteristic mostly focusses on governing institutions and less on households. Therefore this characteristic will also not be discussed in-depth in the empirical section. Nevertheless, the flexible forward-thinking and decision making refers to the long term goals people are able to reach. Thus, whether people can make future plans and are able to see long term goals. As this does focus on households, it will be briefly discussed under knowledge and information, because these decisions are also based on and governed by the possession of knowledge and information by households.

Thus, the empirical chapter will mainly focus on the asset-base, knowledge and information, and innovation, to analyse the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. The operationalization of these concepts can also be found in appendices 1 till 3, where the interview topic list and the survey are included.

## 2.3 Data collection

This section will briefly touch upon the methods of data collection. Then, it will continue to give more in-depth information about the research areas in Tanzania, and about the data-gathering via interviews and surveys.

### 2.3.1 The data-collection methods

First, mainly semi-structured interviews were held. On the one hand the structure of the interviews helped focussing on specific subjects, which helped to gather explicit data. On the other hand, letting go of the structure helped to get more in-depth information and give interviewees the opportunity to speak about topics that are most interesting to them. This last approach was mainly done in interviews with local inhabitants. As such, while letting go of the structure, interviewees also spoke about topics that did not come across the mind of the researcher. In this way, more information about specific aspects of people's social world and genuine perspectives of the respondent were revealed. However, for the interviews with professionals, the focus was more on the topic list, which brought some structure to the interviews. By doing so, it was easier to collect more factual information and be able to confirm other gathered data. Nevertheless, some open questions and open talks were also held with professionals to be able to discover their personal opinion on certain topics.

Second, surveys were carried out. Face-to-face surveys were conducted by the researcher with the help of research-assistants, who speak English as well as Swahili and other local languages. The primary goal of this survey was to understand how members of a household are influenced by the inflow of refugees, their characteristics (age, gender, location, time living in the research site), the integration of the refugees, and some practical questions related to their adaptive capacity. The result of these surveys provided data for the last five sub-questions. The data in this part of the research will back-up the findings from the qualitative research parts as that it will make the findings increasingly valid. As a consequence, the research will not only be based on perceptions, stories and anecdotes of local people, but will also make sure to control for some biases which could occur when only using qualitative data.

Third, participatory observations were used. The study and observation of people in their natural environment, was applied as the researcher spend a long period among the population being studied. Visits to the homes of locals, living for some time in their villages, visiting

schools and other social gatherings, also gave insights in people’s live regardless of the interview-setting. By being, to some extent, part of the social lives in the villages, the researcher was able to held multiple informal conversations with locals. As such, it was possible to better understand, observe and experience their way of living. The observations caused by the participation in the communities helped to understand the context of the data and provided the researcher with additional knowledge on the research community (Baker, 2006).

The use of more than one research method – triangulation – resulted in a greater confidence in the data. By using multiple methods it was possible to compare and cross-check the data gathered via the different methods. So, the combination of interviewing, observing respondents, having informal conversation and conducting surveys, made it possible to verify all the different data (Bryman, 2004; Bijleveld, 2013). Particular strengths and weaknesses of this research will be assessed more extensively in the discussion of this thesis.

The following table shows how the above-mentioned data collection strategies are used to gather information per subject:

Table 3: Data collection per subject

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Methods</b>
The effects of refugees:	-Surveys -Interviews -Secondary data
Integration of refugees:	-Surveys -Interviews -Secondary data
Asset Base:	-Surveys -Interviews
Knowledge and Information:	-Surveys -Interviews
Innovation:	-Surveys -Interviews

As shown in the table, for all different subject almost all research methods are used, this strengthened the validity of the data. The use of participatory observation was not possible to distinguish per subject because this data collection technique could not be planned in advance. The data was gathered in the province of Kagera, specifically in small villages around refugee camps in north, middle and south Kagera.

### 2.3.2 Research areas

The following map shows where the research has taken place. The map is accompanied by a table which shows how many surveys were taken in every research area. These were also the places where the interviews were conducted, however, some interviews were also conducted in Bukoba, the capital city of the province, where multiple international organizations are accommodated.

Map 1: Research sites in Kagera



Table 4: Number of surveys per area

Area	Research sites	N=150
North:	- Rubwera - Kagenyi	58
Middle:	- Chiabalisa	36
South:	- Benako - Lukole	56

In total, 150 surveys were conducted in Kagera. The red ‘men’ in the map (1) show the research sites. In the north, research was conducted in Rubwera and Kagenyi. In the middle in Chiabalisa and in the south in Benako and Lukole. In these villages refugee camps were installed. In the

north these camps are nowadays removed, but in the south some camps are still present. In these areas small villages around the main camps were chosen to conduct the surveys and interviews. The locations on the map should thus be interpreted as indications of research sites, and are not exact spots. Nevertheless, the map still gives a good representation of the research sites and helps to understand and get an overview of the area.

### 2.3.3 Surveys

Before starting a survey (or interview) with a respondent, it was emphasized that the researcher does not belong to any organization or could offer practical assistance or financial support, to avoid raising unrealistic expectations or double agendas amongst the respondents. Furthermore, respondents were asked to give informed consent for participating in this research. When asking for their consent, their anonymity was ensured, by mentioning that their identities would not be exposed without their consent.

Surveys (appendices 1 and 2) were executed to find out the general statements towards the effects of refugees, integration and the adaptive capacity. Respondents were found in the following places in Kagera (see map 1):

- 58 households in the north: Kagenyi and Rubwera
- 36 households in the middle: Chiabalisa
- 56 households in the south (Ngara): Benaco and Lukole

In the southern areas (Ngara), close to Burundi, refugees are still entering the country. This region knows a long history of hosting refugees as in the past refugees were coming from Rwanda, Congo as well as Burundi. In these areas the respondents could answer the questions from their current experience with the inflow of refugees and also make references to the past. In the northern areas (Rubwera/ Kagenyi) the refugee flows are stagnated. However, there were still refugees living in the areas and respondents could remember the effects well. Nevertheless, for these northern regions it should be taken into account that people might have forgotten some details or that their current opinion changed over time.

The surveys were household surveys which were taken in the villages next to refugee camps. As a consequence the respondents were very close to the refugees and have noticed multiple effects. However, it should be taken into account that villages more distanced from the refugee camps could have had other effects but this is not researched for this research question.

Nevertheless, with research sites from north to south Kagera a good spread in the research was assured.

For the sampling strategy the villages were divided into sub-villages (areas). Then one researcher per area tried to do a random amount of houses depending on the size of the sub-village. It was tried to do a systematic sample, with for example every 4<sup>th</sup> house in the sub-village. However, the method used was not completely random because in some cases it was not possible to do every 4<sup>th</sup> house. First, the size of the village was often not known. Second, some people were working outside of their compound during the day and there was no time to visit those houses another time. Nevertheless, the research is intended to be as representative as possible.

For the surveys, students who speak English and Swahili were asked to help. They are trained to conduct English surveys, ask the questions in Swahili and write the answer down in English again. In this way it could be explained what was meant with the questions and what they should ask specifically if respondents did not understand the question. The questionnaires were discussed extensively beforehand. Nevertheless, the survey were translated in Swahili to be able to see if the students choose the correct words in asking the questions in Swahili. The students who helped me were trained for 2 days.

The surveys were done with the help of 2 or 3 students a day. One of the students came from the open University of Bukoba, the other two worked for a local community radio station called Radio Fadeco. The director of this radio station also joined often when we went to the field. He was there for his own radio station to make small broadcasts from the region. As the radio station is very famous and popular in the regions of the fieldwork, people were happy to see the radio staff arrive. As a consequence, respondents were very willing to talk to the students working for the radio station. In most cases, the familiarity with the radio station made people willing to answer all the survey questions without other incentives being in needed. However, sometimes a small gift from the radio station was given to respondents, but this was done independently from this research.

### 2.3.4 Interviews

Interviews were held to find more in-depth, detailed knowledge about how people experience living with refugees, the effects and how they adapt to refugees. The official interviews were taken with different respondents. The following table shows the official interviews, the names are known by the researcher, but not shown for privacy reasons:

Table 5: Overview of official interviews

<b>Number</b>	<b>Function</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>
1.	Local hotel manager	North Kagera	27-02-17
2.	Red Cross employee	North Kagera	03-03-17
3.	Manager of local radio station	North Kagera	28-03-17
4.	Caritas employee	North Kagera	05-04-17
5.	Director of girls school	South Kagera	20-04-17
6.	Radio employee (Kwizera)	South Kagera	21-04-17
7.	Radio employee (Kwizera)	South Kagera	21-04-17
8.	UNHCR employee	South Kagera	04-05-17
9.	Redeso employee	South Kagera	04-05-17
10.	Tanzanian Council for Refugee Services employee	South Kagera	05-05-17

These interviews were complemented with informal conversations and interviews with local people living and working in the area around refugee camps, in Kagenyi, Chiabalisa and Ngara.

The sampling strategy for the interviews in this research was snowball sampling, as this method is found appropriate for studying a population with an unknown sampling frame. When applying this method the researcher makes contact with a small group of people that are relevant for the research. Those people were used to make contact with other relevant people, by asking them if they knew people who are willing to be interviewed too. Before going into the field, a first contact person is found via the host organization, the Open University of Tanzania. In addition, the contact with a Dutch men who has a small NGO in Kagera also

helped to create a network of people to assist in the work and to be introduced to respondents. Via these entry points the network was slowly built and the snowballing started.

For the interviews, it was possible to ask more in-depth questions to people that are experienced in the field or have worked with refugees. These people are often more capable to see a broader picture of the refugee inflow and are able to combine certain causes and effects. The topic list for the interviews can be found in the appendices (3). The questions deal with the situation when the refugees entered, the effects when the refugees were present and in case the interviews were held where the refugees are not present anymore, it also deals with the current situation after the refugees left.

This last point turned out to be interesting for my research. It shows that in some places the long term effects of the refugees can also be studied. This aspect could be added in interviews, as it was possible to change the question 'as you speak'. The surveys were already fixed by that time, however, people sometimes also did refer to long term effects.

### 3. Regional thematic context: Tanzania, Kagera

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This chapter will give an overview of the regional context. The research sites are all in the Kagera region in Tanzania. First, the refugee flows and corresponding national policies will be outlined. Second, a more in-depth picture of the Kagera region will be given. Last, the specific research population, which will be assessed in the coming chapter, will be discussed.

#### 3.1 Refugee flows and national policies in Tanzania

Since the independence of Tanzania, the country is known for its hospitality towards African refugees. However, the attitude and policies towards refugees changed over time (Mahiga, 1997). From the 1960's till the 80's Tanzania had an open door policy towards refugees. In 1969 the Refugee Convention as proposed by the Organization of African Unity underlined this idea. This convention is still seen as one of the most hospital conventions ever signed because of its flexibility and generosity. The former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was a great supporter of this open policy towards refugees as he was a follower of the Pan-African beliefs. Under his command, refugees were thus welcomed in Tanzania and encouraged to integrate in the Tanzanian society (Chaulia, 2003).

However, during the 90's a crisis in the Great Lakes Region did change the attitude towards refugees (Mahiga, 1997). The first refugees came from Burundi in 1993. After a failed coup in Burundi, the newly elected president was killed which caused much disorder. Due to this unrest at least 250.000 refugees entered Tanzania. The refugees were hosted by local Tanzanians and later a camp was installed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR). A second influx came from Rwanda. The shooting of the plane in Kigali turned out to be a catalyser for the genocide between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda. Within the first days of this conflict, more than 250.000 people entered Tanzania. This influx kept increasing and in 1994 almost 900.000 people from Rwanda fled to Tanzania. The amount of refugees became even bigger when the conflict also spilled-over to Burundi, and Burundian refugees were also fleeing to Tanzania with even bigger amounts of people (Felleson, 2004).

During this crisis in the Great Lakes Region, the policies towards refugees changed drastically. The Tanzanian government thought that the influx of refugees had a bad influence on their security, infrastructure and the economy. Refugees were seen as a burden on the state instead

of a benefit. In 1995 the Tanzanian government decided to close its borders for some time to stop the inflow of refugees from Rwanda and Burundi. Although the borders were only closed for a short amount of time, it showed the contrast with the former, hospitable position towards refugees (Rutinwa and Kamanga, 2003) .

In 1996, the Tanzanian government considered the situation in Rwanda as safe enough for the refugees to go home. In cooperation with the UNHCR the refugee camps had a closing deadline on January 1st, 1997. While most of the refugees from Rwanda were repatriated, the refugees from Burundi were still in the country. Additionally, since 1996, refugees were also coming in from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Tanzania emphasized that they were not the only responsible country to host refugees and they thus expected more help from the international community. During this time, a focus on fast repatriation is central for the Tanzanian policy. Refugee camps were designed as temporal places close to borders to stimulate the return of people to their own country. The refugee act of 1998 underlines this practice and refugees had less freedom to engage in the society (Rutinwa, 2002).

However, in 2009 there were still around 25.000 refugees in Tanzania (Felleson, 2004; UNHCR, 2009<sup>b</sup>). With the current hostilities in Burundi this number is increasing. According to the UNHCR (2017; 2016), around 325 Burundians are entering Tanzania on a daily basis. As Burundi is bordered by the Kagera region, which can be seen on map 2 on the following page, these refugees often enter in southern Kagera.

### 3.2 Regional background, Kagera

The affected regions of the influx of refugees are mainly in the north-west of Tanzania which can be seen on the following map:

Map 2: Tanzania, Kagera and surrounding countries



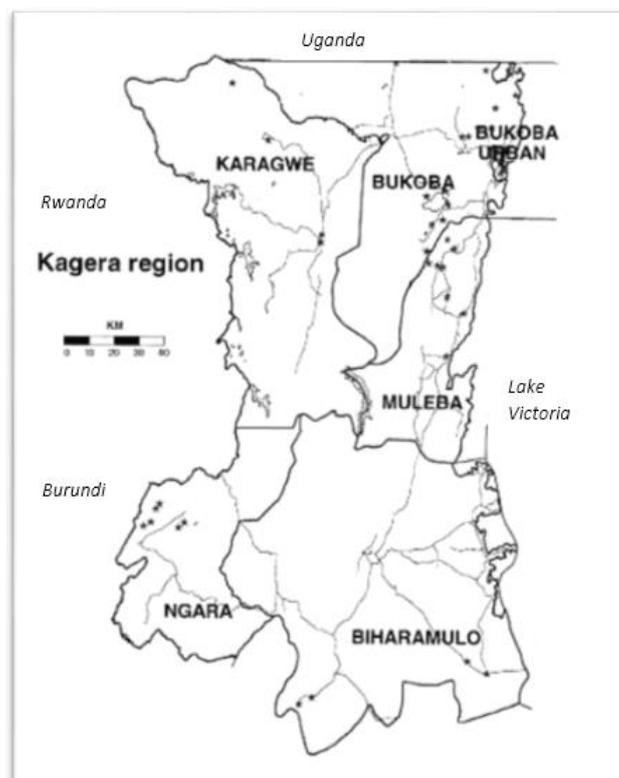
Source: Solidaridad Internacional, 2016

The provinces of Kigoma and Kagera share borders with the Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. As a consequence these are the provinces that hosted most refugees and still experience an influx of refugees nowadays (Rutinwa and Kamanga, 2003). Since it is impossible to do research in Kigoma due to security reasons and time constraints this research will focus on the Kagera region. In Kagera, the northern side of the province mostly hosted refugees from Rwanda. These refugees have largely turned home again, but still some are remaining in the area, as they were reluctant to be repatriated. In the southern part of the Kagera province, refugees were mainly coming from Burundi. Here, some refugees have been repatriated in the past, but there is also still a new influx of refugees. In middle Kagera, a mixture of both kinds of refugee flows is present.

Particular about the Kagera region, is that it makes an extraordinary setting for doing research into hosting refugees. The magnitude from the influx of refugees during the 90's is unique. Already from 1993, approximately 300.000 Burundians and 250.000 Rwandans, entered the Kagera region, almost within 24 hours. The UNHCR described it as the largest and fastest exodus they had ever seen. The inflow of refugees was more than one-third of the original population of Kagera (Rutinwa, 2002). These first influxes were followed by newer flows, with the flows in south Kagera (Ngara) still being continued with refugees from Burundi. As such, the region knows a long history of hosting refugees, which makes it, in combination with the refugees entering nowadays, an excellent research area.

The Kagera province is a very remote area in North-West Tanzania. The province is locked in by lake Victoria, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. The region is 30.000 square kilometres. The region has six main districts, being Karagwe, Bukoba rural, Bukoba urban, Muleba, Ngara and Biharamulo (See map 3).

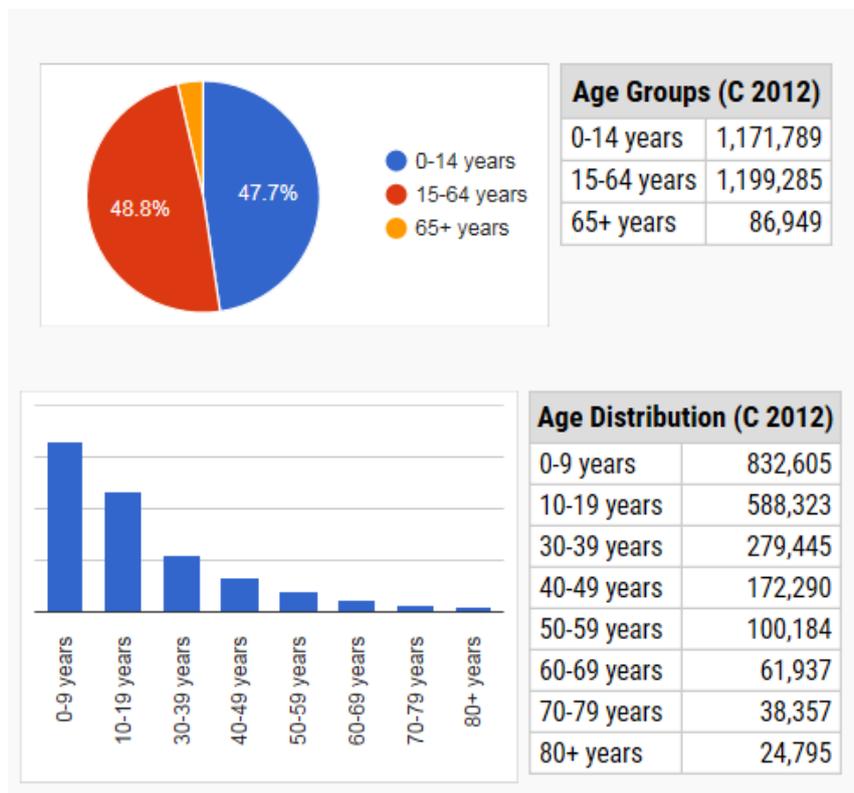
Map 3: Kagera divided in provinces



Source: Maystadt and Verwimp, 2009

The region contains divers ethnic groups, including Haya and Nyambo in the North, and Subi, Sukuma, Zinza and Hangaza in the south. Kagera has a population of approximately two million people and it has a rather young population, which can be seen in the following two graphs, which are based on the National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania (2012):

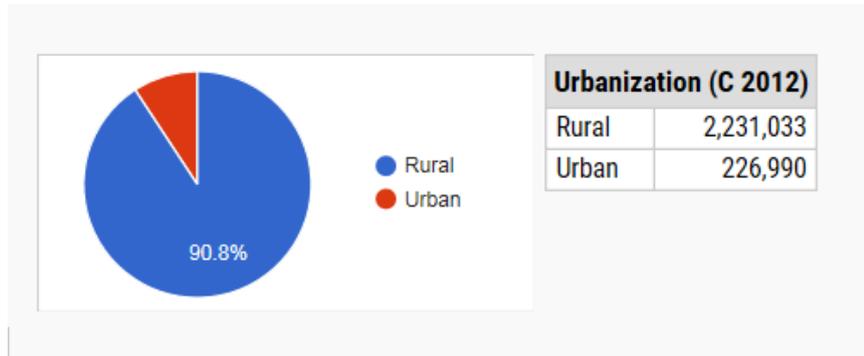
Graph 1 and 2: Age groups and distribution in Kagera



Source: National Bureau of Statistics, Tanzania, 2012

The population of Kagera is considered to be young, which can specifically be seen in the large amount of youth in the age of 0 to 14. In this age group are almost the same amount of people as in the 15-64 group, which has a much bigger measuring scale. When looking at the age distribution, it can also be seen that the young people make up most of the inhabitants of Kagera. This young population in Kagera mainly lives in rural areas:

Graph 3: Urbanization in Kagera



Source: National Bureau of Statistics,  
Tanzania, 2012

As shown in the graph, in Kagera, more than 90% of the inhabitants live in rural areas. Most of the inhabitants are depending on agriculture as their main source of income. In the North people mainly grow banana and coffee, and the south mainly produces rain-fed annual crops like maize. Food crops, are mainly used for own consumption. However, when in surplus, these crops are traded on local competitive markets or they are exported to urban centres, other regions or other countries (Weerdt, 2006). Nevertheless, Kagera is one of the poorest regions of the country in terms of income per capita with an average of not even 150.000 Tanzanian Shillings (which is approximately US\$ 166 per year) per capita (National Bureau of Statistics, 2003). As the general features of the Kagera region are known now, it is also important to look at the specific characteristic for the research population of this study.

### 3.3 Introduction of the research population

As explained in the methodology chapter, this research consists (amongst others) mainly of surveys, which are conducted in areas in Kagera around former refugee camps. The coming empirical chapter are mainly based on these surveys. In total, in 150 households surveys were conducted. All together these households consisted of 1059 family members. In north Kagera, the 58 surveyed households corresponded with 428 family members. The 36 households in middle Kagera consisted of 253 family members and de 56 households in the south represented 378 family members. Nevertheless, for the survey outcomes, the results are analysed per household, as households were encouraged to discuss the questions amongst each other, and can thus be seen as an outcome per family.

The households were almost all farmers. It was asked what the main source of income for the family was. Out of the 150 households, 137 answered that agricultural activities were their main source of income. The other 13 jobs were teachers, entrepreneurs, government officials, pastors and fishermen. While a large amount of people thus seems dependent on farming as a source of income, it should be taken into account that locals also have small businesses next to their farming activities. Also, many families mentioned farming because that is what overall is done mostly by all family members as almost every family in Kagera has a their own family land, where they are spending many hours. Nevertheless, with these things in mind, this large amount of farmers in the area should still not be considered as a drastic overestimation.

As households were taken to answer the survey question, there can be no estimation made for a divide in gender. The same accounts for the average age of the research population. What was also not questioned specifically is the religion of people. However, during the research we visited Christian families as well as Muslim families, which could be seen when visiting their homes, and religion was also often emphasized during the talks. It is estimated that more Christian families have been visited than Muslim families. Nevertheless, this would also be a better representation of the actual divide in religions, as there are more Christians in Kagera. The following pictures show a Christian and a Muslim household which were part of the research population:

A Christian (left) and a Muslim household in Kagera



As the characteristics of the research population are outlined, it is possible to analyse the gathered data more in-depth in the coming chapters.

## 4. Case-study: Integration of refugees in Kagera

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A question that is important to answer in relation to the effect of refugees is how the refugees have integrated in the hosting society, because this is helpful to see the context in which effects were able to affect the host communities. Therefore, the following sections will study integration from different perspectives. It will first touch upon the difference between open and closed camps. Second, it will explore interactions between refugees and hosting communities in Kagera. Third, the differences for north and south Kagera concerning integration will be studied, and lastly, the perception of the hosting communities on the integration of refugees will be outlined.

### 4.1 Integration and refugee camps

Research into integration of refugees shows that refugees have more possible positive effects when they are able to integrate in their hosting community. In many cases keeping refugees in camps hampers integration and is thus not preferred. The UNHCR also emphasized that local integration is a durable solution for host communities. This can happen via processes of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees in a hosting society, which eventually can lead to governments offering citizenship to these refugees. Additionally, in case of granted citizenship refugees enjoy certain human and civil rights, which also makes it more likely that they will feel included in a society. However, in many situations, host governments focus on their own agenda, and are not likely to grant refugees the opportunities of integrating in the society. By doing so, they thus ignore the possible benefits of refugees that are likely to happen when refugees are able to integrate in a society (Jacobsen, 2001).

As camps in Kagera region were initiated to be closed, with refugees being forced to stay inside the camp, integration between refugees and locals was likely to be difficult. Governments often created closed camps to diminish the spill over of negative effects of refugee camps. The government of Tanzania did barely take the benefits of local integration into account. Nevertheless, in Kagera, of the 150 respondents, 41 households perceived the camps as open. While of course the term ‘open’ is very subjective, because one can see it as open because refugees were allowed to come out during day time, while other perceive this as closed, it nevertheless does show that almost one third of the respondents probably had so much contact that they thought that the refugee camps are open.

This is also researched by Baez (2008), who stated that in Kagera refugees often blended with the local population. It is stated that the multiple actions of the government to try to force the refugee into camps have not worked. Multiple refugees settled outside the identified areas. They ignored the restrictions and settled around forests and river banks. Also, refugees were forced to go out of the camps during the day because of shortages that appeared in the camps. Refugees were often engaged in agricultural activities; cultivating and trading their own crops, which are grown on public land. They also often collected fire wood in places outside the restricted refugee zones. Additionally, refugees from Rwanda and Burundi share a similar ethnic ancestry with the hosting villages in north-west Tanzania, so often many refugees were hosted in the homes of Tanzanian family or other relatives. It is thus not strange that villages close to refugee camps had contact with the refugees. The isolation of refugees in Kagera almost seemed impossible. This also clarifies why multiple respondents perceived the camps as being open. Consequently, this perception of open camps shows a basis for contact between refugees and their hosts. This contact can come in multiple forms which is explained more in-depth in the coming section.

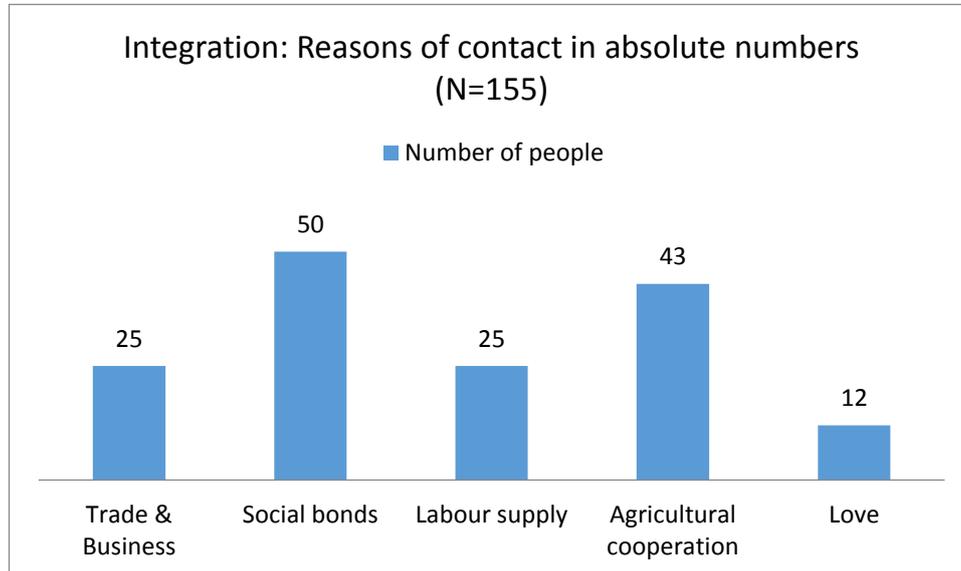
## 4.2 Refugee Interactions

For integration the *interactions* between locals and refugees are studied by the use of surveys. These surveys form the source of the coming sections. To be able to form a broader picture of the effects of refugees on locals it is important to study the relation between these two groups. While interactions alone do not give a full image of the integration it does show if there was contact between the two population groups, which often is a starting point for integration. Interactions between refugees and locals can happen in multiple ways. A total of 87 direct interactions were reported for 150 households. So, more than half of the research population was having some sort of interaction with refugees.

As more than half of the research population had direct contact with refugees it is also interesting to see what reason exist for these interactions. In total 155 reasons for contact were indicated by 150 households. While this number says nothing about the intensity of the contact, it is still interesting to see on what basis some effects were able to spill over. For this section, 'friendships' will not be included because the term is too subjective too include in reasons for contacts. As friendship is very subjective term, especially in Africa, where all sort of contacts are seen as friends and all respondents have different interpretations of friends, it is impossible

to label it, and therefore not included. The following graph shows the reasons for interaction as indicated by households in absolute numbers.

Graph 4:



The first reason for contacts are social bonds. Many people emphasized that refugees took part in all daily activities in the village. From working on the land, going to the market, shopping for cloths and preparing diner. Many people stated that refugees lived with them like family, all together doing daily activities. Some refugees even lived in the houses of the locals. Other social activities that created bonds between locals and refugees were drinking alcohol together, going to church, playing football and other sports, and working on the land together. Also, some bonds grew as knowledge and ideas were shared. Additionally, some people took care of refugee children that were entering Tanzania without family.

Secondly, cooperation in agricultural activities was a reason for people to interact with the refugees. Many farming activities were done together so they were planting crops together, looking for food and water and working on the land together. Also knowledge about new farming techniques created an interaction between refugees and locals.

Thirdly, the supply of cheap labour by refugees created an interaction with the locals. Refugees often worked on farms, in villages and *chambas*<sup>1</sup>. For example, refugees were able to work in the communities to get food like maize and beans. While working there, they often worked together with and for the locals. In this way the manpower provided was a base for contact with locals.

Fourthly, refugees had contact with locals via business opportunities and trade. People were working together in small businesses, made trade deals and with each other on the local markets. Trade deals were especially made about raw materials. Also, multiple people created bonds with refugees by exchanging food.

Lastly, bonds between locals and refugees were created via love relations. Multiple marriages between refugees and inhabitants of Kagera were established. Many local men took refugee women as second wives, but women also married refugee men. Another group of respondents made contact with refugees via dating them. With the inflow of refugees the population of available women and men also increased.

On the other side of the coin, multiple difficulties for integrations were also emphasized by respondents. It was mentioned that refugees were mostly inside the camps and they were not involved in the communities. They were controlled so they could not get out when they wanted. For example in Benako. As a consequence, some locals only met refugees at social services, like hospitals and water resources, but were not creating any kind of bond or more contacts. Also, some respondents emphasized that refugees themselves were not open for interaction and mainly focussed on their own lives. In addition, locals mentioned that language differences made it hard to communicate with refugees, so no bonds were created.

The interactions explained above will be elaborated more in-depth in chapter 6, when the effects of refugees are assessed under the theoretical LAC framework.

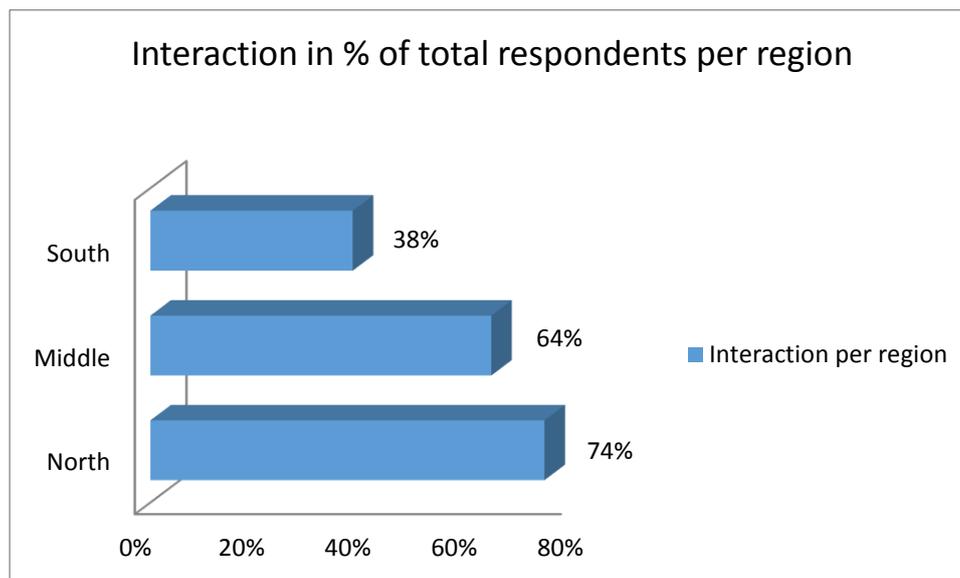
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<sup>1</sup> A “chamba” is a piece of farmland owned by a household which is often cultivated for many generations.

### 4.3 North – South differences

While doing research it appeared that there were some differences between north and south Kagera. Here, it is researched if this difference is the case for integration. For this sections, all sort of interactions are included. While in the previous section, friendship was not included because the term was too subjective to label, it does show a form of contact and is thus included in the coming section. To start, there is already a difference between the amount of interactions in the north and in the south of Kagera, which is shown in the following graph:

Graph 5:

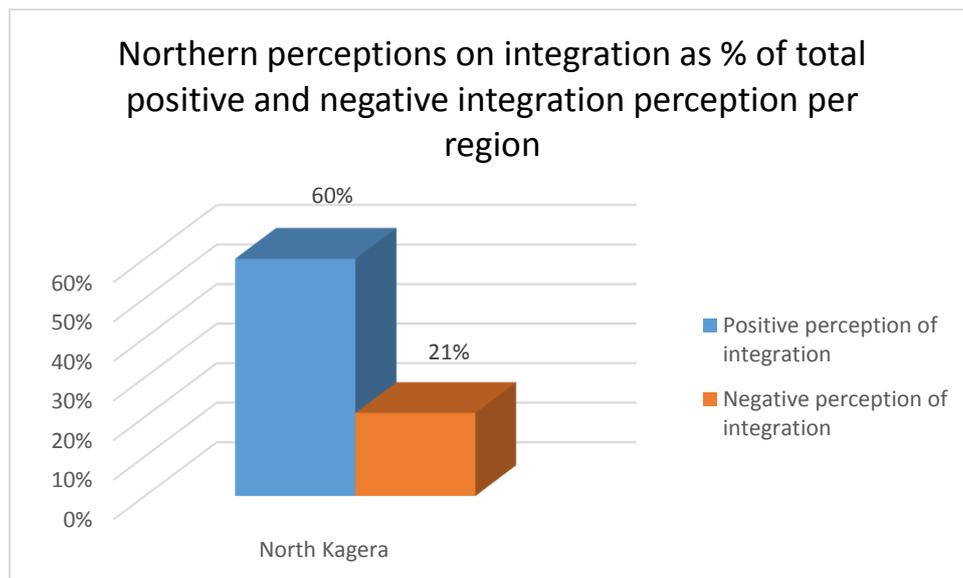


A total of 87 interactions have taken place. The graph shows that of the total respondent in the north (N=58) 74% had interactions with refugees. In the middle (N=36) this was 64% and of the total respondents in the south (N=56) this was only 38%. Thus, households in the north are way more likely to have contacts with refugees than households in southern Kagera.

While the above mentioned graph shows the difference in amount of interactions between north, middle and south Kagera, it does not include how respondents from different regions perceive the actual integration of refugees. So it is also interesting to see whether northern or southern parts of the provinces or more or less positive on the integration of refugees. This will be measured in a graph, based on the survey outcomes. In the graph the middle province is left out because in this way the differences between north and south are increasingly visible. As the chance for finding positive or negative perceptions of refugee integration is larger in the north (N=58) than in the south (N=56), because in the north more surveys were conducted, this

difference is accounted for in the following graph. All the perceptions on integration were rated from 1-5. For this graph the positive (4,5) and negative (1,2) rating on integration were plotted against south and north Kagera. The middle value (3) was left out as it does not contribute to see whether respondents become more or less positive about the integration of refugees. The following graph shows the percentage of respondents in northern Kagera, who rate integration positive or negative. For this graph only the northern and southern regions were used.

Graph 6:



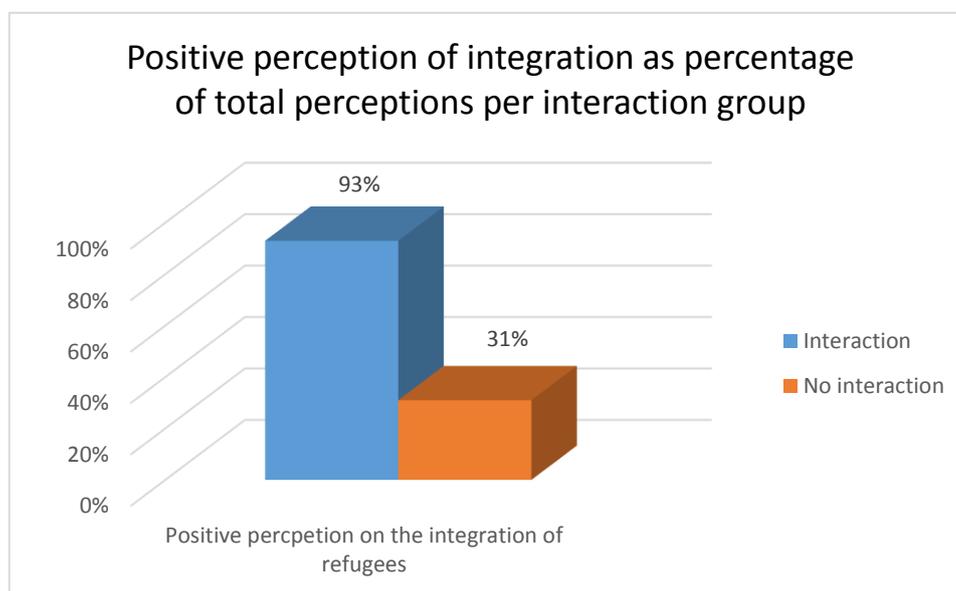
So, from the total respondents that had a positive perception towards refugee integration (N=55), 60% is from the north, and from the total respondents who had a negative perception of refugee integration (N=29), 21% is from the north. Logically, from the total respondents that had a positive perception of refugees 40% is from the south and from the total negative perception on integration 79% is from the south. This shows that in the northern parts of the Kagera respondents were more positive towards the integration of refugees and also that in the south respondents were more negative.

Additionally, it is also interesting to see whether the types of contact (discussed under section 4.2) are different per region. This might also clarify some difference on integration between north and south Kagera. However, after analysing the data (plotting the types of contact against the northern and southern regions), it was found that the types of contact are almost the same in north and south Kagera. Thus, both north and south Kagera have almost equal reasons to interact with refugees.

#### 4.4 Integration differences

Following the outcomes above it is interesting to see whether people who had interactions with refugees are actually more positive about refugee integration in their communities. All the perceptions on integration were rated from 1-5. For this graph the positive (4,5) and negative (1,2) rating on integration were plotted against the interaction or non-interaction. The middle value (3) was left out as it does not contribute to see whether respondents become more or less positive if they have interaction. The following graph shows the percentage of people who rate integration positive of the total of interactions or non-interactions.

Graph 7:



The graph shows that from the total respondents who had interaction (N=61), 93% is positive about the integration of refugees and from the total group who did not have interaction with refugees (N=42), only 31% is positive about the integration. Logically, of the people with interaction 7% is negative about integration and of the total group who did not have interactions, 69% was negative on integration. So, people who interacted with refugees are more positive about their integration. As people from the north have more interactions with locals, it is likely that they will be more positive on integration. Also, as people from the south had less interactions it is more likely that they will be negative about the integration of refugees. When looking at the data on north and south Kagera on interaction, this outcome thus corresponds.

Concluding, integration happened in multiple ways in Kagera. Interactions were able to happen because camps were often not completely closed, and refugees saw chances to engage in the host society. Reasons for contact are agricultural cooperation, love, trade and business, labour supply and social bonds. It was found that in the north people have most contact with refugees (74%) when comparing it to the south (37%). When looking at positive perception integration of refugees, the north was found to be most positive (60%) when comparing it to the south (40%). Also, when looking at negative perception integration of refugees, the northern respondents are less negative (21%) when comparing it to (79% ) negative responses in the south. Moreover, it was found that people with interactions are more likely be positive about the integration of refugees. Thus, according to the data as the north had more interactions, it would be likely that they were more positive on the integration of refugees. This corresponded with the data of north-south differences on integration.

As ways of contact between refugees and their host are now displayed, it is also interesting to see the positive and negative effects of refugees. Consequently, the following chapter will research how refugees are perceived in Kagera. This is done by looking at positive and negative effects of refugees, while also taking a north-south difference in consideration.

## 5. Case-study: Positive and Negative effects of refugees

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In this chapter the positive and negative effects of refugees are researched. It is important to see how refugees are perceived in the region, to be able to understand the context in which effects of refugees were spread in Kagera. First, the positive and negative effects of refugees that were mentioned by the respondents are discussed. Then, the tendency of how refugees are perceived in Kagera will be researched in light of differences between north and south Kagera and between interaction and non-interaction groups.

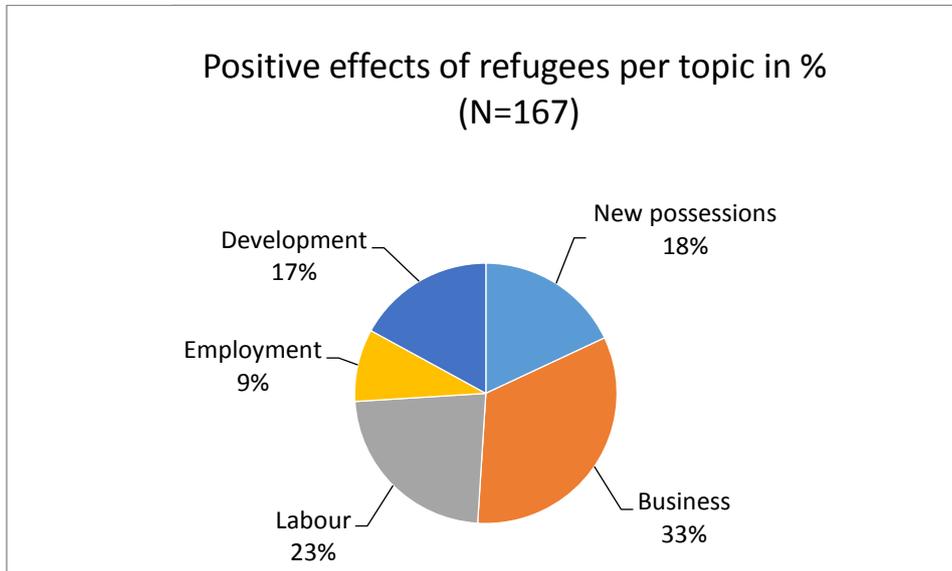
### 5.1 Benefits and Risks

The data used for this section focussed on how refugees are perceived in Kagera. The data discussed here is derived from the first questions of the survey; the opening questions. It shows what people think of instantly, when asked about effects of refugees. As the questions were asked in the beginning of the survey the respondents were not yet influenced by the other questions of the survey as those questions ask for specific topics. These are the answers people relate to first when they think of benefits and risks of refugees. This makes this data interesting because it shows what respondents are thinking of in first instance, which is probably the most important to them. Interestingly, in absolute numbers people could think of almost the same amount of negative effects and positive effects. The difference is really small because the 150 respondents could think of 168 negative effects and of 167 positive effects.

### 5.1.1 Benefits

The benefits of the refugee inflow for local inhabitants of Kagera can be categorized in five different topics:

Graph 8:



First, local inhabitants received multiple goods as well as nonphysical things like knowledge from the refugee inflow. Goods are for example iron sheets, bicycles and cows. Practical ideas can be found in how to start a business, new cultivation techniques, new house building techniques, new ways to find fuel, knowledge about new crops, new irrigation systems and respondents learned about the importance of accountability in trade. More philosophical, many people learned about the importance of peace, learn about new cultures, a change in the negative attitude of the village and to understand more about wars.

Secondly, locals benefited from new business opportunities in Kagera. There was more trade possible due to the increase in population and the goods and ideas they brought to the area. As many people started a business next to running their farms, a business mind-set was created in the area. This was copied from the refugees as before people did barely trade with each other. Refugees taught the locals how to start a business and how to employ people. Now, trade is seen on every street corner. As refugees kept on entering the region over time, businesses could easily expand. Especially the selling of raw materials and more different types of crops increased the income of many local farmers. People's income increased as they were able to sell

more products. Due to this increase in income people were able to buy more goods and e.g. to invest in new houses.

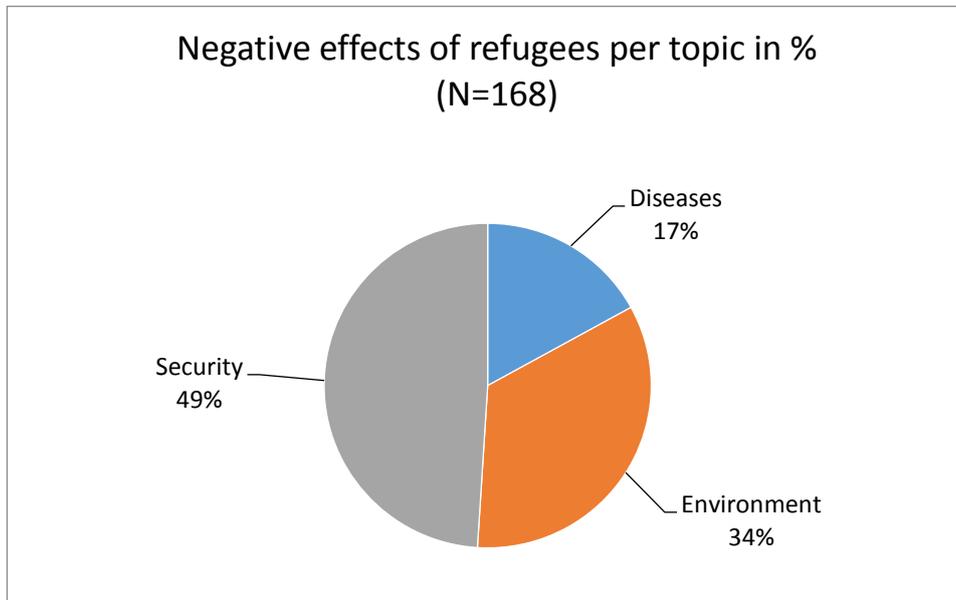
Thirdly, the inflow of refugees came with two opportunities for labour. On the one hand refugees provided cheap labour for the farmers. As manpower increased in the area and refugees were willing to work for low wages, farmers were able to expand their production and create a surplus of goods to sell on the market. Also, as refugee workers often had skills to transfer, the local businesses were able to grow. In this way their income increased. With an increase in income it was able to invest again in the business to work more effectively or hire even more workers. On the other hand refugees brought many new jobs into the villages. Employment for locals was often found at international organizations like Oxfam, Red Cross, Care International, Caritas and Tanzanian Council for Refugee Services. But employment in camps also increased as people were employed for multiple jobs at schools, as Kiswahili teachers and translators and as security guards. This increase in jobs also had a positive effect on the local community.

Fourthly, the area developed as social services started to arise. Multiple international humanitarian and development organization started initiatives that also benefitted the local community. Where before the area had almost no development organizations, this institutional infrastructure now started to arise. While often there were not full programmes designed to serve the local community, they still benefitted from initiatives taken by these organizations. For example, water pumps were provided by SAWATA, more hospitals were built, medication was often for free, more schools were built, school and hospitals were closer to villages, supply of grains and roads were constructed. Due to these changes living standards in the area went up, which was perceived by people as a positive change.

### 5.1.2 Risks

However, people also mentioned multiple negative effects of refugees. This can be categorized in three topics:

Graph 9:



First, security problems were mentioned most as a negative effect of refugees. Theft, killing, destruction of infrastructures, violent robberies, more criminality, destruction of government property, chaos, occupation of houses, shootings and harassing of women were all security issues that locals subscribe to the refugees. An example of increased security problems can be found in the shooting of an aid worker. In 1994 he was one of the first foreign aid workers that entered Kagera. However, he was killed on the road from north to south Kagera by refugees. The following picture shows his memorial.

Roadside memorial, text on the monument:

*“In memory of Axel Bjorn Aller, Denmark.  
Killed by robbers on this spot on 22-03-94,  
during humanitarian service to Burundian  
refugees in Tanzania”*



Additionally, theft of e.g. bananas, property, chicken, money, goats, private trees and cattle occurred frequently. As a consequence, some respondents saw no other option than to leave the area because they feared the insecure situation. Also, it is emphasized that refugees brought segregation in the area via tribalism. As people were only loyal to their own group, tribalism segregated many different groups. Due to this segregation people became more aware of other groups and felt less safe in the community.

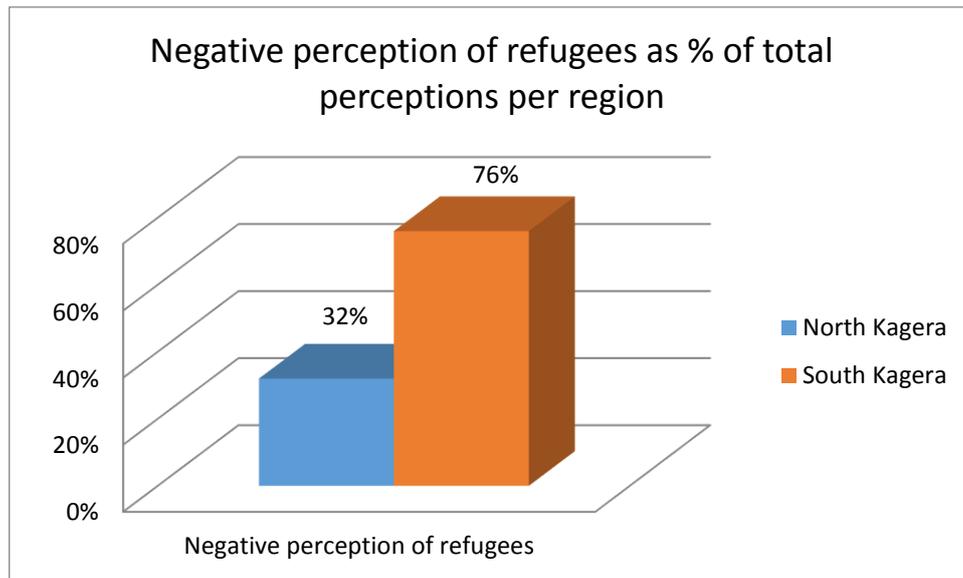
Secondly, diseases were mentioned as a negative effect of refugees. There were new diseases (diseases people did not know they existed before) that came into the area like cholera. Also, diseases that were already present increased were spreading. Due to the rapid increase in population and the lower health circumstances during the inflow of the refugees in the beginning diseases like diarrhoea and malaria expanded massively.

Thirdly, the damage to the environment is seen as a negative effect of refugees. Especially the cutting of trees was mentioned as a massive problem. People could not find firewood anymore and had to walk for hours to find it. As collecting firewood takes a large part of the day they have less time to work on the land or to do business which is also negative for the income. Other environmental problems mentioned are a lack of land due to population increase, pollution of the environment, molestation of the nature reserves by killing all wild animals and a loss of biodiversity. Also, because the environment was not able to keep up with the population growth and resources were overused, many people suffered from hunger when the inflow started. Food shortage also arose due to the destruction of crops via plant diseases imported via refugees' new crops.

## 5.2 North – South differences

As mentioned before, the perception of refugees is different between northern Kagera and southern Kagera. Here it is studied whether perceptions of the refugee inflow is different per region. The graph excluded responses from middle Kagera, to be able to only see the differences between north and south. The respondents were able to rate the inflow of refugees from 1-5, in which 1 and 2 are seen as negative, and 4 and 5 as positive. In this graph the neutral option (3) is excluded as it does not add to the graph when looking solely at positive and negative answers.

Graph 10:



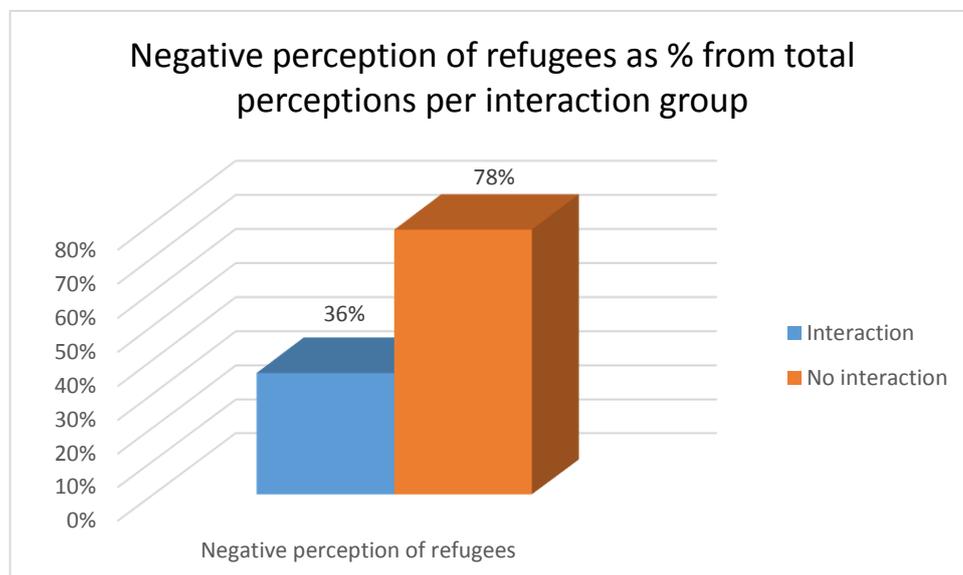
The graph shows that of the total positive and negative answers in the south (N=33), 76% was negative, while only 32% of the total answers in the north (N=41), was negative about the inflow of refugees. Logically, in the northern parts of Kagera, 68% of the total respondents was positive, while only 24% of the total respondent in the south was positive. This shows a negative tendency in the south and a positive tendency in the north.

The causes for this negative tendency in the south are often associated with more security problems in that area. Killings, robberies and theft were a bigger problem in the south than in the north. As such, northern areas were better able to enjoy the benefits of the refugees. The reason for the security problems in the south are often associated with the bigger numbers of inflow of refugees and the constant inflow of refugees in the south. However, as it is out of the scope of this thesis, further research is needed to form an answer on the security problems in southern Kagera.

### 5.3 Integration differences

In addition, it is interesting to see whether people who had contact with refugees were more or less positive about the inflow of refugees. All the perceptions on refugees were rated from 1-5. For this graph the positive (4,5) and negative (1,2) rating on the inflow of refugees were plotted against the interaction or non-interaction. The middle value (3) was left out as it does not contribute to see whether respondents become more or less positive if they have interaction. The following graph shows the percentage of people who rate the inflow of refugees negative as % of the total interactions or non-interactions.

Graph 11:



The graph shows that from the total group that had no interaction (N=37), 78% is negative about the inflow of refugees, and of the total group that did interacted with refugees (N=61), 36% is negative. Logically, from the total group of respondents without interaction 22% is positive and from the group with interaction 64% is positive. It shows that people who have interaction with refugees are often more positive about the inflow of refugees.

It is important to keep this difference in mind while reading the other empirics because positive effects of refugees are thus more likely to be mentioned by respondents who had interaction with refugees, and negative effects of refugees by respondents without interaction with refugees.

Concluding, the hosting population was able to identify multiple positive effects of refugees, like increasing humanitarian aid, business opportunities, cheap labour supply and employment opportunities. On the other side, negative consequences like, the spread of diseases, environmental problems and security issues, were also mentioned. When looking at the differences per region, of the total respondents in the north, only 37% was negative about the refugee inflow in general. While of the total respondents in the south 78% was negative about the inflow of refugees. It is thus more likely that the negative effects are mentioned more often in the south, and the positive effects in the north. Additionally, from the total group who interacted with refugees only 36% was negative about refugees, and from the group who did not interact 78% was negative about the inflow of refugees in general. The positive effects of refugees are thus more likely to come from people who had interaction and negative effects, vice versa, from people without interaction. As shown in the previous chapter, the latter groups is the south as they had less interaction with refugees, and the first group is the north, as they had most interactions with refugees. This thus corresponds with the north- south data which is discussed in this chapter.

The following chapter will go more in-depth into the effects of refugees. The above mentioned effects will be discussed more extensively and be viewed in light of the theoretical, LAC framework.

## 6. Local Adaptive Capacity Framework applied on the case of the inflow of refugees in Kagera

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This section will research the effects of the inflow of refugees on the adaptive capacity of households in Kagera. To have a balanced representation of this relationship, both the positive and negative impact of the inflow of refugees on the adaptive capacity will be included. In doing this, it can be analysed whether locals are able to adapt to the new situation, in this case the inflow of refugees. This will be done through the lens of the LAC framework of adaptive capacity as introduced in section 1.2. The LAC framework, as developed by the ACCRA, will be used as a lens to assess the effects of refugees on the local adaptive capacity of inhabitants of Kagera. Three of the characteristics will be studied in-depth in this section. First, the household assets will be discussed. Second, knowledge and information will be studied and, third, innovation will be researched. Changes in these characteristics of the LAC framework will be divided in positive and negative outcomes. Some of the effects might seem to be double, as every positive effect also often has a downside, and vice versa. Nevertheless, for this thesis it is chosen to discuss the positive and negative effects separately to be able to create a clear overview of effects. Nevertheless, it should be reminded that multiple effects also influence or cause other effects. Additionally, if applicable, long term changes on the LAC, if refugees have already left the area, will also be discussed per characteristic. The coming sections are based on surveys (N=150) and are complemented by interviews. The latter will be indicated in the footnotes, and the numbers correspond with the interviews of table 5 discussed in section 2.3.4.

### 6.1 Household assets

Within the adaptive capacity framework the assets of a household entail financial, physical, human, social and natural capitals. These capitals are necessary to be able to adapt to the effects of inflow of refugees. All assets are discussed separately in the coming paragraphs, as all assets have a different main focus. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that some effects may overlap and that a change in one asset also influences other assets in a household. The assets are interrelated. If there is a significant impact from one asset to other assets this will be acknowledged. Below, the effects of the inflow of refugees on the five capitals of a household will be assessed.

### 6.1.1 Financial Capital

The inflow of refugees can influence the financial assets of a household. Financial assets entail a change in terms of money, like saving, credits and income. The financial capital can be influenced negatively if money and income will become lower and vice versa if money and income will increase. This change in financial capital will influence the capability of a household to respond on the effects of the inflow of refugees.

In the Kagera region the financial capital of households is changed due to the inflow of refugees. Positively, the income of people in Kagera changed for the better. In Kagera, nearly all of the households are dependent on farming for their income. Before the refugees entered the area, these farmers were fully reliant on substance farming and had no incentives to run a businesses. There was not much trade or exchange of good between the local farmers. In first instance, when the refugees arrived, there was no increase in income for the Tanzanians, as they were self-sufficient and were not used to produce goods and food for the market. Locals even went to businesses set up by refugees to buy goods from them, instead of starting their own businesses to benefit from to population growth. However, after some time locals started to copy the business ideas from the refugees. They learned to trade with each other instead of being fully self-sufficient. After a while, the vending by local farmers started to increase, exactly as they had seen by the Rwandese. Locals started to sell especially raw materials like maize, beans, bananas, but also livestock and other goods. Due to the business incentive that was copied from the refugees the accumulation of money started to increase with the inflow of refugees. Later, there were even special markets inside the refugee camps where locals could also trade their food. The exchange and trade between the locals and refugees was supported and in this way locals could also benefit.<sup>2</sup> This new street-view of businesses can be seen all over Kagera, and is also shown in the following pictures.

New trading opportunities in Kagera:



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<sup>2</sup> Interview 3, 4, 8 and 10

Another way in which income increased for households in Kagera is via cheap labour offered by refugees. Many respondents were able to employ refugees. Due to the cheap labour in combination with extremely fertile land, many farms were able to expand their business. Due to the cheap labour, the farmers were able to create a surplus, which they could sell on the markets. This increased their income. Although refugees were officially often not allowed to work outside the camps this did happen. The refugees were cheap labour, and together with the copied business-mind, Tanzanians were able to make a lot more money. Also, many refugee children were employed which were even cheaper than all other workers. The Tanzanian locals were able to make a lot of profit due to this exploitation systems.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, income was generated via new employment options. This was mentioned often by the respondents. Almost every household indicated that employment was a massive gain for the region and for their family. A lot of respondents mention to have found jobs at humanitarian aid organizations like the UNHCR, SAWATA, Oxfam, Red Cross, ATLAS, CONCERN, Redeso, Care International, Concern, TCRS, and Caritas. The locals were employed in the refugee camps as security guards, food distribution supervisors, (Swahili) teachers, nurses, doctors, refugee registration employees, water supply supervisors, tree planters, cleaners, peace supervisors and as office workers. In addition, the humanitarian aid sector needed a lot of goods to be able to do their work. The local community could gain from the international society by for example renting out houses and cars to the international community, getting employed by the humanitarian sector and by building housing and offices for the international staff. So, other jobs like constructing houses, selling cloths and carpenters, were on the rise and it was possible to make more and more money, mainly due to the demand of aid organizations. Moreover, the salary of people who already had a good job went up very fast due to the increase of money available by the government and the money brought in by the humanitarian agencies. So, for example, people working for local NGO saw a massive salary increase.<sup>4</sup>

As a consequence of all these increases in income as mentioned above, many new income generating activities were set-up, like hotels and restaurants. Before the refugees arrived these structures were not present in the Kagera region. However, the increase in income in Kagera combined with the new business incentive made locals found a way to make even more money

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<sup>3</sup> Interview 3, 4 and 10

<sup>4</sup> Interview 3 and 9

via the hospitality industry. A large amount of people in Kagera owns shops, hotels, bars or (street) restaurants, which nowadays also can be seen as they dominate the street view.<sup>5</sup> Below some pictures of the current street view show this presence of new income generating activities.

A restaurant (left) and a bar in Kagera:



Negatively, there also are some changes in Kagera that influenced the available money and income of people. Firstly, locals lacked the skills and money to offer the international organizations all they need. It is very important to notice, that many people *outside* Kagera gained from the situation because Kagera mainly consisted of self-sufficient farmers and as a consequence much of the goods and employees needed were transported from other parts of Tanzania to Kagera. A leakage of money occurred. In addition, because many of the locals from Kagera do not speak English, and English is the language of the humanitarian aid staff, more educated people from Dar Es Salaam were transferred to the region. While it is good for Tanzania, it costed jobs for the local community.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, for locals in Kagera the work available on other farms decreased. The cheap labour as described above, which helped many Tanzanians, to increase their income also has a downside. Low-skilled locals could not compete with the cheap labour offered by the refugees. As a consequence, these locals could not find a job anymore. Work opportunities decreased in the area, and less income was earned. Specifically poor locals, who did not sell anything themselves, were worse off because they were unable to find a job. Thus, as the locals were almost all unskilled farmers they were too expensive to work for Tanzanians and too low skilled

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<sup>5</sup> Interview 4

<sup>6</sup> Interview 3

to work for international organizations. Nevertheless, in time, once the refugees were in Tanzania for a longer period, it was noticed that the local people from Kagera started to increase their level of education via schooling programmes (see section 6.1.3) and as a consequence they were increasingly able to benefit from the employment offered by the humanitarian sector. So, especially educated people were able to find a job. The humanitarian sector paid very well and it was seen as big business. Also, while the abovementioned downsides on employment were certainly present in the society, it is striking how often locals mention employment as a positive effects of refugees for their families. As such, it can be stated that the locals themselves have noticed these downsides in lower extent than the benefits of the refugee inflow concerning employment, as almost all indicate that their family has benefited from the new employment options.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, due the high demand for luxury goods in the area like for houses and cars, the prices went up drastically. This affected the local community because they were now even less able to afford these products and be able to gain from the international demand for these products.<sup>8</sup>

Thirdly, on the longer term the killing of many wild animals in the national parks of Kagera has a negative influence on the income of locals. Around all the parks refugees were hunting for bush meat to sell, or to protect their land. However, the killing of these animals massively effected the nature in these areas. The natural environment is completely changed now. While it seems a natural asset that is influenced here, the locals are mainly financially affected. Wild animals form a great source of income via tourism for large parts in Tanzania, however, because of all the wildlife massacres this is not possible in Kagera anymore. Locals thus miss out in these sources of income. If the national parks were still full of animals the chances were there that more tourists would have visited the area and that the tourism industry could also form a source of income. However, currently, due to the lack of tourist sites, almost no tourism at all is seen in the Kagera region. This can be seen as a negative effect of refugees on the income of locals.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Interview 3

<sup>8</sup> Interview 3 and 4

<sup>9</sup> Interview 5

Fourthly, another reasons why the refugees had a negative impact on the income of the locals is because of security issues. Families are pointing out that while the income sometimes increased, a lot of this money was again stolen during the night. The same happened with goods they had bought from their income. Additionally, trade was sometimes seen as difficult because the refugees caused chaos and insecurity in the area. Since there were more robberies, locals became afraid to carry their goods to the market. Moreover, some families indicated that due to bad behaviour of refugees, some companies fired all the workers, including locals.

Fifthly, the employment for locals was only temporarily. Specifically in the north as camps were closed very fast in that region. In the south refugees are still entering, so there employment is still present. But for the northern parts of Kagera the employment in camps and to provide a larger population, was only temporarily. This made income of the refugee influx very insecure and creates even more difficulties as people were starting own businesses. Humanitarian organizations left the area often as fast as they entered it, leaving the locals without income again.

Lastly, locals experienced unfair competition at local markets because the refugees sold their product under the market price. Locals could not compete with these prices. It was partly because the refugees had better farming techniques that they could sell product cheaper but mainly because in the beginning they were so desperate to sell their goods that they sold it at the lowest prices. Additionally the selling of goods that the refugees received for free in the refugee camps, like blankets and kitchen tools, also created unfair competition for locals. For these reasons the refugees affected their income negatively.

Concluding, several effects on financial capital have been found, which are summarized in the table (6) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. The empirics showed that the adaptive capacity of respondents increased mostly via cheap labour, trading opportunities and employment opportunities. For the negative effects, adaptive capacity diminished mainly through security issues and unfair labour competition. While there was almost an equal amount of positive and negative effects mentioned above, for financial capital, in absolute numbers way more positive effects have been mentioned by the respondents. Consequently, it is argued that the financial position of most inhabitants in Kagera changed for the better, and that this thus positively influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

Table 6:

<b>Financial Capital</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
- Trading opportunities	- Leakage of money
- Cheap labour opportunities	- Unfair labour competition
- Employment options	- Price increase if luxury goods
- Selling luxury goods	- Less tourism income
- Other income generating activities	- Security issues
	- Temporarily income
	- Unfair goods selling

### 6.1.2 Physical capital

Physical capital entails the material goods owned by a household, including goods that are available in the community for people to buy. The availability of goods in Kagera is influenced by the effects of the inflow of refugees. First, the positive effects of the inflow of refugees on the physical capital is discussed in three ways; goods that arrived directly via refugees, goods that could be bought due to an increase in income and goods that arrived in the community via humanitarian aid organizations. Second, negative effects of the inflow of refugees on the availability of goods will be discussed. Last, the effects, in the northern regions, of refugees leaving the area, on the availability of goods will be studied.

Positively, multiple goods have arrived in Kagera. Refugees have brought new goods with them that were introduced in the local communities. New goods that are available in the community, mentioned most often by households, were; iron sheets, building materials, pots, bicycles, motor vehicles, mattresses, daily utensils, pottery, oil to cook food, soap, stoves and sauce pans. In addition new foods were brought in by refugees like soya beans, millets, peas, groundnuts, extra goats, tomatoes, new banana species and lentils. Also new tree sorts were introduced like avocado trees. As many respondents explained, refugees did not only deliver the goods, but also explained how to use it. For example, the refugees taught them how to ride a bicycle, how to use the newly imported pots and pans and how to grow the new sorts of trees and crops. This development of skills made the arrival of new goods even more valuable for the local households.

Another way in which people were able to own more goods is via income. Due to the increase in income, as mentioned by many families and explained under financial capital, more money was available for families to buy goods. Many people were able to build new houses or to renovate their current house. Some have even earned enough to move away from the mud houses, and were able to build houses in a new style. This new style entailed building houses with iron sheets. As a consequence, mud houses became less popular. Houses with iron sheet roofs, that protected against all weather conditions and are more stable, became a sign of wealth. The following pictures show the difference in housing styles in Kagera.

Old style housing (left) and new style housing with iron roof:



Some people even named the new housing styles a trend. Additionally, due to the growth in income people were able to buy more different kind of crops and food. Also, in general due to income people were able to buy luxury products like bicycles and motorbikes.

Furthermore, goods became available via humanitarian organizations. Multiple organizations in the area helped building different infrastructures. Mainly buildings were constructed by the organizations like schools, class rooms, hospitals and medical dispensaries. Also, the UNHCR was known to set up the electronic infrastructure. Additionally, next to infrastructures some specific goods were also imported to the region by aid organizations like maize, water pumps, water taps, timber, blankets, bed sheets and new hospital equipment. Moreover, roads were constructed by organizations as they needed to improve the accessibility of the area for the organizations, but locals also used these roads.<sup>10</sup>

Negatively, refugees also had effects on the availability of goods for households. Theft is often mentioned as an effects of refugees on the possession of goods from locals. The goods locals have and were able to buy from an increase in income were often stolen during the night. Mainly food, kitchen tools and other properties were stolen. As such, due to these security issues, households indicated to feel afraid that their goods were stolen. Consequently, they were also more careful in deciding to buy new goods as they expected them to be stolen. Thus, even while more good were available, households were not always able to benefit from the new products.

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<sup>10</sup> Interview 4, 7 and 10

Another negative effect of refugees on goods comes from the fact that people were not able to sell their own goods. As mentioned under financial capital, the goods of locals were too expensive in relation to the goods of refugees. Therefore, locals were not able to sell their goods and as a consequence were also less able to buy new goods from the market. Additionally, free goods were often provided to refugees. Refugees sold these clothes and blankets at the local markets for low prices, which made local products too expensive. So, on the one hand cheap goods were available on the markets via refugees, but on the other hand, the refugees received the products for free, sold it for low prices and local goods experienced unfair competition. The latter made local household less able to afford new goods.

On the longer term, when refugees have left the area again like in northern parts of Kagera, effects of refugees on the availability of goods can also be seen. When refugees are leaving the areas mainly structures of buildings were left to the community. Farmers were leaving farms to locals, but most important, international organizations left buildings to the locals. However, often all the insides of the buildings were taken by the international community. For example, structures of a water pump and nearby pumps were seen near Kagenyi, as shown on the following pictures.

Empty structures left by organizations (left) along the route from  
Rwanda to Kagenyi, northern Kagera:



Oxfam, who owned the pump left the structures without any equipment. The pump could not function anymore and the locals did not have money to invest in the equipment needed to get the pump working again. Additionally, in this area are many buildings that were left were schools, of which all the materials were taken.

Many of these empty buildings were taken over by local government bodies. However, the local government had no resources to maintain the buildings, so they were given to local charity organizations who often copied ideas from the international organizations and gave the building new functions. For example, the international organizations transferred the responsibility of the water pumps to the local government but they had no money and knowledge. Local people and organizations had to renew all existing water structures to be able to use the water pumps. In 2015 some projects were started to invest in the old water pumps. For example, around Kayanga one old pump is now supplying water for three surrounding villages. While the international organizations could have left the water pumps to the locals in a better way, without these structures, the villages would still be without a pump. Also, a staff building for UN staff was given to the Christian outreach in Rusumo. All the goods inside the building were taken, from wires to generators. This building was left for the locals and is now transformed into the Baramba Girls Secondary School by Marafiki Africa Tanzania. Moreover, a transition camp in Mbuba is now a secondary school due to the left building. Additionally, the current military of Ngara in the south also stays in old buildings that were once built for the refugees. Also, Chiabalisa Primary School is housed in an old Oxfam building. Before the refugees came, development organizations did not have enough buildings. The capacity of the organizations was not high enough. Hospitals and schools were always overused. When the refugees entered the area this became less, as new building were built by the humanitarian organizations.

Overall, if the international community would have left more goods, the development could have been much better. However, still improvement is noticed due to the refugee inflow, only on a lower level than could have been possible. The refugee inflow facilitated development as the buildings formed an incentive and opportunity for local organizations to start new infrastructures. Many organizations already tried to do that before, but now they received the buildings from the local governments, their organization experienced an impulse. Thus, the remaining of the international society are still present for the use of the local population. Although they have left many buildings without the goods inside, the building themselves are often used by the local population.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Interview 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9; Observation 05-04-17 at Ngara

Concluding, several effects on physical capital have been found, which are summarized in the table (7) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. Positively, these are the arrival of new goods, mainly iron sheets and new crops, in combination with abandoned buildings which increased the physical capital in Kagera. Negatively, it was mentioned often that goods were stolen and that some goods caused an unfair competition. Nevertheless, respondents mentioned much more positive effects than negative effects. Consequently, it is argued that the physical capital of most inhabitants in Kagera changed for the better, and that this thus positively influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

Table 7:

<b>Physical Capital</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New goods introduces by refugees</li> <li>- More goods via increase in income</li> <li>- New and more goods via humanitarian organizations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theft</li> <li>- Less goods via unfair competition via inflow of refugee and humanitarian goods</li> </ul>

### 6.1.3 Human Capital

Human capital is the stock of knowledge, habits and health attributes a households possesses and that are available in a community. It is studied how people’s human capital is influenced by the inflow of refugees. Three main parameters are taken for this study which are education, medical care and local traditions. Change in one of these aspects influences the adaptive capacity of the locals to respond to the effects of refugees.

Positively, the inflow of refugees had many effects on the human capital available in Kagera for households. Education is improved in two ways. The first is for the youth in Kagera. More new schools and class rooms were built. Almost every respondent mentioned a new school in their area. Schools were both built during the refugee inflow, but in the north also after the inflow, when organizations left. However, in both ways new schools were created like Kokonje primary, Kokonje secondary, Kyerwa primary, Kagenyi primary, Lukole high school, Kumunazi primary, Baramba girls secondary school, Omunas school and the Domba boys school Benaco. As a consequence more schools were available for the children. Also, as locals had more income, it became easier to send their children to school and they could also go to school for a longer period of time. In addition, as more schools were present in the area, schools were closer to locals, which made it easier for locals to send their children to school. As a consequence, the education level of children increased in the region.

Examples of new schools in Kagera.

From left to right: Kagenyi primary, Baramba girls school and Kumunazi primary



Another way in which education played a positive role for locals is via special education programmes for local inhabitants. Mainly international organizations give lessons to hosting communities. Programmes were set up to educate people about human rights. Especially to deal with intermarriages, women abuse and to avoid street children. These lessons are also given to men. Moreover, courses including entrepreneurship lessons are given by a local NGO Redeso and a carpenter and a tailoring centre was set up.

Woman and men  
in the  
tailoring center :



Additionally, Radio Kwizera which was built for refugees, is now for the locals. The radio station is now educating locals about laws, peace and other important subjects via the radio station. As such, they were a source of education for the locals. Also, locals were educated via the refugees themselves. Refugees taught for example practical farming skills, languages like French and Nyanwanda, but also how to live in peace. In addition, due to the situation of the refugees, the awareness of the importance of education increased. Locals started to see how fast a situation could change, but also how much money education could bring them in times of refugee inflows.<sup>12</sup>

Another positive effect on human capital arose in the health sector. Almost all respondents mentioned an increase in health facilities. More hospitals, dispensaries, health centres and medical clinics were built, like Lukole health centre, Kasulo dispensary and Kagenyi health

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<sup>12</sup> Interview 4, 5 and 7

centre. Other health services were offered by the UN, MEMISA Health centre, the (German) Red Cross, Doctors without borders and Caritas. Also, some refugee camps opened their services for the locals to use. For example in Chiabalisa, medical services were also open to locals and Lukole Refugee Hospital which is now fully open for Tanzanians, but started as a refugee hospital with services for pregnant women. As a consequence of these increase in services, more medication, nurses and doctors became available for locals. Also, medical services became easier to reach. Before the refugee inflow they had to walk for days to find a hospital and now every reasonable village has its own medical services. Moreover, medication was more often offered for free for locals which made medication available for the whole hosting population.<sup>13</sup>

#### Hospital around south Kagera:



Also, there is a change in traditions and habits which worked out positively for the hosting communities. Greetings changed as new handshakes were introduced, new ways of clothing were introduced via different ways of wearing certain fabrics. Also, the language changed a little after a while, words changed, the accent was copied and new words were added to the vocabulary. While these changes do not directly have a positive effects on human capital, is does have a positive effect on their adaptive capacity. As locals learned new traditions and habits, and even took over some of these traditions, it shows that people are open to change. This openness will make it easier for them to cope with changes. A society that wants to be completely locked for other influences is much more rigid in the adaptation process. Thus, the locals in Kagera showed that changed in human capital like traditions and habits added to their adaptive capacity.

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<sup>13</sup> Interview 4 and 6

Negatively, the inflow of refugees also affected the human capital of the hosting communities. In the beginning of the inflow, as the population often doubled and sometimes even tripled, the services could not keep up with the amount of people. This negative effect was mentioned most often by the respondents. Everything, like schools, hospitals, institutions and farms were overused and damaged. All services needed to be shared by a much higher amount of people. This created a shortage of services in first instance. For example, there was a decrease in medication available and shortage of health centres for locals. The improvement of all facilities for all these people went faster when refugees were forced into refugee-camps. However, it still took a long time before all the services were able to deal with the big amount of people. So, mainly in the beginning the refugees were a burden on the human capital of locals.<sup>14</sup>

Additionally, the UN built good facilities inside the refugee camps, like schools and hospitals. However, in the areas around the refugee camps such services were sometimes not available for the locals. This made locals sometimes very negative about refugees, as refugees had access to much better services. Human capital was divided unequally in their eyes. As a consequence, it became attractive to be a refugee so that locals could also benefit from the services inside the camps. It was much later that the UN also started to spread these services in hosting communities.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, the change in traditions, as mentioned above, also had a negative side for the human capital of locals. Households emphasized that peace was the culture of Kagera because people from Kagera are known as very pacifist people. Which can also be detected from the fact that the hosting communities never engaged in the fighting and that the conflict never had a chance to spill over into Kagera. However, refugees did come with chaos, which made it harder for locals to maintain their culture of peace. As a consequence, some see the inflow of refugees as a destruction of the local culture.

On the long term, when refugees left the area, like in the northern provinces, there was still some influence on the human capital available in the communities. A decrease in the level of services is noticed, as all the experienced staff have left the area now. The main focus of the humanitarian aid industry is on Kigoma because the biggest part of the refugees are entering

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<sup>14</sup> Interview 9 and 10

<sup>15</sup> Interview 3

over there at the moment. The international community thus shifted lots of their staff to the province geographically under Kagera, namely Kigoma. As a consequence, the level of human capital available in Kagera becomes lower. Additionally, some infrastructures were demolished when the refugees left, so locals could not enjoy these services anymore. For example, the German Red Cross hospital was stated to be destroyed by refugees.<sup>16</sup>

Concluding, several effects on human capital have been found, which are summarized in the table (8) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. Positively, almost every respondent mentioned new education opportunities for the youth. Also, new hospitals, health centres and free medication were mentioned frequently. Negatively, the overuse of social services was most prominent for most respondents. Nevertheless, respondents mentioned much more positive effects than negative effects. Consequently, it is argued that the human capital of most inhabitants in Kagera changed for the better, and that this thus positively influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

Table 8:

<b>Human Capital</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
- Education for youth	- Overuse of social services
- Education for locals	- Unequal divide of social services
- Health services	- Diminished culture of peace
- Open for change of traditions	

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<sup>16</sup> Interview 6

#### 6.1.4 Social Capital

Social capital are the ‘social relations’ needed by households to develop human capital. Social capitals is often seen as the social networks a household possesses. For example, social relations can be relations amongst locals, relations with the church and relations with local leaders. The interaction with refugees in the social structures are researched under chapter 5 about the integration of refugees. It was shown that refugees created relations with locals on multiple levels. However, in this section the effects of refugees on already existing local relations is studied. Fruitful relations help people to be able to adapt better to the inflow of refugees while negative relations hamper the adaptive capacity of locals. It is studied how these social relations in the local communities are changed due to the effects of the inflow of refugees.

Positively, there are multiple reasons why relations changed in the communities. Mentioned most often is the change refugees brought to the social live related to the church. As religion plays an important part in the lives of African people, this also is the case in Kagera. The locals often speak about church, go there multiple times a week and often worship at home. Religion is interwoven in almost every aspect of daily live.

Religious signs in Kagera:



Due to the church, social relations got mixed. Refugees and locals prayed together which made their bond stronger. Some stated that the word of god only creates good bonds between people. As a consequence, locals in Kagera saw the increase of religious activities as a positive effect on their social relations. Respondents mentioned often that due to the refugee inflow more missionaries and pastors arrived in the region from Rwanda and Burundi. Also, due to the

population increase, more places and availabilities to preach in the community were developed and multiple new churches were built (like the Free Pentecostal Church).

Other changes in relations of locals with the church can be found in the fact that locals felt the need to pray more as they saw the refugees coming in and realized that war can be very close. Also, the church had more money due to the population increase in the area. More people were paying money to the church and as a consequence the church organized more charity activities, which were for refugees but also for locals. The relation between the church and locals increased via these incentives. Also, the social role of the church in society changed as it also became an information centre for locals. The church provided information about refugees which gave the church an extra social function.

In addition, many new social interactions were started in the church. There were more different people coming to church, which means that more different ideas were exchanged and discussions were held. People were able to learn from each other. These new perspectives changed the social traditions in society as people were more open to listen to ideas from outside their own community. Moreover, new interactions were also started between different churches. To be able to help refugees there was more cooperation between different churches, which were more separated before the refugees came.

Next to the positive social relations with the church there were also other positive relations developed due to the inflow of refugees. First, Kagera was opened up by the inflow of refugees. Before the refugees entered the area, people from other sides of the country did not even know about the Kagera region or that it was part of Tanzania. After the refugees the government wanted to have influence in this almost separated area. New technologies were brought in, money was invested, development programmes were started and the government included Kagera in their policies. As a consequence the region was known by more and more people throughout Tanzania. This changed the social relations in Kagera as the region was not excluded from the rest from the country anymore. Social networks became bigger as people had contacts outside Kagera and external influences slowly entered the area. On the social level, people thus experienced many changes.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Interview 3 and 4

Second, locals became increasingly close with their leaders as they needed to discuss refugee-issues. Communication between both parties increased. Leaders became more open as they shared more information with the locals. It is also seen that locals mention the village leaders often as a place they would go to ask questions or for help. Additionally, some village leaders started special activities and to give lessons about how to deal with refugees during special meetings. Locals could give their opinion but were also educated about how to offer services to refugees and benefit from the situation. This more intense relation between locals and their leaders is seen as a positive effect of refugees.

Third, existing relations between locals in Kagera became stronger. For example, because they did business together or they exchanged refugee workers amongst families. However, the most important change in relations between locals is the unity that was created between locals due to security issues. Fighting Hutus and Tutsis entered the area and Burundians are even still entering the area now. Refugees came with tribalism as they all focussed on their own identity, which developed segregation in the community. Many Tanzanians realized that they needed to gather themselves to be able to protect the community. They learned to be very careful of separation movements. Locals united for security reasons as they guarded the area against robberies and killings. As a consequence the unity in Kagera between the local inhabitants increased. In addition, this unity also improved the communication between locals.<sup>18</sup>

Negatively, the effects of refugees on social relations were also present. Mentioned often is the problem that arose with intermarriages between refugees and locals. Amongst others, the following respondents experienced negative interactions with refugee marriages.

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<sup>18</sup> Interview 4



Women (left) had a negative experience as a refugee-women tried to marry her husband, and (right) a respondents household where an abandoned refugee women lived

While mixed couples seem not by definition as a negative effect on the social relations in the community, these marriages have a lot of downsides. Intermarriages were often arranged so that the refugees were able to stay in Tanzania and live outside the camps. Refugee women were often taken as second wives by Tanzanian men, or by men that were not able to find a Tanzanian wife because refugees are very cheap brides. As the women were dependent on their husband to stay in Tanzania and to stay with their children, men often take advantage of this situation. Refugee women are often mistreated and harassed by their husband. The women also often has no family in Tanzania to support them, so they have no other option than to stay with the husband. Additionally, the children born out of these marriages were often not very well looked after by their fathers. They are not supported and are not able to go to school. The street children that are now found in Kagera almost all happen to be intermarriage children. As street children were not as much present than before the refugees entered Tanzania, these children caused a change in social structures in Kagera. In addition, long term effects of these marriages is that people are separated over the area. This is seen in the northern parts of Tanzania were refugees were forced to go back to their home country. Even people that were married to a Tanzanian were forced to leave the country. Consequently, families were split up between the border. Children were forced to go with one of their parents. All these effects of intermarriages change the social relations as many social problems are the result of these marriages.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Interview 3, 4 and 10

Other negative effects of refugees on social relations were also found. First, social relations changed as very small villages became to look like cities. Many people arrived over a short period of time. It was seen a real shock by the people hosting the refugees. As a consequence there was a short of resources for all these people and more conflicts about these resources arose.<sup>20</sup>

Second, due to all the new technology that came with the humanitarian organization locals became scared. They became more suspicious towards foreigners because they have never seen a computer before. As the locals had no clue what the organization were doing it was hard for them to trust them. This made the creation of new social relations with the international organization difficult.<sup>21</sup>

Third, there were multiple cultural differences which made it hard for the locals to deal with the refugees which created struggles on the leadership level. There were more struggles in daily life as there were multiple different leaders in many villages. The refugee-leaders and the local-leaders often could not get along easily. There were many discussions on how the locals should deal with refugees and vice versa. As both leaders acted in the belonging of their community, conflict often arose. This effected relations in the village negatively. In addition, between local leaders also more struggles occurred because they often had different opinion on how to deal with the refugees. This led to more tensions in the community.

Fourth, people living close to the refugee camps lost freedom. The Kagera region knows a lot of freedom when looking at the past. There was no state interference because governments did not care about the outskirts of Tanzania, and on the local level the Kagerians were mainly self-subsistence farmers, who were also not used to interference of others. However, when the refugees came, many new rules were put in place to regulate the inflow. For example in Ngara, with the inflow of refugees and the international community, suddenly all was regulated. As a consequence, the society became more and more bureaucratic. On a local level, locals also notices more strict rules. As refugees came with new problems in the villages, the local leaders saw new opportunities to be stricter towards the locals. How some respondents phrased it: “the local leaders saw new ways to boss us around” (Respondent 144, surveys) Some leaders even

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<sup>20</sup> Interview 4

<sup>21</sup> Interview 4

forced families to give their food away to refugees. Respondents have said they lost some neighbours or they moved themselves because of the strict rules enforced by local leaders.<sup>22</sup>

Fifth, religious relations were on the other hand also influenced negatively by the inflow of refugees. The balance in religions got lost as the refugees were mainly Christian, and the Islamic locals became a minority. As this balance was skewed social relations in the village also became different. Some Muslims pointed out that felt overwhelmed by all the new churches that were built in the area.

Lastly, security issues changed the society. People became more afraid and more suspicious to each other because theft was a major problem. Specifically in the beginning when some refugees had no own goods. They had a different attitude, broke into houses and stole private property. Relations of trust between people became weaker due to this security issues.<sup>23</sup>

Concluding, several effects on social capital have been found, which are summarized in the table (9) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. Positively, almost every respondent mentioned their changed relation with the church as having a positive effect on their social bonds. Negatively, all effects on the social relation in Kagera were almost mentioned equally often. These negative effects thus probably all had the same amount of effect. Nevertheless, respondents mentioned more positive effects than negative effects. Consequently, it is argued that the social position of most inhabitants in Kagera changed for the better, and that this thus positively influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

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<sup>22</sup> Interview 8

<sup>23</sup> Interview 8, 9 and 10

Table 9:

<b>Social Capital</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Church: mixed social relations / more religious leaders in the area / more money / information point</li> <li>- Opening up of the region</li> <li>- Relations with local leaders</li> <li>- Relations between locals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Intermarriages</li> <li>- Shocking population growth</li> <li>- Suspiciousness towards foreigners</li> <li>- Struggles between leaders</li> <li>- Lost freedom</li> <li>- No balance in religion</li> <li>- Security</li> </ul>

### 6.1.5 Natural Capital

Natural capital is the stock or flow that produces goods and services. For example, forest resources, water resources, but also the productivity of land is included under natural capital. It is studied how the inflow of refugees effected the resources available for hosting communities. As land, water, food and firewood seem to be the most important aspects of the environment that are influenced by the inflow of refugees, these parameters are highlighted in this research.

Positively, the inflow of refugees had multiple effects. First, new trees were introduced like eucalyptus and avocado trees. While eucalyptus trees are known to have negative effects on the environment, they are still perceived as a positive effect by the respondents. Also, Different crops were introduced. Burundians are extremely hard workers and very active in cultivating. Traders from all the way up to Mwanza came to Kagera to buy the crops the Burundians harvested. The use of these new crops was also copied by locals. As a consequence, positive effects were noticed on the natural capital owned by hosting communities.<sup>24</sup>

Second, a surplus in food was something that many farmers experienced during the refugee presence. The availability of cheap labour, as discussed under financial capital, made it possible for many farmers to grow more food. Due to the cheap workers they could cultivate more land. As a consequence more different raw materials like, bananas, maize, potatoes, tomatoes, millets, soya beans and cassava could be grown and the production was much higher. The presence of refugees thus created a surplus in food for many farmers. Also, more food was produced due to new techniques which were more productive. In addition, more different kind of foods were available for families due to more trade and an exchange of goods.

Third, land degradation is said to be causing a big problem and that it is caused by refugees in Kagera. However, this degradation was already there before the refugees came. Tanzanians did not know how to cope with their land in a good way. On the one hand, the inflow of refugees worsened this problem because there were more people, however, on the other hand, the refugees also came with new knowledge and skills to work on land degradation. So, in the end refugees helped to fight against land degradation.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Interview 3 and 8

<sup>25</sup> Interview 3

Fourthly, another problem often mentioned with land is availability. However, refugee camps were often built on free land. Some people even state that due to the increase of income they had via refugees, they were able to buy more land for their families.

Lastly, it is important to realise that many of the positive effects of refugees on natural capital started after a while and often via international aid organizations. For example, in the beginning water resources was a problem, as water sources were overused there was a shortage and the sources often got dirty. However, in time, water programmes were set-up by the UNHCR, SAWATA, Oxfam, Concern and Redeso. Their contribution was the construction of water pumps, water pipes, water taps, water tanks and dams. Not only was there more water available now for the local communities, also the water collecting points were closer to their home which made it easier to collect water. Also, as tree cutting was a massive problem, aid organizations had new anti-deforestation programmes, rules were established to not cut down trees, trees were painted so people knew that they were not allowed to cut them down and multiple projects of tree planting were started to bring back the forest that were cut down by refugees in search for firewood. An example is the programme of Redeso in Lukole (south-Kagera) where they educate people about the forest and how to deal with (fire)wood.

Redeso forest and wood project:



Negatively, there were many problems mainly in relation to the massive increase in population. There is a difference of problems that occurred directly after the inflow and during the presence of the refugees. The main problem for natural capital that occurred directly when the refugees entered is a shortage of water. Due to the inflow, the pressure on the nature became really high. Especially the pressure on water was really heavy. Water supply for all these people was a big problem. Also, the water sources became dirty. However, this was only in the beginning because later many programmes were started to deal with the water problem, like the UN who invested in boreholes and SAWATA who build new water resources.<sup>26</sup>

Another direct problem was a shortage in food. The local farmers could not suddenly produce enough for the massive population growth. There was not enough food to feed the old population and the new one. Also, due to this scarcity, food became very popular to steal, and many families lost food during midnight thefts. In addition, there was a shortage of specific agricultural products like meat, cabbage and eggs. As a consequence all prices for these goods went up. However, later when production went up due to new techniques and labour, shortages of food were not a problem anymore.<sup>27</sup>

Problems during the inflow were also present. First, the population around the camps increase immensely. There were many new people in a rather small area. These new people did not know how to clean their mess. Environment got less clean as pollution was a massive problem.<sup>28</sup>

Second, a shortage in land was often mentioned by families. Some land was used for refugee camps and while refugee camps and facilities were often built on free land, it still means that this land is not available for locals anymore. Also, people had to share their chamba with refugees. There were too many people for the amount of land available. Even, when in the northern regions the refugees left, the land was not always given back to the owners, but often to local governments or to the church.

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<sup>26</sup> Interview 3 and 4

<sup>27</sup> Interview 9

<sup>28</sup> Interview 1

Third, due to the inflow of refugees there were mainly environmental consequences. Deforestation is a very big problem in Kagera. Many respondents mentioned that there is less and less wood available for the initial habitants of the area. Trees were cut down for firewood, so people had almost no firewood available to cook on. As a consequence, it takes more and more time as people have to walk for hours to find firewood. Also, the demand for timber, to build things, increased drastically, which influenced the amount of wood available for the local community.<sup>29</sup>

Lastly, due to the move of people and their crops, some weeds and plant diseases, were brought to the area. This was a big problem for farmers because their crops were not able to grow anymore. Especially the weeds cause many problems. They take over whole chambas letting no other crops grow. Also, they caused deep holes in the forest, because holes are created when people try to remove the weeds. These holes are very dangerous as locals often injure themselves while walking there. The following picture shows the dangerous weed.

Destroying weeds in Kagera



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<sup>29</sup> Interview 2, 3 and 10

Concluding, several effects on natural capital have been found, which are summarized in the table (10) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. Positively, almost every respondent mentioned food surpluses due to an increase in manpower and agricultural skills transfers. Also, the increased water supply was stated repeatedly. Negatively, the deforestation, and thus a shortage of (fire)wood was mentioned frequently. Respondents mentioned almost the same amount of positive and negative effects. Consequently, it is argued that the natural capital of most inhabitants in Kagera did change, but that the positive and negative effect have an equalizing effect on the position of natural capital, and that this thus barely influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

Table 10:

<b>Natural Capital</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
- New crops and tree species	- Shortage of water
- Food surpluses	- Shortage of food
- Knowledge transfer on agriculture skills	- Pollution
- Projects via aid organizations	- Shortage of land
	- Deforestation (firewood)
	- Weeds and plant diseases

## 6.2 Knowledge and information

LAC characteristic ‘knowledge and information’ is about the local generation and exchange of knowledge. People should know about a coming change, how to react upon it and know which options they have. This can be done by quality education, expertise and effective communication. In this section effects of refugees on information and knowledge infrastructures will be researched. While the LAC characteristic ‘institutions and entitlements’ is not included in this research, as explained earlier, certain aspects of institutions are nevertheless elaborated on in this section because knowledge and information is often received via institutions.

Positively, the knowledge and information structures were increasingly present in Kagera. First, as explained before, the area was opened up to the rest of the country. As a consequence more money was invested in the region by international organizations as well as by the government. More schools were built, educated staff entered the area and money was invested in other information structures. As such, a spill over in knowledge from other regions to Kagera was easier.<sup>30</sup>

Second, telecom and media infrastructures were set up due to the inflow of refugees. More effective ways of communication were created. The United Nations invested in electronic infrastructure to be able to guide the refugee inflow. Especially electronics like computers were brought to the area. Due to these investments, it became easier for the different organizations to contact each other and exchange information over longer distances. As organizations were better updated on the refugee inflow, this news also multiplied easier under locals.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Interview 3

<sup>31</sup> Interview 3 and 4

A notorious example of improved media infrastructures is given by radio Kwizera, which is shown in the following picture.

Radio Kwizera:



In the beginning refugees could not be reached by the organizations. So, in 1995 a radio station was set up by the Jesuits Refugee Services to do public announcements. This was mainly in the language of refugees so locals did not benefit from this. Also, the solar radios that were distributed were only for the refugees. Refugees could work (only during the day) at the radio station which was mainly built to inform refugees about their rights, for entertainment and for supporting them. At the time, Radio Kwizera was 80% used for the refugees and 20% for the locals in Tanzania. It was the first radio with a very big reach and an increasing amount of Tanzanians wanted the radio to be in Swahili. So, in 1996, the radio was extended to locals because they asked for information and education. The radio station started to use the programmes as a way to inform the locals about the refugees. They educated about Tanzanian Refugees laws, how to deal with refugees, how to register incoming refugees, where to go to report refugee crimes and about peace. In time, more and more programmes were done in Swahili so the local people could also benefit from the radio. The spread of the radio increased every year, and nowadays it is 100% in Swahili and mainly for local people. Reporters are still in refugee camps though, but this is to inform the local people. As such, the radio station would not have been there without the refugees and radio Kwizera provided technical development and an informational structure for the local community.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Interview 6 and 7

Last, some humanitarian organizations also developed programmes to spread knowledge and information among locals. During the refugee inflow there were projects for the local community. The host communities received training on the environment, conservation, WASH and financial support. For example, Redeso helped locals during the refugee inflow with their ‘affected areas programmes’. They focus on water, tree planting, bore holes, output of agriculture and marketing skills. Now refugees are still helped, but these are short term projects. The main focus is the development of the local community. In addition, TCRS also has projects for the community including ‘community livelihoods programmes’ which are sponsored by the government. In some areas where refugees left, TCRS remained, so then they started to focus on the locals. However, most NGO’s disappear when the refugees leave. TCRS now focusses on community empowerment, local leadership and good governance.<sup>33</sup>

Negatively, the inflow of refugees also effected the knowledge and information provision in Kagera. Most striking is that not a single person of the total respondents indicated that they were informed about the inflow of refugees. Locals had no information and knowledge about the refugees, and were thus not able to make informed decisions. The refugee inflow was a major shock to the locals. Locals were really surprised and people were not aware of their arrival. The entrance was very sudden. There was no information provided to the locals. It was just one day from which the refugees massively started to cross the river towards Kagera. As a consequence, due to this shock it was more difficult for locals to adapt to the new situation. In addition, international projects mainly in the beginning only focussed on refugees and did not inform locals. This made it even more difficult for locals to get access to information.<sup>34</sup>

Other difficulties can be found in the fact that institutions sometimes gave wrong information to communities, or it was understood in a wrong way. For example, they did false promises in some communities. Locals were told that when the refugees left, locals would still receive help in the form of food supply as their cheap labour was not available anymore, however, the organizations never showed up again.

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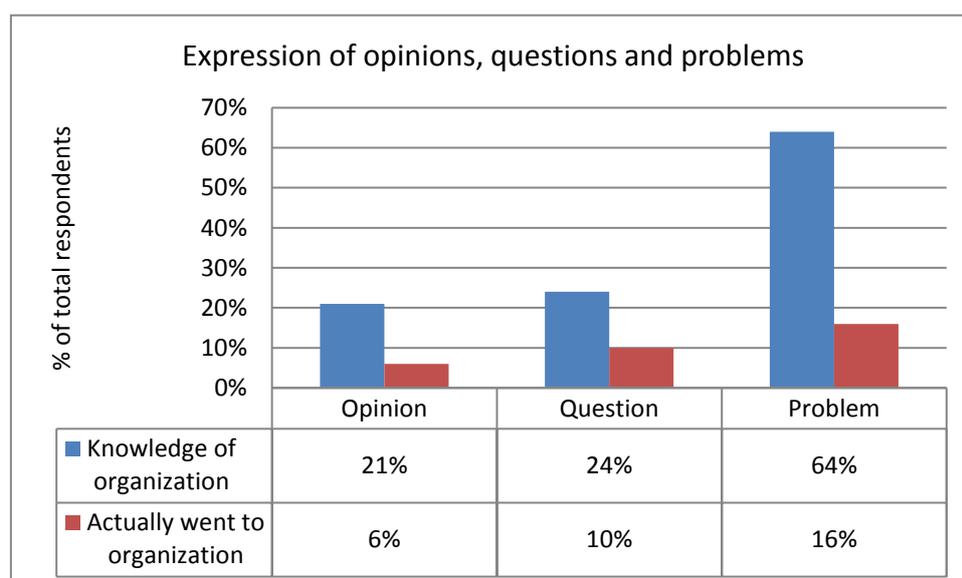
<sup>33</sup> Interview 9 and 10

<sup>34</sup> Interview 4 and 9

Moreover, while local communities all know of international institutions <sup>35</sup> present in the area and it seems positive that many people are aware of these international organizations, locals did generally not go to these institutions when they had problems, wanted to voice their opinions or to ask questions. For both opinions and problems only 2% of the total respondents mentioned that they knew organization they could go to, while only 1,3% of the respondents actually went to these organizations to voice their opinion. For problems, not a single respondent went to international organization in looking for a solution. Moreover, for asking questions, not one respondent mentioned that they knew an international organization where they could go to. Locals thus only knew about the presence of international organizations but did not feel like they could go there with their own problems, opinions or questions. As a consequence, international organizations have a very small effect on the knowledge and information provisions of locals. A reason for this can be the fact that locals were suspicious towards the humanitarian organizations amongst other because of all the new technology they brought to the area, and thus did not dare to go there.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, to look more in-depth in how knowledge and information was received in the area by locals, it was further measured if people know where to go in case of asking questions, voicing opinions and reporting problems. It was also measured if people actually went to the before mentioned institutions. The following graph shows that these numbers are in general very low:

Graph 12:



<sup>35</sup> Organizations mentioned by respondents are: the UN, Help Age, SAWATA, Oxfam, Caritas, Save the Children, Atlas, UNDP, Red Cross, Memisa, UNHCR, NPA, Concern, Redeso, WFP, Care International, Karadea, TCRS, Amref, IRC, TWESA and Konsani

<sup>36</sup> Interview 4

In case of voicing opinions, of the 150 respondents 21% knew where they had to go. Places they went to were mainly local village meetings. Other places were the Red Cross, radio Kwizera, local governments, school, the refugee institutional representatives, UNHCR and to refugee camp-leaders. Only 6% actually voiced their opinion about refugees. Two people went to international organizations to give their opinion on the refugees in general and about the restoration of water taps. Others went to local organizations to voice their opinion and spoke about the ownership of land, tree cutting, the divide of water and food in the community and about the general opinion on refugees. This shows that many people did not know where to go if they wanted to voice their opinion and even less people actually did so.

In case of asking questions, of the 150 respondents 24% knew where they could ask questions. Places they went for questions are mainly local leaders and local village meetings. Other organizations they went to ask questions were the district commissioner, the ward executive officer, the school, the refugee camp-manager and to local authorities. Only 10% of all the respondent actually asked their questions to one of the above mentioned institutions or persons. If questions were asked it was to get assistance, to ask if the refugees could leave the area, to ask about compensation for lost land, to ask about the molestation of the environment and if refugees could affect the crops they were planting. This shows that many people did not know where to go if they wanted ask questions and even less people actually did so. When comparing this to the fact that locals already had a low information position, as explained above, it is extra striking because it would be logical that people have a lot of questions.

In case of reporting a problem, of the 150 respondents 64% knew where to go. When comparing to opinions and questions that is a lot, while it is just over half of the population. Locals mostly mentioned local village leaders and the police to report problems. Additionally they named refugee camp-leaders, the local village meeting, the local government, the village council, the church, radio Kwizera and the refugee institutional representatives. Of the respondents 16% actually reported a problem to one of the above mentioned organizations or persons. These report were mainly about theft of bananas, goats, money, hotel equipment, motor vehicles, food and other goods. Additionally some people reported molestations like destruction of water resources to the police. Also, people reported an out-break in diseases in the area. In addition, some reported about sexual harassments. The before mentioned 16% is the highest amount of people actual going to an organization. However, when compared to how often theft was mentioned as a negative effect of refugees, the number of actual reporting is rather low.

The above mentioned low numbers for information and knowledge received by locals has several reasons. First, locals found it was inappropriate to ask questions or give opinions because refugees came from a “bad situation”. Second, many people in Kagera are illiterate and they felt like they were not in a position to receive knowledge on questions, opinions and problems. Third, some locals emphasized that distance was a problem. They were not willing to walk for a day or more to only ask questions or give opinions. Fourth, as people wanted to report to camp-leaders or international organizations, they often experience of a language barrier. Cases are reported in which poor communication was present due to language differences. As a consequence locals did not even try to go to foreigners. Fifth, people reported not to have a chance to speak up. Some women pointed out that they were not given attention in local meetings where men overrules the discussions. Lastly, some people emphasized that with all changes in the area, they actually had no clue where to go anymore, and as a consequence decided to stay at home.

As stated in the theory, being able to prioritise and reach long term goals is part of ‘flexible forward-thinking and decision making’. However, this characteristic is actually fully dependent on the provided knowledge and information that a household possesses. Therefore, the assessment to be able to make future choices is actually a summary of the above mentioned effects. So, positively, people are better able to make future choices because there are now more options in Kagera to gain knowledge. For example via programmes and via the radio station. These new media infrastructures help people to make informed choices for the future. Additionally, more knowledge is gained via local leaders and directly via the refugees by a transfer of knowledge in agricultural skills and business strategies. This increase in knowledge also makes it more likely for respondents to be able to make informed future decisions. On the other side of the coin, the long term decision making options were influenced negatively by the shock of the inflow of refugees. Locals had no knowledge about the inflow and were therefore forced to make decisions focussing on the short term, as they were not able to assess their future options. Also, when the refugees were in the region for a longer period of time, wrong information given by organizations and the lack of accessibility of organizations created less option for locals to make informed future decisions. Additionally, it was observed that in Kagera, long term thinking is not something that is present in the society. While this is not caused by the refugees, it does massively influence the capability of locals to make future decisions. Many Kagerians showed that they were only able to think of the present day, instead of being able to think forward. For example, this can be seen in the fact that the locals in Kagera

almost always tried to make the most money possible during a day. However, when taking the future into account it is sometimes better to have a profitable deal for a longer period, than only gaining money today. This is for example seen at the motor taxis in Kagera, who always try to ask the maximum amount of money, while they can have regular clients every day if they have offered a bit of a better price. Due to this tendency, the forward decisions making of locals is hampered.

Concluding, several effects on knowledge and information have been found, which are summarized in the table (11) below. Positively there were multiple initiatives that should have contributed to the knowledge position of the respondents. Like information programmes and more media and telecom structures. Respondents also acknowledge that these project did increase their knowledge, for example via the radio. However, when looking more in-depth to the relation between respondents and their possibilities to receive information this turns out still to be rather low. Respondents were not informed by the inflow, received wrong information, often had no knowledge about institutions and also perceived organizations as having a low accessibility. This all influences the possibility to make well-considered future decisions based on solid information. Consequently, it is argued that the increase in knowledge and information structures does not reaches respondents enough. As such, the information of locals in Kagera did not fully change for the better, and this thus also does not have a complete positive effect on the adaptive capacity of the respondents.

Table 11:

<b>Knowledge and information</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
- Opening up of the area	- No information on inflow
- Knowledge programmes	- Wrong information
- More telecom and media infrastructures	- No knowledge and low accessibility of organizations

### 6.3 Innovation

The LAC characteristic ‘innovation’ entails the fostering of new ideas and the support of new practices. Communities should be able to respond to change and there should be a willingness to adopt innovation. On the local level, these are often small actions. People change their behaviour to react on the new situation to be able to deal with the effects of refugees. As refugees came all of a sudden, innovation could not be done before the refugees entered. It could only be during the presence of refugees. This section outlines innovative structures in communities which are caused by refugees. Also new things learned are covered in this section, because, although it does not in all cases directly influence the adaptive capacity, it does show that locals are open for change which creates an innovative culture.

Positively, there is a change in the culture of innovation. Before the refugees arrived innovation was not common in Kagera. However, via multiple ways this, innovative culture is developed. The reason of innovation, mentioned most by locals, is the business culture that was set up after the arrival of the refugees. As explained under financial capital, refugees were not used to own businesses and engage in trade because they were self-sufficient farmers. There was a lack in business mind-set, and the drive to make money and to do business was not present in the Tanzanian society before. However, this business mind-set was learned and copied from the refugees. A work ethos was newly introduced in Kagera.

Businesses in Kagera:



Also, when companies were started, locals even wanted to innovate their businesses by learning new things from refugees like paying attention to customer care, introduce new selling strategies, selling of new goods, learning how to take risks in doing businesses, increase knowledge to be able to work more efficient, learning about the importance of accountability in business, working with time frames and learning to work under pressure. So, locals were making money in new ways and were able to increase the benefits of the businesses they started. It shows that people are now willing to take risks and develop their businesses even further. This makes them more able to deal with the inflow of refugees.<sup>37</sup>

Another way in which an innovative culture was encouraged was via new agricultural techniques. Many respondents learned how to plant and cultivate tomatoes, potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, soya and other new vegetables. Also, they learned new farming techniques like using hands instead of the mouth (spitting) to throw seeds in the ground, cultivating on wetlands and swamps, the importance of irrigation techniques and more effective farming by separating crops by using blocks made of mud and grass. So, people wanted to improve their methods and learn more, instead of doing the same like they used to do.

Sharing of agricultural knowledge on banana plants:



Wetland where locals learned how to cultivate, with Rwanda on the other side of the lake:



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<sup>37</sup> Interview 3, 4 and 10

In addition, there are some more practical things that locals learned from refugees. The support of new practices also shows that locals are open to learn new things which contributes to an innovative culture. New skills learned by refugees include fuel saving techniques, new house building techniques with iron sheets, use of pits and ovens to cook, new ways to prepare food (like meat hanging above a fire instead of rolled in banana leaves), knowledge of foreign languages, tailoring techniques, how to carry goods on a bicycle and how to make soap. These skills learned all prove to openness of the locals towards innovations and some skills even makes them directly more able to adapt to the refugee inflow.<sup>38</sup>

Respondents show new cooking skills:



Moreover, innovation does not only come in physical things. It is also possible to be innovative in mind-set. Some locals learned new psychological skills which changed their mind-sets. Changes in mind-set include knowing the importance of stability, inclusiveness, solidarity and peace, to be able to live in harmony with different kind of cultures, nationalities and tribes, to be strong in difficult times, the importance of protecting vulnerable groups in society and the realization that tribalism is not good for society as it causes bad effects like misunderstanding and segregation. As locals are able to adapt this new mind-set it shows that they are open for new ideas. This mind-set changes makes it easier for locals to adapt to new situations. As they are open to learn from new situations, they can be more responsive to changes, and their adaptive capacity increases.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Interview 3

<sup>39</sup> Interview 4

A last thing learned from the effects of refugees is that locals are more able to adapt to insecure situation, as they have now learned to protect themselves. They have become innovation for security problems like how to protect the house and property against insecurity. Before this was not needed in the area.

Negatively, there were also difficulties in the spread of innovative ideas. This are not really negative innovations, but more effects that hamper innovation. First, exchange of innovative ideas and knowledge was sometimes not possible due to language differences. Locals only spoke vernacular languages and some Swahili which was not understood by refugees. Second, innovation is not interwoven in the local culture. Locals from Kagera are more used to build on old practices that are known from generation to generation, than that they were inventing new practices. The culture is thus more repetitive then innovative, which makes it harder for innovation to get to the locals. Third, innovations as mentioned above can also have negative effects for others. For example, due to all the new techniques in agriculture, farmers needed less manpower, and local workers were the ones that lost their jobs. In this case, innovation can also have negative effects itself. Fourth, the innovative culture is not stimulated by the international organizations. Many respondents emphasized that they were building on organizations to find solutions for their problems. They wanted organizations to help them, were often sitting back and waiting for a solution to arrive. This can clearly be seen in the destruction of the environment. They wanted aid organizations to find a solution for the tree cutting. As a consequence, Redeso made a tree planting programme but nothing was done out of the society to prevent tree cutting in an innovative way. Last, the innovation and learned skills could be bigger if less refugees stayed in the camps. Locals were not exposed to all the things that happened in the camps. Some see this as a pity because otherwise the spill over on skills and knowledge could have been bigger.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Interview 9

Concluding, several effects on innovation have been found, which are summarized in the table (12) below. Some of the effects were mentioned more often than others, and have consequently thus probably a larger effect on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera. Actually only positive innovations have been discovered. Mentioned most often were business opportunities and agricultural techniques. Respondents mentioned thus only effect that hampered innovation. Mentioned most often are language differences between local and refugees. Consequently, it is argued that the innovative position of most inhabitants in Kagera changed for the better, and that this thus positively influenced their ability to adapt to a new situation.

**Table 12:**

<b>Innovation</b>	
<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Business culture</li> <li>- New agricultural techniques</li> <li>- Change in mind-set</li> <li>- New practical skills</li> </ul>	<p>No actual negative innovation but innovation is hampered, via:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- language barriers, repetitive culture and non-stimulation by international organizations</li> </ul>

In conclusion, several positive and negative effects on the adaptive capacity of locals in Kagera were identified. An overview of these effects can be found in table 13 in appendix 4. Overall it should be remembered that more positive effects of refugees were identified than negative ones, with an exception for natural capital and knowledge and information. However, due to the large amount of positive effects in comparison to the negative effects, it is argued that most characteristics in Kagera have changed positively. Consequently, the capacity of locals to adapt to the new situation is increased. More in-depth information on the weight of the different characteristics in relation to each-other, will be given in the next section.

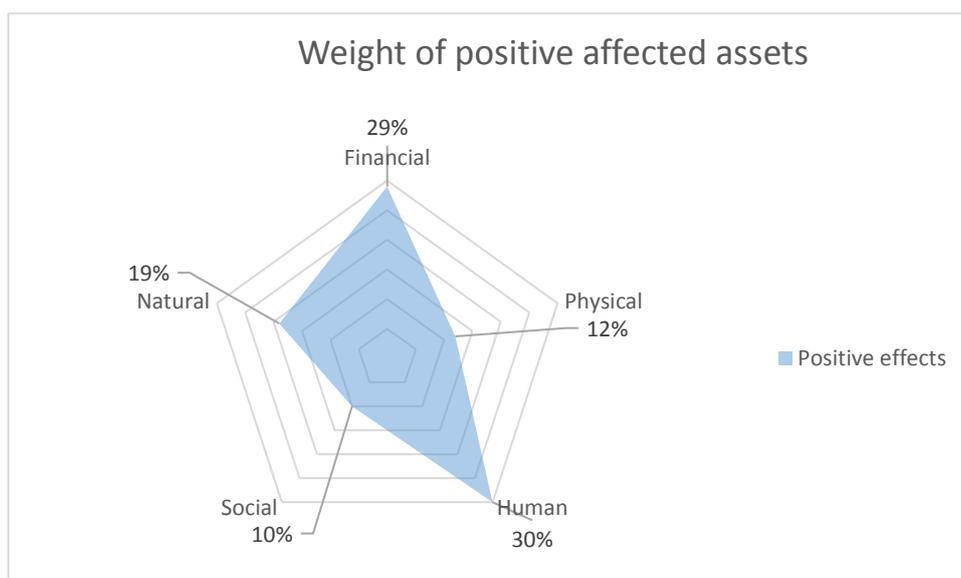
## 6.4 Assessment of weight of negative and positive effects

As we know how the inflow of refugees affected the adaptive capacity of households in Kagera, it is also interesting to see which of these characteristics were influenced most. An overview of all the effects can be found in table 13 (appendix 4), however, this table does not say anything about the weight of the effects. Therefore the following section will assess the weight of the effects.

To assess these effects, the different effects which were mentioned under the LAC characteristics were counted. So for negative and positive effects the sum of the mentioned effects were taken as a starting point for the following graphs. However, it is important to realize that counting the weight can never be a simple calculation, and differs per household. Nevertheless, the amount of effects that were mentioned per LAC characteristic does show the general tendency of opinions. So, the amount of answers per LAC characteristic is taken as a basis for this graph because it shows what effects are mentioned most often by people. However, the graph only included the asset base, as these are the only characteristics that have the same measuring scale and can thus be compared in one graph.

The following graph shows the weight of the positively affected assets. There were N=419 positive effects mentioned, that were divided between the different assets, which is shown in the following graph:

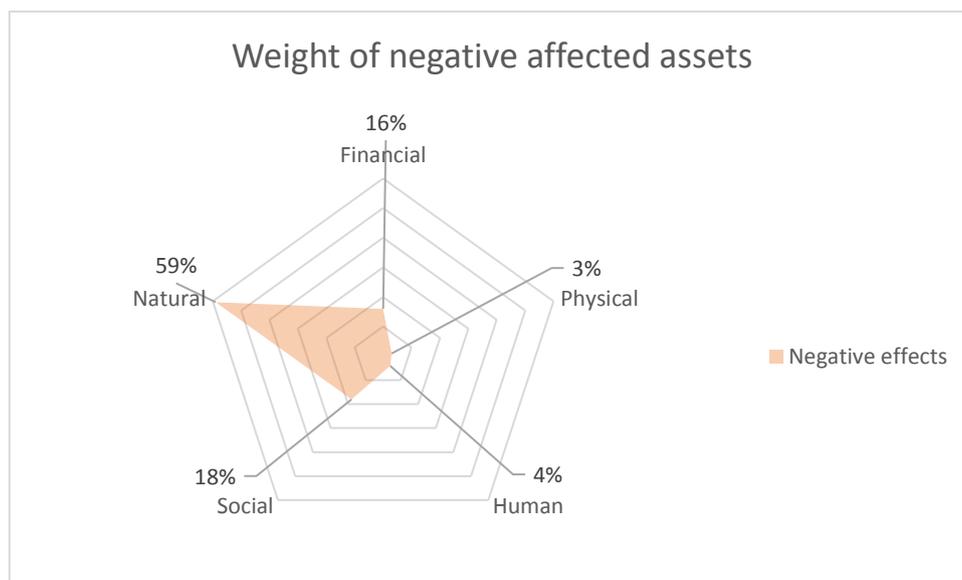
Graph 13:



The graph shows that from the household assets, human and financial capital were influenced most. This means that these two capitals had the most effects on respondents adaptive capacity. As it was shown in section 6.3, for human capital, increase education opportunities, more health centres and free medication thus played the largest role in increasing the adaptive capacity of people. For financial capital, this are trade opportunities, cheap labour and employment chances. The effects mentioned under physical, social and natural capital all play a smaller role in influencing the adaptive capacity of the respondents.

Negatively, the asset base was also affected. However, this happened on a much lower scale, as N=114 for the negative effects. The following graph shows the weight of the negatively influenced assets:

Graph 14:



The graph shows that natural capital was mostly influenced in a negative way. Due to the negative effects on the nature, mainly via pollution, shortage of water, shortage of food and deforestation and destroying weeds, the adaptive capacity of the respondents was influenced negatively. The second highest negative influence was found in social and financial capital. Socially; intermarriages, lost freedom, no balance in religions and struggles between local leaders, and financially; unfair goods selling, leakage of money and unfair labour competition, were influencing the adaptive capacity of locals. Furthermore, human and physical assets had the smallest negative influence.

While via these two graphs the same assets cannot be compared as they are part of percentage of a different N, it is still interesting to note that the N of the positive effects (N=419) is much bigger than the of the negative effects (N=114). This thus means that much more positive effects were mentioned in total numbers. As such, it is also logical to state that the positive effects on assets can be weighted heavier, than the negative effects on assets.

Since for innovation, and knowledge and information a different measuring scale was used they could not be included in the graphs above. However, the weight of these variables can still be discussed briefly. Innovation would probably rate very high as almost all respondents were able to mention some positive effects of the refugees. As such, this characteristic would probably influence the adaptive capacity positively and in a significant way. In addition, as no actual negative innovations were found in Kagera, this characteristic would probably score very low in influence the maladaptive capacity of the respondents. For knowledge and information both positive and negative aspects were found. For positive effects, new media infrastructures and knowledge programs were mentioned. For negative effects the absence of knowledge of organizations and the provision of wrong knowledge were mentioned. This almost equal amount of positive and negative effects would make the weight of this characteristic on the adaptive capacity probably moderate. So this characteristic is probably somewhere in the middle of both the positive and negative scale.

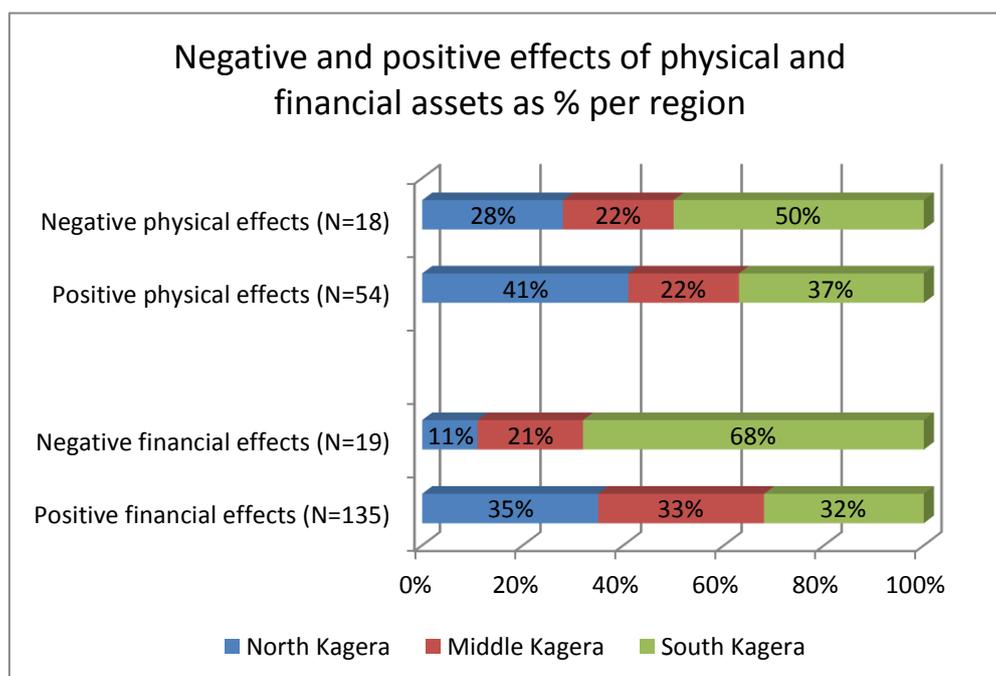
It is clear that the used scales for weighting the LAC characteristic on their influence on the locals of Kagera is still rather general. However, for the sake of this research it was found to be the most appropriate way to value the weight of the different characteristics. Nevertheless, a more specific way of measuring the value of the characteristics is therefore advised. A way to measure the weight of certain effects is proposed by Maystadt and Verwimp (2009) where they use a specific equation for weighting the variables of effects of refugees. As such, the variables are not only narratives of effects but it is easier to assess the weight of certain effects per household. For the LAC framework such a measuring scale does not exist yet and it is advised to conduct further research into this issue.

## 6.5 Assessment regional differences of LAC framework

Another differentiation that is interesting to make is how the positive and negative arguments under the LAC characteristics are divided per region. When taking the data of chapter 4 and 5 into account it is expected that the positive answers are mainly from the north, and the negative answers come from the southern provinces.

The following graph compares the total amount of effects that were indicated per positive and negative effects compared to the northern, middle and southern region. Since this data can only be compared for the assets, this will be the only characteristics in the graph. So the graph shows per positive and negative effects on an asset, how many answers were given per region. It should be emphasized that because a different amount of households were surveyed per north (N=58), middle (N=36) and south (N=56), the total amount of answers per region is accounted for this difference. Also, the N in the graph is different from the graph under 6.4 because here the north had more chance to appear in the graph, and this difference is added in % to the other two regions. Also, some households mentioned more than one positive or negative effect, however, these households are only counted once, as otherwise the outcome of this graph would be skewed. The following graph only shows this outcome for physical and financial capital:

Graph 15:



It is shown that for the physical capital, the negative effects were mainly mentioned in the south. For the positive effect it the other way around, as they are mainly mentioned in the north. However, the difference between the regions for the positive physical effects is not enormously. For financial capital, the difference is present for the negative effects, as negative effects are mainly mentioned in the south. This data shows the tendency that would be expected out of the information of chapter 4 and 5. However, the positive effects under financial capital show a way more moderate picture of the divide between north, south and middle Kagera. This moderate divide between the regions can also be found for the other assets. In graph 16 (appendix 5) the divide of positive and negative effect per asset divided per region can be found for the whole asset base. Here it is shown that for social, human and natural capital the same moderate tendency as for the positive financial effects can be discovered. This means that from the ten graphs, seven show a moderate divide between north, middle and south Kagera. The effects mentioned are thus almost divided equally per region.

These outcomes of equal answers between north, middle and south Kagera do not strike with information under chapter 4 and 5. As it was expected that more negative answers would come from the south and positive answers from north Kagera. There can be several reasons for this outcome, which will be elaborated on more in-depth in the discussion. However, the main reason for this outcome is probably the interpretation of respondents to answer specific questions positively and others negatively. As such, the data gathering is more suitable to find narratives of certain effects, than to assess the weight per region.

For innovation, and knowledge and information the data was not suitable to see the differences per region in the graph above. However, these characteristics can still be discussed briefly. For innovation, actually all respondents mentioned only positive effects. Consequently, it would not be possible to make a negative graph and the positive graph would be an equal divide between north, middle and south. This outcome would thus also not support the expected outcome, as even negative persons from the south could still think of positive innovation that came with the refugees. For knowledge and information, the divide would probably also be more equal as positive effects (E.g. new media-structures) were found in the south as well in the north, and the negative effects (E.g. wrong information) also occurred in all the regions.

In conclusion, the LAC was used as a framework to assess the effect of refugees on the local adaptive capacity of households. It was found that for each characteristic positive and negative effects occurred, which can be found in table 12, appendix 4. For the positive effects, human capital experienced the most effects on the adaptive capacity of households. The main effects under human capital were an increase in education opportunities for both the youth and adults. Also, an increase in medical services and free medication were mentioned often. Financial capital experienced the second largest influence with trading opportunities, cheap labour chances and employment options. When looking at the negative effects, natural capital experienced the most influence on the adaptive capacity of households. Shortage of water, food and land, as well as pollution, deforestation and destroying weeds influenced the natural capital of respondents negatively. In sum, it was analysed that respondents mainly experienced positive effects of refugees. Nevertheless, a divide between north, middle and south Kagera could not be identified via the above mentioned data.

The following section will discuss the validity and reliability of the data discussed in the case-studies. This will be done by looking at the exact ‘winners and losers’ of the inflow of refugees, the theoretical considerations and methodological constraints.

## Discussion

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### Winners and losers

The data discussed in the previous chapter (5) presents households that benefit as well as households that were disadvantaged by the inflow of refugees. Interestingly, the effects that respondents mention are different between chapter 5 and 6. Chapter 5 was based on the first questions of the survey where respondents answered the questions without reference to certain topics. While chapter 6 was based on specific questions of the second part of the survey, where more in-depth information was discussed. The difference between chapter 5 and 6 can be due to the fact that the specific questions on which chapter 6 was based were not suitable for respondents to go more in-depth into topics they mention in chapter 5. However, as the LAC framework was taken as a lens through which the effects were studied, this was the framework on which the questions of chapter were designed. Nevertheless, this shows the importance of asking the respondents these question in the beginning of the survey as it reveals their initial opinion without being influenced by the questions based on the framework of the researcher. Furthermore, a difference is observed in the total amount of positive and negative answers in chapter 5 and 6. In chapter 5 the total number of positive and negative effect was almost the same, while in chapter 6 much more positive answers were given. This underlines that the LAC framework is mainly good for identifying narratives and less well suitable for assessing the weight of certain effects.

Nevertheless, broadly speaking, chapter 6 can be seen as an extension of chapter 5. In these chapters the effects of refugees on host communities are discussed. However, there are differences per household on who is benefitting from the refugees and who mainly experience disadvantages. It is important to realise that one's benefit can be another families' disadvantage. In case of Kagera, households that benefitted specifically are households that were able to produce agricultural surpluses, saw trading opportunities and started businesses. Also, households that possessed goods or buildings that were wanted by the international humanitarian community benefitted significantly. In addition, higher educated people that were employed due to the refugee inflow experienced a benefit. In sum, it can be stated that mainly the households that already had grown out of poverty, possessed knowledge or goods and developed certain skills benefitted mostly. These are thus the households that are a more up the social scale. This was also emphasized in the literature, where Maystadt and Verwimp (2009)

argue that mainly the people that were already higher in social order, were also more likely to experience benefits. They explain that on the other side of the coin there are people who were not able to benefit from the inflow of people. This are households without own land that were employed. This was also the case in Kagera where workers could not compete with the cheap labour that were offered by refugees. This group of people were already on the bottom of the society, and were even harder affected by the negative effects of refugees. Additionally, there were of course more negative and positive effects of refugees mentioned, but these effects did not specifically affect one group of people, and were more spread equally among households in Kagera.

Other differences between inhabitants of Kagera were found when comparing north and south Kagera. During the research it immediately became clear that there were notorious differences within Kagera. In north and south Kagera some differences seemed visible which made this an interesting variable to research. While in the north respondents were much more positive about the integration of refugees and there was more interaction, this was almost the opposite in the south (Chapter 4). Also, people in the north tended to be more positive about the general inflow of refugees than people in the south (chapter 5). Reasons for this appeared to be that the south had much more security problems in the beginning when the refugees entered. However, how this security difference could happen in the south and not in the north was out of the scope of this research. Also, a more positive tendency in the north can be caused due to the time that has passed in the north since the refugee inflow. In the south respondents are still hosting refugees, which makes it much more likely for them to experience the negative effects that occur when refugees enter a region.

However, interestingly, when the north-south differences were studied per positive and negative effects for the LAC components (section 6.5), it turned out that most of the respondents in north, south and middle Kagera had equal opinions about positive and negative effects. It was expected that the positive answers were mainly given in the north, and the negative answers in the south. This expected tendency was only for a small extent found for financial and physical capital. For the other characteristics an almost equal amount of positive and negative answers were given per household. However, as the comparison does not prove the expected outcome, it also does not mean that the expected outcome is certainly not true. There can be other reasons why this comparison does not show the expected outcome. It can be the case due to the specific questions that were asked. It might be that respondents all

interpreted certain questions to be answered positively and certain questions to be answered negatively. Also, it can be the case that since the actual refugee inflow has been a while in the northern part of Tanzania, that northern respondents have forgotten some effects of refugees. Nevertheless, as it is expected that the north is more positive while mentioning effects, this reason can only make up for the equal divide in positive answers. However, while the negative effects were also divided equally amongst the different regions, this probably does not hold. Consequently, it is most likely that the specific questions made people answer in a certain direction. These question based on the LAC framework were thus more useful to gather information on effects than for comparing the different regions.

While differences between north, middle and south are hard to compare the region as a whole can also be analysed. In Kagera, the population has some general characteristics, for example that almost all are reliant on farming activities for their income. As such, most of the respondents have an own 'chamba' where they can grow crops. Also, most respondents have some little businesses next to their farming activities. Due to this general features of the research population it can also be argued that most families were able to benefit from the inflow, as most of them had own land and were able to start small businesses. The economic opportunities that come with refugees often bring positive changes for the society (Alix-Garcia, 2007; Whitaker, 2002; Crisp et al., 2009). However, while it is argued that in Kagera, not many people belong to the group that is specifically disadvantaged, only this estimation is not enough to be able to state that the region as a whole merely benefitted from the inflow of refugees. There were some negative effects that influenced the whole region, like security effects and environmental impacts. These effects influenced the lives of inhabitants of Kagera drastically, as the area became less safe and resources became scarce. However, there were also some positive effects that were there for all respondents, like innovative ideas, more schools and hospitals, and media-structure were set-up. What is interesting here is that these positive effects were mentioned much more often than the negative effects. This can also be seen in the graphs included in para 6.4, where for the positive effects  $N=419$  and for the negative effects  $N=114$ . This means that, while the questions were not asking for a specific (positive or negative) direction of the effects, the respondents mentioned significantly more positive effects of refugees than negative effects. However, it should be taken into account that this difference can partly also be caused by the idea that some specific questions triggered people to answer in a certain direction, which would mainly be to mention positive effects, in that case. This again underlines the weakness of the LAC framework in assessing the weight of variables.

However, there are other arguments that strengthen the idea that the Kagera region as a whole benefitted from the refugee inflow. Another argument would be that multiple negative effects were compensated by for example humanitarian organizations and local NGO's. Programmes to compensate for the negative effects, like tree planting programmes of Redeso, help to turn negative into positive effects, or at least to mitigate them. This positive effect of the humanitarian aid was also found in the literature (Alix-Garcia, 2007) Also, when looking at the long term effects which were integrated in this study for in northern Kagera, it can be stated that mainly benefits occurred. For example, while international organizations left buildings and water infrastructures without equipment, in the end local organizations did recover the original function of the properties or gave it another useful destination. As such, over time, mainly positive remainders of the inflow were found in Kagera. Also, a very specific positive effect for Kagera, was that the region opened-up due to the inflow of refugees. This brought many new opportunities. As this opening-up was so region specific, it was not found in the literature yet. Moreover, the positive outcome for Kagera can also be traced from the literature on integration, which already suggested that if refugees were part of a hosting community that the effects were much more likely to be positive. Since refugees had multiple sorts of contacts with their hosts, this is thus the case for Kagera (Jacobsen, 1997; Zetter, 2012; Verwimp and Maystadt, 2009).

Thus, in general it is stated that the households in the province of Kagera benefitted from the inflow of refugees. While the analysis of positive answers shows already more positive answers, this can also be due to some methodological issues. However, the idea that the region as a whole benefitted from the inflow is also supported by many other arguments, as mentioned above.

## Theoretical consideration

The data in previous chapters 4, 5 and 6 is all based on surveys and interviews in Kagera. It is interesting to see how this data holds when compared to the theoretical literature overview as discussed under chapter 1.

The literature is helpful to be able to see connections between certain effects. When only conducting surveys and interviews, sometimes certain cause-effect relations can be overlooked, since respondents see these effects as independent events. As such, the literature can help to put certain effects in their context to be able to identify the broader picture when analysing the data. For example, pollution in general and the pollution of ground water sources are by respondents not connected to the occurrence and spread of diseases, however, this is mentioned in the literature (Lugalla et al., 1999). So when only taking surveys, people mention these two effects separately and are often unknown of their interrelatedness. With a solid theoretical chapter it can sometimes thus be easier to see ‘cause-effect’ relations.

Also, what is most noticeable, is that the empirics show much more positive effects of refugees than the literature overview of positive effects in chapter 1 does. When looking at the theory it would be expected that the effects of refugees are mostly negative, with only some positive side-effects. However, while in the theory only two main positive effects (social and economic) could be found, in the empirics this were much more. For every component of the LAC multiple positive effects could be found. This can partly be caused by the questions that triggered people to answer positively, but it should be emphasized that respondents in Kagera were able to mention much more different positive effects, than the positive effects of the literature overview.

More specifically, in Kagera it was found that for the positive effects financial assets and human assets were influenced most. For financial effects new trade and selling opportunities were also found in the literature (Jacobsen, 2002; Alix-Garcia, 2007; Whitaker, 2002; Hamza, 2006). However, the employment opportunities that were mentioned often by respondents but this was not found in the literature. The other way around, the presence of transnational resources was mentioned in the literature (Hamza, 2006; Horst and van Haar, 2002), but was not mentioned by respondents in Kagera. For human capital, the literature and empirics corresponded. Both sources mention the increase of social services and benefits that enter a

region with the humanitarian aid (Alix-Garcia, 2007; El-Amaout, 2010). What is interesting here is that financial and human capital are having the most effects on the adaptive capacity of people in Kagera, and these two effects were also mentioned as the most important positive effects in the literature. However, of the other positive effects discovered under the LAC framework, no corresponding literature was found. Kagera shows other benefits in new crops, food surpluses, agricultural knowledge transfers, new goods, new relations with the church and local leaders, innovative ideas and an improved media infrastructure.

For the negative effects not all effects discovered under the LAC framework were also found in the literature. In Kagera all the natural consequences, like tree cutting and pollution, that were mentioned in the literature are also present in Kagera (World bank, 2010; Jacobsen, 1997; Enghoff et al., 2010). Also, for financial effects, unfair competition and a price increase of luxury goods is both mentioned in the empirics and in the literature. However, less tourism income and leakage of money to other regions, were not found as effects in the literature. The other way around, the literature states that overcrowded cities can have multiple negative consequences (Deikun and Zetter, 2010; Buscher and Heller, 2010). However, this was not studied in Kagera, as the refugees were in rural areas and did barely move to the city of Bukoba. For the social effects both the literature and the empirics focus on changing relations and inequality in the society (Pini, 2008; Betts, 2009; Lugalla et al., 1999). However, the lost freedom some respondents mention is not included in the literature.

As such, the theory and the empirics can complement each other. The theory gave some effects that could have been researched more specifically for the case of Kagera for example the effects of remittances. Additionally, when looking at the empirics, the effects mentioned there can contribute to the theory by giving a much more in-depth picture of possible effects of hosting refugees. In this way some gaps in the literature can be covered. Of course not all arguments can be generalized because they specifically belong to the case of Kagera and the research was largely based on qualitative data, however, some effects can form a basis for increasing the current knowledge on refugee effects.

## Assessment of the LAC framework

The LAC framework gives a very comprehensive framework to analyse the adaptive capacity of a community. The framework made it possible to structure the effects of refugees in a clear manner. However, it can be the case that due to the fact that the survey questions were distracted from the framework, some of the effects have been missed. Nevertheless, it was tried to avoid this by asking some more general questions in the beginning of the survey, and via interviews and informal conversations. Moreover, the framework was an addition to this research because it gave clear focus points in preparation of the research as a whole, and specifically to the surveys. The LAC framework is described very extensively and used in multiple case studies. However, a case study that is not linked to climate change is new for the framework, as this research focusses on the effects of refugees. Nevertheless, the framework seemed very applicable to another case study, as no drastic changes had to be made.

However, the empirics of this research can help to develop the LAC framework, as it might also be useful to adapt it to a certain extent. The case of Kagera has shown that some of the characteristics are overlapping when conducting research. In theory the aspects all seem to have their own focus point, but in reality, they often overlap. The effects mentioned under the asset base can often also be mentioned under other characteristics and flexible-forward thinking is to such a high extent dependent on knowledge and information, that it seems much easier to unite them under one characteristic.

Also, in reality, the framework might be too comprehensive to cover all aspects in one research. When focussing on households, like in this research, the LAC framework might be too comprehensive. Therefore, in this thesis governance and institutions are not researched extensively. It is recommended to make a clearer distinction of what directly influences a household (like the asset base) and what influences them more indirectly (like the government structure).

Moreover, the weight of the different characteristics in the framework is hard to measure. While the LAC claims that all characteristics should be measured equally, this is often not the case in reality. In this research it was found that for example, the natural asset had a much larger negative impact on households in Kagera than other assets. Therefore, additional research into an appropriate measuring scale of the characteristics is advised to the ACCRA committee.

Also, the LAC framework possibly influenced the amount of positive and negative effects that were mentioned. As questions probably triggered people to give more positive answers, as it was shown above where the effects for the whole region were assessed. Moreover, the LAC is found inappropriate to measure differences between certain regions. This research showed that the question related to the LAC triggered people from all region to answer certain questions positively and others negatively. As can be seen in the sections above, the LAC framework seems more suitable for assessing narratives than to be able to make comparisons.

## Methodological implications

The (mostly) qualitative design of this study was very suitable for doing an explorative study. Consequently, a deep understanding and in-depth knowledge on the effects of refugees in Kagera was created. The combination of research methods made it possible to find solid information about the region as well as locals being able to tell their own story. However, when looking at the methodological considerations there are a couple of constraints which should be highlighted. It is important to do so, to be able to interpret the data in a good way. The data discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 is mainly based on the surveys. However, due to practical constraints, these surveys were not conducted completely random. Since the areas were sometimes very remote, and people were working on land outside of their villages, it was not possible to reach every intended household. For this reason it was not accomplished to do a survey exactly every fourth house. This has implications for the data because, since the data is not completely random, generalization of the data is thus less possible and the outcomes lose some of its validity. Additionally, as the survey consisted of many qualitative answers, they did not have a strict coding. The surveys were coded afterwards by the researcher. However, this also makes the data less trustworthy because the data have been through multiple levels of interpretation. First, the qualitative questions were interpreted by the respondent and then the researcher interpreted these answers. Also, the use of a translator in between, who also interprets the questions and answers, makes the data less reliable. Nevertheless, via extensive discussions and training it was tried to take the same line as much as possible. Moreover, due to the large amount of qualitative data that is obtained via this research, generalizability to a larger population or to other social settings is limited. However, creating a generalizable image of effects of refugees was also not the aim of this research.

Another methodological issue is that research might be biased due to cultural differences. As already mentioned, as the data was interpreted in multiple stages of the research, communication about what respondents exactly mean was very important. Due to cultural differences it could sometimes take a long time before mutual understanding was created. However, it can never be assured that misunderstandings did not occur anyway. Also, as African communities often live in large compounds with many people, it was sometimes difficult to speak to households, without members of other households interfering. It was sometimes the case that households lived next to other households who hosted refugees in their homes and that we had to move inside the house to be able to conduct surveys or interviews privately.

Specifically in the remote areas where the data was collected, a western visitor attracted many other visitors to the household. So, when trying to discuss sensitive topics like anti-refugee sentiments, it was important to go somewhere with the respondents where they could speak freely. Nevertheless, it should be taken in consideration that in some instances, even without knowledge of the researcher, socially desirable answers could not be avoided.

## Conclusion

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In this thesis the effects of refugees on local hosting communities was studied under the following main question: “*How does the inflow of refugees affect household capacities to adapt to the effects of refugees in the Kagera region, Tanzania?*” The research is based on interviews, surveys (N=150) and participatory observations, as well as secondary sources. Data was gathered in north, middle and south Kagera, over a period of 4 months.

Tanzania knows a long history of hosting refugees. Specifically the Kagera region in north-west Tanzania hosted multiple flows of refugees, and still does so nowadays. As the case-study of Kagera shows, the refugees often have contact with the locals, and as such the effects of refugees could easily spread through the region. Reasons for contact were trade and business opportunities, social bonds, labour supply, agricultural cooperation and sexual relationships. Effects of refugees that were initially identified in Kagera were, positively: business opportunities, cheap labour, new possessions, development and employment opportunities. And negatively: security issues like theft, the spread of diseases like malaria and cholera and environmental impacts, like pollution and deforestation.

In order to analyse the adaptive capacity of the research population more in-depth, the Local Adaptive Capacity Framework was used, of which the asset-base, knowledge and information, and innovation were used as lenses to study the effects of refugees in Kagera. Table 16 in appendix 5 shows all the effects that influenced the adaptive capacity in Kagera.

There is a difference in effects for respondents from north and south Kagera. The research shows that people in northern Kagera were more positive about the inflow of refugees than the respondents from the south. This was shown by the opinion of north and south, concerning the integration and general inflow of refugees. It was shown that the north was more positive on both issues. While not all the data specifically demonstrates that this difference is presence (by looking at the amount of households that mention positive and negative effects divided per region), it does also not fully undermine the idea that the north experienced more positive effects because this difference can also be caused by methodological limitations of the LAC framework. Consequently, it is stated that the north experienced more positive effects and was thus better able to adapt to the inflow of refugees.

To be able to compare the weight of certain effects, it was researched which of the characteristics of the LAC were mentioned most often. It turned out that for the positive effects, changes in human capital impacted the adaptive capacity of households most. The main effects under human capital were an increase in education opportunities for both the youth and adults. Also, an increase in medical services and free medication were mentioned often. Financial capital experienced the second largest influence with trading opportunities, cheap labour chances and employment options. Natural capital had the third biggest influence and had positive effects because of new crops and agricultural knowledge transfers. Physical capital experienced not so many effects according to the respondents, however, an increase of goods in general and of new goods was mentioned. The least effects were noticed for social capital. Nevertheless, the characteristic was influenced positively via new relations between respondents and the church. Moreover, the region was opened-up to the rest of the Tanzania and the world.

When looking at the negative effects, natural capital experienced the most influence on the adaptive capacity of households. Shortage of water, food and land, as well as pollution, deforestation and destroying weeds influenced the natural capital of respondents negatively. Far less influenced is social capital which notices effects via intermarriages, lost freedom, no balance in religions and struggles between local leaders. Financial capital was influenced via unfair goods selling, leakage of money and unfair labour competition. For physical capital theft and a decrease in goods respondents were able to obtain influenced the adaptive capacity. Mentioned less often is human capital. However, negative effects were still experienced in an overuse and unequal divide of social services.

The weight of innovation and knowledge and information could not be measured via this data. However, for innovation, actually every household was able to mention something they have learned or that changed their lives. This would give it probably a very high positive rate. However, as no actual negative innovations were discovered, innovation would probably have a very low rate for the negative effects. For knowledge and information, a middle scale was predicted as there were both positive effects (like new media structures) as negative effects (like no information sharing).

As the above mentioned effects show the different effects of refugees on households adaptive capacity in Kagera, it is important to realise that there are both winners and losers in each group. The group that benefits most are the ones that were already higher in the social order. People that already possessed knowledge and skills were more likely to benefit from the positive effects, for example by employing cheap labour, renting out houses or using language skills to translate. On the other side of the coin, the respondents that were already low in the social order, experienced most negative effect, for example because people without land were not employed anymore due to unfair competition via cheap refugee labour.

Nevertheless, when looking at all the positive and negative effects, the general tendency is that the Kagera region has benefitted from the inflow of refugees. Of course, every household experiences effects differently, and a negative experience should not be underestimated in this research, the positive effects were taking the lead in analysing the data. As positive effects were mentioned significantly more times than negative effects and multiple negative effects were compensated by humanitarian programmes and local NGO's, it can be concluded that the region benefitted from the inflow of refugees.

Due to this mainly positive effects of refugees, the adaptive capacity of the households would be increased. As such, hosting communities were increasingly able to adapt to the new situation. Multiple opportunities have crossed their paths, and apart from some downsides, or personal negative stories, the region experienced many positive effects. Mainly financial capital, human capital and innovation show these positive effects for Kagera. Thus, due to the inflow of refugees, households are increasingly able to deal with the effects of the inflow of refugees.

The theoretical framework of positive and negative effects does not confirm the above mentioned positive outcome of the effects in Kagera. The literature only mentioned two different main positive effects of refugees, namely social and economic. However, this research showed that there are many more positive effects like for example the employment opportunities. The other way around, the literature sometimes also mentions effects that did not come forward in the empirics, like the positive effects of remittances. As such, the theory and the empirics can complement each other. The literature can indicate effects that should be researched more in-depth in the empirics, and the empirics indicate some effects that can be included in the literature overview.

The LAC framework has been a comprehensive tool to analyse the effects of refugees in a systematic way. Via the framework it was possible to focus on some specific points in designing the study and the framework itself was very comprehensive. However, there were also some aspects of the framework that could be improved. The framework was found to have some overlapping features between the characteristics and it was a bit too comprehensive as it focussed on multiple levels, like households as well as governments. Additionally, the LAC framework was found to be most appropriate in discovering narratives about the effects of refugees, instead of assessing the weight of certain characteristic or to make differentiations between regions. To be able to use the LAC framework more properly to discover differences between characteristics, the weight of characteristics and difference between regions, it is advised to conduct further research in finding an appropriate measuring scale for this issue.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Survey English

#	Question	Answer
1	Does the person speak English?	Yes / No
2	Gender	M / F
3	Place of Residence	Place: Since When:
4	Age	Youth / Adult / Elderly Age:
5	Size of the household	Number: Respondent's family role is:
6	What is the main source of income for the family?	
7	Did (or does) your family have direct contact with refugees?	No / Yes, from:  How often?
8	Did your family members form friendships with the refugees?	No / Yes  How many friends?
9	Did your family have other forms of contact with refugees?	No / Yes, Namely:
10	Do the refugees lived separated from the community? (in closed camps?)	No / Yes, where?
11	Do you think the refugees were/are integrated in the community you live in? (Take part in daily live?)	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5  Why?
12	Did your family experience positive effects of the inflow of refugees? (benefits)	No / Yes, Namely:
13	Did your family experience negative effects of the inflow of refugees? (problems)	No / Yes, Namely:
14	How did you experience the inflow of refugees in general?	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5  Why?
	<b>Did the inflow of refugees influence:</b>	
15	The financial position of your family? (amount of money a household earns)	No / Yes, Namely:
16	The amount of jobs in the community?	No / Yes, Namely:
17	The goods available in the community? (did the refugees bring or leave goods?)	No / Yes, Namely:
18	The access to education of your family?	No / Yes, Namely:
19	The access to health care of your family?	No / Yes, Namely:

20	The local traditions? (New insights learned via refugee inflow?)	No / Yes, Namely:
21	The relationship between your family and the church?	No / Yes, Namely:
22	The relationship between your family and other families living in the community?	No / Yes, Namely:
23	The relationship between your family and the local leaders in the community? (authorities)	No / Yes, Namely:
24	The access to land or other resources (water/ firewood) for your family?	No / Yes, Namely:
25	The access food for your family?	No / Yes, Namely:
<b>Other questions</b>		
26	Was your family informed about the inflow of refugees before they entered the area?	No / Yes, by:  Follow-up: Was the information correct? (corresponds with true)
27	Does your family know of other organizations that governed the inflow of refugees in the community?	No / Yes, Namely:
28	Did your family feel able to voice their opinion about the inflow of refugees within these organizations/ local authorities? (inclusiveness)	No / Yes Follow-up: have your family done so? Situation:
29	Did your family feel that they could go to these institutions/ local authorities with their questions about refugees?	No / Yes Follow-up: have your family done so? Situation:
30	If there were problems caused by refugees, did your family know where to go with these problems? (institutions)	No / Yes Follow-up: have your family done so? Situation:
31	If there were problems caused by refugees, did your family find a solution?	No / Yes, Namely:
32	Did your family feel able to benefit from the inflow of refugees?	No / Yes, Namely:
	Follow-up: Was your family able to increase this benefit? (innovation/ changes in live)	No / Yes, Namely:
33	Did your family learn anything from the inflow of refugees?	No / Yes, Namely:

## Appendix 2: Survey Swahili

#	SWALI	JIBU
1	Je,mtu huyu anazungumza Kingereza?	Ndio / Hapana
2	Jinsia	Me / Ke
3	Mahala pa kuishi	Makazi: Kwa muda gani:
4	Umri	Kijana / Mtu mzima / Mzee Umri:
5	Ukubwa wa kaya	Idadi ya watu: Majukumu ya mhojiwa kifamilia:
6	Nini chanzo kikuu cha mapato kwa familia?	
7	Je familia yako inamahusiano ya moja kwa moja na wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio, Tangu lini:  Mara ngapi?
8	Je familia au mwana familia ana urafiki na mkimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio  Marafiki wangapi?
9	Je familia yako inamahusiano mengine ya moja kwa moja na wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio,  Taja aina ya mahusiano :
10	Je wakimbizi wanaishi kwa kutengwa na jamii (katika kambi iliyo karibu?)	Hapana / Ndio, wapi?
11	Je, wakimbizi waliojumuishwa katika jamii unaishi? (Kushiriki maisha ya kila siku)	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5  Kwanini?
12	Je, familia yako ilinufaika kwa kuja kwa wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio,  Taja ulivyo nufaika:
13	Je, familia yako ilipata hasara kwa kuja kwa wakimbizi? (Matatizo)	Hapana / Ndio,  Eleza kwa namna gani:
14	Kwa uzoefu wako unazungumziaje kuja kwa wakimbizi?	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5  Kwanini?
	<b>Je,uingiaji wa wakimbizi umechochea:</b>	
15	Hali ya kifedha ya familia yako? (kiasi gani cha fedha familia inapata?)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
16	Kiasi cha ajira katika jamii?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
17	Bidhaa gani zinazopatikana katika jamii? (Je, wakimbizi walileta au waliacha bidhaa?)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
18	Upatikanaji wa elimu katika familia yako?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
19	Upatikanaji wa huduma za afya katika familia yako?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:

20	Mila zikoje? (Hasa kwa kutazama kuja kwa wakimbizi?)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
21	Uhusiano kati ya familia yako na kanisa?(Dini)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
22	Uhusiano kati ya familia yako na familia zinazo kuzunguka ndani ya jamii?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
23	Uhusiano kati ya familia yako na uongozi wa jamii? (Utawala)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
24	Upatikanaji wa ardhi au rasilimali nyingine(maji/kuni) kwa ajili ya familia yako ukoje?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
25	Upatikanaji wa chakula kwa familia yako?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
<b>MASWALI MENGINEYO</b>		
26	Je, familia yako ilitaarifiwa kuhusu kuja kwa wakimbizi kabla hawaja ingia katika eneo?	Hapana / Ndio Fuatilia: Kama taarifa zilizotolewa ni sahihi?
27	Je, familia yako inafahamu kuwa kuna mashirika mengine yanayo husika na kuingia kwa wakimbizi katika jamii?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
28	Je, unahisi familia yako ina uwezo wa kutoa maoni juu ya kuja kwa wakimbizi kwa mashirika/serikali za mitaa? (kwa ujumla)	Hapana / Ndio Fuatilia: Familia yako imewahi kufanya hivyo? Katika hali gani:
29	Je, unahisi familia yako inauwezo wa kwenda kuuliza maswali kwa serikali ya mitaa au mashirika kuhusu wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio Fuatilia: Familia yako imewahi kufanya hivyo? Katika hali gani:
30	Ikiwa kuna tatizo lililo sababishwa na wakimbizi, Je familia yako inafahamu mahala pa kuyapeleka ? (Taasisi au uongozi)	Hapana / Ndio Fuatilia: Familia yako imewahi kufanya hivyo? Katika hali gani:
31	Je, kwa tatizo hilo lililo sababishwa na wakimbizi familia yako iliweza kupata ufumbuzi?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
32	Je familia ayako imefaidika kwa kuingia kwa wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
	Fatilia: Familia yako iliweza kuongeza faida hizo? (Ubunifu/ Mabadiliko katika maisha?)	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:
33	Je, familia yako ilijifunza kitu chochote kutoka kwa wakimbizi?	Hapana / Ndio, Taja:

## Appendix 3:

### General topic list interviews:

- Informed consent
- Personal information. Occupation/ Gender/ Age/ Other relevant information/ Relation to the inflow of refugees
- Effects noticed (Positive and negative, ask for examples)
- Initiatives to counter the negative effects. (via organizations?)
- Other organizations that govern the inflow? (institutions and entitlements)
- Households: Do you feel included in these organizations? / If there were problems, did you feel like you knew where to go? / feel free to ask questions / able to go to organizations?
- How do organization assure inclusiveness themselves? How do they help locals? Make it easy for locals to contact them?
- Refugee experiences in general
- Refugee integration with locals and other forms of contact / common feeling towards refugees
- How did you respond on these changes? (innovation)
- Long term solutions or short term? (Knowledge, information, flexible forward thinking)
- Did you see new opportunies/ willing to take risks? (innovation)
- Did the inflow change local level rules? Land tenure rules/ knowledge sharing?
- How did the inflow influences the assets people possess? E.g.;
- Money / income (amount/ able to save)
- Material things / goods
- Natural (land, resources, water etc.)
- Social (relationships)
- Human (Health, Education, Customs)
- Were people given information/ knowledge on the refugees? How? Via which channels? Institutions? Was the information correct and sufficient?
- Information infrastructure changed? New forms of media?
- Did people invent new life strategies? To gain more form the inflow? Do you think people saw opportunities? What was leaned from refugees? Did people see long term goals? Were they able to think further than today?

Table 13: Overview of positive and negative effects of refugees on local adaptive capacity

<b>Positive effects</b>		<b>Negative effects</b>			
<b>Financial capital</b>	Trading opportunities	Selling luxury goods	Leakage of money	Unfair labour competition	
	Employment opportunities	Other income generating activities	Price increase of luxury goods	Less tourism income	
<b>Physical capital</b>	New goods via refugees	Cheap labour opportunities	Security	Temporarily income	Unfair goods selling
		More goods via income increase	Less goods via unfair competition via inflow of refugee and humanitarian goods	Theft	
	New and more goods via humanitarian organizations	Over use of social services	Diminished culture of peace		
<b>Human capital</b>	Education for youth	Health services	Unequal divide of social services		
	Education for locals	Open for change of traditions			
<b>Social capital</b>	Changes church relations	Opening up of the region	Intermarriages	Lost freedom	Population growth
	Relations with local leaders	Relations between locals	Suspiciousness	Security	No balance in religions
	New crops and trees	Project via aid organizations	Shortage of water	Shortage of food	Pollution
<b>Natural capital</b>	Knowledge transfer on agriculture skills	Food surpluses	Shortage of land	Weeds	Deforestation (firewood)
	Opening up of the area	Knowledge programmes	No information on inflow	Wrong information	
	More telecom and media infrastructures		No knowledge and low accessibility of organizations		
<b>Innovation</b>	Business culture	New agricultural techniques	Difficulties like language barriers, repetitive culture and non-stimulation by international organizations		
	Change in mind-set	New practical skills			

Appendix 5

Graph 16:

